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The Development of Reading Practices:

as Represented in the Textual Afterlife of

Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*

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Abstract

Using Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*, a text circulated widely in manuscript and print in the late medieval and early modern periods, this thesis will examine philological and bibliographic criteria in order to examine the history of reading and the development of reading practices during this period. It argues that the shift from public oration to silent, private reading – and the co-ordinating shifts from passive, unengaged reading to active, engaged reading, and from unskilled to skilled reading – was not a straight-forward linear development during the period under examination, but instead was a fluctuating process of co-existence, influence, and adaptation between the pre-existing and emerging reading practices.

This thesis presents punctuation practices and paratextual materials as accurate indicators of the reading practices used by contemporary readers of Love's *Mirror*, thereby suggesting a methodology which can be employed by future scholars of book/reading history.

Abbreviations

EEBO	Early English Books Online <eebo.chadwyck.com>
GUL	Glasgow University Library
MS(S)	Manuscript(s)
ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography <www.oxforddnb.com>
OED	Oxford English Dictionary <http://www.oed.com>

Chapter 1: Introduction

1. Thesis Statement

1.1 ‘Textual afterlives’, an emerging area of study for book historians and philologists, focuses on the theory that a text is not merely a product of the society it was originally produced in but is representative of each society it subsequently exists within, expanding upon McKenzie’s seminal work on the ‘sociology of the text’ (1999). McKenzie (1999) interprets books as evidence of human behaviour at the moment of their production, therefore suggesting that examination of series of books will display diachronic changes in human behaviour and social processes; specifically, in this case, in regard to the uses of literacy. This insight will be taken as an a priori principle for this thesis. It will be argued that study of copies of the same text dating from different periods will reveal the literacy practices employed by the readers of each society that encountered the text. Echard’s (2008: 20) argument that the process of reproduction is not merely the mechanical production of copies, but consists of the complicated *human* motives that drive reproduction, will have significant emphasis in regard to my selected text, Nicholas Love’s *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*, as this text has a strong socio-political agenda: it is a late medieval orthodox response to heresy reproduced regularly on the eve of, and throughout, the Reformation (Duffy 1992: 62, 78). This thesis aims to describe the afterlife of Love’s text in script and print during the socially turbulent period from late medieval to early modern society, focussing specifically on the interpretation of philological and paratextual features of the text in order to analyse the socio-cultural transition in reading practices.

2. Socio-Historical Contextualisation

2.1 Love's *Mirror* was a vernacular translation of the pseudo-Bonaventuran *Meditationes Vitae Christi*¹ and was composed at the beginning of the fifteenth century, as can be inferred from its authorisation by Archbishop Thomas Arundel in 1410. Arundel's Constitutions of the early fifteenth century set out to limit the availability of religious texts amid fears of the heterodox ideas and beliefs the unguided reader could form from texts not transmitted through the mediation of the clergy. Arundel was therefore opposed to the Wycliffite ideology of providing access to religious texts for all, and his enthusiastic approval of Love's text – the *approbatio* he bestowed upon it instructing it to be 'published universally for the edification of the faithful and the confutation of heretics' (Sargent 2004: xv) – seems to suggest that Love, and the *Mirror*, also opposed the Wycliffite movement. It has been explicitly suggested that an anti-Wycliffite polemic was imposed by Love onto his translation (Sargent 2004: xviii), which is supported by examples identified by Sargent (2004: xviii) of anti-Lollard arguments that Love added. For example in the chapter on the Annunciation 'Love notes that the true members of Christ's people are those who give due allegiance to the ecclesiastical hierarchy', and the depiction of the Last Supper is 'expanded into a defence of the sacrament of the Eucharist' (Sargent 2004: xviii).

¹ Much research has been conducted into the influence of the *Meditationes* on Love's *Mirror* and the text as a translation: see Salter 1974; Sargent 2004; the *Geographies of Orthodoxy* project by Queen's University Belfast and St. Andrews University 2007-2010; Maxwell 2008.

3. Introduction to the History of Reading Practices

3.1 As asserted by the scholars mentioned above (Duffy 1992; McKenzie 1999; Echard 2008 in paragraph 1.1), the late medieval and early modern periods were turbulent not only due to changes in religious practices, but also due to – possibly related – changes in reading practices. The emergence of an extensive, silent readership in late medieval England resulted in a time of transition and – crucially – *co-existence* between intensive reading as public oration and extensive, private, silent reading (as attested by Saenger 1982, 1997; Fox 2002; Ong 2002; Jajdelska 2007). A hypothesis which Love himself provides evidence for when he writes that he addresses his audience ‘who so redip or herip þis boke’ (Sargent 2004: 13, l. 25). Past research has tentatively suggested a religious bias related to differing reading practices: while orthodox Catholics supposedly formed their sense of self through intimacy with the Church as an institution, Protestant Reformers did so through books (Greenblatt 1980: 96). Many scholars have even hypothesised a relationship between the advancement of Protestantism in this period and the parallel advancement of silent reading practices: ‘uncensored communication [private, silent reading] [...] enabled access to heretical ideas without fear of discovery’ (Fischer 2003: 163); ‘psychologically, silent reading emboldened the reader because it placed the source of his curiosity completely under personal control’ (Saenger 1997: 264). Scholarship in this area, therefore, largely presents orthodox religion as having been centred on the established reading practice of public oration from memory, in which the majority of readers would be ‘reader-speakers’ and would be using the material text as an aide memoire. Protestantism has been linked to silent, private reading directly from the page before the reader, as this practice encouraged and enabled the spread of heresy and heterodox ideas. Yet Walsham (2004: 212) challenges these ‘ingrained assumptions’, and Duffy’s

influential work on religion during the Reformation, *The Stripping of the Alters* (1992), dispels the necessitation of such a dichotomy of social practices in relation to different religious practices. He argues that during the Reformation, changes in religious beliefs did not mean the end of traditional religious practices (Duffy 1992: 389): traditional practices were reduced in 'scope, depth, and coherence' but reformed themselves around the new practices (Duffy 1992: 589). There was accommodation between old and new religious practices during the Reformation (Duffy 1992: 590), and due to this accommodation, or *co-existence*, the differing practices influenced one another and both practices were transformed (Duffy 1992: 592). Therefore by analogy, just as Duffy sees the religious Reformation as transitional rather than revolutionary, it could be hypothesised that the 'reformation' of reading did not result in whole-sale adoption of the 'newer' practice of silent, extensive reading either, but instead resulted in a period of co-existence, interaction, and accommodation.²

3.2 This thesis will examine the copies of Love's *Mirror* produced throughout this period with an awareness of the contested issues of changing religious and reading practices, and the potential relationship between the two, but with the presiding hypothesis that society's shift from public, oral, intensive reading to private, silent, extensive reading was not a sudden change (Coleman 1996; Anderson and Sauer 2002: 5; Ong 2002). The late medieval and early modern periods were firmly a time of transition and co-existence.

² This suggested analogy between Duffy's (1992) theory of 'traditional religion' and the continuation of traditional reading practices during this transitional period in literacy, is also suggested by Sherman (2008: 86) and is also discussed in section 7.4 of this chapter.

3.3 As mentioned above, the main focus of this study will be to evaluate the reading practices used by chronological societies to engage with Love's *Mirror* during the period when both intensive, silent reading practices and extensive, oral reading practices were in widespread use. Despite Jajdelska (2007: 3) dating the 'critical' transition from oral to silent reading as having taken place in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Jajdelska, along with many other scholars, acknowledges that silent reading practices existed for a long period prior to that date (Jajdelska 2007). Jajdelska references the widely used example of Augustine observing Ambrose reading silently in antiquity to display the early existence of silent reading methods (2007: 5; see also Fischer 2003: 91), but suggests silent reading practices were not common enough to be catered for by scribes/printers until a much later period. While Ong supports Jajdelska's eighteenth century date for the critical shift (2002: 155), Chartier (1989: 2; 2010), Saenger (1989: 142; 1997), Parkes (1993: 69), Fox (2002: 12), Fischer (2003: 141, 163, 202), and Lyons (2010: 18-19) all identify the transition as largely taking place in a much earlier time period. Saenger, Fox, and Fischer all date the main shift as taking place at the end of the medieval period. Lyons and Parkes, however, attest to a marked shift at the beginning of the medieval period, with Parkes (1993: 69) suggesting, in opposition to Jajdelska, that the punctuation practices of scribes suggest they were catering for a silent readership from the end of the seventh century. This thesis will focus on two manuscript copies of the text from the fifteenth century,³ and the early print

³ Glasgow, University of Glasgow Library, MS Gen 1130; and Glasgow, University of Glasgow Library, MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15).

editions from the late fifteenth to the early seventeenth centuries,⁴ therefore suggesting that silent reading was more commonly in use than Jajdelska claims prior to the eighteenth century. It will not, though, argue that the transition from oral to silent reading explicitly took place during the period under investigation; it will instead assert the difficulty in locating an exact moment of transition. It will therefore discuss oral and silent reading practices as co-existing in the late medieval and early modern periods in accordance with Duffy's (1992) belief in the continuation of traditional practices during periods of innovation. This hypothesis is also strongly supported by Walter Ong's seminal work *Orality and Literacy* (2002), which asserts that the spoken word lives on in a literate society: 'in all the wonderful worlds that writing opens, the spoken word still resides and lives' (Ong 2002: 8). Just as Duffy (1992) asserts that traditional practices aid and influence new practices, Ong states that 'oral expression can exist and mostly has existed without any writing at all, writing never without orality' (2002: 8).

4. Methodology

4.1 Chartier (1989) conducts his research into the history of reading practices through the use of case studies. He states that 'the choice of a restricted corpus of materials is a first condition for a study of textual and editorial changes in a given work' (1989: 4). Similarly, Pearson (2007: 34) highlights the importance of 'copy-specific information' to book history, and a combination of these methodologies

⁴ Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, STC (2nd ed.)/ 3259; London, British Library, STC (2nd ed.)/ 3260; London, British Library, STC (2nd ed.)/ 3261; London, British Library, STC (2nd ed.)/ 3262; Cambridge, Pepysian Library, Magdalene College, STC (2nd ed.)/ 3263; Oxford, Bodleian Library, STC (2nd ed.)/ 3263.5; London, British Library, STC (2nd ed.)/ 3264; London, British Library, STC (2nd ed.)/ 3266; London, British Library, STC (2nd ed.)/ 3268. All accessed through Early English Books Online <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>>. And Glasgow, University of Glasgow Library, Sp. Coll. Hunterian Bv.2.24.

will be applied to this thesis. This thesis will focus on Love's *Mirror* as its case study, and in doing so will follow in the tradition described by Chartier (1989: 5) of working in regard to the 'particular' in order to make accurate general judgements. Therefore this thesis will use chronological copies of Love's *Mirror* – the particular – so as to suggest plausible interpretations regarding the history of literacy – the general. In other words, as suggested by Anderson and Sauer (2002: 4), this thesis will offer 'a comprehensive vision through constant exchanges between micro- and macro-history, and between close-ups and extreme long shots', and in doing so will contribute to not only the theoretical fields of book history and the history of literacy, but will also support the methodological practice of using the specific to discuss the general.

5. Previous Research into Love's *Mirror* in Manuscript and Print

5.1 It can be seen, due to the large number of extant manuscript copies and printed editions, that Love's *Mirror* was widely circulated throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (also attested by Duffy 1992: 62, 78; Sargent 1997: xiii; Hellinga 1997: 143; Sargent 2004: ix). Yet while much research has already been conducted into the extant manuscripts of the text (Zeeman 1956; Salter 1974; Oguro et al. 1997; Sargent 2004; Maxwell 2008), only a few scholars have attempted a study of the text in print.

5.2 Hellinga's (1997) article 'Nicholas Love in Print' is therefore a crucial piece of prior research for this thesis. In her study Hellinga looks at the printing history of Nicholas Love from a wide, international perspective, conducting a lexical analysis

of the *Mirror* in both Latin and the vernacular in Britain and throughout Europe. This thesis, by contrast, will narrow the material under analysis to editions printed in English, and will differ from Hellinga's lexical examination by focussing on punctuation and paratextual materials. Also, this research will approach the text from the specific perspective of analysing the way in which the text was read, therefore simultaneously contributing to Hellinga's field of the text in print – and scholarship conducted into Love's *Mirror* as a whole – and to the broader theoretical field of reading history.

6. Philological Criteria: Punctuation Practices

6.1 The first matter under analysis is punctuation: an element which has long been the focus of scholarly interest in the textual representation of reading practices (Zeeman 1956; Parkes 1993, 1997; Saenger 1997; Jajdelska 2007; Chartier 2010; Smith 2012a, 2012b). Malcolm Parkes' (1993) seminal work, *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West*, has undoubtedly had a huge influence on research into the relationship between punctuation and reading practices. Parkes (1993) provides a detailed reference work regarding the history of punctuation practices and the diachronic uses and semantic and syntactic functions of specific punctuation marks. Crucially for the purposes of this thesis, Parkes also ascribes pause lengths to different punctuation marks, tying together punctuation marks' functions as both a representation of pause and a semantic indicator throughout the history of their usage. Elspeth Jajdelska's (2007) *Silent Reading and the Birth of the Narrator* supports Parkes' (1993) prior research by also projecting sound qualities onto punctuation marks. In contrast to Parkes though, Jajdelska argues against the simplified hypothesis that punctuation

practices have evolved chronologically from being rhetorical to syntactical in function. Instead, Jajdelska suggests that despite this transition – which Jajdelska does acknowledge as taking place – punctuation continues to represent pause, but that the crucial difference is that pauses can be distributed more frequently when a text is not intended to be communicated orally, as there are fewer opportunities for a pause to be misinterpreted when reading silently. Due to the lower chance of the misinterpretation of a pause in silent reading, Jajdelska states, punctuation can be used in a more grammatical function when a text is being produced for a ‘reader as hearer’ (2007: 47).

6.2 Both Parkes (1993) and Jajdelska (2007), therefore, interpret punctuation as providing guidance for the reader of the text, whether in regard to where to pause for breath or where to pause to construct semantic or grammatical meaning, and both scholars acknowledge that the type of guidance provided by punctuation differs depending on the reader’s requirements and reading practices. Jajdelska also introduces one of the primary arguments supporting this thesis’ hypothesis regarding the co-existence of oral and silent reading practices during the period in question. She argues that rhetorical punctuation practices cause silent readers to conceive of themselves as a ‘hearer of an internal voice’ (2007: 3),⁵ suggesting that oral punctuation practices and reading habits continued to be used long into the primacy of silent reading practices. Parkes (1993) and Jajdelska (2007) therefore help form the central hypothesis of chapter two: that different punctuation marks – indicating different lengths of pause – and different punctuation practices were

⁵ A hypothesis discussed more generally – not in relation to punctuation practices in particular – by Ong (2002: 8): “reading’ a text means converting it to sound, aloud or in the imagination’.

in existence in this period, which were used with the specific intention to aid and guide a reader who reads aloud/intensively or a reader whom reads silently/extensively. This thesis will suggest that the scribe's/printer's intended reader will be clearly identifiable from the punctuation practices used because, as Jajdelska (2007: 7) argues, a reader cannot be both a 'reader as speaker' and a 'reader as hearer'. Therefore, despite society as a whole being in the transition from one model to another (Jajdelska 2007: 7), a scribe/printer can only cater for the reading practices of one readership at a time, therefore the punctuation practices used will act as an accurate indicator of which readership they are providing guidance for.

6.3 In his 1997 article, Parkes specifically examines manuscript copies of Love's *Mirror* and discusses how different punctuation practices can cause different interpretations of the text. This thesis therefore continues the research began by Parkes into the punctuation found in manuscript copies of the text, and it then expands on his material by chronologically continuing the investigation into copies of the work in print. Yet this thesis crucially differs in focus from Parkes' article on Love's *Mirror*. While Parkes (1997) analysed punctuation as representative of how a reader would have semantically interpreted the text, this thesis will expand more specifically on Jajdelska's discussion of punctuation in relation to 'readers as speakers' and 'readers as hearers', and aims to interpret punctuation as indicative of the physical reading practices used by the contemporary readers who encountered Love's *Mirror*.

7. Bibliographic Criteria: Paratextual Materials

7.1 The paratextual elements in early printed editions of the *Mirror* include handwritten marginalia, printed marginalia, intertitles, and title pages. While the chapter analysing punctuation will examine a parallel section of the text in each copy (the section regarding how Jesus gathered his disciples in the 'Mercurii' chapter of the text), the study of paratextual elements will focus on the extant preliminary material to the editions. Reference may also be made, though, to any relevant paratextual elements that are found within the selected extract from the text proper. According to Genette's (1997: 5) definition, it is specifically the *peritext* of the editions that will be under examination: the paratextual elements located within the material book of Love's *Mirror*, as opposed to elements which are not physically present on the page, such as authorial awareness, contextual knowledge, and conversations.

7.2 Both the analysis of punctuation and paratextual material will examine the shift from oral to silent reading practices as a product of the shift from intensive reading, reciting from memory, to extensive reading, reading directly from the page. An oral reader was an intensive reader; the text before them was primarily an aide memoire.⁶ The scribe/printer producing a text for this readership would be aware the reader held substantial prior knowledge of the text in their memory, and therefore understood that limited guidance regarding content and structure was required. With the emergence of a more dominant extensive readership, the scribe/printer could no longer expect the reader to have any degree of prior knowledge of the text, therefore more material guidance on the page – which the

⁶ See Manguel's (1997:58) discussion of Socrates' theory of the text functioning as an aide memoire.

reader was reading directly from – was required so as to instruct the reader how to read the text. The inclusion of both more comprehensive punctuation practices, and more frequent and detailed paratextual elements, are therefore clear indicators of an emerging and developing extensive readership.

7.3 The analysis of paratextual elements also introduces another concurrent transition in the reading practices of late medieval and early modern societies' that has not yet been discussed: the shift from the passive reception of texts to active, engaged reading. This transition, as with the other two developments in literacy practices previously mentioned, is inextricably tied to the other transitions in reading practices taking place in this period. As an increasing proportion of society became literate and texts became more readily and cheaply available, it could be hypothesised that people became more solitary in their reading practices as they no longer needed the mediation of another person reading aloud to access a text. The development of a literate society and the ability to read in a private environment, raises the possibility of the development of a readership who took a more active role in the decision to read and the selection of what to read, and who perhaps engaged with their texts in a more interactive or scholarly manner.⁷ Paratextual elements such as handwritten and printed marginalia could be interpreted as indications of this shift in reading practices.

7.4 Handwritten marginalia form an area that has long fascinated scholars due to its representation of direct personal interaction with a text. William H. Sherman's

⁷ A hypothesis supported by Sherman (1995: 60; 2008: 4) when he suggests that Renaissance readers did not read for disinterested self-edification, but instead read to *use* the text.

(2008) comprehensive work on this topic covers many issues relevant to this thesis, including Renaissance methods of marking books, attitudes towards readers' marks, and the relationship between annotations and the reading of religious texts. This thesis will suggest handwritten marginalia can indicate how a reader reads the material text, for example whether the manuscript/book was present before them (indicating public, oral reading or private, silent reading), and what knowledge of the text, the genre, and other texts the reader previously held when they encountered this text (indicating intensive and extensive reading practices). It will also refer to Sherman's (2008: 9) extensive discussion of handwritten marginalia in relation to active and passive reading practices. Bristol and Marotti (2000) suggest that the relationship between handwritten marginalia and the transition in reading practices that is discussed in this thesis is more complex. They suggest that handwritten annotations are the preservation of the interactive aspect of oral culture in literate society, reinforcing the central hypothesis of this thesis that this transitional period was a time of co-existence and interaction in reading practices. Crucially, Sherman (2008: 86) specifically links Eamon Duffy's (1992) discussion of 'traditional religion' to the continuity of traditional reading practices during this transitional period – as this thesis did earlier in this chapter – stating that 'while new sectors of the population gained access to the Bible in this transitional period, the readers themselves often drew on traditional techniques and attitudes [...] [there were] significant continuities in both the textual and devotional cultures associated with what Eamon Duffy has labelled "traditional religion"' (Sherman 2008: 86).

7.5 Printed marginalia has been extensively discussed by Genette (1997) and Slights (2001), with both agreeing that it primarily functions to provide edification for an extensive reader of the text; a reader without enough prior knowledge of the text to understand it without additional aid. Genette (1997) also discusses title pages and intertitles as serving a similar purpose of providing guidance to an extensive reader. Nelles (2009) though suggests a radically different perspective on the use of peritext in a book. While previous scholars – Genette (1997), Slights (2001), Sherman (2008) – present paratextual features as being representative of the development of extensive reading practices, Nelles (2009: 165) argues that elements of textual organisation and annotation were ‘meant to aid in “fixing” something in the memory’, and are therefore representative of intensive reading practices. This thesis suggests, though, that perhaps this is indicative of Duffy’s (1992) afore mentioned hypothesis of the continuation of traditional practices after innovation, which this thesis intends to support.

7.6 This thesis will therefore hypothesise that an increased presence of printed marginalia, titles, and intertitles in a text could suggest that the text was intended for an emerging extensive readership. Conversely though, as society becomes increasingly more literate and more extensive in their reading practices, it could be suggested that a point may be reached whereby a skilled readership emerges; a readership who are frequent and extensive enough readers so as to be competent enough in reading practices as to no longer need as much guidance.

8. Conclusion

8.1 The rest of this thesis will therefore examine manuscript and print copies of Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*⁸ as socio-cultural artefacts, using a predominantly philological approach to reconstruct the reading practices involved in the reception of this text in each society within which it was produced. This thesis therefore defines book history as the interpretation of the book as a physical object representative of human behaviour and activity, bringing together the disciplines of philology, bibliography, and social history. The subsequent research has the potential to expand existing methodologies in book history studies, and to contribute to ongoing research into the history of reading. It shall do so by developing existing knowledge of specific reading practices, such as: public oration and solitary, silent reading; intensive and extensive reading; skilled and unskilled reading; and active and passive reading.

⁸ Transcriptions of which can be find in Appendix 1.

Chapter 2: Analysis of Punctuation Practices

1. Previous Research: Punctuation Practices and Reading Practices

1.1 Oral practices have had a continual afterlife in societies of silent readers. As Ong (2002) argues, orality was never ‘replaced’ by literacy; a transition regarding the primacy of distinct reading practices took place during the history of reading, but as Ong argues (and Jajdelska 2007 supports) the history of reading is a spectrum between orality and literacy.⁹ Jajdelska (2007: 7) asserts that orality and literacy, and speech and writing, co-exist, supported by the written form of punctuation marks representing the oral feature of breath, and the production of an internalised voice when reading silently. However Jajdelska (2007: 7) clarifies, that ‘readers as speakers’ and ‘readers as hearers’ are opposing entities. While a society may consist of co-existing ‘reader-speakers’ and ‘reader-hearers’ – and while an individual may be able to employ both reading practices – a reader can only employ one of these practices at a time. Punctuation practices, therefore, are an indicator of which reading practice the scribe/printer of a text is catering for. Silent reading practices (‘reader-hearers’) and the punctuation practices which supported them did not develop in a straight-forward chronological manner from oral reading practices (‘reader-speakers’). Instead, the punctuation practices of different copies of the same text in a society of both ‘reader-speakers’ and ‘reader-hearers’ will attest to the co-existence of distinct reading practices in late medieval and early modern society.

⁹ As previously discussed in the introduction to this thesis (Chapter 1).

1.2 Scholarly research into the history of reading has frequently attested a relationship between punctuation and reading practices (Parkes 1993; Jajdelska 2007; Smith 2012a, 2012b). Therefore in accordance with the theories raised by Parkes (1993) and Jajdelska (2007) – discussed in the previous chapter – the following discussion of the punctuation practices in the extracts from Love’s *Mirror*¹⁰ hypothesises that silent reading required more comprehensive punctuation in order for the text to be read correctly and understood than did a text which was produced to be read aloud. Oral readers were intensive readers who were well acquainted with the text they were delivering and read primarily from memory, using the text before them as an aide memoire.¹¹ They were therefore generally knowledgeable of the content and meaning of the text before the reading commenced, and previous experience had also made them aware of the best places to pause for both meaning and ease of speech. As silent reading emerged in the late medieval and early modern periods, punctuation became more crucial to a text. Silent readers were generally more extensive readers – a product of a parallel shift in reading practices taking place in the same period – and therefore did not have prior knowledge of the meaning and content of the text; all their information regarding where to pause came directly from the material text before them. Similarly, listeners of a text which was delivered orally benefited from engaging with a text in which meaning was represented through the modulations available because of spoken delivery, so that the correct interpretation of the text could be made clear by the speaker. This thesis hypothesises that, to compensate for this lack of paralinguistic information, silent readers use punctuation marks as guidance for

¹⁰ For transcriptions of these extracts see Appendix 1.

¹¹ Manguel (1997: 58) references Socrates argument that the written word only reminds a person of what they already know.

the production of these oral features when producing the internalised voice that the 'reader as hearer' hears. As Jajdelska (2007: 45-46) states 'silent readers 'project' sound qualities onto the words they are reading'. If a text was intended to be read by extensive, silent readers, therefore, it had to be more comprehensively punctuated in order to guide the reader's acquisition of meaning and enforce a 'correct' reading. Furthermore, a 'correct' reading of a text proved essential during this period due to the turbulence of pre-Reformation society and the circulation of heterodox texts.¹²

2. Methodology

2.1 This thesis will begin by describing the punctuation systems of each of the copies under examination, looking specifically at how extensively each editor punctuates their text and the variation of punctuation marks they use to do so. It will then undertake an in-depth analysis of specific punctuation marks and interpret their function in regard to the changing reading practices of the period. Essentially, this thesis aims to test Parkes' (1993: 30) hypothesis that 'changes in the signs are the sign of change', and Jajdelska's (2007: 18) coordinating hypothesis that 'changing punctuation practice... is symptomatic of a change in the model of reader'.

¹² Eamon Duffy (1992) discusses this topic extensively in regard to various scenarios and from several perspectives; for example, he suggests that 'fear of Lollardy had made Church leaders nervous of translations of scriptures' (Duffy 1992: 79).

3. Definitions of Punctuation Marks

3.1 Typical Marks of Minor Medial Pause:

3.1.1. *Virgula Suspensiva*: </>

Parkes (1993: 307) states that the *virgula suspensiva* is 'used to mark the briefest pause or hesitation in a text. Usually it indicates the end of a *comma* [...] but in some fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth century copies it could be used for all pauses except the final one'.¹³

The *virgula suspensiva* is part of the punctuation systems of both of Caxton's editions, both of Pynson's editions, and all four of De Worde's editions.

3.1.2 *Comma*: <,>

The earlier form of this punctuation mark, primarily appearing 'in the work of fourteenth-century scribes', as described by Parkes (1993:

¹³ Parkes takes many stances on the role of *virgulae suspensivae* throughout the history of punctuation, suggesting variously: 'the *virgula suspensiva* became almost as common a mark of punctuation as the *punctus*, and was used primarily to indicate medial pauses' (1993: 46), but also that 'because of overlaps between functions of the *virgula suspensiva* and the *punctus* these two marks could be used interchangeably' (1993: 46). Therefore Parkes presents the *virgula suspensiva* as representative of both medial pauses of varying lengths and, at times, final pause. I have taken Parkes' above suggestion (1993: 307) of the *virgula suspensiva* representing all pauses except final pause, but particularly minor medial pause, as the basis for this thesis as the timescale of this function – asserted by Parkes matches the timescale under analysis, and this suggested function matches the findings of this thesis.

303), consists of a circular *punctus* shape on the baseline and a small curved line above it which resembles the modern *apostrophe* mark, and does not feature in any of the extracts under examination. Parkes (1993: 303) describes *commata* as functioning to 'indicate the disjunction of sense, or a minor medial pause at the end of a comma [structure]'. Structurally therefore, the *comma* mark occurs at the end of the part of the sententia known as the comma: 'a division of a colon [...] usually short and rhythmically incomplete, followed by a minor disjunction of the sense where it may be necessary to pause' (Parkes 1993: 302).

There are no examples of the archaic *comma* in any of the extracts examined, but the modern form of *commata*, which first appear in print (Parkes 1993: 303), are found in Boscard's 1606 edition.

3.2 Typical Marks of Major Medial Pause:

3.2.1 *Punctus Elevatus*:



The *punctus elevatus* indicates a 'major medial pause [...] where the sense is complete but the meaning is not' (Parkes 1993: 306), (see also the double *punctus* which performs a similar function, discussed in 3.2.2 below).

This punctuation mark is only found in MS Gen. 1130.

3.2.2 Double *Punctus*:

<:>

A mark of major medial pause related to the *punctus elevatus* (Parkes 1993: 304, 306). It was a Humanist mark to indicate a pause after a comma (Parkes 1993: 304), and had a much wider usage in this period than the *punctus elevatus*.

The double *punctus* is found in the punctuation systems of MS Gen. 1130, Caxton's second edition of 1490, both of Pynson's editions (1494 and 1506), and Boscard's edition in 1606.

¹⁴ Image taken from 'Paleowiki' – <paleowiki.wikispaces.com> [accessed 27 August 2012].

3.2.3 Raised *Punctus*:

*
< >

The raised *punctus* has a visual relationship with the *punctus* (subdistinctio): it has the shape of a *punctus*, a final pause, at a raised height within the line (media distinctio). The usages of the punctuation mark will be compared in order to hypothesise an interpretation of the length of pause this mark represents.

The raised *punctus* is found in Caxton's second edition of 1490 and De Worde's first edition of 1494.

3.2.4 Semi-Colon:

<;>

This mark requires a significant amount of interpretation regarding its function within the sentence and the time period it is used in before it can be identified as either a *punctus versus* or a *semi-colon*. For the purposes of the subsequent description of the punctuation practices of each of the extracts under analysis this mark has been labelled a *semi-colon*; the background research and comparative analysis which led to the interpretation of this mark as this marker of major

medial pause shall be discussed in paragraphs 5.9.2-5.9.3 of this chapter.

This punctuation mark is only found in the extract from Boscard's 1606 edition.

3.3 Typical Marks of Final Pause:

3.3.1 *Punctus*:

<.>

The primary mark of final pause is the *punctus*: historically the most basic form of punctuating a text and the earliest mode of punctuation. The *punctus* is the origin of the early punctuation system of 'pointing', whereby 'points' were added to liturgical manuscripts to aid oral reading by marking where to pause for breath (Reimer 1998). The *punctus* is found in all the extracts from the copies of the *Mirror* examined in this study, yet the use of the *punctus* can be seen to change as its function within the punctuation system changes, and as the role of punctuation as a whole changes.

3.3.2 *Paraph*:

<¶>

The *paraph* is a difficult mark to label, not due to any uncertainty regarding the length of pause it

indicates, but rather due to whether it should be categorised as a *punctuation mark* or a *critical sign*.¹⁵ Parkes (1993: 305) defines the *paraph* as a replacement for the *paragraphus*, which was ‘a critical sign [...] used to mark the beginning of a paragraph or section’. For the purposes of this study, the *paraph*’s role as a punctuation mark will be examined: the *paraph*, as a marker of a new paragraph, undoubtedly represents a final pause as it indicates a lengthy break/pause before the beginning of the next distinct section of text.

The *paraph* is found in the two manuscript copies of the text examined: MS Gen. 1130 and MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15).

3.4 Hypothesised Mark of Sound Quality¹⁶

3.4.1 *Littera Notabilior*: e.g. <A; B; C>

Parkes (1993: 305) defines *litterae notabiliores* as ‘more noticeable letters from a display script [...] used to indicate the beginnings of *sententiae* or

¹⁵ As opposed to punctuation marks fulfilling rhetorical or grammatical functions, critical signs were an ancient system for drawing attention to particular sections of text (Parkes 1993: 305).

¹⁶ The term ‘sound quality’ has been taken from Jajdelska (2007: 45-46), in which she suggests that ‘silent readers ‘project’ sound qualities onto the words’ during the subvocalisation process; a theory also supported by Ong (2002: 8, 172), as mentioned in the introduction to this thesis. This thesis suggests that silent readers also ‘project’ sound qualities onto punctuation marks while reading, as will be discussed in relation to the *littera notabilior*.

periods'. Therefore while this thesis does not interpret this feature as a punctuation mark, analysis will show that their usage closely relates to punctuation marks. Also, like punctuation marks, *litterae notabiliores* will be interpreted as representative of reading practices through their hypothesised function as indicating sound quality to aid the subvocalisation process used when reading silently (further discussed in section 6.9.2 of this chapter).

Litterae notabiliores are found within all the copies of Love's *Mirror* examined in this thesis.

3.5 Novel Punctuation Marks:

3.5.1 Horizontally Curved Baseline Mark: < ~ >

A novel mark which sits on the baseline of the text. It has the appearance of a *punctus* but with a small tail curving horizontally to the right.

This mark is not found in Parkes' (1993) diachronic discussion of punctuation marks, therefore further analysis and comparison with the punctuation marks used by other scribes/printers in the positions in which this mark is found must be conducted in an attempt to interpret the length of

pause distinguished by the horizontally curved baseline mark.

This novel mark is only found in Dodesham's 1475 manuscript, MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15).

3.5.2 Mid-Height Curved Mark: <~>

A novel mark mid-height within the line of text. It has approximately three visual variations of horizontally curved (wave) shape (see Appendix 2.11.1).

This mark is not found in Parkes' (1993) diachronic discussion of punctuation marks. Comparative analysis of how other scribes and early printers punctuated these positions has therefore been undertaken in an attempt to discover the length of pause, if any, these marks represent (see Appendix 2.11.2), and whether their different forms are variations because they are produced by hand, or whether their different forms are representative of different degrees of pause.

As above, this novel mark is only found in MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15).

4. The Punctuation Systems of Each Copy

4.1 MS Gen.1130, GUL (Appendix 1.1)

Punctuation Mark	Number Found	Notes
<i>Virgula Suspensiva</i>		
<i>Comma</i>		
<i>Punctus Elevatus</i>	1	Additionally, one of the fifteen <i>punctus</i> seems to have been altered into a <i>punctus elevatus</i> at a later date.
Double <i>Punctus</i>	1	
Raised <i>Punctus</i>	2	
<i>Semi-Colon</i>		
<i>Punctus</i>	15	
<i>Paraph</i>	1	
<i>Littera Notabilior</i>	10	
Horizontally Curved Baseline Mark		
Mid-Height Curved Mark		

MS Gen. 1130 (GUL) is a mid fifteenth-century manuscript by an unknown scribe. It is possibly the earliest copy of Love's *Mirror* under examination in this thesis, yet its early

date does not necessarily result in a lack of punctuation. The extract from this text is in fact punctuated quite extensively, and with some variation in the punctuation marks used, though it is not as comprehensively punctuated as the other manuscript copy under examination.

4.2 MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15), GUL (Appendix 1.2)

Punctuation Mark	Number Found	Notes
<i>Virgula Suspensiva</i>		
<i>Comma</i>		
<i>Punctus Elevatus</i>		
Double <i>Punctus</i>		
Raised <i>Punctus</i>		
<i>Semi-Colon</i>		
<i>Punctus</i>	27	Including two vertically tailed <i>punctus</i> which are counted as part of the <i>punctus</i> data set. ¹⁷
<i>Paraph</i>	2	
<i>Littera Notabilior</i>	11	
Horizontally Curved Baseline Mark	4	Only found in this extract.

¹⁷ According to Doyle (1997: 113) the 'tailed *punctus*' are a scribal variation of the *punctus* frequently used by Stephen Dodesham.

Mid-Height Curved Mark	6	Only found in this extract.
------------------------	---	-----------------------------

The extract from Stephen Dodesham's 1475 manuscript copy of Love's *Mirror* (GUL, MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15)) is punctuated extensively and systematically. Not only does Dodesham use a large quantity of punctuation, he uses a wide variation of punctuation marks. He punctuates to flag many major, final pauses, but also uses a range of markers for medial pauses in significant numbers; making this one of the most extensively punctuated extracts examined in this thesis.

4.3 Caxton's Printed Edition of 1484, EEBO (Appendix 1.3)

Punctuation Mark	Number Found	Notes
<i>Virgula Suspensiva</i>	11	The earliest use of the <i>virgula suspensiva</i> in the extracts examined.
<i>Comma</i>		
<i>Punctus Elevatus</i>		
<i>Double Punctus</i>		
<i>Raised Punctus</i>		
<i>Semi-Colon</i>		
<i>Punctus</i>	15	
<i>Paraph</i>		

<i>Littera Notabilior</i>	14	
Horizontally Curved Baseline Mark		
Mid-Height Curved Mark		

Caxton punctuates this extract from his first edition very simply using only one marker of medial pause (the *virgula suspensiva* eleven times), and one mark of final pause (the *punctus* fifteen times), and fourteen *litterae notabiliores*.

4.4 Caxton's Printed Edition of 1490, EEBO (Appendix 1.4)

Punctuation Mark	Number Found	Notes
<i>Virgula Suspensiva</i>	11	
<i>Comma</i>		
<i>Punctus Elevatus</i>		
Double <i>Punctus</i>	1	
Raised <i>Punctus</i>	6	
<i>Semi-Colon</i>		
<i>Punctus</i>	8	
<i>Paraph</i>		

<i>Littera Notabilior</i>	15	
Horizontally Curved Baseline Mark		
Mid-Height Curved Mark		

Essentially Caxton does not greatly increase the overall quantity of punctuation in this extract from his second edition, but he introduces much more variation to the degrees of pause he represents by including markers of major medial pause (the double *punctus* and the raised *punctus*).

4.5 De Worde's Printed Edition of 1494, EEBO (Appendix 1.6)

Punctuation Mark	Number Found	Notes
<i>Virgula Suspensiva</i>	10	
<i>Comma</i>		
<i>Punctus Elevatus</i>		
Double <i>Punctus</i>		
Raised <i>Punctus</i>	2	
<i>Semi-Colon</i>		
<i>Punctus</i>	12	

<i>Paraph</i>		
<i>Littera Notabilior</i>	14/17	There are 14 initial <i>litterae notabiliores</i> in this extract, but 17 altogether including the word fully composed using <i>litterae notabiliores</i> .
Horizontally Curved Baseline Mark		
Mid-Height Curved Mark		

The extract from De Worde's first edition represents three degrees of pause: final pause, major medial pause, and minor medial pause.

4.6 Pynson's 1494 Printed Edition, EEBO (Appendix 1.7)

Punctuation Mark	Number Found	Notes
<i>Virgula Suspensiva</i>	9	
<i>Comma</i>		
<i>Punctus Elevatus</i>		
Double <i>Punctus</i>	10	
Raised <i>Punctus</i>		
<i>Semi-Colon</i>		

<i>Punctus</i>	8	
<i>Paraph</i>		
<i>Littera Notabilior</i>	10	
Horizontally Curved Baseline Mark		
Mid-Height Curved Mark		

Pynson punctuates the extract from his first edition thoroughly and systematically with three degrees of pause: final, major medial, and minor medial.

4.7 Pynson's 1506 Printed Edition, EEBO (Appendix 1.8)

Punctuation Mark	Number Found	Notes
<i>Virgula Suspensiva</i>	1	
<i>Comma</i>		
<i>Punctus Elevatus</i>		
Double <i>Punctus</i>	8	
Raised <i>Punctus</i>		
<i>Semi-Colon</i>		
<i>Punctus</i>	8	

<i>Paraph</i>		
<i>Littera Notabilior</i>	9	
Horizontally Curved Baseline Mark		
Mid-Height Curved Mark		

The extract from Pynson's second edition twelve years later displays a reduced quantity of pauses dictated in comparison to his first; in fact, this extract features the lowest frequency of punctuation of all the extracts examined.

4.8 De Worde's Printed Edition of 1507, EEBO (Appendix 1.9)

Punctuation Mark	Number Found	Notes
<i>Virgula Suspensiva</i>	18	
<i>Comma</i>		
<i>Punctus Elevatus</i>		
Double <i>Punctus</i>		
Raised <i>Punctus</i>		
<i>Semi-Colon</i>		
<i>Punctus</i>	8	

<i>Paraph</i>		
<i>Littera Notabilior</i>	15/18	There are 15 initial <i>litterae notabiliores</i> in this extract, but 18 altogether including the word fully composed using <i>litterae notabiliores</i> .
Horizontally Curved Baseline Mark		
Mid-Height Curved Mark		

4.9 De Worde's Printed Edition of 1517, EEBO (Appendix 1.10)

Punctuation Mark	Number Found	Notes
<i>Virgula Suspensiva</i>	17	
<i>Comma</i>		
<i>Punctus Elevatus</i>		
Double <i>Punctus</i>		
Raised <i>Punctus</i>		
<i>Semi-Colon</i>		
<i>Punctus</i>	9	
<i>Paraph</i>		
<i>Littera Notabilior</i>	11	

Horizontally Curved Baseline Mark		
Mid-Height Curved Mark		

4.10 De Worde's Printed Edition of 1525, EEBO (Appendix 1.11)

Punctuation Mark	Number Found	Notes
<i>Virgula Suspensiva</i>	19	
<i>Comma</i>		
<i>Punctus Elevatus</i>		
<i>Double Punctus</i>		
<i>Raised Punctus</i>		
<i>Semi-Colon</i>		
<i>Punctus</i>	7	
<i>Paraph</i>		
<i>Littera Notabilior</i>	9	
Horizontally Curved Baseline Mark		
Mid-Height Curved Mark		

The extracts from De Worde's second, third, and fourth editions only indicate two degrees of pause: minor medial (*virgulae suspensivae*) and final (*punctus*). Yet, although there is a reduction in the range of pause lengths represented in the later editions, there is an increase in the frequency of minor medial pauses (*virgulae suspensivae*) used in these editions (from ten to eighteen, seventeen, and nineteen).

4.11 Boscard's Printed Edition of 1606, EEBO (Appendix 1.12)

Punctuation Mark	Number Found	Notes
<i>Virgula Suspensiva</i>		
<i>Comma</i>	29	Only found in this extract.
<i>Punctus Elevatus</i>		
<i>Double Punctus</i>	2	
<i>Raised Punctus</i>		
<i>Semi-Colon</i>	1	Only found in this extract.
<i>Punctus</i>	8	
<i>Paraph</i>		
<i>Littera Notabilior</i>	18	
Horizontally Curved Baseline Mark		
Mid-Height Curved Mark		

Boscard punctuates the extract from his 1606 edition extensively using a comprehensive punctuation system. He uses a wide range of punctuation marks expressing varying lengths of pause, and in particular increases the use of medial pauses significantly in comparison to the earlier printers.

5. Analysis of the Punctuation Practices of each Copy

5.1 MS Gen. 1130, GUL

5.1.1 While a range of punctuation marks are used by this scribe, the system is primarily made up of *punctus*, final pauses: none of the marks of medial pause are used in significant amounts (*punctus elevatus*, double *punctus*, and raised *punctus*). The scribe is therefore largely using basic punctuation, pointing only the large pauses, in line with the needs of oral reading practices. The sparing use of markers of medial pauses, though it does show an awareness of an emerging silent readership, nevertheless suggests that in the fifteenth century this reading practice is not established enough for the scribe to punctuate fully for the extensive/silent reader. The rare usages seem perhaps to be experimentations with the new punctuation practices for the new readership.

5.1.2 The *punctus elevatus* only occurs in MS Gen. 1130 and was subsequently not used in any other early extracts, suggesting that this Humanist mark was not a widely used punctuation mark. In particular, if a mark was not widely used in manuscript tradition it was unlikely to be carried forward into print, which is

possibly the case in this instance. The extract from MS Gen. 1130 contains two possible usages of the *punctus elevatus*: there is one seemingly definite usage, but the other example appears to be a *punctus* which was amended at a later date to represent a *punctus elevatus* (see Appendix 2.3.1). This amendment is particularly interesting as it represents changes in reading practices as the text was continually encountered. If the mark was originally a *punctus*, and has been later altered to a *punctus elevatus* – as it seems to have been judging by the different shade of ink of the curved mark above the *punctus* – it shows a final pause being turned into a medial pause. This adaptation shows the punctuation being brought into accordance with the later practice of punctuating this position, which the earliest printers (Caxton in both of his editions, and De Worde in 1494) punctuated with a final pause but which is consistently punctuated with a medial pause from 1507 onwards. This change therefore shows the text being made more appropriate for a silent readership, which required more specific degrees of pause, as silent reading became more widespread in society. Therefore not only does this manuscript show the development of punctuation and reading practices over time, but this amendment asserts that this manuscript copy of the text had a textual afterlife among different societies with different reading practices to the one it was produced in.

5.2 MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15)

5.2.1 As discussed in section 4.2 of this chapter, Dodesham punctuated MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15) extensively and systematically using a large quantity and wide variation of punctuation marks to indicate a range of pause lengths. Dodesham's punctuation practice therefore suggests the existence of a private, silent readership that would

require this comprehensive punctuation before the advent of print, in accordance with Parkes' (1993) and Jajdelska's (2007) assertions that extensive readers required more comprehensive punctuation as guidance. Additionally, the great range and frequency of punctuation marks, and pause lengths, found in Dodesham's manuscript are in accordance with Jajdelska's (2007: 18) previously mentioned suggestion that pauses can be distributed more freely when a text is not intended for orality.

5.2.2 Two modern forms of *commata* – <,> – seem to appear in Dodesham's 1475 manuscript copy (MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15)) of Love's *Mirror* (see Appendix 1.2, lines 28 and 31) which would suggest that the *comma* was an available variant in use from the fifteenth century. Problematically though, these marks were not an available visual variant of the *comma* mark during the period in which this manuscript was produced, according to Parkes' discussion of the older visual form of the mark (see section 3.1.2 of this chapter). Further, Doyle (1997: 113) states that Dodesham often formed his *punctus* with a small tail, in a similar way to the modern *comma*, suggesting that the marks under analysis in this instance are actually *punctus* rather than *commata* (the data for these marks is therefore included in Appendix 2.7.1 – Uses of *Punctus*). To further support the claim that these marks may be Doyle's tailed *punctus*, no other scribe or printer examined punctuates the positions in which a '*comma*' is found in MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15) with a *comma* – not even Boscard who uses the *comma* elsewhere in the extract from his edition – yet the *punctus* has been found to punctuate these positions in other copies.

5.2.3 Dodesham's manuscript also includes two novel punctuation marks: a horizontally curved baseline mark, and a series of visually varied mid-height curved marks. These mid-height curved marks appear to function in two positions: as line fillers (discounted from this study); or as possible variations of this mark (see Appendix 2.11.1), which seem to act as punctuation marks (see paragraph 6.11.1 of this chapter). The inclusion of these novel punctuation marks which seem not to have been widely used within punctuation practices of this period – they are excluded from the punctuation systems of the other scribes/printers included in this study and from Parkes' (1993) extensive study of punctuation practices – suggests that Dodesham may have used these marks in an experimental attempt to cater for emerging silent reading practices which at this early stage in their development scribes/printers were uncertain how to punctuate for (as discussed in relation to MS Gen. 1130 in paragraph 5.1.1).

5.3 Caxton's Printed Edition of 1484, EEBO

5.3.1 As displayed in section 4.3 of this chapter, while Caxton uses a similar quantity of punctuation marks to the other early printers of this text, he uses a simple punctuation system of only two punctuation marks marking minor medial pause (*virgulae suspensivae*) and final pause (*punctus*). It could therefore be hypothesised that Caxton is punctuating for an oral, intensive readership of this copy of the *Mirror*; his punctuation system supplies a minimal amount of guidance for the reading process of the text, suggesting an intensive reader who was familiar with the text prior to reading and therefore did not need the aid of extensive punctuation.

5.4 Caxton's Printed Edition of 1490, EEBO

5.4.1 Caxton does not increase the quantity of punctuation in his second edition, but he introduces much more variation to the degrees of pause he represents (introducing the double *punctus* and raised *punctus* to his earlier punctuation system of *punctus* and *virgulae suspensivae*). So by his 1490 edition Caxton seems to acknowledge a growing silent readership and be catering to their needs. Caxton's progression therefore mirrors the supposed chronological progression from oration to silent reading in the late medieval and early modern periods.

5.5 De Worde's Printed Edition of 1494, EEBO

5.5.1 De Worde's first edition – indicating three degrees of pause – is punctuated relatively comprehensively (see section 4.5) in comparison to the extracts from his later editions. De Worde therefore seems to be anticipating an extensive, silent reader of this text in accordance with the readership his contemporary, Pynson, seems to be catering for (see below, paragraph 5.6.1).

5.5.2 Notably, in the extract from this edition of 1494 and in the extract from his second edition of 1507, De Worde composes the final word of the extract, <AMEN>, entirely in *litterae notabiliores*. The hypothesised function of this feature is to mark emphasis, and will be discussed in more depth in paragraph 6.9.3 of this chapter, but it should be suggested here that if the function of this feature is to indicate a vocal feature then it is potentially included to aid the 'subvocalisation'

process of a silent reader of the text (Jajdelska 2007: 45-46), and therefore supports the above hypothesis that De Worde's 1494 edition was punctuated in anticipation of a silent, extensive reader.

5.6 Pynson's Printed Edition of 1494, EEBO

5.6.1 The extract from Pynson's first edition is, as discussed in section 4.6, punctuated fairly comprehensively representing three degrees of pause through the punctuation marks used (*virgulae suspensivae*, double *punctus*, and *punctus*). The frequency of pauses indicated and the specification of various degrees of pause length, therefore suggests that Pynson acknowledges an existing extensive, silent readership in this period and is catering for this readership by employing a punctuation system which provides guidance for a reader who is unfamiliar with how to read the text.

5.6.2 Of the fourteen positions Pynson punctuates with a double *punctus* across both of his editions, Pynson notably punctuates position fourteen with the mark in both of his editions; indicating his certainty that the position requires to be punctuated this way. Yet none of the other scribes/printers punctuate this position at all. Given Pynson's consistency, it is unsurprising that the use of a double *punctus* in this position accurately coordinates with Parkes' definition of the mark. Parkes (1993: 304) states that the double *punctus* indicates the end of a comma (sentence constituent), and that in the fifteenth century a comma was a construction dependent on a verb in a preceding or subsequent construction. Therefore in Pynson's two editions the double *punctus* marks seem to be being used in a

grammatical function, they indicate sentence structure and where to pause in order to under to understand the sentence as a meaningful grammatical unit. In accordance with Jajdelska's (2007) suggestion – raised in the introduction to this thesis (Chapter 1: 6.1) – this evidence of the grammatical usage of the double *punctus* suggests that Pynson is anticipating a silent readership of his copies (as suggested in paragraph 5.6.1). Jajdelska (2007: 47) suggests that as a silent readership develops, the opportunity arises for scribes/printers to use punctuation with a more grammatical function because there is a lower chance of punctuation practices being misinterpreted when reading silently.

5.6.3 While the other scribes/printers under analysis use the double *punctus* in very small frequencies (MS Gen. 1130 once; Caxton's 1490 copy once; Boscard's 1606 copy twice), Pynson's use of the mark is by far the most extensive, therefore suggesting the mark may be part of Pynson's personal punctuation practice. Pynson was the King's Printer from 1506, but, significantly for the period under analysis in this thesis, Pynson is known to have printed several official publications in English prior to his edition of Love (Hellinga 2010: 114). Pynson may therefore have had a distinctively different punctuation practice to the other contemporary printers who primarily printed on a commercial basis. His role as a formal printer/King's Printer reinforces the above hypothesis that Pynson was using the double *punctus* on a grammatical basis: as a printer of formal, official documents it could be suggested that Pynson's personal punctuation system was more grammatical in basis than the other scribes/printers under examination.

5.7 Pynson's Printed Edition of 1506, EEBO

5.7.1 As discussed in section 4.7, Pynson reduced the quantity of punctuation marks in his second edition by a significant amount: from twenty-seven punctuation marks overall (thirty-seven including *litterae notabiliores*) to just seventeen punctuation marks (twenty-six including *litterae notabiliores*). Most notably Pynson has reduced his use of *virgulae suspensivae* in this extract from nine to just one, but he has not increased his usage of any of the other punctuation marks nor introduced another mark to his system to compensate for this reduction. Therefore the reduction in punctuation marks seems to be purposeful, perhaps indicating that Pynson no longer believes his readership requires the frequency of punctuation supplied in his first edition. This suggests that in 1506, Pynson deems himself to be catering for a more intensive readership than he did in 1494 – which does not correlate with the expected progression towards an increasingly extensive readership and therefore the introduction of more comprehensive punctuation systems to aid this emerging reading practice. Pynson continues to use the *virgula suspensiva* frequently elsewhere in his 1506 edition though, therefore while this extract seems to not display the gradual increase in punctuation expected during this transition, it may be that if the edition was examined as a whole the results would be different.

5.8 De Worde's Printed Editions of 1507, 1517, and 1525, EEBO

5.8.1 In contrast to the three degrees of pause indicated by the punctuation system of De Worde's first edition, De Worde's subsequent three editions only specify two degrees of pause (the raised *punctus* is excluded from these later extracts). This

change in the punctuation systems of De Worde's extracts initially seems to represent a similar backwards progression in punctuation practices (from a comprehensive punctuation system to a relatively sparse and less detailed punctuation system) as Pynson's editions displayed. While this would initially suggest that De Worde's later editions would be more suited to oral reading practices, two patterns should be taken into account. Firstly, as mentioned in section 4.10, although there is a reduction in the range of pause lengths represented in the later editions, there is an increase in the frequency of minor medial pauses (*virgulae suspensivae*) used in these editions (from ten to eighteen, seventeen, and nineteen), which suggests that De Worde was continuing to assist silent readers but by increasing the frequency of medial pauses rather than increasing the variation of pause lengths. Secondly, it must be remembered that the transition from oral reading to silent reading was not a sudden change: the early modern period was a time of transition and co-existing reading practices, as shown by the early printers who negotiate different reading practices and fluctuate in punctuation practice.

5.9 Boscard's Printed Edition of 1606, EEBO

5.9.1 By the seventeenth century there is a noticeable difference in the punctuation practices used to punctuate Love's *Mirror* (see the comprehensive punctuation system including a wide variation of punctuation marks indicating a range of pause lengths discussed in section 4.11). This seems to suggest that silent reading is a firmly established reading practice by the seventeenth century, and texts were being produced specifically with these readers in mind. Perhaps a conversion period had been reached since the 1525 edition of Love's *Mirror*, in which, though

oral and silent reading practices continued to co-exist, silent reading practices began to overtake oration as the most common method of encountering a book. This hypothesis, and the evidence of Boscard's comprehensive punctuation practice, is therefore in accordance with Jajdelska's (2007) theory of silent reading becoming the established reading practice in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Though a period of co-existence existed long before the date Jajdelska suggests, Boscard's punctuation shows an expectation of silent reading practices in the seventeenth century before they reach their pinnacle and become the established method of reading approximately a century later.

5.9.2 The extract from Boscard's 1606 edition is the only extract examined to include the *semi-colon*; a mark which is of particular interest due to its relationship with the archaic punctuation mark, the *punctus versus*. As Parkes (1993: 2) asserts, the history of punctuation is interesting because there are examples of punctuation marks of different appearance which are 'graphic variants of the same symbol and share similar functions', whereas – crucially to the history of the *semi-colon* – some 'symbols with similar shapes, like the *punctus versus* ; [lower within line] and the semi-colon mark ; , have different functions at different stages in the history of punctuation'. The functions of the *punctus versus* and the *semi-colon* differ in that while the *punctus versus* represents a final pause, the *semi-colon* should be interpreted as a medial pause. Crucially, the *punctus versus* functioned explicitly as part of the older practice of oral reading: it was a melodic formula to represent the end of the sententia within a prayer and was part of the 'ecphonetic' punctuation system which is related to the system of musical notation (Parkes 1993: 28). As

part of this system, the inclusion of a *punctus versus* within a text indicated that a text was intended to be read aloud.

5.9.3 As Parkes (1993: 2) states, the location of a punctuation mark is important to understanding its function, and, crucially, this punctuation mark appears mid-sentence in the extract from Boscard's edition: 'in how lowlie and gentle maner he speaketh vnto them; and how familiar and ho-mely he sheweth him selfe vnto them' (See Appendix 1.12, lines 5-9). This suggests that the use of the punctuation mark in Boscard's edition is as a *semi-colon*, rather than a *punctus versus* which would represent a final pause. To support this suggestion, Parkes (1993: 49) asserts the *semi-colon* enters use at the end of the fifteenth century; therefore as this copy is dated from the early seventeenth century, it is more likely to represent the *semi-colon* than the much earlier *punctus versus*.

6. Diachronic Analysis: Punctuation Marks and Reading Practices

6.1 *Virgulae Suspensivae*

6.1.1 According to Parkes' definition of the *virgula suspensiva* (see section 3.1.1 of this chapter), it could be understood as a punctuation mark which is introduced to aid silent reading practices. It is used to add more pauses, specifically seemingly brief pauses, to a text, and therefore provide more guidance for the silent reader as to how to read the text. The mark is only used in the early print extracts from Love's *Mirror*, which, in accordance with the rather undefined function of the *virgula suspensiva* as representing either a very minor medial pause or any medial pause at all, suggests that the *virgula suspensiva* is an early – and therefore undefined –

development in the punctuation system to meet the uncertain needs of an emerging silent readership.

6.1.2 Though the *virgulae suspensivae* is not introduced to the English punctuation system with the advent of print – it is frequently found in verse manuscripts – it is not used in either of the manuscript copies of Love’s *Mirror* under examination. Both manuscripts, though, do make use of other markers of medial pause – as discussed above – so the absence of *virgulae suspensivae* does not automatically mean the text was restricted in the variation of pauses it represented, or that it was not encountered by a silent readership. In the positions in which early printers have been recorded as using *virgulae suspensivae*, MS Gen. 1130 most commonly punctuates with a final pause (in thirteen of the twenty-nine positions – see Appendix 2.1.2) or leaves no pause (in thirteen of the twenty-nine positions – see Appendix 2.1.2), and MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15) usually uses a final pause (in sixteen of the twenty-eight positions¹⁸ – see Appendix 2.1.2). While these results are in no way conclusive they are suggestive that that these texts were made for an oral readership as they represent a basic punctuation system of no pause and final pause; as mentioned above, though, marks of medial pause are used elsewhere in these copies and these positions must be looked at in conjunction with the punctuation practices of these copies as a whole.

6.1.3 The early printers that make use of *virgulae suspensivae* – Caxton, Pynson, and De Worde – all use the mark in a consistent manner in their editions. A printer

¹⁸ Note: one of the twenty-nine positions in which *virgulae suspensivae* are found across the texts under analysis is not included in MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15).

often punctuates the same position with a *virgula suspensiva* in more than one edition, indicating that, in contrast to Parkes' (1993: 307) suggestion that the mark is available to represent a range of pause lengths, there was not only a consensus developing among printers regarding the use of *virgulae suspensivae*, but also, perhaps, that there was consistency in the practices a reader used to read silently.

6.1.4 Pynson uses the *virgula suspensiva* substantially in the extract from his first edition, but only once in the extract from his second. Further, he most frequently leaves the positions previously punctuated with *virgulae suspensivae* without a pause in his second edition (in six of the nine positions in which Pynson previously used *virgulae suspensivae* – see Appendix 2.1.2), and the sole position which is punctuated with this mark in his second edition is not punctuated so in his first. Therefore, in contrast to the earlier suggestion that consistent *virgula suspensiva* usage had been identified in the early printers' editions, punctuation practices were still fluctuating in the sixteenth century because reading practices were also fluctuating. Due to the co-existence of reading practices in the sixteenth century, the two editions may either have been produced intentionally for different readerships, or, as is more likely, may be evidence of the unstable nature of punctuation even within a single editors' practice.

6.1.5 As discussed above, the later early modern printer Boscard does not use *virgulae suspensivae*, suggesting that the punctuation mark has moved out of conventional use by the early seventeenth century. Yet, Boscard maintains a medial pause in the majority of the positions in which earlier editors used a *virgula suspensiva* (in

twenty-one of the twenty-nine positions – see Appendix 2.1.2), showing that he is largely representing the same reading as the earlier editions, and is also attempting to aid silent readers. Boscard uses *commata* most frequently in these positions, presumably because the *virgula suspensiva* has moved out of use. Therefore the change in punctuation, in this case, is not an active decision to change the degree of pause being represented, but is simply the product of a change of available variants. More specifically, the movement of *virgulae suspensivae* out of use and *commata* seemingly into use suggests a progression in silent reading practices taking place, as by now the function of *virgulae suspensivae* to represent ‘all pauses except the final one’ (Parkes 1993: 307), is not sufficient guidance for the expanding silent readership, and the punctuation system must therefore respond by specifying more distinctive lengths of medial pause.

6.1.6 There is a noticeable pattern as to clauses that *virgulae suspensivae* are used to punctuate. The mark regularly occurs following a prepositional phrase, e.g. <wyth hem/>, <aboute hem/>, <to theym/>, and, even more significantly, there are often discourse markers immediately following the *virgula suspensiva*, e.g. <and>, <in so much that>, <nevertheless>, <here also>. This indicates that the mark is used to insert a break between clauses, which strongly asserts the relationship between the use of the *virgula suspensiva* and the development of silent reading practices, because, in oration, discourse markers were sufficient enough markers to structure content, whereas in silent reading additional guidance was needed, hence the insertion of a pause alongside discourse markers. Also, this use of *virgulae suspensivae* seems to suggest that the punctuation mark may be being used in a

grammatical – as opposed to rhetorical – function. This reinforces the hypothesised link between *virgulae suspensivae* and the development of silent reading practices as Jajdelska (2007: 47) suggests that, when catering for a silent readership, printers can punctuate more grammatically because there is a reduced likelihood of punctuation marks/practices being misinterpreted when a reader is reading silently.

6.2 *Commata*

6.2.1 Diachronic examination of what the earlier scribes/printers used in the positions that Boscard punctuated with a *comma*, highlights a possible relationship between positions that require a *comma* and positions which require no punctuation at all, and therefore suggests a gradual introduction of comprehensive punctuation practices to provide guidance in accordance with the gradual introduction of extensive/silent reading practices. The early printers frequently do not use any punctuation, and therefore do not indicate a pause, in the positions in which Boscard uses a *comma* – a marker of minor medial pause (one hundred and twenty-five instances of no punctuation out of a possible two hundred and ninety occurrences – see Appendix 2.2.2). This pattern of different lengths of pause – yet lengths of pause found adjacent on the scale of pause lengths (no pause and minor medial pause) – being used in the same positions suggests two things. Firstly, that the *comma* represents a pause of minor medial length in Boscard's edition: it is likely to be a small length of pause if it was previously represented without a pause, and secondly, that a minor medial pause is not essential to the understanding of the clauses that Boscard punctuates using the mark as it was previously read – and supposedly understood – without a pause in these positions. Boscard is therefore

providing additional guidance to the reading of these clauses, suggesting that he is punctuating his text for a silent readership – which, as found from the examination of Boscard’s punctuation practice as a whole, perhaps is indeed what he is doing. This interpretation supports Jajdelska’s (2007) hypothesis that by the seventeenth century the practice of silent reading was becoming an increasingly popular and well-established mode of reading.

6.3 *Punctus Elevatus*

6.3.1 The data collected regarding what punctuation marks the other scribes/printers used in the two positions punctuated with a *punctus elevatus* in MS Gen. 1130 revealed some patterns. First, depending on whether the mark in position one was a *punctus elevatus* from the time in which the text was produced or whether it was initially a *punctus*, there could be a relationship between the ways in which the two manuscript extracts punctuated these lines which is revealing in regard to the history of reading. For example, Dodesham punctuates both positions in MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15) with a curved mid-height mark (see paragraph 6.11.1 for interpretation of this mark as representing a major medial pause), therefore if MS Gen. 1130 is indeed using a *punctus elevatus* in both of these positions, both manuscripts would be indicating medial pauses (though potentially one minor and one major) in both positions, which suggests both manuscripts are acknowledging a silent readership. Additionally, in the fifteenth century silent reading was only an emerging development, and so both scribes use uncommon punctuation marks in these positions as they are unsure how to punctuate in accordance with the new practice.

6.3.2 De Worde changes the way in which he punctuates these two positions throughout his editions. In his first edition of 1494, De Worde punctuates them both with a *punctus* – possibly in imitation of Caxton’s 1484 edition, as Hellinga (1997: 146) attests that De Worde’s 1494 edition is a reprint of this edition. From his 1507 edition onwards, though, De Worde may be representing his own contemporary punctuation and reading practice when he punctuates the positions in both 1507 and 1517 with a *virgula suspensiva* in position one and a *punctus* in position two, and then in 1525 with a *virgula suspensiva* in both positions. The basic transition in De Worde’s usage from two markers of final pause, to a marker of final pause and a marker of medial pause, to two markers of medial pause, suggests De Worde is gradually responding to a societal move towards silent reading practices. Additionally, the evidence that the two directly contemporary printers, Pynson and De Worde, punctuated position one slightly differently in their 1494 editions – Pynson with a major medial pause and De Worde with a final pause – asserts the primary principal of this study: that reading practices differed from person to person, and that oral and silent reading practices co-existed in late medieval and early modern society.

6.3.3 Overall, examination of the use of the *punctus elevatus*, and the diachronic patterns of what punctuation marks were used in these positions, asserts that reading practices co-existed during this period as different scribes’/printers’ punctuation systems fluctuated in regard to the length of pause they represent in these positions. Crucially though, the use of the *punctus elevatus*, a marker of major medial pause, within such an early copy as MS Gen. 1130, suggests that

silent reading practices were in existence to some degree from a relatively early date.

6.4 Double *Punctus*

6.4.1 Due to its inclusion in both MS Gen. 1130 and the 1606 edition, the double *punctus* seems to have been an available variant for use throughout all the copies examined, therefore there is no textual evidence supplied within the constraints of this thesis regarding the introduction of this punctuation mark or any developments in its usage. It is therefore difficult to identify whether there is any relationship between the double *punctus* and the development of silent reading practices. Also, despite it being a marker of major medial pause, which suggests that its inclusion in a text aided silent reading practices, the double *punctus* is used across a range of copies whose overall punctuation practices seems to vary from being for a primarily oral readership to a primarily silent readership.

6.4.2 There are fifteen positions in which the double *punctus* is found across the early copies. Yet of these fifteen positions there are eight instances in which there is only one occurrence of the mark being found in that position, therefore there seems to be a lack of consensus regarding which environments should be punctuated with a double *punctus*. For example, even within a single printers' usage there are differences: there are fourteen positions in which Pynson uses a double *punctus*, but nine of these positions are punctuated in only one of his two editions. It seems therefore that this mark was not very specifically defined in use during the late medieval and early modern periods, the only consensus in its use

seems to be by Pynson in position fourteen in which it was been hypothesised it was used grammatically (see paragraph 5.6.2). Perhaps, in accordance with Jajdelska's (2007: 47) theory that the emergence of silent reading practices allowed punctuation practices to become more grammatical in function, it could be suggested that the highly varied use of the double *punctus* by many scribes/printers could be evidence of the punctuation mark being used in a rhetorical function to aid oral reading practices before the grammatical function of the mark emerged (as silent reading practices developed) and gained widespread use.

6.5 Raised *Punctus*

6.5.1 I initially hypothesised that the raised *punctus* may represent a major medial pause,¹⁹ or a pause at the longer end of the spectrum – due to its visual similarity with the subdistinctio *punctus* – which was added to a punctuation system to further distinguish the difference between final and medial pauses. If so, this would suggest that the inclusion of a raised *punctus* is in accordance with the development of silent reading practices.

6.5.2 This thesis previously speculated (in this chapter, paragraphs 5.4.1 and 5.5.1) that the two copies that make use of the raised *punctus* (Caxton's 1490 edition and De Worde's 1494 edition) were produced with an awareness of silent readers, as these copies have been comprehensively (or comparatively *more* comprehensively)

¹⁹ Supported by Parkes' (1993: 303) description of the media distinction point representing a major medial pause as part of the distinctioes punctuation system developed in Antiquity.

punctuated. For example, the two copies under examination in regard to Caxton and De Worde are the most extensively punctuated of their editions. This finding correlates with the initially stated hypothesis (paragraph 6.5.1) that the raised *punctus* is an addition to the punctuation system to aid silent reading practices.

6.5.3 In regard to exactly what length of pause the raised *punctus* represents, though, the results are unclear, as the punctuation marks that the other early scribes/editors use in these positions vary greatly (see Appendix 2.5.2) – though it seems relatively clear that it is a degree of medial pause that is being represented. Overall the results suggest that the hypothesis that the raised *punctus* represents a major medial pause is likely, as the eight positions in which a raised *punctus* have been found have been punctuated with a medial pause thirty-three times, and with a final pause twenty-four times. Specific analysis of the environment that was punctuated with a raised *punctus* by both Caxton and De Worde significantly reveals that all other early scribes/printers punctuated this position with a final pause – a *punctus* – thereby asserting the hypothesised relationship between the *punctus* and raised *punctus*.

6.6 Semi-Colon

6.6.1 The punctuation marks used in the other copies of Love's *Mirror* in the position Boscard punctuates with a *semi-colon* supports the hypothesis discussed in paragraphs 5.9.2-5.9.3 that this punctuation mark within Boscard's extract is a *semi-colon*. Other early modern printers of the text punctuate the position with a medial pause: the length of pause the *semi-colon* represents – as opposed to the

punctus versus (a visually similar punctuation mark – see paragraph 5.9.2) which represents a final pause. Additionally, the representation of a medial pause in this position would be in accordance with the rest of Boscard's punctuation system which uses a wide range of pause lengths suggesting the text was produced for a silent readership. The punctuation practices of the other scribes/printers in this position also display the expected chronological development from oral to silent reading. For example, the earliest copies of the *Mirror* punctuate this position with a final pause, whereas the later copies use a medial pause, displaying the pattern that has been seen elsewhere of more varied degrees of medial pause being specified as silent reading practices develop.

6.6.2 That Boscard's 1606 edition is the first copy to use the *semi-colon* mark is unsurprising for many reasons. Firstly, if the mark only entered use in late fifteenth-century humanist writing (Parkes 1993: 49), it would be expected that it would take a considerable amount of time to enter widespread use as an available variant. It is understandable, therefore, that the mark has not appeared in any of the previous early modern printed editions which date from within the first quarter of the sixteenth century. Secondly, as a mark of a degree of medial pause, its appearance in Boscard's edition corresponds with Boscard's increase in the varying degrees of pause he represents in his edition in comparison with earlier copies. Its introduction correlates with Boscard's overall punctuation practice which aids the silent reader more comprehensively than any earlier copy examined has.

6.7 *Punctus*

6.7.1 Throughout the early copies of the text, the frequency of the *punctus* found in the extracts fluctuates then decreases in usage and plateaus at a more or less steady frequency (see Appendix 2.7.2): it is used fifteen times in MS Gen. 1130, twenty-seven times in MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15), fifteen times in Caxton's 1484 edition, eight times in his 1490 edition, twelve times in De Worde's 1494 edition, eight times in both of Pynson's editions, eight times in De Worde's 1507 edition, nine times in his 1517 edition, and seven times in his 1525 edition, then eight times in Boscard's 1606 edition. The fluctuating pattern of usage in the earliest extracts represents the co-existence of differing reading practices in this period and the lack of an established punctuation practice. The high frequency of *punctus* also attests to the reliance on this established punctuation mark in this period and a more basic system of pause variations being dictated. As the frequency evens out, though, at the end of the fifteenth century/start of the sixteenth century, it represents the stabilisation of silent reading as an established reading practice, and an awareness of an established system held by printers of how to punctuate for these specific practices. Also, as the *punctus* becomes used steadily at a lower frequency of usage, a change can be seen in the positions the mark is found in; it becomes less frequently used in conjunction with common discourse markers e.g. <and>, and is generally used to mark larger distinctions in the subject matter/topic e.g. <neuertheles>.

6.7.2 As would be expected from a modern day perspective, due to the close relationship between *punctus* and *litterae notabiliores* in the present day punctuation system, there are patterns of usage found regarding *punctus* and

litterae notabiliores throughout the early copies of Love's *Mirror*. For example, both *punctus* and *litterae notabiliores* are frequently used in order to split up sections of the text. In particular, it is notable that in most of the extracts a discourse marker is the most commonly found word following a *punctus*, and discourse markers are also one of the most common positions for *litterae notabiliores* to occur (which shall be discussed further in section 6.9 focussing on *litterae notabiliores* usage). These findings correlate with the function of the *punctus* as a final pause to separate sections of text, and assert that early scribes/printers were using the *punctus* in this way.

6.7.3 The most important consideration for the analysis of the *punctus* in relation to the history of reading is that the relationship between frequency and reading practices is not as straight forward as it is for the analysis of medial pauses. In the previous discussion regarding the analysis of marks of medial pause (for example paragraphs 6.1.1 and 6.2.1), it was largely found that the more medial pauses a text identified the more likely it was that the text was catering for a silent readership – though not necessarily solely for a silent readership. This was because the more medial pauses a text contained, the more pauses overall and the larger range of variation of pauses a text was likely to contain, suggesting that a text was punctuated more comprehensively and was catering for a silent reader. Final pauses though are necessary to all texts, whether for a silent or oral reader, and a high frequency of *punctus* in an extract does not necessarily imply a silent readership if that is primarily the only mode of punctuation the text contains. Therefore in order to uncover the role of the *punctus* in regard to reading practices, the relationship of the *punctus* to the punctuation system of the text as a whole

needs to be examined. For example: the extract from Caxton's 1484 edition contains a relatively high number of *punctus*, fifteen, yet overall it only uses three different punctuation marks (*punctus*, *virgulae suspensivae*, and *litterae notabiliores*) and only indicates two degrees of pause, medial and final, indicating that its reader does not require a great deal of guidance during the reading process and therefore may be an oral reader. In contrast, the extract from Caxton's 1490 edition, shows a reduction in the number of *punctus* used to eight, but additionally uses four different marks of medial pause often in significant quantities – eleven *virgulae suspensivae*, six raised *punctus*, one *punctus exclamativus*, and one double *punctus*. Therefore despite Caxton's second edition using the *punctus* much less frequently, this edition is actually much more likely to have been produced with an awareness of silent readers than the first because the *punctus* are used within an overall more comprehensive punctuation system.

6.8 Paraph

6.8.1 The *paraph* is only found in the extracts from MS Gen. 1130 and MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15), suggesting that the *paraph* is distinctly part of manuscript tradition. Additionally, the *paraph* is only ever found variously in two positions across the extracts that it is used in, showing consistent and systematic use of the punctuation mark by the late medieval scribes, and indicating that the *paraph* had a well-established role within the punctuation system from an early date.

6.8.2 While the *paraph* is found in both manuscript copies of the *Mirror*, it is not used identically in the two manuscripts. MS Gen. 1130 only makes use of one *paraph*,

therefore presenting this extract as one continuous section of text; whereas MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15) uses two, breaking the extract into two distinct sections. MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15) therefore uses the *paraph* to recognise more major pauses in his text, which correlates with the overall increase in punctuation, and therefore pauses, in this edition in comparison to the other manuscript. The *paraph* mark can therefore be seen to have been used by Dodesham as part of the comprehensive punctuation system he uses in accordance with what has been interpreted as his overall aim to provide extensive structure and guidance for his text in order to aid silent readers.

6.8.3 In order to clarify fully the relationship between the *paraph*, pause, and reading practices, the use of the *paraph* has been compared with the later practice for marking paragraphs: indentation. Indentation is used to mark the major pause at the beginning of a new paragraph from the seventeenth century onwards. Its relationship to the earlier punctuation mark, the *paraph*, is most clearly exemplified in Boscard's 1606 edition in which indentations are used to mark a major pause, and the beginning of a new paragraph, in the same two positions in which the *paraph* was used in the MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15) (see Appendix 2.8.2).

6.8.4 The chronological shift that is represented in these copies of Love's *Mirror*, from the use of the *paraph* to the use of indentation to mark the major pause at the beginning of a new paragraph, essentially represents the shift over time from public oration to private, silent reading. The *paraph* is a highly visual mark of punctuation, especially when rubricated (as it commonly was). This punctuation

mark therefore aided oral readers, firstly because orators primarily read from memory rather than directly from the page and a rubricated *paraph* was a particularly memorable feature of the page; secondly, because the rubricated *paraph* was visually distinctive at a glance, it worked as an aide memoire to quickly and easily remind the reader during the course of reading aloud. As silent reading developed as an established reading practice, the less visually striking feature, the indentation, became sufficient to represent these positions of major pause as it was a highly noticeable feature when following the line of the text with one's finger.²⁰ In this manner, the indentation visually represented a pause to the silent reader: the journey of the eye across a blank space between words not only visually represents a pause but physically causes a pause before the eye reaches letters again and can resume reading.²¹ This thesis expands upon this idea and hypothesises that the use of an extended blank space at the beginning of a paragraph physically causes a longer pause, and therefore represents a major medial pause to the silent reader.

6.8.5 The early printed editions of Love's *Mirror* used neither indentation nor *paraphs*, and therefore did not mark paragraphs or this degree of major pause within this extract. This absence correlates with the comparative lack of overall punctuation in some of these copies of the text (e.g. Caxton 1484, Pynson 1506, and De Worde 1507, 1517, 1525), indicating that the absence of both of these markers could relate to the printers' aim to produce a text for an oral readership, or it perhaps

²⁰ This is based on the importance Saenger (1997: 13) places on spaces between words for silent reading.

²¹ Saenger (1997: 6-7) discusses how the introduction of spaces between words enabled the introduction of silent and rapid reading because spaces provided 'guideposts' as to where to 'fix' the eye when reading.

displays the confusion of the early printers regarding the reading practices that society was using and how to punctuate effectively in order to meet their needs. Yet previously discussed analysis of the overall punctuation systems of the early printers seems to suggest that some of the early printers (e.g. Caxton 1490, Pynson 1494, De Worde 1494) are punctuating for – or at least have an awareness of – silent readers, therefore suggesting that the absence of both *paraphs* and indentations from these copies may be due to a lack of technological capability rather than being indicative of reading practices. These copies are produced relatively early after the introduction of the printing press in England, therefore the absence of these marks may represent the lack of *paraph* mark in available type and a reluctance to go to the expense of having one made (while the indentation was not yet a feature available for use to mark a new paragraph).

6.9 *Litterae Notabiliores*

6.9.1 As a general overview, throughout the eleven extracts under analysis, there are twenty-three positions which are marked with a *littera notabilior* (see Appendix 2.9.2), and eleven of these positions are regularly marked in this way (in seven of the eleven editions or more). All eleven of these consistently marked positions have been presented with *litterae notabiliores* from manuscript tradition onwards. There seems to be therefore, a set of positions which have been deemed as requiring *litterae notabiliores* from the earliest copy: these positions include seven discourse markers, two proper nouns, and two religious words/ritualistic phrases. These three categories are then consistently represented with *litterae notabiliores* throughout the subsequent copies, and these eleven examples are the most frequent occurrences because they are the strongest prototypes of their categories.

For example: <Peter> and <Jesus> are the two proper nouns that are consistently capitalised because they are more stereotypical examples of proper nouns than others such as <clerkes>, <princes>, and <chieteynes> which are occasionally capitalised by some scribes/printers. Similar patterns can be found in regard to the other categories specified as requiring *litterae notabiliores* in which the less prototypical examples are only capitalised in one or two editions (see Appendix 2.9.2).

6.9.2 It is established in modern western punctuation practice that a sentence ought to begin with a *littera notabilior*, which causes a relationship to be inferred between *litterae notabiliores* and the final pause which occurs in these positions. Essentially though, it is the preceding *punctus* which marks the pause in these positions, suggesting that *litterae notabiliores* indicate something else – perhaps vocal quality – therefore suggesting a link between the use of *litterae notabiliores* and silent reading, and subsequently contributing towards the previously mentioned hypothesis of an ‘imagined speaker’ while reading silently (Jajdelska 2007: 3). This relationship can also be found in other environments that *litterae notabiliores* are found in, not just following a *punctus* but also in the instances in which *litterae notabiliores* are used for proper nouns or discourse markers. In these instances, as with the usage at the beginning of sententiae, the *litterae notabiliores* are providing guidance for silent readers regarding which words require emphasis or are important to the reading of the text. It seems therefore that punctuation provides guidance as to how to physically read the text, for example when to pause; whereas the *litterae notabiliores* provide guidance as to the how the content should be read, for example when to insert emphasis. This interpretation

suggests that the use of *litterae notabiliores* is connected to silent reading practices because if a text was being read aloud the orator reading from memory would already be aware of when a new section of text begins, and a change in intonation would indicate a new section of content to the listening audience, whereas a silent reader needs visual guidance regarding the introduction of new content and where to apply emphasis.

6.9.3 The most explicit example of *litterae notabiliores* being used to mark vocal tone/emphasis is when a whole word, <AMEN>, is written using *litterae notabiliores* in De Worde's 1494 and 1507 editions to indicate emphasis. This shows an expansion in the possible uses of *litterae notabiliores* as silent reading practices develop: the strength of emphasis is visually differentiated in these extracts by the use of full capitalisation to indicate an even higher degree of emphasis than the use of *litterae notabiliores* for just the first initial of a word. These two examples of *litterae notabiliores* usage for a full word supports the hypothesis that *litterae notabiliores* indicate sound quality and are used to aid silent reading practices, because such clear instructions would not be required for an oral reader as they would already have memorised the text.²²

6.9.4 The copies of Love's *Mirror* under analysis in this study quite clearly represent diachronic change in the usage of *litterae notabiliores*. The earliest extracts examined, MS Gen. 1130, MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15), and Caxton's 1484 printed edition, all use *litterae notabiliores* systematically for proper nouns, religious words,

²² See Manguel's (1997: 58) discussion of Socrates' theory of the text functioning as an aide memoire.

and discourse markers. Essentially, discourse markers linguistically mark a new section of text and *litterae notabiliores* work with them to visually mark this new section.

6.9.5 Notably, in the manuscript copies and Caxton's first printed edition, all the discourse markers that are capitalised occur immediately after a mark of punctuation (see Appendix 2.9.1). By the 1490s though – Caxton's second edition of 1490 and De Worde's 1494 edition – the discourse markers that begin with *litterae notabiliores* do not always correlate with a preceding punctuation mark. These findings suggest that perhaps the use of discourse markers, and the beginnings of new sections of text, have more of an influence on *litterae notabiliores* usage than does the presence of a preceding punctuation mark. Additionally, it is possible that this is not a change in *litterae notabiliores* usage, but in fact may have been the practice from the earliest extract and the pattern has been distorted by the presence of punctuation marks because they are marking the *end* of the preceding section of text. This suggests that the relationship is in fact between punctuation marks and discourse markers as marking the end and beginning of sections of text, and between discourse markers and *litterae notabiliores* as *emphasising* the beginning of a new section, rather than between punctuation marks and *litterae notabiliores*.²³

²³ A future line of investigation could be to examine the use of *litterae notabiliores* in the MS exemplars of the early printed editions (which have not been examined within the constraints of this thesis), to analyse whether it is possible that the positions in which *litterae notabiliores* are found in these texts are in imitation of the positions in which they are found in their exemplars.

6.9.6 By the seventeenth century the rhetorical function of *litterae notabiliores* as indicators of sound quality for silent readers was becoming less prominent and the form was becoming more grammatical in usage in accordance with modern day practice. In Boscard's 1606 edition a *punctus* is always followed by a *littera notabilior* and *litterae notabiliores* are only found either following a *punctus* or for a proper noun (see Appendix 1.12). There is still a pattern of discourse markers commonly beginning with *litterae notabiliores*, but now they are represented so because they are often found at the beginning of sentences due to their function as introductory elements. It is clear though that it is their position after a *punctus*, and therefore at the beginning of a sentence, which causes them to be capitalised, because only the discourse markers in these positions include a *littera notabilior*. There are many discourse markers that feature mid-sentence – often the same discourse marker – which are not capitalised: this was not the case in earlier copies in which mid-sentence discourse markers were often capitalised. This development displays that by the seventeenth century silent reading practices were fairly well established (as asserted by Jajdelska 2007), and therefore by this point in the history of reading, rhetorical punctuation and the representation of oral features – such as vocal tone and emphasis – were no longer relied upon for understanding. By the seventeenth century silent readers were skilled and experienced enough to acquire meaning from grammar and syntax.

6.10 Horizontally Curved Baseline Mark

6.10.1 A general overview suggests that the other late medieval and early modern scribes and printers most frequently represent a medial pause in the four positions in which Dodesham uses the baseline curved mark (nineteen times out of a

possible forty – see Appendix 2.10.2). More specifically though, the other scribes and early printers most frequently use either no punctuation in these positions (thirteen instances), or use a *virgula suspensiva* (twelve instances). To follow the method of interpretation used previously in this chapter (see paragraph 6.2.1 for example), this alternation between a mark of minor medial pause and no pause being indicated, suggests that this mark is likely to represent a pause at the short end of the spectrum: a minor medial pause, or, more specifically, perhaps a very brief pause. This hypothesis is reinforced by the absence of the *virgula suspensiva* from this extract: Dodesham does not make use of this mark of the briefest length of pause, therefore that pause length is available to potentially be occupied by the horizontally curved baseline mark.

6.11 Mid-Height Curved Mark

6.11.1 The results regarding what punctuation the other scribes and early printers used in the positions in which MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15) includes the mid-height curved marks are so varied that they do not conclusively signify what length of pause Dodesham was representing. Of the six positions in which Dodesham used a curved mid-height mark, two positions were fairly equally punctuated with punctuation marks indicating a medial or final pause by other scribes/printers, two positions were most frequently punctuated with a punctuation mark indicating a medial pause, one with a mark of final pause, and one was not usually punctuated. These findings suggest that these marks indeed function as a marker of pause (as suggested in paragraph 5.2.3), as would be presumed from their inclusion in the text, and it could be weakly inferred that they mark a major medial pause due to the majority of other scribes and printers marking the majority of these positions

with a medial or final pause. The suggestion that these marks indicate medial pauses would correspond with the punctuation system used overall by Dodesham in that he uses a relatively comprehensive system indicating a range of pause lengths. It has already been discussed that Dodesham's punctuation system was perhaps an early attempt to cater to the needs of an emerging silent readership, yet, at such an early stage in this development, there was perhaps not an established punctuation system in place to mark all the degrees of pause deemed necessary to aid silent reading. Therefore, these marks may be evidence of Dodesham adapting or creating his own punctuation system to meet the new needs.

6.11.2 Additionally, the results do not seem to reveal a pattern regarding whether Dodesham was employing a system of using different visual forms of this mark to indicate different lengths of pause. For example, (see Appendix 2.11) positions one, two (in an incomplete form), and three are formed with a very similar mark by Dodesham (form A), but the other scribes/printers primarily use either a marker of medial pause or final pause in position one, and most other editors use a mark of medial pause in position two, and a mark of final pause in position three. Also, Dodesham forms the marks in positions five and six similarly (form C) but most other scribes/printers use no punctuation in position five, and primarily fluctuate between marks of medial and final pause in position six. Similarly, the majority of other scribes/printers mark both positions two and four with a medial pause, but Dodesham uses different forms of his curved mid-height mark in these two positions (forms A and B). Therefore it cannot be firmly attested what Dodesham was trying to display by using different forms of this curved mark, or whether he

was attempting to display any differences at all: it may be that the differences naturally occurred in their shape because they were formed by hand. If it was revealed that these variations did signify differences in the length of pause, this would make Dodesham's punctuation system in this extract even more comprehensive and would further reinforce the hypothesis that it was produced for a silent, extensive readership. Crucially, if it could be asserted that this punctuation mark represented a degree of/degrees of medial pause, such a conclusion would be particularly significant to the overall study of the history of reading as it would suggest that editors were punctuating with silent readers in mind long before Jajdelska (2007) deems it to be common practice. More specifically, it would show scribes catering for a silent readership during manuscript production of texts.

7. Conclusion: Overall Development of Reading Practices

7.1 Overall, the punctuation practices and therefore the supposed intended readership of the copies of Love's *Mirror* seem to fluctuate over time. Simplified chronologically it can be interpreted that the punctuation practices of the manuscript copies are beginning to cater for an emerging silent readership, while the subsequent early printed editions fluctuate in regard to whether they cater for oral readers or silent readers. By Boscard's early modern edition at the start of the seventeenth century though, the comprehensive punctuation system suggests silent, extensive reading practices have developed and are now in established, widespread use. While it may initially seem confusing that punctuation and reading practices begin to move towards catering for silent reading, then revert back to anticipating a primarily oral readership, before progressing in the generally

expected period towards punctuating for silent reading practices (Jajdelska 2007: 3), perhaps this non-linear development can be explained in accordance with socio-historical factors, such as the political and religious turbulence of the Reformation period,²⁴ and the progression of literacy in the late medieval and early modern periods.

7.2 Crucially, though, despite the overview discussed above (paragraph 7.1) regarding the categorisation of each of the editions as being for oral or silent readers being useful for gaining a general overview of the chronological development of reading practices and its relationship to socio-cultural events, such a simple categorisation was not the case. As discussion of the individual punctuation practices of each of the extracts shows, and as the seeming fluctuation of reading practices displayed by punctuation practices suggests, no text in this period was simply and wholly produced with a single reading practice in mind. Oral and silent reading practices are simultaneously represented within single copies, and copies which are chronologically close together often represent overall different reading practices. The findings above therefore support the theory attested in the introduction to this thesis that reading practices co-existed in this period. Just as the Reformation was not a period of instantaneous change in religious beliefs and practices (Duffy 1992), neither was the change from orality to literacy; just as religious beliefs had to endure a lengthy period of co-existence before one achieved primacy in society, so too did reading practices. The shift from oral, intensive reading to silent, extensive reading was indeed a reformation of reading, but in accordance with the reformation of religion, the transition was slow, gradual, and turbulent.

²⁴ For example, further research into the relationship between the Reformation and the Wycliffite movement and reading practices – particularly the advancement of silent reading practices – would be an interesting area of future study.

Chapter 3: Analysis of Paratextual Materials

1. Introduction

1.1 The overall structure of Love's *Mirror* provides clear guidance in regard to its original intended reading process: it was written so as to read a different section of the life of Christ on each day of the week or over the course of the feasts of the ecclesiastical year (Sargent 2004: xii). This chapter will look more specifically at the individual paratextual elements that structure the copies of Love's *Mirror* though, and, in continuation with the previous chapter, it will analyse how these features guide the reader throughout the reading process. The use of paratextual elements in these copies of Love's *Mirror* will be discussed in relation to the over-arching gradual transition from intensive, public, oral recitation to extensive, private, silent reading (as has previously been discussed in relation to punctuation practices). Yet this chapter will also recognise another simultaneous shift in reading practices which was proposed in the introduction to this thesis (Chapter 1: 7.3). The interpretation of the handwritten marginalia found in these texts suggests a shift from a society of passive readers to the development an active, engaged, studious reading audience, loosely in accordance with the intellectual shift from Scholasticism to Humanism. Finally, this chapter also hypothesises that a low frequency of paratextual guidance supplied by the scribe/printer of the text will indicate the presence of a 'skilled' reading public, who are able to approach each text with a pre-prepared 'reading skill-set' which enabled them to read and understand any text they encountered without substantial guidance.

2. Handwritten Marginalia

2.1 There were no instances of handwritten annotations to the section of the text from 'Die Mercurii' that was under examination in the philological section of this thesis, therefore all the instances that were found in the existing preliminary material to these copies have been collated for the purpose of this discussion. There is not an extensive amount of handwritten marginalia to be found in the tranches studied across the copies, nor do they initially seem to be particularly revealing in regard to reading practices or the processing actions of the readers. Their necessary presence, though, supports Sherman's (2008) suggested connection between devotional reading and interactive reading. To varying degrees and in different ways, each reader that has left a mark in a copy of the text can be seen to have engaged in some way with the textual content or the physical object of the book. The ability to physically mark a book indicates direct physical engagement with the material text suggesting private reading practises, while, psychologically, the impetus to mark a text suggests the presence of an active, engaged readership. These developments in early modern reading practices suggest the emergence of a readership (of increasing size) made up of *skilled* readers: they have learnt the mental processing skills to simultaneously physically read, mentally process the content, and psychologically engage with the text. As with the acquisition of all skills, this ability emerged due to practice and experience: early modern readers were increasingly reading frequently and extensively.

2.2 In the early printed editions of the *Mirror* there are a few examples of handwritten marginalia which are composed in Latin. One example on the Incipit page of EEBO's copy of Caxton's 1490 edition,²⁵ one alongside the Latin section of the Prohemium in Glasgow University Library's copy of Caxton's 1490 edition,²⁶ two examples in De Worde's 1494 edition²⁷ (one on the frontispiece and another on the Incipit page), and one at the beginning of the text of Pynson's 1494 edition.²⁸

2.3 Notably, neither of the manuscript copies of the text include handwritten marginalia in Latin, yet the first three printed editions of Love's *Mirror* are *only* annotated in their prefatory materials in Latin. If the language of these annotations is examined in the context of linguistic evolution it seems unusual that a later text would be annotated in Latin while an earlier text is in English, due to the overall evolution of English. Yet this somewhat converse linguistic development is adequately explained if examined in the context of intellectual developments in this period. Scholastic practice gave way to Humanism in the late medieval and early modern periods; an intellectual movement which placed Latin language and literature in high esteem. It is therefore unsurprising that annotations should be composed in Latin in the context of engaged reading and studious interaction with a text; the other Humanist traits which handwritten marginalia suggests.

²⁵ London, British Library, STC (2nd ed.) / 3260, image 1 – EEBO.

²⁶ Glasgow, Glasgow University Library, Sp. Coll. Hunterian Bv.2.24, f.4r.

²⁷ London, British Library, STC (2nd ed.) / 3261, image 2 – EEBO.

²⁸ London, British Library, STC (2nd ed.) / 3262, image 2 – EEBO.

2.4 Additionally, due to the afore mentioned contextual issues of the evolution of the English language and the rise of Renaissance Humanism resulting in increasingly studious reading practices, it is possible that the English annotations to the fifteenth-century manuscript copies of the text were added later, rather than by contemporary readers. If so, there are a variety of possibilities regarding the reading practices of contemporary late medieval readers of manuscripts. They may have not been capable of marking their texts due to having proficiency in reading but not writing (the two literacy skills were completely separate entities in this period); they may not have physically encountered the book, having had the text read aloud to them; or they may have read in a less studious fashion by reading without active consideration or engagement with the words or content. The last two of these hypotheses are particularly relevant in regard to the development of reading practices as the lack of contemporary handwritten marginalia in these manuscripts could be evidence of a text that was consumed orally and passively in the period in which it initially circulated. An oral reader would rarely physically encounter the material text as they dictated the text from memory, and would be unlikely to take the time to mark the text when reading in a public environment. Also, in oration, the text would be spoken passively without the opportunity for the reader to personally consider the text, and in a communal setting the text would be listened to passively, not considering – and therefore not contesting – the orthodoxy that was delivered to them.

2.5 Yet, while the handwritten marginalia suggests the fifteenth-century reader of these manuscripts was a passive orator of this text – or a listener of the orated text without access to the physical page – the analysis of the punctuation practices of

these two texts conducted in chapter two revealed something quite different. The relatively extensive punctuation systems of the two manuscripts suggested that the scribes were – to slightly different degrees – catering for an emerging silent readership. These opposing findings therefore suggest that different emerging reading practices developed at different speeds and different times throughout this overall transitional period for reading practices. It has already been established that punctuation systems are particularly revealing in regard to oral/silent and intensive/extensive reading practices, whereas handwritten marginalia is more suggestive of passive/engaged reading practices. Therefore the absence of handwritten marginalia in two manuscripts whose punctuation systems suggest a silent readership, suggests that while silent, extensive reading practices had perhaps begun to emerge and develop by this point, perhaps English readers had not yet begun developing the engaged reading practices associated with marginal notation. This hypothesis corresponds with the previously mentioned contextual issue of Renaissance Humanism (studious readers) which did not significantly influence England until the introduction of print.

2.6 Regardless of whether the two manuscripts were read aloud or silently, analysis of the early print editions of Love's *Mirror* reinforces the above theory that engaged reading practices emerged in the print era in accordance with Renaissance Humanism. In general, and certainly not immediately, the advent of print made it possible for a much larger proportion of society to own books due to the increase in the quantity of books in circulation and decrease in prices. The advent of print is also attributed as being an impetus of – but certainly not the sole cause of – the simultaneous gradual increase in literacy levels amongst the laity during this period.

Therefore from 1476 onwards, the English public were more physically able to own books, read them privately, and engage directly with the words on the page. Subsequently it is not surprising that from the earliest printed edition of Love's *Mirror* an increase in what may be contemporary annotations, evidence of direct engagement with the text, can be found. As mentioned above, the handwritten marginalia found in the prefatory material of the two copies of Caxton's 1490 edition (EEBO and GUL), the copy of De Worde's 1494 edition, and the copy of Pynson's 1494 edition, is composed in Latin. This suggests that early readers of the *Mirror* in print were educated members of society as the laity would have been unlikely to have been educated enough to have had a comprehensive knowledge of Latin. Further evidence that the reader was well educated is the annotation to De Worde's 1494 edition which notes a connection between the *Mirror* and *Immitacions*.²⁹ This reader has clearly read widely which suggests that by 1494 at least some readers in England were reading extensively, rather than intensively as had previously been the practice. Additionally, in the Glasgow University Library copy of Caxton's 1490 edition, a reader has noted the date of the Archbishop Arundel's death and a reference to his successor, next to a reference to the Archbishop in the content of the text.³⁰ This reader is therefore actively studying what is written on the page by adding relevant additional knowledge, and engaging with emerging Humanist reading practices in the process. The marginalia that is found in the four early printed editions mentioned above is typical of that of Renaissance readers (Sherman 2008: xiii) in that it is more systematic in function than psychologically revealing. For example, the handwritten annotation to Caxton's 1490 edition (GUL copy) which discusses Henry Chichele as the successor

²⁹ London, British Library, STC (2nd ed.) / 3261, image 2 – accessed through EEBO.

³⁰ Glasgow, Glasgow University Library, Sp. Coll. Hunterian Bv.2.24, f. 4r.

of Archbishop Thomas Arundel³¹ is an explicitly functional notation; it is revealing in regard to how the reader was reading the text – studiously – but does not reveal anything of the inner self of the reader or their personal response to the text.

2.7 The findings above support the findings of chapter two in which all three of the printed editions mentioned above (Caxton’s 1490 edition, De Worde’s 1494 edition, and Pynson’s 1494 edition) were hypothesised as beginning to cater for a silent, extensive reader due to their relatively extensive punctuation systems. This displays accordance between the readership the printer is anticipating in this period (displayed through punctuation practices) and the actual readership which encountered the text (displayed through handwritten annotations), suggesting that the printers were correct in the reading public they anticipated. This evidence that these printers correctly anticipated the readership of their texts suggests that by this point in time silent, extensive reading practices are developing and becoming increasingly used.

2.8 De Worde’s 1525 edition and Boscard’s edition of 1606 both potentially contain what Kallendorf (2005 in 2007: 124) deems ‘aggressive annotation’. In De Worde’s 1525 edition there is a section of faded writing on a blank page which resembles a name and address,³² while Boscard’s 1606 edition contains the underlined name <W.Maikele>.³³ MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15) and the Glasgow University Library copy of

³¹ Glasgow, Glasgow University Library, Sp. Coll. Hunterian Bv.2.24, f.4r.

³² London, British Library, STC (2nd ed.) / 3266, image 1 – EEBO.

³³ London, British Library, STC (2nd ed.) / 3268, image 1 – EEBO.

Caxton's 1490 edition are more explicitly marked with ownership due to the inclusion of a mass produced label which is inserted inside the front cover of both of these copies.³⁴ This label features the image of an elaborate library and the words 'Bibliotheca Hunteriana Glasguensis', though this was a later addition by Glasgow University Library rather than by the eighteenth-century owner, William Hunter, himself. Kallendorf claims that 'signing one's name in a book [...] is not the neutral activity it might first appear to be, but is rather an act of aggression, a way of claiming what was written by someone else as one's own and defining one's self in relation to it' (2005 in 2007: 124). By placing their name indelibly on the text, the readers are forging a material connection between the book and themselves, which will henceforth always be present. Regardless of the individual's intentions behind inscribing their name, such a label serves to provide information regarding contemporary reading practices. The ability to write one's name has widely been interpreted as an indicator of literacy, and if the reader of a text could write it is also possible that they had the literacy capability to read the text silently. Additionally, the personal physical interaction with a text which would lead one to inscribe their name on a text suggests that the text was encountered privately.³⁵ Problematically though, the inscription of a name is explicitly an indicator of ownership rather than readership, and writing ability rather than reading, therefore the annotation cannot act as accurate evidence of the text having been read at all, whether orally or silently.

³⁴ Glasgow, Glasgow University Library, MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15) and Sp. Coll. Hunterian Bv.2.25, both on the front pastedown.

³⁵ The above two hypotheses that these copies were read silently and privately are in accordance with the findings from the copies of Caxton's 1490 edition (EEBO copy) and Boscard's 1606 edition in the previous chapter which analysed punctuation practices.

2.9 MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15),³⁶ Caxton's 1490 edition (GUL copy),³⁷ and Boscard's 1606 edition³⁸ include evidence of the wider functions of Renaissance marginalia: both Caxton's 1490 edition (GUL) and Boscard's 1606 edition include a line of loops and squiggles which could be a pen trial, whereas MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15) includes a line of the letter <f> which may be handwriting practice. These types of marginalia, and many types of marginalia that are not relevant to the text they are accompanying, are not unusual findings in Renaissance books (Sherman 2008: 15-16). While they do not reflect the reader's opinion on the text in question, marginalia such as these do to some extent provide information on reading practices. For example, for the reader to be in such close contact with the book as to be able to annotate the book by hand it is probable that they were reading the text alone, and are reading from the material page rather than from memory. Also, as the reader evidently has a pen in their hand while encountering the book they are seemingly actively studying the book, perhaps simultaneously making notes in a commonplace notebook while reading.³⁹ The readers who tested their pens and practiced their handwriting in these copies could therefore be thought of as private, perhaps silent, readers following Humanist studious reading practices.

2.10 Added to the front pastedown of MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15) is a handwritten annotation which states <Perhaps origin of Caxton's Life of Christ>.⁴⁰ Both the content of this annotation, comparing this manuscript to a later printed edition,

³⁶ Glasgow, Glasgow University Library, MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15), f. iiiv.

³⁷ Glasgow, Glasgow University Library, Sp. Coll. Hunterian Bv.2.24, f.4r.

³⁸ London, British Library, STC (2nd ed.) / 3268, image 6 – EEBO.

³⁹ Sherman (2008: 7) has suggested that making notes in a commonplace book or on loose leaves was common practice while reading in the sixteenth century.

⁴⁰ Glasgow, Glasgow University Library, MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15), front pastedown.

and the modern scribal hand, suggests this item of marginalia is by a relatively modern reader. Therefore while this annotation is not representative of the reading practices of the period under analysis in this study, it is relevant to the overall history of reading. This reader is obviously an extensive reader, and shows evidence of having read more than one copy of Love's *Mirror*, for which the principal reason would be in a scholarly undertaking. The reader has seemingly studied the multiple copies closely in order to have hypothesised a connection between the two, which suggest a Humanist mode of reading.

2.11 There are a few examples of marginalia which either actively engage with the text or with previous readers by correcting items on the page. In Boscard's 1606 edition,⁴¹ a reader seems to have struck through an item on the title page with a series of crosses; while a reader of MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15) has inserted folio numbers into the text, beginning with the blank pages preceding the manuscript itself, which another reader has later crossed out and corrected.⁴² Readers, perhaps later readers, are therefore reading the text actively and engaging with what appears on the page to such an extent that they feel it is necessary to correct items they believe to be incorrect.

2.12 Another item of marginalia, which is interesting for its obscurity, features in the beginning blank pages of MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15). Amid a page of other items of handwritten marginalia – composed in various hands – <Galius> is written centrally

⁴¹ London, British Library, STC (2nd ed.) / 3268, image 1 – EEBO.

⁴² Glasgow, Glasgow University Library, MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15), f.2r-f.4r.

on the page in large, dark, decorated gothic letters.⁴³ While the link between this text and the medical scholar - and the relationship supposed by the reader - is not clear, this implies the reader to be a scholarly, extensive reader who is actively engaging with what they are reading and making connections and comparisons with other texts/writers.

3. Printed Marginalia

3.1 In regard to the section of text that was selected for philological analysis – the ‘gathering of the disciples’ section – there is only one item of printed marginalia that is ever found to accompany this section of text: <Nota con tra beni gnam curam Jefu> (example from De Worde’s 1525 Edition – see Appendix 3.1), though the phrase varies orthographically in different copies (see Appendix 3.1).

3.2 In Pynson’s editions of 1494⁴⁴ and 1506,⁴⁵ and Boscard’s edition of 1606,⁴⁶ though, there are no instances of printed marginalia accompanying this section of text. For Boscard, this correlates with his work as a whole, as he does not use printed marginalia at any point in his edition (for reasons which shall be suggested later in this chapter). Yet in both 1494 and 1506, Pynson uses printed marginalia elsewhere in his texts,

⁴³ Glasgow, Glasgow University Library, MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15), f. iiiv.

⁴⁴ London, British Library, STC (2nd ed.) / 3262, image 26 lines 34-35, image 27 lines 1-22 – EEBO.

⁴⁵ Cambridge, Pepysian Library, Magdalene College, STC (2nd ed.) / 3263, image 33 lines 34-44, image 34 lines 1-13 – EEBO.

⁴⁶ London, British Library, STC (2nd ed.) / 3268, , image 106 lines 6-27, image 107 lines 1-27 and lines 1-13 – EEBO.

therefore it seems he has actively decided that this section of text does not require the item of printed marginalia which accompanies it in other copies.

3.3 Interestingly, the item of printed marginalia accompanying the extract from the ‘gathering of the disciples’ section changes with the advent of print to indicate something radically different to what it does in its manuscript form. MS Gen. 1130 and MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15) both use the phrase <Nota benignam curam Jesu> as their marginal item (see Appendix 3.1); loosely translated as ‘observe/recognise the kind/affable concern/attention of Jesus’ (Whitaker 1993-2010: <<http://archives.nd.edu/words.html>>). This seems to be an appropriate phrase in connection to this section of text: the narrative is discussing how Jesus gathered his disciples, and the marginalia is therefore supporting this by drawing the readers’ attention to the events in the parallel section of text. Yet in every occurrence of this item of printed marginalia in an early printed copy (Caxton’s 1490 to De Worde’s 1525 edition – item largely unreadable in De Worde’s 1494 edition – see Appendix 3.1), the phrase appears as <Nota *contra* benignam curam Jesu> (see Appendix 3.1). This construction of the phrase therefore displays something quite different to what the manuscript copies contained. It states ‘observe: contrary to the kind attention of Jesus’ (Whitaker 1993-2010: <<http://archives.nd.edu/words.html>>), which does not seem to correspond with the discussion in the text of how Jesus cares for his disciples while they are sleeping. Therefore in this instance, the marginalia may be more of a hindrance to the reader’s comprehension of the text than an aid, as Slights (2001: 19-20) states can sometimes happen. The different phraseology of the early printed copies could be a result of the early printers using a different copy-text to the two manuscripts

documented in this study, or could be due to a misinterpretation/misreading (perhaps of the Latin) by one – or all – of the early printers, which was simply copied throughout the subsequent early printed copies.

3.4 Within the prefatory material featured in Love's *Mirror*, there are distinct patterns which emerge in regard to the printed marginalia that each edition includes (see Appendix 3.2.2). The compilation of all the printed marginalia included before the text-proper begins with 'Die Lune', reveals that the copies by the early printers (Caxton, Pynson, and De Worde) only include marginalia that featured in at least one of the two manuscripts sources examined. The intension of early printers seems therefore not to be innovative, but to recreate what they deemed to be the 'authorial original' as accurately as possible. Additionally, the early printers only seem to include the firmly established marginalia in their editions; they generally do not reproduce marginalia that has only been included in one of the manuscript copies. Of the five items of marginalia that only appear in one of the two manuscript copies examined, only one of the items is used in early printed editions. This item is <Nota bene>, which after it is first used in MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15), subsequently becomes one of the most firmly established items of marginalia in the prefatory material of the text. After its first use in print – within the copies examined – in Caxton's 1490 edition (no prefatory material is available for examination in his 1484 edition), it is only excluded from De Worde's 1525 edition. This item of marginalia is undoubtedly intended to aid the studious reader of the text. It instructs the reader to 'note well' (Whitaker 1993-2010: <<http://archives.nd.edu/words.html>>), therefore it functions to aid the reading process of an engaged reader studying the text. Additionally the note is

presumably to aid an extensive reader whom does not have much knowledge of the text as it provides guidance as to what information should be 'noted' (mentally or in writing) in order to understand the proceeding text. This implies, therefore, that the reader did not hold this information previously nor were they aware of the important features of the text – such as this point.

3.5 Two copies of Caxton's 1490 edition have been examined within the realms of this thesis, one held within University of Glasgow Library (Sp. Coll. Hunterian Bv.2.24), and a digitised version of the copy held by the British Library, available on EEBO (STC (2nd ed.)/3260 – eebo.chadwyck.com). The Glasgow University Library copy of this edition prints the marginalia in a completely different order to how it appears in the EEBO copy of the edition, and to the order of printed marginalia in all the other copies (see Appendix 3.2.3). This would significantly affect the reading experiences of readers encountering the two different copies of the same edition. Perhaps Caxton anticipated an intensive reader with prior knowledge of the text, or perhaps he himself was an intensive reader of the text, and therefore he did not place much importance on ensuring the correctness of the marginalia as he did not view it as essential to the reading process.⁴⁷ Alternatively, this could be taken as evidence of a segmented and unengaged approach to the printing process by late medieval and early modern printers. It seems that Caxton was not engaging with the textual content during the printing process of the GUL copy and has as a result placed the items of printed marginalia in positions which do not correlate with the textual content they have been positioned beside.

⁴⁷ This hypothesis contrasts with the findings of the previous chapter, in which the punctuation system constructed by Caxton in both copies of this 1490 edition suggested Caxton was attempting to cater for an extensive reader.

3.6 Of the twelve copies of Love's *Mirror* which have been examined for this chapter, only seven show evidence of including printed marginalia, and there are only five items of marginalia which are included in all seven of these copies. These items are: <Nota proJano intellectu hui2 libri>, <Gregori i Omelia Simile est reg. ce.th.>, <Primum>, <Secundum>, and <Tercium>. The inclusion of the last three of these items in all the editions is unsurprising as they function as a group; therefore if one of these items was included in a copy it is necessary for the other two to feature too. In accordance with the purpose of printed marginalia ascribed by Genette (1997: 320-325) and Slights (2001: 19-22), the last three items listed here are prototypical examples of printed marginalia, as they provide the text with structure and guide the reader through the reading process. By supplying this additional guidance, the editors of the texts are showing an awareness of a silent, extensive reader of this text and are responding to their needs.

3.7 Pynson's 1506 edition includes the least amount of printed marginalia of all the copies for which there is evidence of printed marginalia in the prefatory material, which corresponds with the relative lack of punctuation Pynson includes in his edition (as discussed in chapter two). Therefore Pynson does not provide much guidance for his reader suggesting he anticipates an intensive reader to orally dictate this text to a listening audience. Pynson excludes six items from his edition which were included by Caxton and De Worde, and, interestingly, three of these are the items of printed marginalia which refer to Saint Bernard: <Bernardus ad fratres Cartusie de monte dei>, <Bernardus de martyribus>, and <Bernardi Super cantica sermo 22.>. Therefore Pynson has excluded all reference to Bernard from

his marginalia, which cannot help but to be seen as purposeful; perhaps due to a personal, political, or religious motivation. Notably, the seven items of printed marginalia that *are* included in the prefatory material to Pynson's 1506 edition all function to aid the reader in the reading process (rather than to provide supplementary material). Even more tellingly, six of the seven items aid the reader by providing guidance directly in accordance with how to physically read the text; the other item aids the reading process by summarising the contents in the margin. This type of functional marginalia would specifically aid the extensive reader whom has not read the text before. Unfortunately the prefatory material is missing from Pynson's previous edition of 1494, therefore comparisons cannot be made and generalisations regarding Pynson's practices as a whole cannot be reached. It would be useful, for example, to know how much marginalia was included in his first edition, and which items he included or excluded in his second.

3.8 Between his 1494 and 1525 editions, De Worde can be seen to have reduced the amount of printed marginalia he included; suggesting he perhaps changed his mind about what items were necessary for the reader. As there were two editions by Pynson printed between De Worde's first edition of 1494 and his second of 1507, it would be plausible to hypothesise a connection between Pynson's low amount of marginalia and De Worde's reduction in the amount of marginalia he used. Yet although Pynson's editions may have theoretically influenced De Worde's, perhaps suggesting to De Worde that the reader did not require as much guidance, Pynson did not directly influence De Worde as De Worde did not exclude the same marginal items as Pynson did. The marginalia that De Worde chose to include in his 1525 edition are largely text-based in content: six of the ten items provide either

supplementary information to the text or a summary of the text's contents. This is noticeable in contrast to Pynson's 1506 marginalia, discussed above, which was primarily functional in nature. The exclusion of many of the functional items of marginalia from this text suggests that the reduction in the quantity of printed marginalia between De Worde's editions is due to the development of a more skilled readership throughout this period. Skilled readers require less guidance during the reading process – particularly functional guidance and information regarding how to physically read the text – because they already have the skills and experience to do so. A skilled reader, though, could also be an extensive, scholarly reader and so while functional marginalia is not required, text-based, supplementary information is.⁴⁸ Therefore for the reader that De Worde anticipates, marginalia providing information regarding further reading, cross-references, and notes to provide a deeper understanding of the text are necessary. Consequently, in the case of De Worde's editions, this thesis hypothesises that the change in printed marginalia, while being indirectly representative of the movement from intensive to extensive reading practices, is more explicitly representative of the development of a skilled readership during this period. Problematically though, the prefatory material is missing from both De Worde's 1507 and 1517 editions, meaning the process of change is not recorded; there is no record of whether it was a sudden or gradual change, or within which edition the change can be seen to occur.

⁴⁸ This hypothesis corresponds with the findings of the previous chapter in which analysis of the punctuation system of this copy of De Worde's 1525 edition suggests De Worde is to some degree catering for an extensive readership.

3.9 De Worde's first edition of 1494 contains the same marginalia as Caxton's second edition of 1490, only with orthographical differences, which suggests a connection between Caxton and De Worde's work. This hypothesis is supported by Hellinga's (1997: 146) assertion of a relationship between Caxton's and De Worde's editions, and the previous findings of this thesis (the hypothesised similar readership of these editions gained from the punctuation practices discussed in chapter two). Yet Hellinga (1997: 146) specifically states that De Worde's first edition (1494) was based on Caxton's first edition (1484), and that Caxton's second edition (1490) was based on his first (1484). Hellinga therefore does make a link between Caxton's second edition and De Worde's first, but she recognises it as an indirect relationship through Caxton's first edition. It is therefore problematic that the prefatory material is missing from the copy of Caxton's first edition, as it prevents analysis being conducted into which of Caxton's editions has the strongest textual relationship to De Worde's 1494 edition with regard to paratextual material.

3.10 Boscard's 1606 edition contains no printed marginalia at all. This could have been a specific choice by Boscard in order to modernise the text: as previously mentioned the punctuation of the text is fairly modernised, therefore he may have excluded the Latin marginalia as part of an overall aim of modernity for his edition. Alternatively, the exclusion could be based on larger socio-cultural factors: printed marginalia may have gone out of popular use by 1606 and was therefore not included because it did not correspond with early seventeenth-century printing practices. Most revealingly though, would be establishing whether Boscard was responding to popular reading practices. Previous research both by scholars (e.g. Jajdelska 2007), and in the findings of the previous chapter of this thesis, suggest

that private, silent, extensive reading was fairly well established by the seventeenth century. Perhaps, therefore, Boscard deemed that the reader no longer required the extra guidance of printed marginalia as by this point in the development of reading practices silent, extensive readers were skilled readers.

3.11 It should also be noted that Boscard's edition was printed in Douai; an area which may have produced polemical works for Catholic exiles returning to England during this period. Indeed Sargent (1997: xiii) explicitly refers to Boscard's press in Douai as a Recusant press. Perhaps therefore the text was written for these undercover secular priests returning to England, and if so it could be assumed that the readers were well read in Catholic texts, and had perhaps encountered the *Mirror* before. If Boscard presumed he was printing for a reader familiar with the text – essentially an intensive reader – he may have thought the guidance of printed marginalia unnecessary.

4. Intertitles

4.1 All the copies of Love's *Mirror* that have been examined are similarly structured: they largely follow the same sequence of textual content, and include the same intertitles (the name ascribed to sub-titles by Genette 1997). This clear structure, by which the text is broken down into smaller segments with each section clearly labelled as to its content or relationship to the rest of the text, provides comprehensive guidance for the reader during the reading process. This layout would undoubtedly aid the extensive reader whom was unfamiliar with the text:

the regular intertitles would introduce the content of the proceeding section of text, so the reader was better prepared to comprehend what they were reading.

4.2 The intertitles also served as markers of place for readers who may be reading the text intermittently. In this function, the intertitles would aid the reading process of a private reader whom may read the text chronologically over a lengthy period of time and therefore regularly return to the closed book with the need to locate the position they were up to in the reading process. Yet, as can be noted from the original purpose and usage of the text, intermittent reading was also a feature of oral reading practice in the Middle Ages. Each section of Love's *Mirror* is labelled with the days of the week and was composed to be read on the respective day. This formal arrangement suggests the text was composed to be read aloud in a structured environment, for example a daily church service or daily family gathering.

4.3 Additionally, intertitles also function to aid a non-linear reading of the text. This reading style is associated with the purposeful study of a text and the rise of Humanism, as it allows for the selection of reading matter based on the skim reading of the titles. This style of studious reading is a feature of private reading: the non-linear structure of reading would only make sense to the individual reader personally selecting the order of reading, if the reader was reading aloud to a group in a non-linear fashion the text would be incomprehensible. Overall, therefore, while the use of intertitles can be seen to aid both oral and silent

readers, their extensive use seems to encourage reading practices more related to private, silent reading, for example, non-linear, studious reading.

4.4 All the copies examined, for which the preliminary material is available, make use of intertitles to different extents. MS Gen. 1130 begins with the Prohemium section of text but there is no title to introduce this. The subsequent two sections of text are then introduced with intertitles – <Bonaventure incipit> and <¶a deuoute meditacioun – of þe grete conseile in heune for restorynge of man and his saluacioun. ¶ Capitlium p^lum & prima pars.> – but they are within the line of the text and there is no spatial separation between the sections.⁴⁹ The internal layout of the preliminary material of MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15) is more complicated: it contains two running titles but very few intertitles within the body of the text. There are no intertitles to introduce the incipit or prohemium, but there are sub-headings for the days of the week within the incipit. The <Bonauentura incipit> has a rubricated heading within the body of the text, but no spatial separation, and ‘Die Lune’ begins with a rubricated section of text and an illuminated initial – therefore clearly marking the beginning of a section – but it has no intertitle.⁵⁰ The inconsistency of both the manuscript copies of the text in regard to their use of intertitles is unsurprising given the fluctuating practices of reading, writing, and book production in the late Middle Ages. Scribal practice often involved continuous writing in the production of manuscripts. Scribes wrote in a continuous fashion, on the one hand due to the manner in which the copy-text would have been dictated to them – it was read aloud to the scribe without much attention given to content:

⁴⁹ Glasgow, Glasgow University Library, MS Gen. 1130, f.1r-4r.

⁵⁰ Glasgow, Glasgow University Library, MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15), f. 1r-7r.

the words were dictated senselessly in order to simply be reproduced – and on the other hand as a space saving mechanism, as parchment and vellum could be expensive. Therefore in the development of book production, when intertitles began to be used, it makes sense for their early form to be within the line of the text in accordance with existing practice, and to make use of already successful methods of distinguishing sections of text such as rubrication. Both manuscripts therefore attest to a development in reading practices whereby the reader may not be familiar with the text they are reading and therefore requires intertitles.⁵¹ The use of intertitles is not as frequent or consistent as found in later printed editions, though, indicating that this concept of extensive reading is relatively new to the producer of these texts and they are uncertain as to the degree of guidance required.⁵² The combination of including intertitles for some sections but not all, and of using intertitles but keeping them within the body of the text, suggests a dual readership in this period in which both extensive and intensive readers co-existed, and in which both public oration and silent, private reading took place – therefore supporting one of the central arguments of this thesis: that distinct reading practices co-existed in this period.

4.5 Even with the advent of print there is no consistency in regard to the perceived needs of the reader to effectively read and comprehend the text. The EEBO copy of Caxton's 1490 edition has a consistent, comprehensively structured layout: each section of the preliminary material – the incipit, the prohemium and 'Die Lune' – is

⁵¹ As has previously been hypothesised in chapter two in regard to punctuation practices.

⁵² This hypothesis correlates with the findings of the previous chapter in which the scribes of these two manuscripts seemed uncertain of how to punctuate their texts for the emerging silent, extensive reading practices e.g. Dodesham's use of novel punctuation marks in MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15).

introduced with an intertitle and there are further sub-titles for the days of the week within the incipit. Yet the GUL copy of this edition does not include the incipit, and has a title for the prohemium, but the sub-title <Bonuenture Incipit> is undifferentiated within the body of text, and there is no intertitle to mark the beginning of 'Die Lune'. It does however use a running title throughout the prohemium, which changes to <Die Lune> on the first full page of this section of text. The EEBO copy of this edition is well constructed for an extensive reader as it comprehensively guides the reader through the content and reading process.⁵³ The GUL copy does include running titles and some intertitles, showing Caxton's attempt to cater for an extensive reader unfamiliar with the text. Caxton's use of intertitles is inconsistent, though, reinforcing the frequently referred to hypothesis of this thesis that extensive reading was in the *process* of developing during this period, but was not yet fully established. The varying use of intertitles, though, could problematically also be based on technological, spatial, or monetary criteria.

4.6 From De Worde's 1494 edition onwards, all copies with their preliminary material available use a comprehensive range of intertitles, sub-titles within these, and running titles to present a clearly structured text. This suggests that from this period onwards there was a consistent presupposition regarding who the intended reader was and how they read. These editors label the content of the text as fully and as clearly as possible, suggesting they anticipate a reader who is not familiar with the text's content. In support of this theory, the handwritten marginalia in De Worde's 1494 edition also indicates an extensive reader by making a reference to another text, the *Immitacions* (see paragraph 2.6 of this chapter). The consistency

⁵³ In accordance with the findings of chapter two regarding punctuation practices of this copy.

of this presentation throughout subsequent editions suggests that extensive reading was a well-established reading practice by the end of the fifteenth century. It could be, though, that the editors themselves were not consciously aware of this and that they were simply conforming to established printing practices which had developed in accordance with the shift in reading practices. This seems a likely hypothesis as the punctuation practices of the early printers did not suggest a consistent awareness of an emerging extensive readership: while the punctuation systems of the extracts from Caxton 1490, and De Worde and Pynson's 1494 editions suggest they were catering for an extensive readership, the punctuation found in the extracts from the subsequent copies by Pynson in 1506 and De Worde – to varying degrees – in 1507, 1517, 1525 seem to suggest they were catering primarily for an intensive readership (see chapter 2: paragraphs 5.4.1; 5.5.1; 5.6.1; 5.7.1; 5.8.1). Perhaps at this point these printers were uncertain how to cater for this new readership and the level of guidance extensive readers required, and responded through paratextual elements prior to responding through their punctuation systems.

4.7 By Boscard's edition of 1606 though, the structure and intertitles could perhaps be deemed as more purposely being constructed to aid the extensive reader. Not only does Boscard include a large number of intertitles to guide the unfamiliar reader through the text, some of which were new additions to this edition, but he also introduces new names for the intertitles, therefore suggesting the reader will perhaps not have prior knowledge of the form the text previously circulated in – namely Middle English and Latin. In some instances Boscard even changes the type of intertitles that are included. In all the previous editions the intertitles used have

followed the *thematic* regime of intertitles (Genette 1997: 297), meaning they have in some way represented the content of the proceeding section of text. While Boscard maintains this type of intertitle for those used in the preliminary material, when the text-proper begins Boscard uses the intertitle <The 1. Chapter> for what was previously labelled <Die Lune> in accordance with the *rhematic* regime (Genette 1997: 297). Boscard therefore is seemingly not using intertitles in order to aid an extensive reader – a reader unfamiliar with the text’s content – he is using them simply to break up and structure the text, allowing opportunities to pause for both the private reader and public orator. By numbering his sections of text though, Boscard is imposing a linear reading of the text, which suggests he anticipates his reader to be an extensive reader and is therefore dictating a linear reading of the text in order to ensure comprehension.

5. Title Pages

5.1 Many of the texts examined in this study do not include an extant title page, though it could be assumed that many of the copies without a title page today did indeed have one when they first entered circulation. Title pages are the first point of entry to a text, therefore they have the ability to prepare the reader for the text and dictate the reading practices that will subsequently be followed.

5.2 The title page of Caxton’s 1490 edition in Glasgow University Library is a recto page containing no decoration and features the following text: <The Lyf of Cryst taken from// S. Bonaventure, in Confutation// of the Lollards. in VII. Parts. with// a

Treatyce of the Sacrament.// Printed by W. Caxton>.⁵⁴ Throughout the history of reading, title pages have often been one of the areas of the book whereby reading practices are most clearly visually represented. For example, titles are often laid out with disregard to the formal spaces between words and can be found to insert line breaks mid word, as discussed by Ong (2002: 117) when he asserts that the continuation of oral practices can be seen well into the transition of print due to the inattention to visual word units by printers on title pages. While this thesis agrees with the relationship Ong discusses between the attention to word units and oral and silent reading practices, the findings from the GUL Caxton 1490 title page contradict Ong's hypothesis of gradual progression. The whole-word presentation of the title page of this early print copy (along with the findings from many of the other paratextual elements found in early print copies discussed in this chapter) indicates an acknowledgement of silent reading practices from a relatively early period in print, in contrast to the more gradual nature of the introduction of punctuation systems which catered for silent readers (as discussed in the previous chapter). These findings support the previously raised hypothesis (paragraph 4.6 of this chapter) that early printers perhaps responded to emerging reading practices through paratextual features more quickly than they did through their punctuation practices.

6. Frontispieces

6.1 Frontispieces have not been a widely discussed element of the book in regard to reading practices, but as a visual element of the book it can be inferred that they are designed to be encountered by a private reader – their content could not be

⁵⁴ Glasgow, Glasgow University Library, Sp. Coll. Hunterian Bv.2.24, f.1r.

fully presented to a listening audience by an oral reader. There is evidence of the inclusion of frontispieces in Pynson's 1494 edition⁵⁵ and De Worde's 1525 edition,⁵⁶ and two introductory images in De Worde's 1494 edition.⁵⁷ This reinforces the above theory (paragraph 5.2) that from an early stage in the print period printers were producing texts for private readership. Further to this, images more specifically indicate a stage in the progression from public oration to private, silent reading: images provide a method by which a private reader can 'read' and engage with the text without having the literacy skills to read the words. In this way, frontispieces serve as a title page for readers who are part of an emerging private reading culture, but exist within the remnants of an oral culture in which the majority of society were listeners of an orally read text, and therefore had not yet developed the literacy skills by which to read a book themselves. In accordance with this suggestion that frontispieces were catering for the emerging silent reading culture existing within an oral readership, Pynson's 1494 edition and De Worde's 1494 edition are the most comprehensively punctuated copies by these printers, and De Worde's 1525 edition is seemingly punctuated more in accordance with a silent readership than were his editions of 1507 and 1517. Therefore just as the punctuation practices in Pynson's 1494 edition and De Worde's 1494 and 1525 editions may be early, uncertain attempts to cater for emerging silent, extensive reading practices, perhaps the inclusion of frontispieces/introductory images in the editions with more extensive punctuation systems was another experimental attempt to cater for this new readership.

⁵⁵ London, British Library, STC (2nd ed.) / 3262, image 1 – accessed through EEBO.

⁵⁶ London, British Library, STC (2nd ed.) / 3266, image 1 – accessed through EEBO.

⁵⁷ London, British Library, STC (2nd ed.) / 3261, images 1-2 – accessed through EEBO.

7. Dedications

7.1 Dedications can be revealing in that they indicate the specific intended recipient of that particular copy or edition of the text. It must be noted though, that dedications carry the same kind of uncertainty as records of ownership: just because a text is dedicated to a person does not necessarily mean they read it. The important thing though is that the printer intended the stated person to read the text, and decisions regarding the representation of the text for particular reading practices had been made with this person in mind.

7.2 The 1606 edition has a formal page at the beginning of the book dedicating the book to: <Rev. W.D. Parish, // The Vicarage, // Selmeston, Lewes>.⁵⁸ As Boscard's intended reader was a vicar, he must surely have entertained the possibility that the text would be read aloud as part of a Church service. As previously mentioned, Boscard's edition of the *Mirror* was printed in Douai, an area in which it has been suggested that texts were printed for exiled English Catholic priests. If Boscard's edition is indeed one of these texts then it was potentially written with the intention of being read aloud by these priests in their services once they had returned to England. Alternatively, as the punctuation suggests a silent readership of this edition, and as it has previously been discussed that recusant texts benefitted from silent reading practices due to the danger they posed if it was discovered they were being read, it may be that the dedication of this text to a vicar reinforces the argument that it was read silently. A vicar (depending on his religious affiliation), while being the expected recipient of a recusant text, would

⁵⁸ London, British Library, STC (2nd ed.) / 3268, image 1 – accessed through EEBO.

be in a precarious position regarding the dangers of being discovered reading such a text.

8. Conclusion

8.1 In accordance with the previous chapter on punctuation practices, the more guidance that is supplied by paratextual materials regarding how to read the text, the more likely it seems to be that the text was catering for the private, extensive readership that was developing throughout this period. Simultaneously though, this chapter has hypothesised that a skilled readership was emerging during the early modern period. As books became more readily available, and people began reading more extensively, and literacy levels increased, a proportion of society became skilled in the art of reading (word processing) and comprehending content from written text (semantic processing). Therefore as this skilled readership developed there became increasingly less need for guidance from paratextual materials, as has been discussed above in relation to the latest copies under analysis in this thesis.

Chapter 4: Conclusion

1.1 This thesis aimed to study the evolution and co-existence of distinct reading practices during the late medieval and early modern periods. It firmly suggests that this transition in reading practices was not sudden but was gradual and fluctuating, mirroring the simultaneous development of religious practices in contemporary society.⁵⁹

1.2 This thesis methodically analysed specific philological and bibliographic criteria in relation to the textual case-study: Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*. Chapter two, focussing on punctuation practices, analysed each copies' punctuation practice and their use of specific punctuation marks in order to establish how marks indicating varying degrees of pause and occurring in varying frequencies were used within each extract to aid specific, premeditated reading practices. The analysis of punctuation practices and punctuation marks was particularly revealing in regard to society's evolution from oral to silent reading, and from intensive to extensive reading.

1.3 Chapter three analysed the types of and quantity of paratextual material supplied in each of the copies of Love's *Mirror* as an indication of the amount of aid the scribe/printer provided their reader. This chapter therefore found paratextual features to be in accordance with punctuation practices in that both elements

⁵⁹ See Duffy's (1992) theory of 'traditional religion'.

were found to be providing guidance for innovative, emerging reading practices when they feature more comprehensively within a copy of the text. The examination of this bibliographic element also introduced a new hypothesis to this thesis: that less guidance provided within the text (i.e. less paratextual materials) suggests the existence of a contemporary skilled readership. It could also be hypothesised that the evolution of this readership – a skilled, competent readership – is represented in the diachronic progression of punctuation practices from being rhetorical to grammatical in function (primarily exemplified in Boscard's 1606 edition). As punctuation becomes less necessary as a guiding function for the reader during the reading process due to the emergence of a skilled readership, punctuation is able to adopt new syntactical functions.

1.4 Crucially, throughout this thesis, the above mentioned criteria have never been discussed in terms of absolutes: no element of the extracts from Love's *Mirror* is firm evidence the presence of a single reading practice. Instead the analysis of each feature of the copies has helped locate its contemporary society on the spectrum between several co-existing reading practices: oral and silent reading; intensive and extensive reading; public and private reading; passive, unengaged reading and active, engaged reading; and unskilled and skilled reading.

2.1 My thesis essentially functions as a proof of concept for a potentially bigger project.

There are many possible directions in which this research could evolve in order to expand upon and further validate the findings of this thesis. The following areas have been identified as being potentially of great benefit to both the evolution of

the hypotheses raised in this thesis, and to the fields of book history and reading history as a whole.

2.2 Firstly, there are a wide range of available philological and bibliographical criteria which could be used to analyse the text in question. One area with the potential to be particularly revealing in regard to the evolution of reading practices, particularly as representative of the shift from orality to silent reading, is orthography: the analysis of the diachronic grapheme-phoneme relationship. Much of the prior research regarding the relationship between orthography and reading practices has employed either a physiological or psychological approach. The first focuses on the physical process of reading a word from its graphemic representation, exploring issues such as the location of eye fixations (Underwood and Radach 1998; Radach and McConkie 1998), whole word and segmental reading practices (Ehri 1980; Howard 1991), and visual word identification (Günther 1987). The psychological approach focuses on the lexical and semantic processing of a word from its orthographical representation (Lieberman et al 1980; Seidenburg 1991; Van Orden 1991). All the scholarly approaches to the topic of orthography and reading though – linguistic, physiological, and psychological – can be united by one of the primary hypotheses of this thesis: Jajdelska's (2007) theory of 'imagined readers'. In accordance with Jajdelska's suggestion, it is plausible that when reading silently a reader translates the orthography (graphemes) into an oral representation (phonemes) internally (a process widely labelled as 'subvocalisation' and is attested as being essential to the reading process by Henderson 1982; Günther 1987; Donoghue 1998; Ong 2002). Additionally, orthography could also be interpreted as representative of the simultaneous shift from intensive to extensive

reading. This change in reading practices may be represented on the page through the additional orthographical guidance an extensive reader requires to accurately produce phonology and meaning, due to the decreased likelihood that the reader already holds the knowledge of the sound and content of the text.

2.3 It would also be interesting to continue the examination of reading practices beyond the early modern period – as reading practices are constantly evolving – and perhaps examine some of the modern editions of Love’s *Mirror*; such as Lawrence Powell’s 1908 edition⁶⁰ and Michael Sargent’s 2004 edition.⁶¹ Sargent labels his 2004 edition ‘a reading text’ which introduces many questions as to what modern society believes ‘reading’ to be, and the connotations associated with the use of such a verb. Essentially, this sub-title to a scholarly edition of Love’s *Mirror* suggests that modern society deems reading to be an active, engaged (and almost certainly solitary and silent) undertaking; a hypothesis which is reinforced by the extensive amount of prefatory and supportive scholarly material supplied alongside the text of this edition. Crucially, the inferred presence of a studious, scholarly readership of this text suggests that the text is no longer read for its original purpose, for devotion and meditation. This highlights that throughout history different reading practices have been employed depending on the specific purpose for reading a specific text.

⁶⁰ Glasgow, University of Glasgow Library, Sp. Coll. Roxburghe 151.

⁶¹ Sargent, Micheal G. (ed.) (2004) *Nicholas Love ‘The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ’: A Reading Text* University of Exeter Press: Exeter.

2.4 Comparative analysis with Powell's 1908 modern edition would add another dimension to this research as it would highlight one of the complex issues associated with case-study based research into the history of reading. Modern editorial decisions are often made with the intention of reconstructing the authorial original, and therefore cannot be seen as representative of contemporary reading practices. For example, Powell makes use of the *virgulae suspensivae* in his edition, a punctuation mark which was not used in twentieth-century punctuation practices; therefore Powell's punctuation system has seemingly not been constructed with the aim of aiding a contemporary reader – whom may actually be hindered in the reading process by the inclusion of an unfamiliar mark – and was perhaps composed either in imitation of a medieval/early modern copy-text, or is the product of various copy-texts with the intention of representing the unseen authorial original. This last possibility is particularly problematic for the analysis of this edition as part of the discussion of the history of reading, as, if this is the case, Powell's edition would not only not represent contemporary reading practices, but may in fact not represent any used reading practices at all.

2.5 Another interesting direction in which this thesis could expand would be to introduce cross-genre analysis to the history of reading. This thesis examines the development of reading practices as represented in the textual afterlife of one text (Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*) in one genre (devotional texts). First of all, it would reinforce the hypotheses raised in this thesis if more religious texts were examined in comparison with Love's *Mirror*, for example John Mirk's *Festial*, and in particular if religious texts with different intended reading purposes could be examined, for example sermons or psalters. These findings

could then be compared with the history of reading as represented in another widely circulated genre of late medieval and early modern texts, for example historical chronicles. It would be interesting to highlight whether the same reading practices were employed by contemporary readers reading different genres, and whether these reading practices evolved in similar ways throughout the textual afterlives of different genres of text.

2.6 Finally, comparative analysis which crosses language and nationality boundaries would add an interesting dimension to the field of reading history. Texts from the same genre (for example religious sermons, devotional texts, historical chronicles), or even more revealingly – if possible – the same text composed and circulated in a different language/dialect within a different society, could be examined for similarities and differences in the representation of and use of reading practices. For example texts composed in Middle and Early Modern English could be compared with similar texts written in Older Scots and circulating in Scotland in the same period. This branch of research could be enlightening regarding whether different societies made use of the same reading practices, and whether the reading practices of different societies developed in the same way and in a similar time-scale.

3.1 Therefore, I believe this thesis has made a valuable contribution to the expanding and evolving fields of book history, reading history, and philology: supporting theories already propagated by accomplished scholars in the aforementioned fields, and introducing a range of hypotheses which have not only been supported

by the findings of this thesis, but which also have the potential to be further validated by the wealth of research possibilities that this thesis opens up. This thesis displays the benefits of focused case-study based research when examining larger societal and contextual issues, and, in accordance with the work of Parkes (1993, 1997), Saenger (1997), Jajdelska (2007), and Smith (2012a, 2012b), it highlights the suitability of philological and bibliographic criteria for the analysis of reading practices. This thesis therefore concurrently propagates both an interesting subject area and a successful methodology for future research.

Appendices

1. Transcriptions of the parallel extracts under analysis from each edition of Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*

- 1.1 MS Gen. 1130, GUL – Unknown Scribe
- 1.2 MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15), GUL – Stephen Dodesham 1475
- 1.3 William Caxton's 1484 Printed Edition
- 1.4 William Caxton's 1490 Printed Edition (EEBO copy)
- 1.5 William Caxton's 1490 Print Edition (GUL copy)
- 1.6 Wynken De Worde's 1494 Printed Edition
- 1.7 Richard Pynson's 1494 Printed Edition
- 1.8 Richard Pynson's 1506 Printed Edition
- 1.9 Wynken De Worde's 1507 Printed Edition
- 1.10 Wynken De Worde's 1517 Printed Edition
- 1.11 Wynken De Worde's 1525 Printed Edition
- 1.12 Charles Boscard's 1606 Printed Edition

2. Analysis of Punctuation Practices: Data

2.1 *Virgula Suspensiva*

2.2 *Comma*

2.3 *Punctus Elevatus*

2.4 *Double Punctus*

2.5 *Raised Punctus*

2.6 *Semi-Colon*

2.7 *Punctus*

2.8 *Paraph*

2.9 *Littera Notabilior*

2.10 Horizontal Baseline Curve

2.11 Mid-Height Curved Mark

3. Analysis of Paratextual Materials: Data

3.1 The Printed Marginalia that Accompanies the Textual Extract

3.2 The Printed Marginalia that Accompanies the Prefatory Material

Note to Appendices

The page references for the textual extract (Appendices 1, 2, and 3.1) from each of the copies of Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ* are as follows:

MS Gen. 1130 - Glasgow, University of Glasgow Library, MS Gen. 1130, folio 45v lines 16-30, folio 46r lines 1-12.

MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15) - Glasgow, University of Glasgow Library, MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15), folio 59v column 2 lines 13-29, folio 60r column 1 lines 1-30, folio 60r column 2 lines 1-10.

Caxton's 1483 Printed Edition - Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, STC (2nd ed.) / 3259, image 40 lines 5-28 – accessed through EEBO.

Caxton's 1490 Printed Edition (EEBO copy) - London, British Library, STC (2nd ed.) / 3260, image 48 lines 5-30 – accessed through EEBO.

Caxton's 1490 Printed Edition (GUL copy) - Glasgow, University of Glasgow Library, Sp. Coll. Hunterian Bv.2.24, folio gi lines 5-30.

De Worde's 1494 Printed Edition - London, British Library, STC (2nd ed.) / 3261, image 49 lines 5-30 – accessed through EEBO.

Pynson's 1494 Printed Edition - London, British Library, STC (2nd ed.) / 3262, image 26 lines 34-35, image 27 lines 1-22 – accessed through EEBO.

Pynson's 1506 Printed Edition - Cambridge, Pepysian Library, Magdalene College, STC (2nd ed.) / 3263, image 33 lines 34-44, image 34 lines 1-13 – accessed through EEBO.

De Worde's 1507 Printed Edition - Oxford, Bodleian Library, STC (2nd ed.) / 3263.5,
image 43 lines 1-29 – accessed through EEBO.

De Worde's 1517 Printed Edition - London, British Library, STC (2nd ed.) / 3264, image
50 lines 1-29 – accessed through EEBO.

De Worde's 1525 Printed Edition - London, British Library, STC (2nd ed.) / 3266, image
60 line 32 and lines 1-29 – accessed through EEBO.

Boscard's 1606 Printed Edition - London, British Library, STC (2nd ed.) / 3268, image
106 lines 6-27, image 107 lines 1-27 and lines 1-13 – accessed through EEBO.

The page references for the preliminary material found within each copy of Nicholas Love's
Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ (appendix 3.2) are as follows:

MS Gen. 1130 - Glasgow, University of Glasgow Library, MS Gen. 1130, f.1r-4r.

MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15) - Glasgow, University of Glasgow Library, MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15),
f.1r-7v.

Caxton's 1483 Printed Edition - Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, STC (2nd
ed.) / 3259, image 1 – accessed through EEBO.

Caxton's 1490 Printed Edition (EEBO copy) - London, British Library, STC (2nd ed.) /
3260, images 1-7 – accessed through EEBO.

Caxton's 1490 Printed Edition (GUL copy) - Glasgow, University of Glasgow Library, Sp.
Coll. Hunterian Bv.2.24, f.1r-7v.

De Worde's 1494 Printed Edition - London, British Library, STC (2nd ed.) / 3261,
images 1-8 – accessed through EEBO.

Pynson's 1494 Printed Edition - London, British Library, STC (2nd ed.) / 3262, images 1-
2 – accessed through EEBO.

Pynson's 1506 Printed Edition - Cambridge, Pepysian Library, Magdalene College, STC
(2nd ed.) / 3263, images 1-5 – accessed through EEBO.

De Worde's 1507 Printed Edition - Oxford, Bodleian Library, STC (2nd ed.) / 3263.5,
image 1 – accessed through EEBO.

De Worde's 1517 Printed Edition - London, British Library, STC (2nd ed.) / 3264, image
1 – accessed through EEBO.

De Worde's 1525 Printed Edition - London, British Library, STC (2nd ed.) / 3266,
images 1-9 – accessed through EEBO.

Boscard's 1606 Printed Edition - London, British Library, STC (2nd ed.) / 3268, images
1-13 – accessed through EEBO.

Appendix 1: Transcriptions

Appendix 1.1 The MS Gen. 1130

1. ¶ Nowe take we here entent to pe maner of hem in pis cle
2. pyng and gederyng of his disciples & of his conuerfacioun
3. wi^th hem howe lowely he speked to hem. and howe home
4. ly he shewep hym selfe to hem drawyng hem to his loue
5. wi^thinforpe by grace & wi^thouteforpe by dede familiarly le=
6. dyng hym to his moder house. & also goyng wi^th hem ofte
7. to her duellynges techyng & enformyng hem. & also
8. in alle maner beyng bify aboute hem & wi^th als grete cure.
9. as pe moder ^{is} of hir owne sonne.⁶² In so mykel pat as it is writen
10. Jeynt Petr tolde what tyme he flepte wi^th hem many place.⁶³
11. it was his custome to rise vp in pe nyghte hem flepyng. and
12. 3if he founde any of hem vnhiled: priuely & softely hiled hym
13. a3eyne. ffor he louede hem ful tendurly knowyng what
14. he wolde make of hem [raised punctus] as pough it so were pa^t pei were

⁶² Rubricated stroke added over what is possibly a *punctus*.

⁶³ *Punctus* converted to a *punctus elevatus* at a later date/by a different hand.

15. men of rude & buyftes condiciouns & of fymple lynage [*punctus elevatus*]
16. neuerpeles he poughte to make hem princes of pe worlde and
17. cheueteynes of alle criftenmenin goftly bataile & domefmen
18. of oper. Here alfo let vs takehede of what maner peple began
19. pe feip & pe grounde of holy chirche as of fuche fymple fif=
20. hers pore men and vnlearnede. ffor oure lorde wolde not
21. chefe her to grete clerkes and wifemen or myghty men
22. of pe worlde. lefte pe grete⁶⁴ dedes pa^t fhulde after be done
23. by hem my3te be arettede to her⁶⁵ worpynes. But pis he
24. referuede and kepte for hym felfe as it was refon fhewyng
25. pat onely in his owne godenes and myghte & wifedome.
26. he bought vs & fauede vs. Bleffed be he withoute ende [*raised punctus*] lhc
27. Amen.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Word <grete> worn unclear.

⁶⁵ Word <her> worn unclear.

⁶⁶ Rubricated stroke added over what is possibly a *punctus*.

Appendix 1: Transcriptions

Appendix 1.2 MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15) – Dodesham's 1475 MS

1. ¶ Now take we here en=
2. tent to the maner of him in
3. this cleping and gaderyng
4. of his diſciples. and of his
5. conuerſacoun with hem. hou
6. louely he ſpekith to hem. and
7. hou homly he ſhewith hym
8. ſelf to hem. drawyng hem
9. to his loue withinfurthe
10. by grace. and withoutefurpe
11. by dede. famulierly leding
12. hem to his moder houſe. and
13. alſo goyng with hem ofte
14. to her duellinges. teching
15. and enformyng hem. and
16. ſo in all other maner beyng

17. als befy aboute hem. and wi^th
18. as gret cure as pe moder
19. is of hir owne fone. In fo
20. muche that as it is writen [horizontal baseline curve]
21. Jeint Petir tolde. that wht⁶⁷
22. tyme he flepte wip hem -
23. in eny place [mid-height curved mark] it was his
24. cuftom to rise vp in the
25. nyght hem flepyng. and
26. if he fonde eny of hem vn=
27. heled [mid-height curved mark] priuely and softly to
28. hele hem ayen, ffor he loued
29. hem ful tenderly. knowynge
30. wel what he wolde make ~ [line filler]
31. of hem, And though it so -
32. were that they were men of
33. rude and boiftoufe condicouns
34. and of symple lynage [mid-height curved mark] Ne=

⁶⁷ A loop curves to the right at the top of the ascender of the <h> followed by superscript <us>.

35. uertheles he thoughte to ma=
36. ke hem Princes of the worl=
37. de. and Chiueteynes of all
38. criften men. in goftly batay=
39. le [horizontal baseline curve] and domes men ouer opir
40. ¶ Here alfo lete vs take ~ [line filler]
41. hede. of what maner peple
42. began the feithe. and the ~ [line filler]
43. grounde of holichirche [horizontal baseline curve] as
44. of suche fymple fyffhers.
45. poure men and vnlearned.
46. ffor oure lorde wolde not -
47. chefe herto grete clerkes and
48. wife men [horizontal baseline curve] or mighty men -
49. of the worlde [mid-height curved mark] lefte the gret
50. dedes that fhulde after be -
51. doon by hem [mid-height curved mark] myght be aret=
52. ted vnto her worthynes [mid-height curved mark]
53. But this he referued and

54. kepte to him felfe as it was

55. refounu. shewynge that in his

56. owne goodnes. and myght.

57. and wifedom he boughte vs.

58. and faued vs.

Appendix 1: Transcriptions

Appendix 1.3 Caxton's 1484 Printed Edition

1. [hem all/] Now take we here good entent to the manere of hym
2. in this clepyng and gaderyng of his difcyples and of his con
3. uerfacion with hem/ how lowely he ſpeketh to them. and how
4. homely he ſheweth hym ſelf to them/ drawyng them to hys
5. loue withinforth by grace. and withoute forth by dede famyli⁶⁸
6. arly ledyng hem to his moders hous. & alſo goyng with hem
7. ofte to her duellynges/ techyng & enfourmyng hem/ & ſoo in
8. alle manere beyng beſy aboute hem/ and with as grete cure as
9. the moder hath of hir owne ſone. In ſoo mykel that as hit is
10. wryten. ſaynte Peter tolde. what tyme he flepte w^{ith} hem in
11. any place. it was his cuſtome to ryſe vp in the nyght hem fle
12. pyng. And yf he fond any of them vnhyled/ pryuely & ſoftely
13. hyled hym ageyne. For he loued hem ful tenderly knowyng
14. what he wold make of hem as though ſo were they were men
15. of rude and boyſtons condicions and of ſymple lygnage. Ne=

⁶⁸ The last three letters <yli> are faded.

16. uertheles he thoughte to make hem prynces of the worlde and
17. chyuetayns of all Cryften men in ghoftly bataill and domef=
18. men of other. Here alfo lete vs take hede of what manere pe
19. ple began the feithe and the grounde of holy chirche. as of fuche
20. fymple fyffhers/ poure men and vnlearned. For our lord wold
21. not chefe her to grete Clerkes and wyfe men. or myghty men
22. of the world. lefte the grete dedes that fhould after be done by hem
23. myghte be aretted to her worthyneffe/ But this he referued &
24. kepte for hym felf/ as it was reaſon fhewyng that only in his
25. owne goodnes⁶⁹ and myght and wyfedom/ he boughte vs and
26. ſaued vs/ Bleffid be he Jhefus withoute ende Amen

⁶⁹ A vertical line sloping <\> cuts across the descender of <e>.

Appendix 1: Transcriptions

Appendix 1.4 Caxton's 1490 Printed Edition (EEBO Copy)

1. [hem all.] Now take we here good entent to the manere of hym
2. in this clepyug and gaderyng of his diſciples. [raised *punctus*] and of his con=
3. uerſacion with hem. [raised *punctus*] how lowely he ſpeketh to hem. and how
4. homely he ſheweth hym ſelf to them. [raised *punctus*] drawynge them to hys
5. loue withinforth by grace/ and withoute forth by dede famyly=
6. areli ledyng hem to his moders hous/ & alſo goyng with hem
7. ofte to her duellynge & techynge enfourmyng hem. & ſoo in/
8. alle manere beyng beſy aboute hem/ and with as grete cure as
9. the moder hath of hyr owne ſone/ In ſoo mikel that as hit is
10. wryten/ ſaynte Peter tolde: what tyme he ſlepe with hem in
11. any place. it was hys cuſtome to ryſe vp in the nyght hem ſle=
12. pyng. [raised *punctus*] And yf he fond any of them vnhyled. pryuely & ſoftely
13. hiled hym ageyn/ For he loued hem ful tenderly knowynge
14. what he wold make of hem as though ſo were they were men
15. of rude and boystous condicions and of ſymple lynage Ne=
16. uertheles he thoughte to make hem prynces of the worlde and

17. chyuetayns of all Cristen men in ghoftly batayll and domef=
18. men of other/ Here alfo lete vs take hede of what manere pe
19. ple began the feithe and the grounde of holy chirche/ as of fuche
20. fymple fyffhers. [raised *punctus*] poure men and vnlearned. [raised *punctus*] For
our lord wold
21. not chefe her to grete Clerkes and wyfe men. or myghty men
22. of the world. lefte the grete dedes that fhold after bedone by hem
23. myghte be aretted to her worthyneffe. But thys be referued &
24. kepte for hym felf as it was reaſon fhewyng that only in his
25. owne goodnes and myght and wyfedom. he boughte vs and
26. faued vs/ Bleffyd be he Jhefus withoute ende Amen |/

Appendix 1: Transcriptions

Appendix 1.5 Caxton's 1490 Printed Edition (Glasgow University Library Copy)

1. [all.] Now take we here good entent to the manere of hym
2. in this clepyng and gaderyng of his diſciples. [raised *punctus*] and of his con=
3. uerſacion with hem. [raised *punctus*] how lowely he ſpeketh to hem. and how
4. homely he ſheweth hym ſelf to them. [raised *punctus*] drawynge them to hys
5. loue withinforth by grace/ and withoute forth by dede famyly=
6. areli ledyng hem to his moders hous/ & alſo goyng with hem
7. ofte to her duellynge & techyng enfourmyng hem. & ſoo in/
8. alle manere beyng beſy aboute hem/ and with as grete cure as
9. the moder hath of hyr owne ſone/ In ſoo mikel that as hit is
10. wryten/ ſaynte Peter tolde: what tyme he ſlepe with hem in
11. any place. it was hys cuſtome to ryſe vp in the nyght hem ſle=
12. pyng. [raised *punctus*] And yf [unidentifiable mark]⁷⁰ he fond any of them vnhyled.
pryuely & ſoftely
13. hiled hym ageyn/ For he loued hem ful tendirly knowynge
14. what he wold make of hem as though ſo were they were men

⁷⁰ Large, filled circular shape within the line of text.

15. of rude and boyftous condicions and of fymple lynage Ne=
16. uertheles he thoughte to make hem prynces of the worlde and
17. chyuetayns of all Criften men in ghoftly batayll and domef=
18. men of other/ Here alfo lete vs take hede of what manere pe
19. ple began the feithe and the grounde of holy chirche/ as of fuche
20. fymple fyffhers. [raised *punctus*] poure men and vnlearned. [raised *punctus*] For our
lord wold
21. not chefe her to grete Clerkes and wyfe men. or myghty men
22. of the world. lefte the grete dedes that fhold after bedone by hem
23. myghte be aretted to her worthyneffe. But thys be referued &
24. kepte for hymfelf as it was reaſon fhewyng that only in his
25. owne goodnes and myght and wyfedom. he boughte vs and
26. faued vs/ Bleffyd be he Jhefus withoute ende Amen |/

Appendix 1: Transcriptions

Appendix 1.6 – De Worde’s 1494 Printed Edition

1. [all.] Now take we here good entent to the manere of hym in
2. thys clepyng and gadryng of hys dicyples/ and of hys conuer
3. facion wyth hem/ how lowely he fpeketh to them. [raised *punctus*] and how
4. homely he fheweth hym felf to them/ drawynge them to hys
5. loue wythinforth by grace. and wythoute forth by dede famy=
6. liarly ledyng hem to hys moders hous. & alfo going wth hem
7. ofte to her dwellynges/ techyng & enformynge hem / & soo in
8. alle manere beyng befy aboute hem/ & wyth as grete care as
9. the moder hath of hyr owne fone. In foo mykell that as is
10. wryten. Jaynt Peter tolde. what tyme he flepte wyth hem in
11. ony place. it was hys cuftome to ryfe vp in the nyght hem fle
12. pyng And yf he fonde ony of them vnhyled preuely & foftely
13. hyled hym ageyne. For he loued hem ful tenderly knowynge
14. what he wold make of hem as though fo were they were men
15. of rude & boyftous condicions and of fimple lygnage. Neuer
16. theles he thoughte to make hem prynces of the worlde & chy

17. uetayns of all Cryften men in ghoftly bathayll & domefmen
18. of other. Here alfo lete vs take hede of what manere peple be
19. gan the feythe & the grounde of holy chyrche. as of fuche fym=
20. ple fyffhers/ poure men and vnlearned. [raised *punctus*] For our lord wolde
21. not chefe her to grete Clerkes and wyfe men. or mighty men
22. of the worlde. [raised *punctus*] lefte the grete dedes that fhoulde after be done by
23. hem myghte be aretted to her wordyneffe/ But thys he refer
24. ued & kepte for hym felf/ as it was refon fhewyng that only in
25. hys owne goodness & might & wyfedom/ he boughte vs and
26. faued vs/ Bleffyd be he Jhefus wythoute ende AMEN

Appendix 1: Transcriptions

Appendix 1.7 Pynson's 1494 Printed Edition

1. [all.] Nowe take we here goode entent to the
2. maner of him in this clepyng and gaderinge of his discyples & of his
3. conuerfacion with theym. howe louly he ſpeketh to theym/ and louly
4. he ſheweth him ſelf to theym: drawynge theym to his loue withiforth
5. by grace/ and withouteforth by dede famyliarly ledynge them vnto
6. his moders hous/ and alſo goynge with theym to their dwellinge/ to
7. chynge and enfourmyng theym / and ſo in all maner beyng befy a=
8. bote theym/ and with as grete cure as the moder hath of hir owne
9. ſon: In ſo moch that as it is wreten: ſaynt Peter tolde: what tyme he
10. ſpeke with theym in any place: It was his cuſtome to ryſe vp in the
11. night theym ſlepyng/ and if he fonde any of theym vnhyllid preuely
12. and ſoftly hyllid theym ageyne. For he loued theym full tenderly kn
13. owynge what he wolde make of theym: as though ſo were they were
14. men of rude and boyſtous condicions and of ſimple lynage. Neuer=
15. theleſſe he thought to make theym princys of the worlde & chyeteyns
16. of all criſten men in geofily batayle and domeſmen of other. Here

17. also late vs take hede of what maner peple began the feyth/ and the
18. groundes of holy church: as of such fymple fyfthens pore men and vn
19. lerned. For oure lorde wolde nat chefe therto clerkys and wyfemen/
20. or myghty men of the worlde: lift the greates dedys that fhulde after
21. be done: by theym might be arrettyd by their worthyneffe: but this he
22. referued and kept for him filf as it was reafon fhewynge that only in
23. his owne goodneffe and myght and wyfdome he bought vs & sauoyd
24. vs. bleffyd be Jhefus withoute ende. Amen.

Appendix 1: Transcriptions

Appendix 1.8 Pynson's 1506 Printed Edition

1. [al.] Nowe take we here gode entent to the maner of hym
2. in this callynge and gadrynge togeder of his dyfcyples and of his con
3. uerfacyon wyth theym: howe lowly he fpeketh to them & howe low=
4. ly he fheweth hym felfe to them drawynge theym to his loue wythin
5. forth by grace & wythoutforth by dede famylyerly ledynge theym to
6. his moders hous: and alfo goynge wyth them to theyr dwellyng pla
7. ces techynge & enfourmynge theym and fo in al maner beyng befy a=
8. bout them: & that wyth as great cure as the moder hath of hyr owne
9. fonne: In fo moch that as it is wryten. Jaynt peter tolde what tyme
10. he flepte wyth theym in any place It was his coftome to ryfe vp i the
11. nyght them flepyng: and if he fonde any of theym vncouered preuely
12. and foftly hyllid theym ageyne. For he loued theym full tenderly kno
13. wyng what he wole make of theym: as thoughe foo were they were
14. men of rude and boyftous condycyons and of fymple lynage. Neuer=
15. thelefse he thought to make theym prynces of the worlde & cheueteyns
16. of all cryften menne in gooftly batayle and domefmen of other. Here

17. also lette vs take hede of what maner of peple began the feyth and the
18. grounde of holy churche: as of Iuche Iymple fyffhers pore men and vn
19. lerned. For oure lorde wolde natte Ieche therto clerkes and wyfe men
20. or myghty men of the worlde / lest theyr greate dedys that Ihuld after
21. be done: by theym myght be arrectyd by their worthyneffe but this he
22. referued and kepte for hym Ielfe as it was reaJon shewynge that only
23. in his owne goodneffe and myght and wyJdom he bought vs and Ja
24. ued vs. bleffyd be Jhefus without ende. Amen.

Appendix 1: Transcriptions

Appendix 1.9 De Worde's 1507 Printed Edition

1. [all.] Now take we here good entent to the maner of hym
2. in this clepyng and gadryng of his dyfcyple/ and of
3. his conuerfacyon with them/ how lowely he fpeketh to
4. them/ and how homely he fheweth hym self to them dra
5. wyng them to his loue withinforth by grace/ and with
6. outforth by dede famylyarly ledyng themu to his moders
7. hous/ and alfo goyng with them ofte to theyr dwellyn=
8. ges/ techyng and enformyng them/ and foo in all ma=
9. nere beyng befy about them/ and with as grete cure as
10. the moder hathe of her owne fone. In fo moche that as
11. is wryten/ Jaynt Peter tolde what tyme he flepte wyth
12. them in any place/ it was his cuftome to ryfe vp in p^e ny=
13. ghte them flepyng And yf he founde any of them vnhy
14. led/ pryuely and foftely couered hym agayne/ for he lo=
15. ued them full tenderly knowyng what he wolde make
16. them as thoughe fo were they were men of rude & boyf=

17. tous condycyons and of fymple lygnage. Neuertheles
18. he thoughte to make them prynces of the worlde & chy=
19. uetayns of all cryften men in ghoftly batayll & domef=
20. men of other. Here alfo lete vs take hede of what maner
21. people began the fayth & the grounde of holy chirche/ as
22. of fuche fymple fyffhers/ poore men and vnlearned. For
23. our lorde wolde not chefe her to grete Clerkes and wyfe
24. men/ or myghty men of the worlde/ lefte the grete dedes
25. that fhoulde after be done by theym myghte be arected to
26. to [SIC] her wordynesse. But this he referued & kepte for hym
27. felf/ as it was reafon fhewynge that only in hys owne
28. goodnes and myght and wyfedome/ he boughte vs and
29. faued vs. Bleffed be he Jhefus without ende. AMEN.

Appendix 1: Transcriptions

Appendix 1.10 De Worde's 1517 Printed Edition

1. [all.] Now take we here good entent to the mater of hym
2. in this clepyng and gadryng of his dyfcypless and of
3. his conuerfacyon with theym / how lowly he fpeketh to
4. them/ and how homely he fheweth hymfelf to them dra
5. wyng theym to his loue wihinforthe by grace/ and wi
6. outforthe by dede famylyary ledyng them to his moders
7. hous/ and alfo goyng with theym oft to theyr dwellyn
8. ges/ techyng and enformyng theym/ and fo in all ma=
9. nere beyng befy about them/ and with as grete cure as
10. the moder hath of her owne fone. In fo moche that as
11. it is wryten/ jaynt Peter tolde what tyme he flete wi^th
12. them in any place/ it was his cuftome to ryfe vp to p^e ny
13. ghte them flepyng. And yf he founde any of them vnhy=
14. led/ pryely and foftely couered hym agayne/ for he lo=
15. ued them full tenderly knowyng what he wold make
16. them as thoughe fo were they were men of rude & boyf

17. tous condycyons and of fymple lygnage. Neuertheles
18. he thoughte to make them prynces of the worlde & chy=
19. uetayns of all chryften men in ghoftly batayll & domef=
20. men of other. Here alfo let vs take hede of what maner
21. people began the fayth & p^e grounde of holy chyrche / as
22. of fuche fymple fyffhers / poore men and vnlearned. For
23. our lorde wolde not chefe her to grete clerkes and wyfe
24. men/ or myghty men of the worlde / left the grete dedes
25. that fholde after be done by them myght be aryghted to
26. her worthyneffe. But this he referued and kept for hym
27. felf/ as it was reafon fhewynge that onely in his owne
28. goodnes and myght and wyfdome/ he bought vs and
29. faued vs. Bleffed be Jhefus without ende. Amen.

Appendix 1: Transcriptions

Appendix 1.11 De Worde's 1525 Printed Edition

1. [all.] Now take we here good hede to the maner of hym
2. in this callynge and gadrynge of his dyfcyples and of
3. his conuerfacyon with them/ how lowly he fpeketh to
4. them/ and how homely he fheweth hymfelfe to them
5. drawyng them to his loue withinforth by grace/ and
6. withoutforth by dede famylyarly ledyng them to his
7. mothers hous/ & alfo goyng with them ofte to theyr
8. dwellynges/ techyng and enformyng them/ and fo
9. in all maner beyng befy aboute them/ and with as
10. grete cure as p^e mother hath of her fone. In fo moche
11. that as it is wryten/ Jaynt Peter tolde what tyme he
12. flepte with them in ony place/ it was his cuftome to
13. ryfe vp in the nyght they flepyng/ & yf he founde ony
14. of them vncoverd/ pryuely & foftly couered them a=
15. gayne/ for he loued them full tenderly knowyung what
16. he wolde make of them/ all though fo were they were

17. men of rude and boyftous condycyons and of fymple
18. lygnage/ neuertheles he thought to make them pryn
19. ces of the worlde & chefetaynes of all chryften men in
20. ghoftly batayle & domes men of other. Here alfo let vs
21. take hede of what maner people began the fayth & the
22. grounde of holy chirche/ as of fuche fymple fyffhers/
23. poore men and vnlearned. For our lorde wolde not choſe
24. hereto grete clerkes and wyſe men/ or myghty men of
25. the worlde/ left p^e grete dedes that ſholde after be done
26. by them myght be arected to theyr worthynes. But
27. this he referued & kepte⁷¹ for hymſelfe/ as it was reaſon
28. fhewynge that onely in his owne goodnes and myght
29. and wyfdome he bought vs and ſaued vs. Blyffed he
30. Jeſus withouten ende. Amen.

⁷¹ Horizontal line over <ept> of <kepte>.

Appendix 1: Transcriptions

Appendix 1.12 Boscard's 1606 Printed Edition

1. Now let vs here behoulde our
2. Lorde in this callinge and gathe-
3. ringe of his difciples, and confi-
4. der his humble conuerfation a-
5. mongft them, in how lowlie and
6. gentle maner he fpeaketh vnto
7. them; and how familiar and ho-
8. mely he fheweth him felfe vnto
9. them, inwardlie drawinge them
10. to his loue by his grace, and out-
11. wardlie by his fweete and affable
12. conuerfation. And how alfo he
13. leadeth them to his mother's
14. houfe, and fome times goeth with
15. them to their owne habitations
16. and dwellinges, euer teachinge

17. and enforminge them, & alwaies
18. bufie about them, with as great
19. care and folicitude as the mother
20. hath of hir owne children. In so
21. much that as it is written, faint
22. Peter reported, that when he
23. refed or flept with them in any
24. place, his cuftome was to rife vp
25. in the nighte when they were
26. faft a fleepe, & if he found any of
27. them vnhealed, foftly & fecretly he
28. would couer them againe. For he
29. loued them moft tenderly, knowinge
30. well what worthie and notable
31. perfons he ment to make of them:
32. for althoughe they were men of
33. rude and fimp'e condicion, and of
34. meane difcent and lignage, yet in-
35. tented he to make them Princes of

36. the worlde, and the chiefe Cap-
37. taines of all Chriftians in his fpi-
38. ritual battaille, & yet more, to be
39. the doomes-men and iudges
40. of the worlde.
41. Finally let vs heere confider
42. of what maner of fimp'e people
43. the faith and ground of Gods
44. Church began, namely of poore
45. Fifhers, men altogether ignorant
46. and vnlearned. For our Lord
47. would nether choofe the greate
48. doctours, wifemen, nor yet the
49. mightie men of the worlde, left
50. the great deedes which fhould
51. afterwarde be done by them,
52. mighte be attributed to their
53. wi t or their owne worthynes:
54. but this he referued and kept for

55. him Jelfe, as it was both righte

56. and requifite, fhewinge ther by

57. that only in his owne goodnes,

58. mighte, and wifdome he

59. boughte vs and redee-

60. med vs. Blessed be le-

61. Jus with out end.

62. Amen.

Appendix 2: Punctuation Data

2.1.1 Use of *Virgulae Suspensivae*⁷²

1. of hys dicyples/ and of	De Worde 1494 and 1507
2. conuerfacion with hem/ how lowely	Caxton 1484; De Worde 1494, 1507, 1517 and 1525
3. fpeketh to theym/ and louly	Pynson 1494; De Worde 1507, 1517 and 1525
4. hym felf to them/ drawynge them	Caxton 1484; De Worde 1494
5. by grace/ and withoute	Caxton 1490; Pynson 1494; De Worde 1507, 1517 and 1525
6. to his moders hous/ & alfo goyng	Caxton 1490; Pynson 1494; De Worde 1507, 1517 and 1525
7. to her duellynges/ techynge	Caxton 1484; Pynson 1494; De Worde 1494, 1507, 1517 and 1525
8. enfourmynge hem/ & foo	Caxton 1484; Pynson 1494; De Worde 1494, 1507, 1517 and 1525
9. foo in/ alle manere	Caxton 1490

⁷² All text extracts in Appendix 2.1 are taken from the earliest extract in which the position is punctuated with a *virgula suspensiva*.

10. aboute hem/ and with	Caxton 1484 and 1490; Pynson 1494; De Worde 1494, 1507, 1517 and 1525
11. hyr owne fone/ In foo mikel	Caxton 1490
12. as hit is wryten/ Jaynte Peter tolde	Caxton 1490; De Worde 1507, 1517 and 1525
13. in ony place/ it was his custome	De Worde 1507, 1517 and 1525
14. theym flepynge/ and if he fonde	Pynson 1494; De Worde 1525
15. ony of them vnhyled/ pryuely	Caxton 1484; De Worde 1507, 1517 and 1525
16. hiled hym ageyn/ For he loued	Caxton 1490; De Worde 1507, 1517 and 1525
17. he wolde make of them/ all though	De Worde 1525
18. of fymples lygnage/ neuertheles	De Worde 1525
19. men of other/ Here also	Caxton 1490
20. began the feyth/ and the grounde	Pynson 1494
21. grounde of holy chirche/ as of Juche	Caxton 1490; De Worde 1507, 1517 and 1525
22. fymples fyffhers/ poure men	Caxton 1484; De Worde 1494, 1507, 1517 and 1525
23. wyfemen/ or myghty men	Pynson 1494; De Worde 1507, 1517 and 1525

24. men of the worlde/ lefte the

De Worde 1507, 1517 and 1525; Pynson
1506

25. to her worthyneffe/ but this be

Caxton 1484; De Worde 1494

26. for hym jelf/ as it was

Caxton 1484; De Worde 1494, 1507, 1517
and 1525

27. wyfedom/ he boughte vs

Caxton 1484; De Worde 1494, 1507 and
1517

28. saued vs/ Bleffid be

Caxton 1484 and 1490; De Worde 1494

29. Amen!/

Caxton 1490

2.1.2 Diachronic Analysis of these Positions

Positi- on	MS Gen. 1130	MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15)	1484 C.	1490 C.	1494 D.W.	1494 P.	1506 P.	1507 D.W.	1517 D.W.	1525 D.W.	1606 B.
1	no punc.	<i>punctus</i>	no punc.	raised <i>punc- tus</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	no punc.	no punc.	<i>virg. sus.</i>	no punc.	no punc.	<i>com.</i>
2	no punc.	<i>punctus</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	raised <i>punc- tus</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>punc -tus</i>	doub -le <i>punc -tus</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>com.</i>
3	<i>punc- tus</i>	<i>punctus</i>	<i>punc -tus</i>	<i>punc- tus</i>	raised <i>punc -tus</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	no punc.	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>semi - colo- n</i>
4	no punc.	<i>punctus</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	raised <i>punc- tus</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	doub -le <i>punc -tus</i>	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	<i>com.</i>
5	no punc.	<i>punctus</i>	<i>punc -tus</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>punc -tus</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	no punc.	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>com.</i>

6	<i>punc-</i> <i>tus</i>	<i>punctus</i>	<i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	doub- le <i>punc-</i> <i>tus</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>com.</i>
7	no punc.	<i>punctus</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	no punc.	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	no punc.	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>com.</i>
8	<i>punc-</i> <i>tus</i>	<i>punctus</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>punctu-</i> <i>s</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	no punc.	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>com.</i>
9	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	N/A
10	no punc.	<i>punctus</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	doub- le <i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>com.</i>
11	<i>punc-</i> <i>tus</i>	<i>punctus</i>	<i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	doub -le <i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	doub -le <i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	<i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	<i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	<i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	<i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>
12	no punc.	horizont -al baseline curve	<i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>punc</i> <i>t-us</i>	doub -le <i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	<i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>com.</i>
13	<i>punc-</i> <i>tus</i> (later a <i>punct-</i> <i>us</i> <i>eleva-</i> <i>tus</i>)	mid- height curved mark	<i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	<i>punc-</i> <i>tus</i>	<i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	doub -le <i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	no punc.	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>com.</i>
14	<i>punct-</i> <i>us</i>	<i>punctus</i>	<i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	raised <i>punc-</i> <i>tus</i>	no punc.	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	doub -le <i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	no punc.	<i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>com.</i>
15	double <i>punct-</i> <i>us</i>	mid- height curved mark	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>punc-</i> <i>tus</i>	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>com.</i>
16	<i>punct-</i> <i>us</i>	<i>punctus</i> (‘tailed’)	<i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	<i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	<i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>
17	raised <i>punct-</i> <i>us</i>	<i>punctus</i> (‘tailed’)	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	doub -le <i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	doub -le <i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	no punc.	no punc.	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	doub -le <i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>
18	<i>punct-</i> <i>us</i> <i>eleva-</i> <i>tus</i>	mid- height curved mark	<i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	<i>Lit.</i> <i>Nota.</i>	<i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	<i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	<i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	<i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	<i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>com.</i>

19	<i>punct-</i> <i>us</i>	no punc.	<i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	<i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	<i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	<i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	<i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	<i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	<i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>
20	no punc.	<i>punctus</i>	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.
21	no punc.	horizont -al baseline curve	<i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	doub -le <i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	doub -le <i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>com.</i>
22	no punc.	<i>punctus</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	raised <i>punc-</i> <i>tus</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	no punc.	no punc.	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>com.</i>
23	no punc.	horizont -al baseline curve	<i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	<i>punc-</i> <i>tus</i>	<i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	no punc.	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>com.</i>
24	<i>punct-</i> <i>us</i>	mid- height curved mark	<i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	<i>punc-</i> <i>tus</i>	raised <i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	doub -le <i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>com.</i>
25	<i>punct-</i> <i>us</i>	mid- height curved mark	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>punctus</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	doub- le <i>punc-</i> <i>tus</i>	no punc.	<i>punc-</i> <i>tus</i>	<i>punc-</i> <i>tus</i>	<i>punc-</i> <i>tus</i>	doub- le <i>punc-</i> <i>tus</i>
26	no punc.	no punc.	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	no punc.	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	no punc.	no punc.	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>com.</i>
27	<i>punct-</i> <i>us</i>	no punc.	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>punc-</i> <i>tus</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	no punc.	no punc.	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	no punc.	no punc.
28	<i>punct-</i> <i>us</i>	<i>punctus</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	<i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	<i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	<i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	<i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	<i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>
29	<i>punct-</i> <i>us</i>	N/A	no punc.	<i>punc-</i> <i>tus</i> excla- mati- vus & <i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	no punc.	<i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	<i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	<i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	<i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	<i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>	<i>punc</i> <i>-tus</i>

Appendix 2: Punctuation Data

2.2.1 Use of *Commata*⁷³

1. gatheringe of his diſciples,	Boscard 1606
2. conuerſation a-mongſt them,	Boscard 1606
3. he ſheweth him ſelfe vnto them,	Boscard 1606
4. by his grace,	Boscard 1606
5. he leadeth them to his mother's houſe,	Boscard 1606
6. to their owne habitations and dwellinges,	Boscard 1606
7. teachinge and enforminge them,	Boscard 1606
8. & alwaies buſie about them,	Boscard 1606
9. as it is written,	Boscard 1606
10. ſaint Peter reported,	Boscard 1606
11. ſlept with them in any place,	Boscard 1606
12. when they were faſt a ſleepe,	Boscard 1606
13. & if he found any of them vnhealed,	Boscard 1606
14. he loued them moſt tenderly,	Boscard 1606
15. they were men of rude and ſimp'e condicion,	Boscard 1606

⁷³ All text extracts in Appendix 2.2 are taken from Boscard's 1606 edition.

16. and of meane difcent and lignage,	Boscard 1606
17. make them Princes of the worlde,	Boscard 1606
18. in his fpi-ritual bataille,	Boscard 1606
19. & yet more,	Boscard 1606
20. ground of Gods Church began,	Boscard 1606
21. namely of poore Fijhers,	Boscard 1606
22. would nether choofe the greate doctours,	Boscard 1606
23. wifemen,	Boscard 1606
24. the mightie men of the worlde,	Boscard 1606
25. which fhould afterwardes be done by them,	Boscard 1606
26. kept for him felfe,	Boscard 1606
27. as it was both righte and requifite,	Boscard 1606
28. in his owne goodnes,	Boscard 1606
29. mighte,	Boscard 1606

2.2.2 Diachronic Analysis of these Positions

Positio -n	MS Gen. 1130	MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15)	1484 C.	1490 C.	1494 D.W.	1494 P.	1506 P.	1507 D.W.	1517 D.W.	1525 D.W.	160 6 B.
1	no punc.	<i>punctus</i>	no punc.	raised <i>punc- tus</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	no punc.	no punc.	<i>virg. sus.</i>	no punc.	no punc.	<i>com.</i>
2	no punc.	<i>punctus</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	raised <i>punct -us</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>punct -us</i>	doub- le <i>punc- tus</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>com.</i>
3	no punc.	<i>punctus</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	raised <i>punc- tus</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	doub- le <i>punc- tus</i>	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	<i>com.</i>
4	no punc.	<i>punctus</i>	<i>punc- tus</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>punc- tus</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	no punc.	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>com.</i>
5	<i>punctus</i>	<i>punctus</i>	<i>punc- tus</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>punc- tus</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	doub- le <i>punc- tus</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>com.</i>
6	no punc.	<i>punctus</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	no punc.	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	no punc.	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>com.</i>
7	<i>punctus</i>	<i>punctus</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>punc- tus</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	no punc.	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>com.</i>
8	no punc.	<i>punctus</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	doub- le <i>punc- tus</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>com.</i>
9	no punc.	horizont- -al baseline curve	<i>punc- tus</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>punc- tus</i>	doub- le <i>punc- tus</i>	<i>punc- tus</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>com.</i>
10	no punc.	<i>punctus</i>	<i>punc- tus</i>	doub- le <i>punc- tus</i>	<i>punc- tus</i>	doub- le <i>punc- tus</i>	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	<i>com.</i>
11	<i>punctus</i> (later a <i>punctus elevatus</i>)	mid- height curved mark	<i>punc- tus</i>	<i>punc- tus</i>	<i>punc- tus</i>	doub- le <i>punc- tus</i>	no punc.	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>com.</i>
12	<i>punctus</i>	<i>punctus</i>	<i>punc- tus</i>	raised <i>punc- tus</i>	no punc.	<i>virg. sus.</i>	doub- le <i>punc- tus</i>	no punc.	<i>punc- tus</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>com.</i>

13	double <i>punctus</i>	mid- height curved mark	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>punct</i> - <i>us</i>	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>com.</i>
14	no punc.	<i>punctus</i>	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	<i>com.</i>
15	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	<i>com.</i>
16	<i>punctus</i> <i>elevatus</i>	mid- height curved mark	<i>punc-</i> <i>tus</i>	<i>Lit.</i> <i>Nota.</i>	<i>punc-</i> <i>tus</i>	<i>punc-</i> <i>tus</i>	<i>punc-</i> <i>tus</i>	<i>punc-</i> <i>tus</i>	<i>punc-</i> <i>tus</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>com.</i>
17	no punc.	<i>punctus</i>	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	<i>com.</i>
18	no punc.	horizont -al baseline curve	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	<i>com.</i>
19	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	<i>com.</i>
20	no punc.	horizont -al baseline curve	<i>punc-</i> <i>tus</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>punc-</i> <i>tus</i>	doubl -e <i>punc-</i> <i>tus</i>	doubl -e <i>punc-</i> <i>tus</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>com.</i>
21	no punc.	<i>punctus</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	raised <i>punc-</i> <i>tus</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	no punc.	no punc.	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>com.</i>
22	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	<i>com.</i>
23	no punc.	horizont -al baseline curve	<i>punc-</i> <i>tus</i>	<i>punc-</i> <i>tus</i>	<i>punc-</i> <i>tus</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	no punc.	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>com.</i>
24	<i>punctus</i>	mid- height curved mark	<i>punc-</i> <i>tus</i>	<i>punc-</i> <i>tus</i>	raised <i>punc-</i> <i>tus</i>	doubl -e <i>punct</i> - <i>us</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>com.</i>
25	no punc.	mid- height curved mark	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	<i>com.</i>
26	no punc.	no punc.	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	no punc.	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	no punc.	no punc.	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus.</i>	<i>com.</i>
27	no punc.	<i>punctus</i>	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	<i>com.</i>

28	no punc.	<i>punctus</i>	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	<i>com.</i>
29	no punc.	<i>punctus</i>	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	<i>com.</i>

Appendix 2: Punctuation Data

2.3.1 Uses of *Punctus Elevatus*⁷⁴

1. flepte wi^th hem many place [*punctus*/later a *punctus elevatus*]

MS Gen. 1130

2. of fymples lynage [*punctus elevatus*]

MS Gen 1130

2.3.2 Diachronic Analysis of these Positions

Positio -n	MS Gen. 1130	MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15)	1484 C.	1490 C.	1494 D.W.	1494 P.	1506 P.	1507 D.W.	1517 D.W.	1525 D.W.	1606 B.
1	<i>punc- tus</i> (later <i>punctus elevat- us</i>)	~ (A)	<i>punc- tus</i>	<i>punc- tus</i>	<i>punc- tus</i>	doub -le <i>punc- tus</i>	Lit. Nota.	virg. sus.	virg. sus.	virg. sus.	com.
2	<i>punc- tus eleva- tus</i>	~ (A)	<i>punc- tus</i>	Lit. Nota.	<i>punc- tus</i>	<i>punc- tus</i>	<i>punc- tus</i>	<i>punc- tus</i>	<i>punc- tus</i>	virg. sus.	com.

⁷⁴ All text extracts in Appendix 2.3 are taken from MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15).

Appendix 2: Punctuation Data

2.4.1 Uses of Double *Punctus*⁷⁵

1. his conuerfacyon wyth theym:	Pynson 1506
2. he fheweth him jilf to theym:	Pynson 1494
3. to his moders hous:	Pynson 1506
4. beynge befy about them:	Pynson 1506
5. as the moder hath of hir owne jon:	Pynson 1494 and 1506
6. as it is wreten:	Pynson 1494
7. jaynte Peter tolde:	Caxton 1490; Pynson 1494
8. in any place:	Pynson 1494
9. i the nyght them flepynge:	Pynson 1506
10. 3if he founde any of hem vnhielde:	MS Gen. 1130
11. wolde make of theym:	Pynson 1494 and 1506; Boscard1606
12. the grounde of holy church:	Pynson 1494 and 1506
13. myghty men of the worlde:	Pynson 1494
14. that fhulde after be done:	Pynson 1494 and 1506

⁷⁵ All text extracts in Appendix 2.4 are taken from the earliest extract in which the position is punctuated with a double *punctus*.

15. arrettyd by their worthyneffe:

Pynson 1494; Boscard

1606

2.4.2 Diachronic Analysis of These Positions

Positio -n	MS Gen. 1130	MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15)	1484 C.	1490 C.	1494 D.W.	1494 P.	1506 P.	1507 D.W.	1517 D.W.	1525 D.W.	1606 B.
1	no punc.	punctus	virg. sus.	raised punc -tus	virg. sus.	punc -tus	doubl -e punct -us	virg. sus.	virg. sus.	virg. sus.	com.
2	no punc.	punctus	virg. sus.	raised punc -tus	virg. sus.	doub -le punc -tus	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	com.
3	punc- tus	punctus	punc -tus	virg. sus.	punc -tus	virg. sus.	doub -le punc -tus	virg. sus.	virg. sus.	virg. sus.	com.
4	no punc.	punctus	virg. sus.	virg. sus.	virg. sus.	virg. sus.	doub -le punc -tus	virg. sus.	virg. sus.	virg. sus.	com.
5	punc- tus	punctus	punc -tus	virg. sus.	punc -tus	doub -le punc -tus	doub -le punc -tus	punc -tus	punc -tus	punc -tus	punc -tus
6	no punc.	horizont -al baseline curve	punc -tus	virg. sus.	punc -tus	doub -le punc -tus	punc -tus	virg. sus.	virg. sus.	virg. sus.	com.
7	no punc.	punctus	punc -tus	doub -le punc -tus	punc -tus	doub -le punc -tus	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	com.
8	punctus (later a punctus elevatus)	mid- height curved mark	punc -tus	punc -tus	punc -tus	doub -le punc -tus	no punc.	virg. sus.	virg. sus.	virg. sus.	com.

9	<i>punctu</i> -s	<i>punctus</i>	<i>punc</i> -tus	raised <i>punc</i> -tus	no punc.	<i>virg.</i> sus.	doub- le <i>punc</i> - tus	no punc.	<i>punc</i> -tus	<i>virg.</i> sus.	<i>com.</i>
10	double <i>punctu</i> -s	mid- height curved mark	<i>virg.</i> sus.	<i>punc</i> -tus	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	<i>virg.</i> sus.	<i>virg.</i> sus.	<i>virg.</i> sus.	<i>com.</i>
11	raised <i>punctu</i> -s	punctu- s (‘tailed’)	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	doub -le <i>punc</i> -tus	doub -le <i>punc</i> -tus	no punc.	no punc.	<i>virg.</i> sus.	<i>doub</i> -le <i>punc</i> -tus
12	no punc.	horizont -al baseline curve	<i>punc</i> -tus	<i>virg.</i> sus.	<i>punc</i> -tus	doub -le <i>punc</i> -tus	doub -le <i>punc</i> -tus	<i>virg.</i> sus.	<i>virg.</i> sus.	<i>virg.</i> sus.	<i>com.</i>
13	<i>punctu</i> -s	mid- height curved mark	<i>punc</i> -tus	<i>punc</i> -tus	raise -d <i>punc</i> -tus	doub -le <i>punc</i> -tus	<i>virg.</i> sus.	<i>virg.</i> sus.	<i>virg.</i> sus.	<i>virg.</i> sus.	<i>com.</i>
14	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	doub -le <i>punc</i> -tus	doub -le <i>punc</i> -tus	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.
15	<i>punctu</i> -s	mid- height curved mark	<i>virg.</i> sus.	<i>punc</i> -tus	<i>virg.</i> sus.	doub -le <i>punc</i> -tus	no punc.	<i>punc</i> -tus	<i>punc</i> -tus	<i>punc</i> -tus	<i>doub</i> -le <i>punc</i> -tus

Appendix 2: Punctuation Data

Appendix 2.5.1 Uses of Raised *Punctus*⁷⁶

1. gaderyng of his diſciples [r.p.] and of	Caxton 1490
2. his conuerſacion with hem [r.p.] how lowely	Caxton 1490
3. he ſpeketh to them [r.p.] and how homely	De Worde 1494
4. he ſheweth hym ſelf to them [r.p.] drawyng them	Caxton 1490
5. in the nyght hem ſlepyng [r.p.] And yf	Caxton 1490
6. ſuche ſymple fyſſhers [r.p.] poure men	Caxton 1490
7. poure men and vnlearned [r.p.] For our lord	Caxton 1490; De Worde 1494
8. mighty men of the worlde [r.p.] lefte the	De Worde 1494

⁷⁶ All text extracts in Appendix 2.5 are taken from the earliest extract in which the position is punctuated with a raised *punctus*.

Appendix 2.5.2 Diachronic Analysis of these Positions

Positio -n	MS Gen. 1130	MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15)	1484 C.	1490 C.	1494 D.W.	1494 P.	1506 P.	1507 D.W.	1517 D.W.	1525 D.W.	1606 B.
1	no punc.	<i>punctus</i>	no punc.	raised <i>punc</i> -tus	<i>virg.</i> sus.	no punc.	no punc.	<i>virg.</i> sus.	no punc.	no punc.	<i>com.</i>
2	no punc.	<i>punctus</i>	<i>virg.</i> sus.	raised <i>punc</i> -tus	<i>virg.</i> sus.	<i>punc</i> -tus	doub -le <i>punc</i> -tus	<i>virg.</i> sus.	<i>virg.</i> sus.	<i>virg.</i> sus.	<i>com.</i>
3	<i>punc</i> - tus	<i>punctus</i>	<i>punc</i> -tus	<i>punc</i> -tus	raised <i>punc</i> -tus	<i>virg.</i> sus.	no punc.	<i>virg.</i> sus.	<i>virg.</i> sus.	<i>virg.</i> sus.	<i>semi</i> - <i>colo-</i> <i>n</i>
4	no punc.	<i>punctus</i>	<i>virg.</i> sus.	raised <i>punc</i> -tus	<i>virg.</i> sus.	doub -le <i>punc</i> -tus	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	<i>com.</i>
5	<i>punc</i> - tus	<i>punctus</i>	<i>punc</i> -tus	raised <i>punc</i> -tus	no punc.	<i>virg.</i> sus.	doub -le <i>punc</i> -tus	no punc.	<i>punc</i> -tus	<i>virg.</i> sus.	<i>com.</i>
6	no punc.	<i>punctus</i>	<i>virg.</i> sus.	raised <i>punc</i> -tus	<i>virg.</i> sus.	no punc.	no punc.	<i>virg.</i> sus.	<i>virg.</i> sus.	<i>virg.</i> sus.	<i>com.</i>
7	<i>punc</i> - tus	<i>punctus</i>	<i>punc</i> -tus	raised <i>punc</i> -tus	raised <i>punc</i> -tus	<i>punc</i> -tus	<i>punc</i> -tus	<i>punc</i> -tus	<i>punc</i> -tus	<i>punc</i> -tus	<i>punc</i> -tus
8	<i>punc</i> - tus	mid- height curved mark	<i>punc</i> -tus	<i>punc</i> -tus	raised <i>punc</i> -tus	doub -le <i>punc</i> -tus	<i>virg.</i> sus.	<i>virg.</i> sus.	<i>virg.</i> sus.	<i>virg.</i> sus.	<i>com.</i>

Appendix 2: Punctuation Data

Appendix 2.6.1 Uses of the Semi-Colon⁷⁷

1. he jpeaketh vnto them;
- 1606 Boscard

Appendix 2.6.2 Diachronic Analysis of this Position

<u>Posit</u> <u>-ion</u>	<u>MS</u> <u>Gen.</u> <u>1130</u>	<u>MS</u> <u>Hunter</u> <u>77</u> <u>(T.3.15)</u>	<u>1484</u> <u>C.</u>	<u>1490</u> <u>C.</u>	<u>1494</u> <u>D.W.</u>	<u>1494</u> <u>P.</u>	<u>1506</u> <u>P.</u>	<u>1507</u> <u>D.W.</u>	<u>1517</u> <u>D.W.</u>	<u>1525</u> <u>D.W.</u>	<u>1606</u> <u>B.</u>
1	punctu -s	punctus	punc -tus	punc -tus	raised punc -tus	virg. sus.	no punc.	virg. sus.	virg. sus.	virg. sus.	semi - colo- n

⁷⁷ All text extracts in Appendix 2.6 are taken from Boscard’s 1606 edition.

Appendix 2: Punctuation Data

Appendix 2.7.1 Uses of *Punctus*⁷⁸

of his difcipl <u>e</u> s. and of	MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15)
conuerf <u>a</u> coun <u>u</u> with hem. hou	MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15); Pynson 1494
he fpekep to hem. and howe	MS Gen. 1130; MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15); Caxton 1484 and 1490
fhewith h <u>y</u> m felf to hem. drawyng hem <u>u</u>	MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15)
by grace. and	MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15); Caxton 1484; De Worde 1494
withoutefurpe by dede. famulierly leding	MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15); Boscard 1606 ⁷⁹
to his moder houfe. & alfo	MS Gen. 1130; MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15); Caxton 1484; De Worde 1494
to her duellinges. teching	MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15)
enformyng hem. & alfo	MS Gen. 1130; MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15); Caxton 1490

⁷⁸ All text extracts in Appendix 2.7 are taken from the earliest extract in which the position is punctuated with a *punctus*.

⁷⁹ In Boscard's 1606 edition this line reads 'out-//wardlie by his sweete and affable conuersation. And', yet it corresponds in position and meaning with this line from the earlier copies of the text.

befy aboute hem. and wi ^t <u>h</u>	MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15)
wi ^t <u>h</u> als gret cure. as pe moder	MS Gen. 1130
of hir owne Jon <u>n</u> e. In fo mykel	MS Gen. 1130; MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15); Caxton 1484; De Worde 1494, 1507, 1517 and 1525; Boscard 1606 ⁸⁰
as hit is wryten. Jaynte Peter	Caxton 1484; De Worde 1494; Pynson 1506
Jeint Petir tolde. that	MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15); Caxton 1484; De Worde 1494
wi ^t <u>h</u> hem many place. it was	MS Gen. 1130; ⁸¹ Caxton 1484 and 1490; De Worde 1494
hem flepyng. and	MS Gen. 1130; MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15); Caxton 1484; De Worde 1517
ony of them vnhyled. pryuely	Caxton 1490
hiled hy <u>m</u> a3eyne. ffor he louede hem	MS Gen. 1130; MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15); ⁸² Caxton 1484; De Worde

⁸⁰ In Boscard's 1606 edition this line reads 'of hir owne children. In so-// much'.

⁸¹ The *punctus* in this position in the fifteenth-century MS has been converted into a *punctus elevatus* at a later date.

⁸² In Dodesham's 1475 MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15) a 'tailed *puctus*' (Doyle 1997: 113) is used in this position.

	1494; Pynson 1494 and 1506; Boscard 1606 ⁸³
ffor he loued hem ful tenderly. knowynge	MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15)
make~ of hem. And though	MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15) ⁸⁴
of fymple lygnage. Neuertheles	Caxton 1484; De Worde 1494, 1507 and 1517; Pynson 1494 and 1506
Princes of the worl= de. and	MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15); Boscard 1606 ⁸⁵
of all criften men. in	MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15)
domefmen of oper. Here alfo	MS Gen. 1130; Caxton 1484; De Worde 1494, 1507, 1517 and 1525; Pynson 1494 and 1506
take~ hede. of what maner	MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15)
began the feithe. and	MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15)
the grounde of holy chirche. as of	Caxton 1484; De Worde 1494
fymple fyffhers. poure men	MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15)
pore men and vnlernede. ffor oure lorde	MS Gen. 1130; MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15); Caxton 1484; Pynson

⁸³ In Boscard's 1606 edition this line reads 'couer them againe. For he// loued themm'.

⁸⁴ In Dodesham's 1475 MSHunter 77 (T.3.15) a 'tailed *punctus*' (Doyle 1997: 113) is used in this position.

⁸⁵ In Boscard's 1606 edition this line reads 'iudges// of the worlde'.

	1494 and 1506; De Worde 1507, 1517 and 1525; Boscard 1606 ⁸⁶
wyfe men. or	Caxton 1484 and 1490; De Worde 1494
men of pe worlde. lefte pe	MS Gen. 1130; Caxton 1484 and 1490; De Worde 1494
arettede to her worpynes. But pis	MS Gen. 1130; Caxton 1490; De Worde 1507, 1517 and 1525
as it was refoun. shewynge that	MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15)
his owne goodnes. and	MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15)
and myght. and	MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15)
myghte & wifedome. he bought	MS Gen. 1130; Caxton 1490
he boughte vs. and	MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15)
jauede vs. Bleffed be he	MS Gen. 1130; MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15); Pynson 1494 and 1506; De Worde 1507, 1517 and 1525; Boscard 1606 ⁸⁷
bleffyd be Jhefus withoute ende. Amen	Pynson 1494 and 1506; De Worde 1507, 1517 and 1525; Boscard 1606

⁸⁶ In Boscard's 1606 edition this line reads 'men altogether ignorant// and vnlearned. For our Lord'.

⁸⁷ In Boscard's 1606 edition this line reads 'rede-// med vs. Blessed be le-// sus'.

Amen.	MS Gen. 1130; Pynson 1494 and 1506; De Worde 1507, 1517 and 1525; Boscard 1606
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Appendix 2.7.2 Frequency of *Punctus* Usage per Extract

MS Gen. 1130	15
Dodesham's 1475 MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15)	27
Caxton's 1484 Printed Edition	15
Caxton's 1490 Printed Edition	8
De Worde's 1494 Printed Edition	12
Pynson's 1494 Printed Edition	8
Pynson's 1506 Printed Edition	8
De Worde's 1507 Printed Edition	8
De Worde's 1517 Printed Edition	9
De Worde's 1525 Printed Edition	7
Boscard's 1606 Printed Edition	8

Appendix 2: Punctuation Data

Appendix 2.8.1 Uses of *Paraphs*⁸⁸

1. ¶Nowe take we here

MS Gen. 1130;

MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15)

2. ¶Here aljo lete vs

MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15)

Appendix 2.8.2 Diachronic Analysis of these Positions

Positio -n	MS Gen. 1130	MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15)	1484 C.	1490 C.	1494 D.W.	1494 P.	1506 P.	1507 D.W.	1517 D.W.	1525 D.W.	1606 B.
1	<i>paraph</i> & <i>Lit.</i> <i>Nota.</i>	<i>paraph</i> & <i>Lit. Nota.</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus. &</i> <i>Lit.</i> <i>Nota.</i>	<i>punct</i> <i>-us &</i> <i>Lit.</i> <i>Nota.</i>	<i>punc-</i> <i>tus &</i> <i>Lit.</i> <i>Nota.</i>	<i>punct</i> <i>-us &</i> <i>Lit.</i> <i>Nota.</i>	<i>punct</i> <i>-us &</i> <i>Lit.</i> <i>Nota.</i>	<i>punct</i> <i>-us &</i> <i>Lit.</i> <i>Nota.</i>	<i>punct</i> <i>-us &</i> <i>Lit.</i> <i>Nota.</i>	<i>punct</i> <i>-us &</i> <i>Lit.</i> <i>Nota.</i>	inden -t & <i>Lit.</i> <i>Nota.</i>
2	<i>punct-</i> <i>us & Lit.</i> <i>Nota.</i>	<i>paraph</i> & <i>Lit. Nota.</i>	<i>punct</i> <i>-us &</i> <i>Lit.</i> <i>Nota.</i>	<i>virg.</i> <i>sus. &</i> <i>Lit.</i> <i>Nota.</i>	<i>punc-</i> <i>tus &</i> <i>Lit.</i> <i>Nota.</i>	<i>punct</i> <i>-us &</i> <i>Lit.</i> <i>Nota.</i>	<i>punct</i> <i>-us &</i> <i>Lit.</i> <i>Nota.</i>	<i>punct</i> <i>-us &</i> <i>Lit.</i> <i>Nota.</i>	<i>punct</i> <i>-us &</i> <i>Lit.</i> <i>Nota.</i>	<i>punct</i> <i>-us &</i> <i>Lit.</i> <i>Nota.</i>	inden -t & <i>Lit.</i> <i>Nota.</i> ⁸⁹

⁸⁸ All text extracts in Appendix 2.8 are taken from the earliest extract in which the position is punctuated with a *paraph*.

⁸⁹ In Boscard's 1606 edition this line reads '[indentation] Finally let vs heere'.

Appendix 2: Punctuation Data

Appendix 2.9.1 Uses of *Litterae Notabiliores* in Each Extract⁹⁰

MS Gen. 1130 – 10 *litterae notabiliores*

¶Nowe take	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
hir owne sonne. In fo mykel	Discourse Marker/ Following Punctuation
Jeynt Pet ^r tolde	Proper Noun
hiled hym a3eyne. ffor he louede hem	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
of oper. Here alfo let vs	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
pore men and vnlernede. ffor oure lorde	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
to her worþynes. But þis	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
jaude vs. Bleffed be he	Religious Term/Following Punctuation
wi ^t houte ende [raised <i>punctus</i>] Ihc	Proper Noun/Following Punctuation
Amen.	Religious Term

Dodesham's MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15) – 11 *litterae notabiliores*

¶Now take	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
hir owne Jone. In fo muche	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation

⁹⁰ The text extracts in Appendix 2.9.1 are taken from each successive edition under analysis.

Jeint Petir tolde	Proper Noun
hele hem ayen, ffor he loued	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
make ~ [line filler] of hem, And though	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
of symple lynage ~ [mid-height curved mark] Neuertheles	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
Princes of the worlde	Collective Proper Noun
and Chiueteynes of all	Collective Proper Noun
¶Here alfo	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
poure men and vnlernd. ffor oure lorde	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
her worthynes ~ [mid-height curved mark] But this	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
<u>1484 Caxton</u> – 14 <i>litterae notabiliores</i>	
[hem all/] Now take	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
hir owne Jone. In foo mykel	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
Jaynte Peter tolde	Proper Noun
hem Jlepyng. And yf	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
hyled hym ageyne. For he loued	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
of Jymple lynage. Neuertheles	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
all Cryften men	Religious Term

domefmen of other. Here alfo	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
poure men and vnlernd. For our lord	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
to grete Clerkes	Collective Proper Noun
her worthyneffe/ But this he	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
saued vs/ Bleffid be he	Religious Term
Jhefus	Proper Noun
withoute ende Amen	Religious Term

1490 Caxton – 14 *litterae notabiliores*

[hem all.] Now take	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
hyr owne fone. In foo mikel	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
Jaynte Peter tolde	Proper Noun
hem flepyng [raised <i>punctus</i>] And yf	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
hiled hym ageyn/ For he loued	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
of fymples lynage Neuertheles	Discourse Marker
of all Criften men	Religious Term
domefmen of other/ Here alfo	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
vnlernd [raised <i>punctus</i>] For our lord	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
grete Clerkes	Collective Proper Noun

to her worthyneffe. But thys be	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
ƿaues vs/ Bleffyd be	Religious Term/Following Punctuation
Jhesus	Proper Noun
withoute ende Amen	Religious Term

1494 De Worde – 14 initial *litterae notabiliores* (17 altogether - one word fully composed with *litterae notabiliores*)

[all.] Now take	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
hyr owne ƿone. In ƿoo mykell	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
ƿaynt Peter tolde	Proper Noun
hem ƿlepyng And yf	Discourse Marker
hyled hym ageyne. For he loued	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
ƿimple lygnage. Neuertheles	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
all Cryften men	Religious Term
domeſmen of other. Here alſo	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
and vnlernd.[raised punctus] For our lord	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
grete Clerkes	Collective Proper Noun
her wordyneffe/ But	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
ƿaues vs/ Bleffyd	Religious Term/Following Punctuation

Jhefus	Proper Noun
AMEN	Religious Term/Emphasis
 <u>1494 Pynson</u> – 10 <i>litterae notabiliores</i>	
[theym all.] Nowe take	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
hir owne Jon: In fo moch	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
Jaynt Peter tolde	Proper Noun
in any place: It was his	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
hilled theym ageyne. For he loued	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
Jimple lynage. Neuertheleffe	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
Here alfo late vs	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
pore men and vnlerned. For oure lorde	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
Jhefus	Proper Noun
withoute ende. Amen.	Religious Term/Following Punctuation

1506 Pynson – 9 *litterae notabiliores*

[the3 al.] Nowe take	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
hyr owne Jonne: In fo moch	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
in any place It was his coftome	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation

hyllid theym ageyne. For he loued	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
jymple lynage. Neuertheleffe	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
domefmen of other. Here alfo	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
pore men and vnlearned. For oure lorde	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
Jhefus	Proper Noun
without ende. Amen.	Religious Term/Following Punctuation

1507 De Worde – 12 initial *litterae notabiliores* (15 altogether - one word fully composed with *litterae notabiliores*)

[all.] Now take	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
her owne fone. In fo moche	Discourse Marker/following Punctuation
jaynt Peter tolde	Proper Noun
them fleyng And yf	Discourse Marker
jymple lynnage. Neuertheles	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
men of other. Here alfo	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
poore men and vnlearned. For our	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
grete Clerkes	Collective Proper Noun
her wordynesse. But this	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
faued vs. Bleffed	Religious Term/Following Punctuation

Jhefus	Proper Noun
without ende. AMEN.	Religious Term/Emphasis
 <u>1517 De Worde</u> – 11 <i>litterae notabiliores</i>	
[all.] Now take	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
her owne fone. In fo moche	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
jaynt Peter tolde	Proper Noun
them fleyng. And yf	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
fymple lygnage. Neuertheles	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
domefmen of other. Here alfo	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
vnlerned. For// our lorde	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
her worthyneffe. But this	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
faued vs. Bleffed be	Religious Term/Following Punctuation
Jhefus	Proper Noun
withoue ende. Amen.	Religious Term/Following Punctuation

1525 De Worde – 9 *litterae notabiliores*

[all.] Now take	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
of her fone. In fo moche	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation

jaynt Peter tolde	Proper Noun
domes men of other. Here alfo	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
poore men and vnlernd. For our	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
to theyr worthynes. But this	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
jaued vs. Blyffed he	Religious Term/Following Punctuation
Jefus	Proper Noun
withouten ende. Amen.	Religious Term/Following Punctuation

1606 Boscard – 18 *litterae notabiliores*

[indent] Now let vs	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
our Lorde	Proper Noun
conuerfation. And how	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
hir owne children. In so	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
jaint Peter	Proper Noun
couer them againe. For he	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
make them Princes of the worlde	Collective Proper Noun
the chiefe Captaines	Collective Proper Noun
of all Chriftians	Collective Proper Noun
[indent] Finally let vs	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation

ground of Gods Church	Religious Term/Proper Noun
of poore Fijhers	Collective Proper Noun
vnlearned. For	Discourse Marker/Following Punctuation
our Lord	Proper Noun
redeemed vs. Blessed be	Religious Term/Following Punctuation
Iefus	Proper Noun
with out end. Amen.	Religious Term/Following Punctuation

Appendix 2.9.2 Diachronic Analysis of the Positions in which *Litterae Notabiliores* are

Used⁹¹

<u>Position</u>	<u>Extracts Found In</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Nowe take	MS Gen. 1130; MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15); Caxton 1484 and 1490; De Worde 1494, 1507, 1517 and 1525; Pynson 1494 and 1506; Boscard 1606	11/11 extracts
In fo mykel	MS Gen. 1130; MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15); Caxton 1484 and 1490; De Worde 1494, 1507, 1517 and 1525; Pynson 1494 and 1506; Boscard 1606	11/11 extracts
Ieynt Pet'	MS Gen. 1130; MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15); Caxton 1484 and 1490; De Worde 1494, 1507, 1517 and 1525; Pynson 1494; Boscard	10/11 extracts

⁹¹ All text extracts used in Appendix 2.9.2 are taken from the earliest extract they are found in.

	1606	
ffor he louede hem	MS Gen. 1130; MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15); Caxton 1484 and 1490; Caxton 1494; Pynson 1494 and 1506; Boscard 1606	8/11 extracts
ffor oure lorde	MS Gen. 1130; MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15); Caxton 1484 and 1490; Pynson 1494 and 1506; De Worde 1494, 1507, 1517 and 1525; Boscard 1606	11/11 extracts
But þis	MS Gen. 1130; MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15); Caxton 1484 and 1490; De Worde 1494, 1507, 1517 and 1525	8/11 extracts
Bleffed be he	MS Gen. 1130; Caxton 1484 and 1490; De Worde 1494, 1507, 1517 and 1525; Boscard 1606	8/11 extracts (line not included in 1475 MS)
lhc	MS Gen. 1130; Caxton 1484 and 1490; De Worde 1494, 1507, 1517 and 1525; Pynson 1494 and 1506; Boscard 1606	9/11 extracts (line not included in 1475 MS)
Amen	MS Gen. 1130; Caxton 1484 and 1490; De Worde 1494, 1507, 1517 and 1525; Pynson 1494 and 1506; Boscard 1606	10/11 extracts (line not included in 1475 MS)
And though/ as thou3	MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15)	1/11 extracts
Neuertheles	MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15); Caxton 1484 and 1490; De Worde 1494, 1507 and 1517; Pynson 1494 and 1506	8/11 extracts (line not included in 1606 ed.)
Princes of the worlde	MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15); Boscard 1606	2/11 extracts

Chiueteynes (‘chiefe Captaines’ in 1606 edition)	1475 MS; Boscard 1606	2/11 extracts
Here alfo (Finally let vs)	MS Gen. 1130; MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15); Caxton 1484 and 1490; Pynson 1494 and 1506; De Worde 1494, 1507, 1517 and 1525; Boscard 1606	9/11 extracts
And yf	Caxton 1484 and 1490; De Worde 1494, 1507 and 1517	5/11 extracts
Cryften men	Caxton 1484 and 1490; De Worde 1494; Boscard 1606	4/11 extracts
Clerkes	Caxton 1484 and 1490; De Worde 1494 and 1507	4/11 extracts
Aretted	Caxton 1490	1/11 extracts
It was his cuftome	Pynson 1494 and 1506	2/11 extracts
our Lorde	Boscard 1606 (occurs twice in this edition only)	1/11 extracts
And how	Boscard 1606	1/11 extracts
Gods Church	Boscard 1606	1/11 extracts
Fifhers	Boscard 1606	1/11 extracts

Appendix 2: Punctuation Data

2.10.1 Use of the Horizontally Curved Baseline Mark⁹²

- | | |
|--|-----------------------|
| 1. as it is writen_ [punctuation mark] | MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15) |
| 2. in goftly batay=le [punctuation mark] | MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15) |
| 3. grounde of holichirche [punctuation mark] | MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15) |
| 4. clerkes and wife men [punctuation mark] | MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15) |

2.10.2 Diachronic Analysis of these Positions

Positio -n	MS Gen. 1130	MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15)	1484 C.	1490 C.	1494 D.W.	1494 P.	1506 P.	1507 D.W.	1517 D.W.	1525 D.W.	1606 B.
1	no punc.	horizont -al baseline curve	punct -us	virg. sus.	punc -tus	doub -le punc -tus	punc -tus	virg. sus.	virg. sus.	virg. sus.	com.
2	no punc.	horizont -al baseline curve	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	com.
3	no punc.	horizont -al baseline curve	punct -us	virg. sus.	punc -tus	doub -le punc -tus	doub -le punc -tus	virg. sus.	virg. sus.	virg. sus.	com.
4	no punc.	horizont -al baseline curve	punct -us	punct- us	punc -tus	virg. sus.	no punc.	virg. sus.	virg. sus.	virg. sus.	com.

⁹² All text extracts in Appendix 2.10 are taken from MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15).

Appendix 2: Punctuation Data

2.11.1 Use of Mid-Height Curved Marks⁹³

1. in eny place ~	MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15) <i>Form A</i>
2. if he fonde eny of hem vn=heled ~	MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15) <i>Form A (incomplete form)</i>
3. of symple lynage ~	MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15) <i>Form A</i>
4. mighty men - of the worlde ~	MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15) <i>Form B</i>
5. be- doon by hem ~	MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15) <i>Form C</i>
6. vnto her worthynes ~ [line end]	MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15) <i>Form C</i>

⁹³ All text extracts in Appendix 2.11 are taken from MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15).

2.11.2 Diachronic Analysis of the Positions

Position	MS Gen. 1130	MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15)	1484 C.	1490 C.	1494 D.W.	1494 P.	1506 P.	1507 D.W.	1517 D.W.	1525 D.W.	1606 B.
1	<i>punc- tus</i> (later <i>punc- tus eleva- tus</i>)	~(A)	<i>punc- tus</i>	<i>punc- tus</i>	<i>punc- tus</i>	doub- -le <i>punc- tus</i>	<i>Lit. Nota.</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>com.</i>
2	doub- le <i>punc- tus</i>	~(inco- mplete A form)	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>punc- tus</i>	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>com.</i>
3	<i>punc- tus eleva- tus</i>	~ (A)	<i>punc- tus</i>	<i>Lit. Nota.</i>	<i>punc- tus</i>	<i>punc- tus</i>	<i>punc- tus</i>	<i>punc- tus</i>	<i>punc- tus</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>com.</i>
4	<i>punc- tus</i>	~ (B)	<i>punc- tus</i>	<i>punc- tus</i>	raised <i>punc- tus</i>	doub- -le <i>punc- tus</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>com.</i>
5	no punc.	~ (C)	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	no punc.	<i>com.</i>
6	<i>punc- tus</i>	~ (C)	<i>virg. sus.</i>	<i>punc- tus</i>	<i>virg. sus.</i>	doub- -le <i>punc- tus</i>	no punc.	<i>punc- tus</i>	<i>punc- tus</i>	<i>punc- tus</i>	dou- ble <i>punc- tus</i>

Appendix 3: Paratextual Materials

Appendix 3.1 Printed Marginalia accompanying the Textual Extract

MS Gen. 1130

¶ Nota benignam

curam [raised punctus] Ihu,

Aligned with lines 9-10

Dodesham's 1475 MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15)

¶ 3a^{ur} Benignam

curam [symbol above <r>] Ihu.

Aligned with lines 19-20

Caxton's 1484 Edition

Nota contra

benignam

curam Jhefu

Aligned with lines 7-9

Caxton's 1490 Edition (EEBO)

Nota contra

trabenignam

curam ihefu

Aligned with lines 7-9

Caxton's 1490 Edition (GUL)

Nota contra |

trabenignam

curam ihesu

Aligned with lines 7-9

De Worde's 1494 Edition

largely unclear (faded)

Aligned with lines 7-8

De Worde's 1507 Edition

Nota con

tra benig

nam curam

Jhefu

Aligned with lines 9-12

De Worde's 1517 Edition

Nota con

tra benign

nam curam

Jhefu

Aligned with lines 9-12

De Worde's 1525 Edition

Nota con

tra beni

gnam curam

Jefu

Aligned with lines 9-12

Appendix 3: Paratextual Materials

Appendix 3.2.1 Printed Marginalia accompanying the Prefatory Material

1. Bernard

ad fratres

carturienues

de monte dei⁹⁴

2. Nota pro=

iano intel=

lectu hui2

libri⁹⁵

3. Gregori2

i Omelia

Simile eft

reg.ce.th.⁹⁶

4. Rōbñ⁹⁷

⁹⁴ Text extract taken from Caxton's 1490 Edition – EEBO, Image 4.

⁹⁵ Text extract taken from Caxton's 1490 Edition – EEBO, Image 4.

⁹⁶ Text extract taken from Caxton's 1490 Edition – EEBO, Image 4.

⁹⁷ Text extract taken from MS Gen. 1130 – GUL, f.2r.

5. Nota bene⁹⁸

6. Nomen li

bri⁹⁹

7. N [superscript loop symbol] o¹⁰⁰

8. Nö tria

vtilia de

vita Cri=

fti.¹⁰¹

9. Primum¹⁰²

10. Exa^tplum

ce beata ce

cilia/¹⁰³

11. Secundum¹⁰⁴

⁹⁸ Text extract taken from Caxton's 1490 Edition – EEBO, Image 4.

⁹⁹ Text extract taken from Caxton's 1490 Edition – EEBO, Image 4.

¹⁰⁰ Text Extract taken from MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15) – GUL, f.5v.

¹⁰¹ Text extract taken from Caxton's 1490 Edition – EEBO, Image 4.

¹⁰² Text extract taken from Caxton's 1490 Edition – EEBO, Image 4.

¹⁰³ Text extract taken from Caxton's 1490 Edition – EEBO, Image 4.

¹⁰⁴ Text extract taken from Caxton's 1490 Edition – EEBO, Image 4.

12. Bernard

de mcibus¹⁰⁵

13. Tercyum¹⁰⁶

14. Bernard

Super can

fer.

rrñ¹⁰⁷

15. No [line and loops symbol] of¹⁰⁸

16. N¹⁰⁹

17. r-r¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁵ Text extract taken from Caxton's 1490 Edition – EEBO, Image 4.

¹⁰⁶ Text extract taken from Caxton's 1490 Edition – EEBO, Image 4.

¹⁰⁷ Text extract taken from Caxton's 1490 Edition – EEBO, Image 4.

¹⁰⁸ Text extract taken from MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15) – GUL, f.7r.

¹⁰⁹ Text extract taken from Caxton's 1490 Edition – EEBO, Image 4.

¹¹⁰ Text extract taken from MS Gen. 1130 – GUL, f.3v.

Appendix 3.2.2 Editions Marginal Items are Included in

<u>Item</u>	<u>MS Gen. 1130</u>	<u>MS Hunter 77 (T.3.15)</u>	<u>1484 C.</u>	<u>1490 C. (EEB -O)</u>	<u>1490 C. (GUL)</u>	<u>1494 D.W.</u>	<u>1494 P.</u>	<u>1506 P.</u>	<u>1507 D.W.</u>	<u>1517 D.W.</u>	<u>1525 D.W.</u>	<u>1606 B.</u>
<u>1</u>	Yes	Yes	N/A	Yes	Yes	Yes	N/A	No	N/A	N/A	Yes	No
<u>2</u>	Yes	Yes	N/A	Yes	Yes	Yes	N/A	Yes	N/A	N/A	Yes	No
<u>3</u>	Yes	Yes	N/A	Yes	Yes	Yes	N/A	Yes	N/A	N/A	Yes	No
<u>4</u>	Yes	No	N/A	No	No	No	N/A	No	N/A	N/A	No	No
<u>5</u>	No	Yes	N/A	Yes	Yes	Yes	N/A	Yes	N/A	N/A	No	No
<u>6</u>	Yes	Yes	N/A	Yes	Yes	Yes	N/A	Yes	N/A	N/A	No	No
<u>7</u>	No	Yes	N/A	No	No	No	N/A	No	N/A	N/A	No	No
<u>8</u>	Yes	Yes	N/A	Yes	Yes	Yes	N/A	No	N/A	N/A	Yes	No
<u>9</u>	Yes	Yes	N/A	Yes	Yes	Yes	N/A	Yes	N/A	N/A	Yes	No
<u>10</u>	Yes	Yes	N/A	Yes	Yes	Yes	N/A	No	N/A	N/A	Yes	No
<u>11</u>	Yes	Yes	N/A	Yes	Yes	Yes	N/A	Yes	N/A	N/A	Yes	No
<u>12</u>	Yes	Yes	N/A	Yes	Yes	Yes	N/A	No	N/A	N/A	Yes	No
<u>13</u>	Yes	Yes	N/A	Yes	Yes	Yes	N/A	Yes	N/A	N/A	Yes	No
<u>14</u>	Yes	Yes	N/A	Yes	Yes	Yes	N/A	No	N/A	N/A	Yes	No
<u>15</u>	No	Yes	N/A	No	No	No	N/A	No	N/A	N/A	No	No
<u>16</u>	Inc. in item 20	Yes	N/A	Yes	Yes	Yes	N/A	No	N/A	N/A	No	No
<u>17</u>	Yes	No	N/A	No	No	No	N/A	No	N/A	N/A	No	No

<u>Tot</u> <u>al</u>	14	15	N/A	13	13	13	N/A	7	N/A	N/A	10	0
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Appendix 3.2.3 Differences in the Order of Printed Marginalia between Copies of

Caxton's 1490 Edition

<u>Order in EEBO's Copy of Caxton's 1490 Edition</u>	<u>Order in GUL's Copy of Caxton's 1490 Edition</u>
Bernard ad fratres carturi <u>en</u> ses de monte dei – <i>Prohemium</i>	Bernard super can ser. Xxii – <i>Prohemium</i>
Nota profano intellectu hui ² libri – <i>Prohemium</i>	N. – <i>Prohemium</i>
Gregori ² i Omelia Simile est reg.ce.th. – <i>Prohemium</i>	Nōtria vtilia de vita Cristi – <i>Bonaventure Incipit</i>
Nota bene – <i>Prohemium</i>	Primum – <i>Bonaventure Incipit</i>
Nomen libri – <i>Prohemium</i>	Ex <u>a</u> mplum de b/v ^t eata de cilia – <i>Bonaventure Incipit</i>
Nō tria vtilia de vita Crifti – <i>Bonaventure Incipit</i>	Secu <u>n</u> dum – <i>Bonaventure Incipit</i>
Primum – <i>Bonaventure Incipit</i>	Bernard de rñribus – <i>Bonaventure Incipit</i>
Exa ^t plum ce beata ce cilia/ – <i>Bonaventure Incipit</i>	Tercyum – <i>Bonaventure Incipit</i>
Secu <u>n</u> dum – <i>Bonaventure Incipit</i>	Bernard ad fratres carturi <u>en</u> ses de monte dei – <i>Bonaventure Incipit</i>
Bernard de rñcibus – <i>Bonaventure Incipit</i>	Nota prosano intellectu hui libri – <i>Bonaventure Incipit</i>
Tercyum – <i>Bonaventure Incipit</i>	Gregori i Omelia Simile est reg. ce.th. – <i>Bonaventure Incipit</i>
Bernard ſuper can ſer. rrñ – <i>Bonaventure Incipit</i>	Nota b ^v ene – <i>Bonaventure Incipit</i>
N. – <i>Bonaventure Incipit</i>	Nomen libri – <i>Bonaventure Incipit</i>

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¹¹¹ All online primary sources of Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ* are taken from EEBO: *Early English Books Online* <eebo.chadwyck.com>.

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