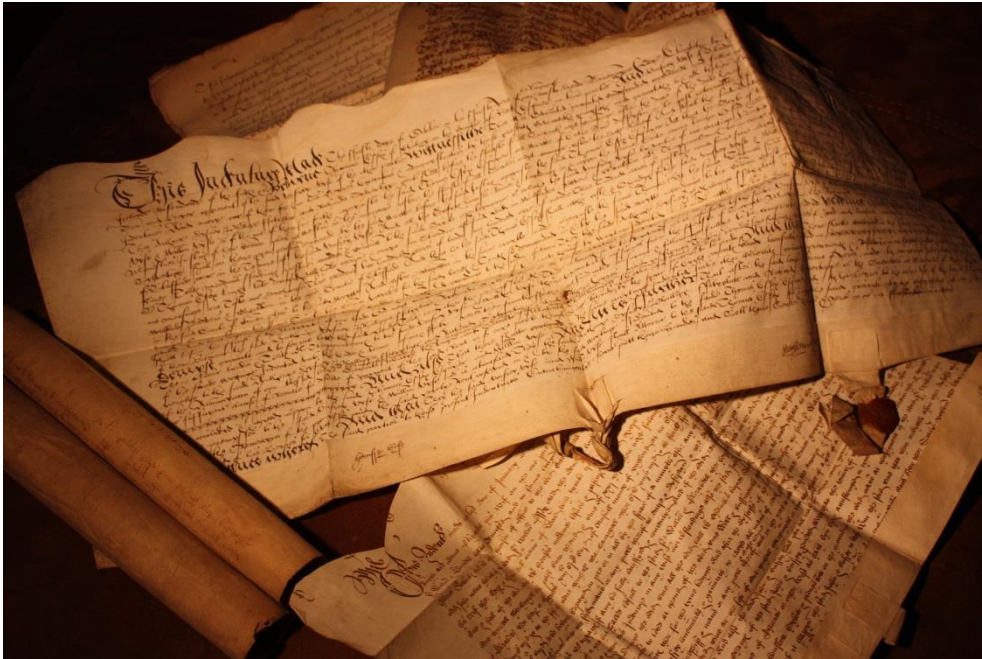


Geir Bergstrøm

**Two Cambridge Guild Ordinances
Based on the Same Template**

An Edition of the Ordinances of the Guilds
of St. Clement and All Saints



MA in Literacy Studies

Spring 2013





University of
Stavanger

FACULTY OF ARTS AND EDUCATION

MASTER'S THESIS

Programme of study: Master of Literacy Studies	Spring semester, 2013 Open
Author: Geir Bergstrøm (Author's signature)
Supervisor: Prof. Merja Riitta Stenroos	
Thesis title: <i>Two Cambridge Guild Ordinances Based on the Same Template:</i> an Edition of the Ordinances of the Guilds of St. Clement and All Saints.	
Keywords: guilds, ordinances, local documents, Cambridge, Middle English	No. of pages: 110 + appendices/other: 7 Stavanger, 16/5/2013 date/year

Abstract

The thesis presents a diplomatic edition of two mediaeval guild ordinances from Cambridge: the *Statutes and Ordinances of the Gild of St. Clement* and the *Statutes and Ordinances of the Gild of All Saints*. In addition, reference is made to a third, presumably lost, text, the *Statutes and Ordinances of the Gild of St. Peter and Paul*, which survives in a transcription from the late 17th or early 18th Century. These three manuscripts appear to be based on the same template. They are, however, not identical in terms of content or language.

There already exists a collated edition of the three texts, by Toulmin Smith (1870). His edition is largely unconcerned with language and is as such less than ideal from the point of view of historical linguistics. Furthermore, his edition is incomplete, as it leaves out several pages at the end of the ordinances of the Gild of St. Clement. Several of these are written in different hands, and are linguistically and palaeographically different from the previous pages.

As well as presenting an edition of these two manuscripts, the thesis presents a close study of the dialect and physical makeup of the texts, as well as a detailed comparison of their form and content. It also compares where the language of the texts ‘fit’ in ‘linguistic space’ to their provenance in ‘real space’ (Williamson 2000). By carrying out such a comparison, the study aims to build up a clearer idea of the dialectal background of these texts and of the scribal communities that produced them.

The first part of the thesis provides a textual, historical and linguistic contextualisation for the edited texts and carries out a study of their dialects. The two manuscripts are described, and the contents of all three texts, including the later transcription, are summarized. The first part also includes background chapters on guilds, guild ordinances, and Cambridge as a text community. Finally, the dialects of the three texts are described and localized. It is suggested that one of the texts is written in a more northern dialect than the others and that it is localizable to north-east Cambridgeshire, near the Isle of Ely.

The second part of the thesis consists of the edited texts, with a presentation of the conventions, commentary and notes. The thesis includes two appendices: a List of Measurements and a List of Currencies.

Table of Contents

1.0 Introduction.....	5
2.0 The Manuscripts and the Texts	8
2.1 The Statutes and Ordinances of the Guild of St. Clement	10
2.2 The Statutes and Ordinances of the Guild of All Saints	11
2.3 The Statutes and Ordinances of St. Peter and Paul	13
2.4 Content	14
2.5 History of the Manuscripts and the Guilds.....	20
2.6 Toulmin Smith’s Edition.....	22
3.0 Historical Background	24
3.1 What is a Guild?.....	24
3.2 Organization.....	26
3.3 Guild Ordinances as a Genre and Text Type	29
3.4 Cambridge as a Text Community.....	31
4.0 The Study of Middle English Linguistic Variation.....	33
4.1 Localization on Linguistic Grounds: the ‘Fit’-Technique.....	35
4.2 Geographical and Linguistic Space.....	38
4.3 Translations and <i>Mischsprachen</i>	39
4.4 Standardization in Late Middle English.....	41
5.0 The Language of the Texts	43
5.2 The Language of the Different Hands of St. Clement.....	44
5.3 The Language of the Three Ordinances	46
5.4 Localization of the Texts.....	55
5.5 Discussion	57
Part II: Editions	60
Conventions.....	61
The Statutes and Ordinances of the Guild of St. Clement	63
The Statutes and Ordinances of the Guild of All Saints	64
Notes to St. Clement.....	106
Notes to All Saints.....	108
References	110
Manuscripts.....	114
Internet resources	114

Appendix A: List of Measurements	115
Appendix B: List of Currencies	116

Tables

Table 1: Illuminated Letters in <i>All Saints</i>	12
Table 2: Comparison of Statutes Regarding Anniversaries in <i>St. Clement</i>	45
Table 3: Pronouns in <i>St. Clement</i> , Hand A	48
Table 4: Pronouns in <i>St. Clement</i> , Hand B	48
Table 5: Pronouns in <i>St. Clement</i> , Hand C	49
Table 6: Pronouns in <i>All Saints</i> , Hand A	49
Table 7: Pronouns in <i>All Saints</i> , Hand B	50
Table 8: Pronouns in <i>St. Peter and Paul</i>	51
Table 9: Verbs in <i>St. Clement</i>	51
Table 10: Verbs in <i>All Saints</i>	52
Table 11: Verbs in <i>St. Peter and Paul</i>	52
Table 12: Linguistic Profiles of <i>St. Clement</i> , <i>All Saints</i> , and <i>St. Peter and Paul</i>	53-54

Maps

Map 1: Localization of <i>St. Clement</i>	55
Map 2: Localization of <i>All Saints</i>	56
Map 3: Localization of <i>St. Peter and Paul</i>	57

1.0 Introduction

The present thesis is an edition of two late medieval manuscripts, each containing the statutes and ordinances of a religious guild in Cambridge: those of the Gild of St. Clement, of 1431; and the Gild of All Saints, of 1473. These two manuscripts appear to be based on the same template. They are, however, not identical, either in terms of content or of language. In addition, reference will be made to a third, presumably lost, manuscript, containing the statutes and ordinances of the Gild of St. Peter and Paul, also based on the same template, which survives in a transcription from the late 17th or early 18th Century. The St. Clement and St. Peter and Paul texts are listed under Cambridgeshire in *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* (McIntosh, Samuels and Benskin 1986; henceforth LALME); however, only the St. Clement text is included on the dialect maps, as Linguistic Profile (LP) 64.

As well as presenting an edition of these two manuscripts, the thesis presents a close study of the dialect and physical makeup of the texts, as well as a detailed comparison of their form and content. Using the ‘fit’-technique, developed by McIntosh (1959[1989], 1963[1989]), for LALME, it will make a comparison between the localizations of the texts in ‘linguistic space’ to their provenance in ‘real space’ (Williamson 2000: 144; see p. 38). The linguistic differences between the texts will be related to their historical and social context and to the development of written English in the fifteenth century, in particular the processes often referred to as standardization (see p. 41-42).

There already exists a collated edition of the three texts, by Joshua Toulmin Smith (1870). This edition is largely unconcerned with language and is as such less than ideal from the point of view of historical linguistics. Its lack of a linguistic focus is regrettable, given the opportunity presented by these two manuscripts: two different manuscripts, based on the same template, written in two different decades, by several different scribes, in the same place, that is, Cambridge. One would expect a comparison between them to be highly interesting from the linguistic point of view. Furthermore, his edition is incomplete, as it leaves out several pages at the end of the ordinances of the Gild of St. Clement. Several of these are written in different hands, and are linguistically and palaeographically different from the previous pages.

This thesis makes these two manuscripts available to historical linguists. It also contributes to a larger research project ongoing at Stavanger, ‘The Language and Transmission of Middle English Documentary Texts.’ Guild ordinances will form part of the material collected and studied within this project, and the present edition provides a starting

point for this undertaking. The transcriptions of the two edited texts will also be included in two corpora, the *Middle English Grammar Corpus* (MEG-C) and the *Middle English Local Documents Corpus* (MELD), which are being compiled. The manuscripts are transcribed into a machine-readable format with extensive coding and comments and entered into the corpora alongside information about extralinguistic variables.

In comparing the language of the texts, the thesis will also contribute to the current research on the complex linguistic realities of late mediaeval England. A major aim is to compare localizations of the texts in linguistic space (i.e. where the language of the texts fit in a continuum relative to the language of other texts) with their provenance in real space, that is, where the texts were actually produced. For this purpose, the texts will be localized by means of the ‘fit’-technique, developed by McIntosh (1959[1989], 1963[1989]) for LALME.

The ‘fit’-technique is, simply put, a method for localizing texts on linguistic grounds, by determining how they relate to texts that are already localized by similar means or to texts of known provenance; i.e. the manuscripts already mapped in LALME. The methodology involves, in short, the gradual elimination of areas to which the individual linguistic forms contained in the text do not belong, thus delimiting the area or areas to which the whole assemblage does belong. It relies on the assumption that the extensive variation found in written Middle English is geographically conditioned in a way similar to present-day spoken dialects (see e.g. Labov 1994: 21-25; also p. 33-34).

Comparisons between dialect maps based, respectively, on LALME localizations (‘linguistic space’) and the physical provenances of the texts (‘real space’) have recently been carried out by Stenroos and Thengs (Stenroos and Thengs 2012; Thengs, to be submitted) using North-West Midlands materials; however, while Stenroos and Thengs have compared geographical patterns in larger corpora, the present study applies the same approach to the micro-level study of three individual texts.

It is hoped that a comparison between the geographical provenance and the dialectal ‘fit’ of the texts will add to the knowledge of scribal traditions in mediaeval England. It is also hoped that such a comparison will be able to shed some light on the production of these particular manuscripts, and the scribes and communities that produced them.

The thesis is divided into two parts. The first part provides a detailed description of the texts, a study of their historical background and genre characteristics, as well as a dialect study. The second part consists of the edited texts, together with notes and a description of the conventions employed. The edition includes two appendices, a List of Measurements and a List of Currencies.

The first part is structured as follows. Chapter 2 provides a description of the manuscripts and a summary and comparison of their contents, as well as a discussion of their manuscript background and a critical discussion of the edition by Toulmin Smith.

Chapter 3 provides an overview of the historical background of the mediaeval guilds, discusses guild ordinances as a text genre and provides a brief discussion of mediaeval Cambridge as a text community.

Chapter 4 presents and discusses the theoretical framework and methodology of the linguistic study. It covers the following areas: medieval dialectology; the 'fit'-technique and LALME; the concepts of linguistic and real space; different kinds of scribal behaviour and standardization.

Chapter 5 presents a study of the linguistic characteristics of the three texts. This includes a comparison of the three different hands found in the St. Clement text, a detailed comparison of selected portions of all three texts, a description of the pronoun and verb morphology of all texts, and, finally a localization of all three texts by means of the 'fit'-technique, and a discussion of the implications of the findings.

The edition and study of the texts are, in the case of the All Saints and St. Peter and Paul texts, based on digital images provided by the repositories; for the St. Clement text they are based on a printout from a microfilm copy held at the University of Edinburgh.

2.0 The Manuscripts and the Texts

The *Statutes and Ordinances of St. Clement* and the *Statutes and Ordinances of All Saints*, both survive as individual manuscripts, of 48 and 33 pages respectively: Cambridge, Trinity College 1343 (0.7.15) and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C.541. The *Statutes and Ordinances of the Gild of St. Peter and Paul* survives only as a handwritten transcript, located at the Cambridge University Library, as a part of the collection of Thomas Baker (1656-1740), an antiquarian who worked at and later bequeathed his collection to the University of Cambridge. His collection also includes a transcript of Rawlinson C.541.

The three sets of statutes and ordinances are very closely similar and appear to follow a shared template. Toulmin Smith (1870: 272-273) comments on their similarity in the introduction to his edition:

Nowhere else in all England have I yet found one gild after another copying the ordinances of an older gild. In the fifteenth century this happened in Cambridge; and with such seemingly blind helplessness, that ordinances, professing to be those of distinct gilds, and which had more than forty years' difference between them in the dates of their foundation, are more identical in shape and words, so far as these could be used by separate bodies, than are the different versions of what are avowedly copies of the same Bye-laws of Tettenhall-regis. ... Comparing them critically ... I found that, with only altered names and dates, and a few small details, they are all the same words.

Two of the three texts, the *St. Clement* and *St. Peter and Paul* ones, provide explicit information about their provenance. The Trinity text states that it belongs to the Gild of St. Clement in Cambridge and that it was written in 1431:

These ben y^e ordynauncis and statutys of y^e Gylde of y^e saide seynt Clement . which' is holden in y^e chirche of y^e same seynt Clement in Cambrigge . made be y^e comoun assent of all' y^e bretheren of y^e forseyd gylde in y^e zere of oure lorde ihesu . Millesimo . CCCC^o & xxxj

‘These are the ordinances and statutes of the Guild of the said St. Clement, which is held in the church of the same St. Clement, in Cambridge, made by the common

assent of all the brothers of the foresaid guild in the year of our Lord Jesus 1431.’
(GSC¹ ll. 79-87)

Similarly, the *Statutes and Ordinances of the Gild of St. Peter and Paul* provides explicit information as to its provenance. The text contains a statement that it belongs to the Gild of St. Peter and Paul, which is held in the Church of St. Peter, in Cambridge:

Theis ben the ordynaunces & the statutys of the Gylde of the seyd Sent Petyr: whyche is holden in y^e chirch of the same sent Petyr in Cambrigge made be y^e common assent of all the Bretheren of the forseide Gylde . in the zere of oure Lord Ihesu Millesimo : cccc^{mo} XLVIII^o

‘These are the ordinances and the statutes of the Guild of the said St. Peter, which is held in the church of the same St. Peter, in Cambridge, made by the common assent of all the brothers of the foresaid guild, in the year of our Lord Jesus 1448.’

The Bodleian text contains no such statement. The text simply identifies the Guild as that of All Saints, and again, provides an explicit date:

Theis bene the ordynaunces and the stautys off ꝥ the gylde off omnium sancoru that is to sey off all the seyntyys maade by the commone assent of all’ the bretheren off the forseide gylde yn the zere of owr loorde ihesu . Millesimo cccc^{mo} lxxiiij^o

‘These are the ordinances and the statutes of the Guild of Omnium Sanctorum, that is to say, of all the Saints, made by the common assent of all the brothers of the foresaid guild in the year of our Lord Jesus 1473.’ (GAS ll. 75-85)

Elsewhere, the text specifies that the guild was connected to the Church of All Hallows: *for to goone to the forseide chyrche of all~ hallowys* ‘to go to the foresaid church of All Hallows’ (GAS ll. 102-104); and the guild is named *alhallowe yelde* on fol. 15v. (GAS l. 502). According to Atkinson (1897: 125), there were two churches dedicated to All Hallows in Cambridge: Allhallows-in-the-Jewry and Allhallows-by-the-Castle. Of these, he presumes, but gives no evidence, that the Gild of All Saints would have been held in Allhallows-in-the-Jewry (Atkinson 1897: 58). There is a fairly detailed account of Allhallows-in-the-Jewry in Atkinson (1897: 125), while little seems to be known about Allhallows-by-the-Castle. However, this alone is no proof that the Guild of All Saints was held in Cambridge: one finds

¹ References are made to the edition itself throughout: *St. Clement* is abbreviated GSC and *All Saints* GAS.

many churches of All Hallows and All Saints outside of Cambridge. Its claim as a Cambridge guild is probably traceable to Toulmin Smith (1870: 272):

A copy has been sent to me of a MS. of gild ordinances found in the Bodleian library, and naturally supposed therefore to be the ordinances of an Oxford gild. So soon as I read it, I was satisfied that its true home was nearer East Anglia. This opinion has been wholly confirmed by copies of three sets of gild ordinances which I have since received from Cambridge. ... They put it beyond even the possibility of doubt that the MS. in the Bodleian Library does not contain the ordinances of an Oxford gild, but however strange it may seem, it contains those of a Cambridge gild.

All other references to the Gild of All Saints, Cambridge, seem to trace back to Toulmin Smith. It would seem that he bases his localization of the text on two grounds: its language and its similarity to *All Saints* and *St. Peter and Paul*. It is not an entirely unconvincing argument: these texts are so alike that they surely must be based on one another or have a common source, which makes it likely that they were produced in places not too far removed from each other.

Several names are mentioned in the statutes (see e.g. GAS 506-508). It stands to reason that if one were to be able to identify the men and women behind those names, at least with some confidence, one could localize the texts on those grounds. However, it has not proven feasible to identify any of the six men who *made by all þe comyn assent* 'made by the common assent [of] all' the statute added to *All Saints* in 1506. It seems likely that the probability of success will increase as surviving records are made more readily available and more easily searchable. It has been possible to identify some of the names mentioned in *St. Clement*, see p. 107-108.

In the absence of access to the manuscript itself, the following description of the physical characteristics of the manuscripts are limited to those features visible or deducible from the microfilm or digital copy.

2.1 The Statutes and Ordinances of the Gild of St. Clement

Cambridge, Trinity College 1343 (0.7.15) is a decorated manuscript, written on parchment by at least three different hands, henceforth referred to as A, B, and C. Hand A has written pages 1-36, Hand B has written 37-40, and Hand C has written 41-42. Hand A fits sixteen lines to a page, Hand C 15; while it is more variable for Hand B: there are 17 lines on page 37 and 19

on page 39. It is difficult to establish an exact timescale, but inferring from a slight change in the quality of the hand, it is probable that there is some measure of time between the writing of pages 33-34 and 35-36.

The script may be classified as textualis, based on the descriptions of late mediaeval English scripts in Roberts (2008); salient features in the St. Clement text include the typical textualis **a**, **d**, and **g**; long **s** without a descender; as well as angularity and biting. Abbreviations are used sparingly throughout the English parts of the manuscript. Punctuation is used by all hands and quite considerably so by A. Present are punctus, punctus elevatus, pilcrow, and the occasional double virgule in hand C. Hand A regularly dots <i>. </i>

There are five gaps, where a portion of the text has been rubbed out, present in *St. Clement* (GSC ll. 215-216, 519, 583, 613, 645-646). Based on the other two texts, one would presume the gap on lines 215-216 to read *wyth the increce cumynge ther-of* ‘with the increase coming thereof’. The gaps on the other lines most likely read *with the encrease* ‘with the increase’. A further discussion can be found on page 21. An addition has been made on page 10 (GSC ll. 187): *and euery pety maystr xx d’* ‘and every petty master, twenty pence,’ has been inserted from below with a mark. Correction has been made on page 36 and 39. On page 36 *worchype &* ‘worship &’ has been inserted from below the paragraph with a caret. An Anglicana hand has added *Jon his wife* ‘Joan, his wife’ and *Sonday* on page 39. Although these are in a different script, the nature of the corrections make it likely that they are contemporary with the text. Without them the clause would read *for to kepe the 3erday of William Came & the paryche chirche of sant Clement 3erely as longe as the gilde endurs on the nexte aftyr the epihanye* ‘to celebrate the anniversary of William Came and the parish church of St. Clement, yearly, as long as the guild endurs, on the next aftyr the Epiphany.’ Duplicate text has been crossed out on pages 13 and 24.

The manuscript’s quality changes for the worse after page 34. Presumably the parchment is more worn or not of the same quality. Pages 33 and 34 are noticeably darkened, presumably due to exposure to light, as these two pages are typical display pages, containing John 1 1-14 from the New Testament.

2.2 The Statutes and Ordinances of the Gild of All Saints

Oxford, Bodleian Rawlinson C.541 is a largely undecorated manuscript, written on parchment, by two different hands, henceforth referred to as A and B. The manuscript is

foliated. Hand A has written the bulk of the manuscript, folios 1r-15r. Hand B has made a late addition on folios 15v-16r, dated 1504.

The manuscript was clearly meant to be decorated, as is evident from the gaps present where one would expect decorated or illuminated notable letters. Although carefully surveyed, no discernible pattern has been found (see Table 1). For example, ‘A’ is present on fol. 7v, missing on 8v, and present on 10r. The survey otherwise shows that the illuminated letters are largely present in the Latin portions of the text, although ‘I’ is missing from *Incipiunt* on 3r; while it was present on 1r in *In*. ‘F’ is missing throughout.

	Missing	Present
ALSO	8v, 11r, 13v, 14v	5r, 6v, 7v, 10r
DEUS		2r
FYRSTE	3v, 12v,	
IN		1r
INCIPIUNT	3r	
OMNIUM		2r

Table 1: Illuminated Letters in All Saints

The script is textualis, with all the usual characteristics of that script present: salient features present are biting, angularity, long s without a descender, and the **a** and **g** typical of textualis (see e.g. Roberts 2008). Abbreviations are rare. Punctuation marks are used throughout, and include punctus, virgules, and the occasional punctus elevatus. Hand A regularly dots <y> to distinguish it from the otherwise identical <þ>. Thorn and <y> are distinguished by hand B. Duplicate text is regularly crossed out, although on one occasion, on fol. 5v, it is instead marked as belonging elsewhere, i.e. two lines below.

It appears, from the facsimile reproduction, that the ink has been smudged off in some places; this is most clearly the case on fol. 3v. Sometimes it is smudged onto the opposite page, as on fol 7r.

Corrections or modifications have been made on several pages, primarily by later hands. This the case, for example, on fol.5r where the subject of the clause has been rubbed out and replaced with *the maysters* *∟[of the gyld]*. *Of the gyld* is inserted from the margin with a caret mark. In the other two texts, the subject was *the company*. It is not possible to establish a date for this addition; however, it is in a different, and almost certainly earlier

hand, than the other additions, which were presumably made in conjunction with the statute added in 1504 (fol. 15v-16r).

Of these later additions, the most notable is an on fol. 9r: *y^f ys iij torchys here ylepe to the laste leffe and than cum heder a-gen* ‘that is the three torches. Go now to the last page and then return here again.’ On the previous page, a portion of the text has been enclosed by two marks resembling #:

the maystys of y^e same gylde schall do synge xxx^{ti} . messes of the costys of the gylde and that wyth-in . x. days aftyr they haue knowledge of hys dethe .

‘the masters of the same guild shall sing thirty masses, at the cost of the guild, and that within ten days after they have learned of his death’ (GSA ll. 279-285)

Presumably these indicate that the enclosed text has been superseded by addition of 1504. A discussion of the addition can be found on p. 19-20.

The following addition, in what appears to be in the same hand, is made on fol. 8r, below the text: *and y^e wyffe of an broder of ye gylde so comynge on’ shall pay a j l of wax* ‘and the wife of a brother of the guild [who, by the effect of being his wife, joins the guild] shall pay a pound of wax.’ In general, the additions seem to specify more clearly the responsibilities and the benefits of the female members of the Guild of All Saints.

2.3 The Statutes and Ordinances of St. Peter and Paul

Nothing exact is known about the manuscript that once contained the *Statutes and Ordinances of the Gild of St. Peter and Paul*. It must have been in a reasonably good condition in the late 17th or early 18th Century when it was transcribed by Thomas Baker.

His transcription may be assumed to be fairly accurate in terms of orthography, although it is possible that it has been made inwardly more consistent, as its language is somewhat less variable than that of *All Saints* and *St. Clement*. According to Toulmin Smith ‘the fidelity of the copies found in the Baker MSS. is strikingly shown by the comparison of C(1) and C(2)’ (Toulmin Smith 1870: 274). C(2) is the transcription made by Baker of *All Saints*.

Baker has not retained manuscript lineation. If there were any gaps in the text, or any crossed out or expuncted portions, these are not noted or replicated in the transcription. Additions are enclosed within square brackets. Finally, the punctuation of the transcript is

likely to be editorial as it largely matches what one would expect of a text written in the 18th Century, as opposed to one written in the 15th.

2.4 Content

In terms of content, all three texts follow the same template as far as the eleventh statute. They open with a preface consisting of prayers in Latin:²

Each set of ordinances is prefaced by some Latin quotations and by a prayer for the bretheren and sisteren. The latter is the same in all three. The former are adapted to the patron saint of each guild. (Toulmin Smith 1870: 274)

In *St. Peter and Paul* and *All Saints*, the prayers are preceded by the Gospel of John 1, 1-14. Next, all texts contain an introduction defining the texts as the statutes and ordinances of each respective guild: St. Clement, All Saints, and St. Peter and Paul. This is followed by the statutes themselves. The first eleven are by and large the same in all three manuscripts. The differences are mainly found in the additions, which appear to have been made over time, and include both a revised statute (in *All Saints*) and several additions regarding the celebration of anniversaries or *zere*days of especially prominent donors (in *St. Clement* and *St. Peter and Paul*).

Nearly all the statutes follow the same internal structure. They state what has been agreed upon; if needed, whose responsibility it is to follow it through; and lastly, if applicable, the punishment if one fails to comply.

The first statute may be taken as an example. It first states that there is to be a general and principal day, how often, and when it is to be held. It also goes into detail as to what is to be done on that day and in the evening before:

First we haue ordeyned for to haue oon general' & principal' day y^e which' schal be holden euery zere on y^e sonday next after lowsonday' at which day this gylde schul' come to-gyder' vn-to a certeyn place assigned ther-to.

‘First, we have decided to have a general and principal day, which shall be held, every year, on the Sunday next after [the Sunday after Easter.] On that day, the guild shall come together to a certain place assigned for that purpose’ (GSC II. 88-96).

² This portion is missing from the microfilm copy. It has not been verified against the MS.

The exact date of the general day differs in the three texts. For *All Saints* and *St. Peter and Paul* it relates to their patron saints: these texts define their principal days as being held respectively on the Sunday following the Feast of All Hallows (1 November) and the Feast of St. Peter and Paul (29 June), *St. Clement* held theirs on *Low Sunday*, i.e. the Sunday after Easter.

It assigns the responsibility of summoning the members to the Dean: *as thei schul ben warnyd' be ye deen*. 'as they should be warned by the Dean' (GSC II. 96-97). Furthermore, it states that on the Saturday, presumably the evening before the General Day, the guild members are to attend evensong in the church of St. Clement. On the Sunday they are to attend mass: *For to gon to ye forseyd chírche of seynt Clement on ye satírday vn-to ye euensonge . and on ye sonday to ye messe .* 'For [thereafter] to go to the church of St. Clement for evensong on the Saturday and to the mass on the Sunday' (GSC II. 97-101). Finally, the statute states the punishments for those who do not comply:

And what brothír or sustír yat is withín ye town and is somownede be ye deen & comyth not on ye satyrday to ye euensonge he schall' payen . j . lib' . wax to ye amendment of ye lightes. And who so comyth' not on ye day to ye messe in his best clothyng in ye worchippe of gode and of seynt Clement he schall payen . ij . lib' . wax
'And what brother or sister that is within the town and is summoned by the Dean, yet comes not on the evensong on Saturday, he shall pay one pound of wax for the improvement of the lights. And [he] who comes not to the mass in his best clothing, in the worship of God and St. Clement, he shall pay two pounds of wax' (GSC II. 101-111).

The remaining contents of the three ordinances may be summarized as follows.

The second statute pertains to 'morn-speeches' (see p. 28). Two of these are to be held in the year, and at these, the members are to pay for the cost of their pensions. *And at ech' of these ij morowespechis euery brothir & sustir' schall payen to the costage for his pensyon . ij . denar' ;* 'And at each of these two morn-speeches every brother and sister shall pay to the [pension fund], two pence' (GSC II. 136-139). This statute is referred to, but otherwise missing in *All Saints*: it contains the first line of its header in Latin, *Statutum secundum de le mo[rowspech]* 'Second statute, regarding mo[rn-speeches]' (GAS I. 122). According to the catalogue entry the leaf containing this statute is wanting.

The third statute declares that on the general day an election is to be held, in which the guild is, by an indirect method, to elect an Alderman, two Masters, a Clerk, and a Dean.

First y^e Aldirman schal clepenn vpe . ij . men be name . And the compenye schall clepen vpe . othir . ij . men . And these . iiij . men schul chesen to hem othir . ij . men . And thanne these vj men schul . ben chargid be the othe~ yat yei haue made to the Gylde be-forne tyme ; yat yei schul gon & chesen an Aldirman ij . Maystirs . A clerk & a Deen .

‘First the Alderman shall appoint two men, then the company two others, and then these shall choose unto themselves two others. These six men shall then, charged by the oath that they made to the guild previously, go and choose an Alderman, two Masters, a Clerk, and a Dean.’ (GSC II. 163-173)

This statute has been modified in *All Saints*, so that it is the masters, and not the company who appoint the other two (see p. 12).

The fourth statute deals with two seemingly unrelated things; however, both concern the duties and benefits of the elected officials. Firstly, it relates what the masters are to do when they receive the treasury: *whan the maystirs schal receyuen the catelle of the gylde . into heir handys ; ech’ of hem schal fynde ij . sufficient plegges* ‘when the Masters receive the treasury of the guild into their hands, each of them are to find two pledges (sufficient to guarantee the treasury.) (GSC II. 207-211) Secondly, it states how much ale the various elected officers are to have at every general day, and how much pay the Clerk and the Dean are to have yearly.

And also the alderman schal’ haue at euery generall’ day to his drynk and for his geestys ; j . Galone of ale . and euery maystur . a . potell’ . and the clerk a potell . An y^e deen a quart of ale . ¶ Also the clerk schal haue for his labour euery zere . xx . denar’ And the deen for his labour euery zere . xx . denar’

‘And also, the Alderman shall have at every general day for himself and his guests, one gallon of ale. Every Master is to have two quarts, and the Clerk and Dean one quart. For his labours, the Dean is to have twenty pence every year.’ (GSC II. 221-231)

The fifth statute deals with the entry of new members into the guild. They are to be sworn onto the statutes, using the oath referred to in the third statute, and find two sufficient pledges so as to guarantee for their payment of a membership fee before the next general day at the latest.

Also it is ordeyned y^t whan euery brothir & sustir schal entre in-to this gylde ; he schal' at the first begynnyng be sworne vn-to these statutes and ordynaunces [...] And aftyr he schal' fynde . ij sufficient plegges for to payen to the sustynaunce and to the fortheraunce of the forsayde gylde . xl' . denar' . and to y^e clerk J . denar' . And to y^e deen . J . denar And this schal be payed be y^e next Generall' day folowyng at y^e farrest .

‘Also it is decided that when every brother or sister shall enter into this guild, he shall at the start be sworn onto these statutes and ordinances. Afterwards he must find two sufficient pledges [to guarantee] forty pence to the furtherance and in order to sustain the foresaid guild. And to the Clerk and Dean, one penny each. And this shall be paid by the next general day following at the latest.’ (GSC ll. 237-254)

The sixth statute pertains to the members who have passed away. It states that the Masters are to *syng for his sowle xxx . messys* ‘sing thirty masses for his soul,’ (GSC ll. 275-278) and the members are to attend the wake and go to church and there donate a farthing.

to come to the place wher the deede body is . for to gon ther with' to y^e chirche honestly ... and for to offren for y^e sowl' at the messe don therfore a farthyng
‘To come to the place where the dead body is, for thereafter to go to the church honestly ... and for to offer for the soul at the mass bring therefore a farthing.’ (GSC ll. 287-293)

The same statute also states that *the vicarye ... schal' haue iiij s' & iiij . d' [every year] for his certeyntee of messes for to preyen for all' the companye* ‘the vicar shall have four shilling and four pence every year so as to ensure that he holds masses and prays for the entire company’ (GSC ll. 302-307).

The seventh statute speaks of those members who have fallen on hard times or who have become too old to support themselves. Such members, it states, are to have an allowance shared amongst themselves, provided that the guild can afford it: *if it so be-falle yat there ben moo swich' pouer men than oon ... the forsayd iiij . d' schal ben departyde euery woke a-monge hem all'* ‘if it should happen that there are more such poor men than one ... the foresaid four pence is to be departed every week amongst them all’ (GSC ll. 349-355).

The eighth deals with the respect and obedience that is to be shown the Alderman, the Masters, the Clerk, and the Dean. *at euery morowespeche and at all' comynges to-gyder'* *euery man to ben obedient vnto the alderman* ‘At every morn-speech and at all [other]

gatherings everyone is to be obedient towards the Alderman' (GSC II. 365-368). Trespass is paid in wax.

The ninth statute deals with quarrelling members. A member, it says, is not to bring another before a court of law, until the guild has been allowed to mediate and attempt to resolve the quarrel. First, he must go to the Alderman and state his grievances:

Also if any man be at heuynesse with any of his bretheryne for any maner trespas ; he schal' not pursewen hym in no maner' of courte : but he schal come firste to the alderman . and' schewen to hym his greuance .

'Also, if any man be at quarrels with any of his brethren for any kind of trespass, he must not pursue him in any kind of court, but he must first come to the Alderman and show to him his grievance'(GSC II. 407-414).

According to the statute, the Alderman would then summon both parties and make both *chesen a brother of the forsayde companye or ellys . ij . bretheren for to acorde hem and sett hem at rest and pees* 'choose a brother of the foresaid guild or [if necessary] two brothers, to mediate between them and set them at rest and peace' (GSC II. 419-424). Only if that mediation failed, would they be given license to go to the common law:

And if these men so chosen [to mediate between them] with good mediacion of the alderman mowe not brynge hem at acorde . and reste ; thane may the alderman zeuen hem licence for to gone to the comown lawe :

'And if these men [chosen to mediate between them], with the good mediation by the alderman, cannot bring them to accord and rest, then may the Alderman give them license to go the common law.' (GSC II. 224-231)

Should anyone do so without licence, they would have to pay forty pence *without any grace*.

The tenth statute governs when *any comown drynking is made a-monge [the members]* 'any common drinking is made amongst the members' (GSC II. 460-462). No one is to stay, it says, *in the halle nor in no hows of offyce no lenger than the alderman' aryseth'* 'in the hall, or in any house of office after the Alderman has risen from the table' (GSC II. 463-466). It also regulates access to the ale chambers.

The eleventh statute is the last statute present in all three texts. It pertains to betraying the confidence of the guild members so that slander and gossip comes over the guild. If one does so one is to *payne to the ffortheraunce of the forsayde gylde . xl . d'* 'pay for the

furtherance of the foresaid guild forty pence' (GSC ll. 494-496) or else *lesen the fraternyte for euyr-more* 'lose the fraternity for evermore.' (GSC ll. 497-498)

At this point, the three texts diverge. The St. Clement text continues with several statutes regarding the keeping of anniversaries or 'zereadays' of especially prominent donors. Here the first fourteen verses of the Gospel of John I are inserted between statutes 12 and 13; as previously noted, these are found at the start of *All Saints* and *St. Peter and Paul* (see p. 14). The 'zereaday' statutes again follow a regular formula: they state whose zereaday is to be kept, why, where and when. They give the responsibility to ensure that it is kept to the six men who elect the alderman and the other officers (see p. 15-16). The final statutes are added in different hands: the 14th and 15th are written by Hand B, and the 16th by Hand C (see 5.2 'The Language of the Different Hands of *St. Clement*').

Only one such zereaday statute is present in *St. Peter and Paul*. It is followed by a list of names and dates; sometimes with notes of sums given. These are presumably other donors whose zereaday is to be kept.

The *All Saints* text continues with an addition made in 1504:

Thys statute is made by the comyn' assent of all the bretheren and sisteren of alhallowe yelde the zere of oure lorde . millo . CCCCC^o . iiij^o .

'This statute is made by common assent of brethren and sisters of the Guild of All Hallows [in] the year of our Lord, 1504.' (GAS ll. 500-503)

The statute appears to be a revision of the sixth statute, where a portion of the text is marked for deletion (see p. 13). The addition appears to have been originally made by six men, John Manfeld, Richard Alwey, William Askam, Thomas Kelsey, John Elys, and William Wyllis on behalf of the Guild.

The statute as a whole states that that when a brother passes away, he is to be led to the church by five priests and four torches, and that there are to be sung dirges and a mass is to be held for his soul. Furthermore, according to the statute, one of those priests is to be the vicar or parish priest. It also states that those five priests, as well as the clerk and sexton of the church, are to have four pence, and that six pence are to be dealt out in bread amongst the poor people of the same parish, provided that there are guild members to have part thereof:

And vj d for to be gyvyn~ in brede to pore peple of the same parasch if ther be any pore brothyr or Suster to haue part theroff . 'And six pennies to be dealt out in bread

amongst the poor people of the same parish, provided there is a poor brother or sister to have part of it' (GAS ll. 530-533).

It ends with a paragraph specifying that sisters of the guild who have passed away are to have two priests, be brought to church by them, and have sung or said dirges for her soul.

The revised statute has later been fairly extensively reworked. After the list of the six men, the following has been inserted from the left margin with a caret:

And the masters of the same gylde & all' se þ' euery broder schal haue v prystes & iiij torchis to bryng hem' to the chirche

'And the masters of the same guild and all, [will] see that every brother shall have five priests and four torches to bring them to the church' (GAS ll. 509-512).

Later, on the same folio, the same hand has added from below, with a caret: *Euery brodyr' & syster' to offyr' for the sowle at the messe a fardyng' or els to say the thurde parte of owr lady savter . and also'* 'Euery brother and sister to offer for the soul at the mass a farthing, or else to say the third part of our Lady Psalter' (GAS ll. 519-521). Without the addition, the clause would read:

and if so be þat þe sayd broþer be abyll to kepe a dirige & a messe of his owne proper cost we wyll þat thys dirige and masse be deferryd tyll þ^e next day after.

'And if [it] so be that the said brother is able to keep a dirge and a mass at his own cost, we will that this dirge and mass be deferred till the next day after.'

2.5 History of the Manuscripts and the Guilds

Little is known about how the manuscripts came to be where they presently are. It is perhaps surprising that they should have survived at all. These are not fine bound manuscripts, but booklets, and the texts within them are of little intrinsic value, relating as they do to communities that were forcefully discontinued in the 16th Century, and which furthermore, would have been censored by the Protestants as being Catholic. Indeed, one of the originals now appears to be lost. Assuming that nearly every church had its own guild, there may have been a large number of guild ordinances of the present type, perhaps following the same template. Atkinson (1897: 58) lists another thirty guilds presumed to have existed in Cambridge, many of them contemporary with St. Clement, All Saints, and St. Peter and Paul.

The *All Saints* text was, in the eighteenth century, acquired by Richard Rawlinson (1690-1755), an antiquarian whose collection was bequeathed to the Bodleian Library. *St. Clement* is part of the Gale Collection in the Trinity College Library, bequeathed by Roger Gale in 1738. On the first flyleaf there is a monogram and the date 9th of March 1664. The accompanying name has been erased. The first page contains the initials F, B and W+C. Of *St. Peter and Paul* nothing is known, except that it must at some point have passed by Thomas Baker.

It is difficult to establish the relationship of the three texts, although it is clear that *All Saints* and *Peter and Paul* are closely related to each other. As Toulmin Smith noted, it is not impossible that *All Saints* could have been copied from *St. Peter and Paul*. They have the same structure, which differs slightly from that of *St. Clement*: starting and not ending with John 1, 1-14 from the New Testament.

It is not possible to establish an exact internal timescale for *St. Clement* or *St. Peter and Paul*. In *St. Clement* there are gaps where text has been rubbed out, that are present in Hand A and Hand B, but not so in Hand C (see p. 11). In *St. Peter and Paul*, where the text has not been rubbed out, it reads *with the encrease* ‘with the increase,’ so that the clause as a whole is:

And also tho vi men that chesen the alderman & the officers schul chesen othyr ii sufficient men for to kepyn the same xl s to bring it in with the encrease 3erly undyr the same forme that the maisters doo.

‘And also, those four men that choose the alderman and the other officers, should choose two other sufficient men, to administrate the same five shilling, to bring it in yearly, with the increase, in the same form that the masters do.’

It must at some point have been decided, presumably by the members of *St. Clement*, and probably sometime before one added the sixteenth statute, where the gap is not present, that these two men should be allowed to keep the interest.

As to the history of the guilds, information is limited to what can be deduced from the ordinances and from the known external circumstances. It is impossible to say with any degree of certainty if they existed before, respectively, 1431, 1448, and 1473. There is nothing in the ordinances that exclude the possibility that they existed before. In his list of guilds in Cambridge, Atkinson lists *St. Clement* as still existing in 1483 (Atkinson 1897: 58). Presumably, the Guild of All Saints still existed when an addition was made in 1504. It is, regrettably, the only addition that dates itself, so that while it is possible to establish from the

additions that all three ordinances were in active use for some time after their compilation, it is not possible to establish an exact timeframe as to when those additions and modifications were made. What is possible to establish is by what time they would necessarily have ceased to exist: if not before, they would have been discontinued with the Dissolution of Colleges Acts of 1545 (37 Hen. VIII. C.4) and 1547 (1 Edw. VI. C. 14). The second of these vested in the Crown not only all the funds devoted ‘by any manner of corporations, gilds fraternities, companies or fellowships ... to the support of priests obits, or lights’, but also ‘all fraternities brotherhoods, and gilds, being within the realm of England and Wales and other the King’s dominion, and all manors, lands, tenements, and other hereditaments belonging to them or any of them.’ (§§ 6,7; cited from Toulmin Smith 1870: xliii).

2.6 Toulmin Smith’s Edition

The only existing edition of the present texts is a collated one. Toulmin Smith explains his procedure in the introduction to his edition of the *Gild of St. Clement and Two Others* as follows: ‘I now give the ordinances of the oldest of these three gilds. The variation found in the later ordinances are shown, some in the margin and others in foot-notes’ (Toulmin Smith 1870: 278). In a footnote to this, he notes that ‘mere differences of spelling, not showing any dialectic change’ or ‘the occasional, but obvious errors of the scribe’ are not given such treatment. Generally, any variation found is only noted once.

Punctuation is inserted and modernised, with no note as to what was present in the original manuscripts. Elsewhere in *English Gilds*, Toulmin Smith (1870: 2) writes that he has sought:

by careful punctuation, and the use of hyphens and other usual modern means, to bring out the sense more clearly. The stops found in the originals are arbitrary, and are usually only the straight stroke, single or double, sloping from right to left. But, as these is no uniformity among these Returns in the manner of using those marks, the adherence to such methods of punctuation would be only confusing to the reader.

In addition, abbreviations are silently expanded, ampersands are rendered as *and*, lineation is not kept or referenced, and no description is provided of the manuscripts. It is, in relation to this, interesting to note that he appears to have worked from handwritten transcripts and not the manuscripts themselves. In a footnote, he writes that he is indebted to the kindness, indeed to the hand, of a Mr. Aldis Wright, Librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge for the

copy of the ordinances of 1431. He also extends thanks to a Mr. Coxe, Librarian of Bodleian, and a Mr. Dalton, who has been good enough to make extracts from the Baker MSS (Toulmin Smith 1870: 273-274).

It would seem, based on his description of where the manuscripts are located, that *St. Peter and Paul* is based on the transcript found in the Baker MS:

Among the MS. Collections, now in the University Library [of Cambridge], made by that industrious Cambridge antiquary, Thomas Baker, is a copy of the ordinances of the Guild of Saints Peter and Paul of Cambridge, bearing the date of 1448 (Toulmin Smith 1870: 273).

With regard to the *All Saints* text, he refers to ‘a copy’ sent to him from Oxford (see p. 10); at this date, this would also have been a transcript.

Toulmin Smith’s edition was not concerned with linguistic study. As far as historical study is concerned, one might gain the impression that objectivity was not the primary concern, from passages such as the following on the aims of the mediaeval guilds:

to set up something higher than personal gain and mere materialism, as the main object of men living in towns; and to make the teaching of love to one’s neighbour be not coldly accepted as hollow dogma of morality, but known and felt as a habit of life (Toulmin Smith 1870: xv).

As one can ascertain from reading the introduction written by Lucy Toulmin Smith, Joshua Toulmin Smith had an agenda: namely the revival of the guild system in modern England, something that makes itself apparent throughout *English Guilds*. It is likely therefore that his edition is primarily, almost exclusively, concerned with content, and not the with physical manuscripts themselves or the language contained within them. This would seem to be true of his edition of these three texts as well as of all the others found in *English Guilds*.

3.0 Historical Background

3.1 What is a Guild?

A guild, according to its definition in the *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)*, is a ‘confraternity, brotherhood, or association formed for the mutual aid and protection of its members, or for the prosecution of some common purpose’ (*OED Online, GUILD a*). In the medieval period, the term seems to have been used quite loosely to refer to any kind of urban or religious fraternity or craft organization. In more modern times guilds have been classified into several different kinds, depending on the purpose for which they were founded (see Brentano 1870: *passim*).

Merchants’ guilds looked after the interests of the free citizenry. Brentano (1870: xciii) refers to them as ‘those sworn fraternities for the protection of right, and the preservation of liberty,’ and describes their formation as follows:

In the towns, the necessity of protecting liberty, property and trade, against the violence of the neighbouring nobles, the arbitrary aggressions of the bishops or the burgrave, or the bold onsets of robbers, ... must have specially moved the small freemen to the formation of the societies above referred to. ... Naturally therefore, the whole body of full citizens, that is, of the possessors of portions of the town lands of a certain value ... united itself everywhere into one Gild; ... the citizens and the Gild became identical; and what was Gild-law became the law of the down.

Trade guilds, or craft guilds, were associations formed by persons exercising the same craft, with the purpose of protecting and promoting their common interests. It is noted in the *OED* that ‘in some towns the representatives of these bodies superseded the older organizations as the municipal authority’ (*OED Online, GUILD a*).

Finally, religious guilds arranged feasts and provided for its members in time of need. Toulmin Smith (1870: xv) compares them to the modern friendly or benefit societies:

They were quite other things than modern partnerships, or trading ‘Companies’; for their main characteristic was, to set up something higher than personal gain and mere materialism, as the main object of men living in towns; and to make the teaching of love to one’s neighbour be not coldly accepted as hollow dogma of morality, but known and felt as a habit of life.

While such a comparison might seem apt, it is not entirely accurate. There are some marked differences: a benefit society does not impose itself as a judge on its members, and, presumably, does not fine its members upon violations of its statutes.

Etymologically the word goes back to Old English *gild*, related to Old Norse *giald* ‘payment’ and *geld* Old Saxon ‘payment, sacrifice, reward.’ The root **geld-*, is probably to be taken in the sense ‘to pay, contribute,’ so that the noun would primarily mean an association of persons contributing money for some common object. However, as the root also means ‘to sacrifice, worship,’ some have supposed, according to the *OED*, that guilds were so called as being combinations for religious purposes (*OED Online: GUILD*).

Of the origin of medieval guilds, little is known for certain. According to *the Oxford Companion to Local and Family History* (Hey 1997: GUILD), the guilds originated in the 12th Century as supportive religious societies, offering mutual charitable help and composed of men and women working at a common craft, and living at close quarters in a single parish. Based on the then earliest known ordinances, Brentano (1870: lxxv) supposes they originated in the beginning of the 11th Century, in England:

The oldest reliable and detailed accounts which we have of Gilds come from England; they consist of three Gild-statutes. According to the latest investigation into the origin of Gilds, the drawing-up of all these statutes took place in the beginning of the eleventh century. In the case of one of these Gilds, there is no doubt whatever as to the accuracy of this date. This Gild was founded and richly endowed by Orcey, a friend of Canute the Great, at Abbotsbury, in honour of God and St. Peter.

The guilds described in those statutes are virtually indistinguishable from those in the 15th Century. One could therefore reasonably expect there to have been precursors of some kind. Brentano (1870: lxxviii) quotes previous historians and refers to the feasts of the Germanic tribes from Scandinavia, which, as he points out, were first called Gilds. If one connects those feasts, he writes, with what historians relate about the family in those days, one might recognize in them the germ from which, in later times, the guild necessarily had to develop itself:

The family appears as the first Gild, or at least as an archetype of the Gilds.

Originally, its providing care satisfied all existing wants; and for other societies there is therefore no room. As soon however as wants arise which the family can no longer satisfy, ... closer artificial alliances immediately sprint forth to provide for them, in so

far as the State does not do it. ... In short, whatever and however diverse may be their aims, the Gilds take over from the family the spirit which held it together and guided it: they are its faithful image, though only for special and definite objects. (Brentano 1870: lxxx)

Yet, as Rosser (2006: 29) points out, while the language of brotherhood in the guilds invites comparison with kinship ties in the family, there are nevertheless crucial distinctions to be drawn between the two kinds of network: particularly in relation to the degree of voluntarism. On the surface of it, one might think one is born into one's family, but chooses one's guild; however, although it is likely to have been true with regard to religious guilds, it is doubtful whether one had much choice when it came to membership in the trade guilds or in the Merchants' guilds.

Furthermore, Brentano's localization of the origin of the medieval guilds to England may have more to do with the editor's wishes than with sound evidence. In his notes he writes:

Mr. Furnivall asks me to make much more emphatic my statement as to England's being the birthplace of Gilds. He thinks besides, that my derivation of the Gilds from the family, contradicts this supposition of the origin of Gilds in England. ... Now, I wish to declare here most emphatically that I consider England the birthplace of the Gilds. But, at the same time, I wish to deny quite as emphatically, that what I have said on p. lxix as to the family, implies a stage of civilization before the immigration of the Anglo-Saxons. (Brentano 1870: lvii)

This is not the place to draw any definite conclusions as to the origin of guilds, and it is perhaps uncertain whether such conclusions are feasible at all. However, on the basis of the present historical evidence, it seems relatively safe to claim that the guild system existed in England at least as early as the beginning of the 11th Century in a form very similar to that described in the statutes and ordinances of the Gild of St. Clement and those of All Saints.

3.2 Organization

Certain characteristics were common to all or most of the medieval English religious guilds. While such a guild might have had a specific purpose, such as the keeping of a particular feastday, it was nevertheless principally a social enterprise: an association formed for the

mutual aid and protection of its members. It is therefore, perhaps, that ‘fraternity’ is a word commonly associated with guilds in the literature. However, if the guilds surveyed in *English Gilds* are to be taken as representative, few guilds were exclusively brotherhoods, as nearly all admitted women:

Scarcely five out of the five hundred were not formed equally of men and women, which, in these times of the discovery of the neglect of ages heaped upon woman, is a noteworthy fact. Even where the affairs were managed by a company of priests, women were admitted as lay members; and they had many of the same duties and claims upon the Gild as the men. (Toulmin Smith 1870: xxx)

While not invariably so, the majority of guilds seem to have required one to recite an oath of obedience upon admittance. New members entering into the guild of St. Clement were required to *be sworne vn-to these statutes and ordynaunces hem to maynten & susteyne* ‘be sworn unto these statutes and ordinances, to maintain and sustain them’ (GSC ll. 241-243); the same formulation is found in the statutes of All Saints (GAS ll. 245-248) and St. Peter and Paul. Potential members were also commonly required to be of good reputation, and existing members who turned to crime were cast out. Several of the ordinances edited in *English Gilds* contain passages such as: ‘No ordinances shall be made against the common law;’ (Toulmin Smith 1870: 22, 30, 39) ‘rebels against the laws shall be put out of the Gild’ (Toulmin Smith 1870: 50, 52).

The payments that were made to the guilds were numerous and vary considerably in both form and amount. There was a payment on admittance, which could be a fixed amount or based on individual agreement ‘as the masters and [the new member] may accord,’ and which was sometimes paid in money and sometimes in kind. (Toulmin Smith 1870: xxxi-xxxii) (see also p. 16).

Presumably such payments, along with voluntary gifts and donations, would be a guild’s primary source of income, although several also owned land and property and had considerable inventories:

The form that the property of a Gild took depended on as different circumstances as the amounts were various. Some were endowed with land at their foundation, or had gifts of land or tenements made to them ... [O]thers acquired considerable property in church ornaments, furniture for the Gild-house, goods used in the players and shows,

&c., as may be seen from many curious inventories still existing. (Toulmin Smith 1870: xxxv)

These resources were used to arrange feasts and to provide services for members in need, and, not uncommonly, for the greater community. Nearly all the guilds surveyed in *English Guilds* ensured a fitting burial of their deceased members. Help to the less fortunate – the sick, infirm, old, and members who had suffered robbery or misfortune, provided it was not due to their own folly or misconduct – is prominent feature in the ordinances. The Guild of St. Clement called upon its masters to *syng for [a deceased member's] sowle xxx . messys of the costys of the gylde . and that wythine . x . days aftyr' thei haue knowlege of his deeth'*, 'sing thirty masses for a deceased member's soul, at the cost of the guild, and that within ten days after they have knowledge of this death,' and required all the members who were able to attend the funeral to do so. (GSC II. 275-279) It also provided for its old and destitute:

[I]f any brothir or sustir' of this forseyd companye falle in-to olde age or in-to grete pouerte ; nor haue not wherwith' to be foundene . nor to help hymselfe ; he schal haue euery woke iiij . denar' of the goodys of the gylde also longe as the catell' ther-of is worthe xl' . s' . or more. 'If any brother or sister of this foresaid company fall into old age or into great poverty, and has no means to support or help himself, he shall have, every week, four pence of the goods of the guild, as long as their value is worth forty shillings or more.' (GSC II. 338, 348; see also p. 17)

As for the greater community, some of the guilds surveyed in *English Guilds* charged themselves with the repairs of highways, roads and churches (Toulmin Smith 1870: xxxvi-xxxviii). At least from the early 15th Century, religious guilds also commonly concerned themselves with providing for the maintenance of free schools and schoolmasters (Orme 2006: 243).

Every guild seems to have had its appointed day or days of meeting, called morn-speeches, or *morrowespechis* in the present ordinances. One of these meetings was designated the 'general day' or 'principal day'. In the case of the two of the present guilds, All Saints and St. Peter and Paul, it was held in conjunction with the feast days of their respective patron saints, while the Guild of St. Clement held it on Low Sunday (see p. 14). At these meetings, the brethren and sisters met and saw to the common business of the guild: admitted new brethren, made up accounts, and elected the officers (see p. 15-16).

It seems that nearly all guilds were governed in similar ways. They usually had their Alderman, or head officer, Masters or Stewards, a Dean, and a Clerk. These had both responsibilities and special privileges: in the case of the three present guilds, the Dean and Clerk had a yearly salary, and all had extra allowances of ale on the feast-days.

The Alderman is defined in the *OED* as ‘the head, master, or warden of a medieval guild or a later trade guild’ (*ALDERMAN* 2). Etymologically, it is derived from ‘elder.’ It was thus to him that the others deferred. See, for instance, GSC II. 407-431. The statute is described on p. 18.

The Masters were ordinarily entrusted with the administration of the guild’s property and wealth, while the Dean seems to have been tasked mainly with summoning the members of the guild when needed. Of the tasks of the Clerk much less is mentioned; one would presume they were tasked primarily with record-keeping, and would, indeed, have had the task of writing or copying down the guild’s ordinances.

3.3 Guild Ordinances as a Genre and Text Type

A working definition of *genre* can be found in Swales (1990: 58):

A genre comprises a class of communicative events, the members of which share some set of communicative purposes. These purposes are recognized by the expert members of the parent discourse community, and thereby constitute the rationale for the genre. This rationale shapes the schematic structure of the discourse and influences and constrains choice of content and style. ... In addition to purpose exemplars of genre exhibit various patterns of similarity in terms of structure, style, content and intended audience.

In short, genre is governed primarily by external factors: i.e. the purposes of the communicative events. While there is much variation in the terminology used, many scholars distinguish between genres and text types. While genres have a sociocultural basis, text types are defined on the basis of internal factors, such as their linguistic form (see e.g. Bieber 1988: 70). The following brief account of guild ordinances considers them from both points of view: both in terms of their function and their formal characteristics.

Several elements seem to be common to nearly all guild ordinances. They commonly start with a formula, praising the patron saint, God, Jesus and St. Mary. The following example is taken from the Shipmanes Gild of Lynn (Toulmin Smith 1870: 54):

In ye hon^r of ihesu cryst of heuene, and of his modir seynte marie, and of alle holy halwyn, and specialeke of ye exaltacion of ye holy crouche, in septeembre yis fraternite is funden and stabeled, and be ye grace of god, euere more to lasten, in ye 3er of oure lord a Thousand ccc.lxviiij. ‘In the honour of Jesus Christ of Heaven, his mother, St. Mary, and all Hallowed, and especially [in the honour of] the Exaltation of the Cross; in September this fraternity is founded and established, in the year of our Lord 1368 . By the grace of God, may it last forevermore.

See also p. 8-9. Occasionally this formula is exclusively in Latin, as in the ordinances of The Tailor’s Guild of Norwich (Toulmin Smith 1870: 33). The formula is often followed by a statement of when the guild was founded, sometimes merely when the ordinances were made, as is the case of the Gild of St. Clement (see GSC II. 73-87; also p. 8). Usually, the name of the guild and where it was founded is also included in this statement. This is followed by the first statute, which is often introduced by a formula to the effect of: ‘First, we have ordained’ (see e.g. GSC I. 88). Any additional statutes will usually be prefaced with: ‘Also, we have ordained’ (see e.g. GAS I. 253). (See also p. 14). In terms of speech act theory, such expressions, consisting of a first-person pronoun and a verb such as ‘ordain’ or ‘command’ have been classified as ‘performatives’ by Kohnen (2007: 143).

The typical structure is subject + shall, as in the following example from the Poor Men’s Guild of Norwich: *ffirst, þat þei shullen meynten and fynden a light in þe same chirche in hono^r of þe seule seynt Austyn* ‘First, that they should maintain and found a light in the same church in honour of the soul of St. Augustin’. (Toulmin Smith 1870: 40). (see also e.g. GSC I. 111).

Conditional constructions are also fairly common, as in the following example, also, from the Poor Men’s Guild of Norwich (Toulmin Smith 1870: 40): *And if any broþer or sister of þis pouere gilde falle in any pouerte or secknesse ... he schal han, of þe bretherin and sistrin, eueri woke, iij. pens, til þat he be recured.* ‘And if any brother or sister of this Poor [Men’s] Guild fall into poverty or sickness ... he shall have every week, from the bretheren and sisters, three pence, until he recovers.’

In short, the purpose of these texts is to instruct current and future members, in effect, posterity, on the conduct of the Guild. Görlach (2004: 60) classifies ordinances as

‘authoritative texts’; their linguistic characteristics, including the use of performatives and *shall*-constructions, clearly relate to this function.

3.4 Cambridge as a Text Community

When Cambridge first appears in written records, it is already a considerable town (see Atkinson 1897: 6; Cambridge University – About the University): it was an important trading centre by the time the Domesday survey was compiled in 1086. It was in the early Middle Ages the only point to cross the River Cam: the bridge across is believed to have existed at least as early as 875, when Cambridge is mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (see e.g. the digital edition by The Online Medieval & Classical Library). As pointed out in the introduction to Atkinson (1897: xxiv), Cambridge was therefore the only point that could be crossed by a traveller who wished to proceed from the eastern counties to the Midlands. A major road, leading directly from London, also passes through. By the 15th Century it would be one of the important urban centres in England.

Atkinson (1897: 23) provides the following description of the municipal government, as it was in the 14th Century and would remain largely unchanged until the municipal reforms of the mid 19th Century:

By the middle of the fourteenth century, the town had reached complete municipal independence, and we are able to see with some clearness the working system of government which it had developed. The fully developed staff as it survived at a later time, and as, in its main elements, it probably existed about the fourteenth century, consisted of a Mayor, four Bailiffs, twelve Aldermen, twenty-four Common Councilmen, two Treasurers, four Counsellors, two Coroners, Town Clerk and Deputy town Clerk ... Other officers were, the High Steward, the Recorder, Deputy Recorder, and Chaplain.

One would expect these institutions to produce a quite considerable amount of written material, which, indeed, they did. Most of the surviving documents are currently held at the Cambridgeshire Archives; several are cited in full in Cooper (1842). Of special note is perhaps the manuscript commonly referred to as the ‘Cross Book,’ into which important documents were copied from the 14th Century; a brief description can be found in Atkinson (1897: 22).

A few of these are listed amongst the ‘local documents’ in LALME (I: 177). None have been given a Linguistic Profile (LP). In all, there are only sixteen Linguistic Profiles for Cambridgeshire (LALME I: 176-177). Of these, only two may be described as ‘documentary texts’ with external connections to Cambridgeshire: these are the *St. Clement* text, LP 64, and a petition to Parliament by Thomas Paunfield (LP 282). The remaining texts are mainly literary or religious and have, presumably, for the most part been localized using the ‘fit’-technique (see p. 36).

In addition to the municipal government, there were, of course, the guilds. In the extensive bibliography produced by Hoffman (2011), references to Cambridge consists mainly of the nineteenth-century works already cited: Toulmin Smith (1870), Atkinson (1897), and Cooper (1842). The three texts here studied are the only documents produced by Cambridge guilds that are referred to in LALME; the number of surviving guild documents from Cambridge seems, consequently, to be very small compared to, for example, Shrewsbury (Thengs, to be submitted).

The university is normally held to have been founded in 1209 when scholars seeking refuge from hostile townsmen in Oxford migrated to Cambridge (see Cambridge University – About the University). In terms of written records, we meet with it as an institution already in existence by the reign of Henry III (1216-1272) (see Atkinson 1997: 241; see also Orme 2006: 80-81). The University would have been a major centre of text production, both in terms of academic texts and documentary materials; some of this material is referenced in Atkinson (1897) and Cooper (1842). In addition to the University itself, there would, of course, be the sort of industries that grow up around institutions of higher learning, including schools and stationers’ shops (see e.g. Orme 2006: *passim*). Thus, Cambridge was in the 15th Century not only an important economic centre, but also a centre of education, literacy and text production, only matched by Oxford: a place where men would travel from considerable distance away, to study and work (see e.g. Aston, Duncan and Evans 1980: *passim*). It is probable, therefore, that it was a place where a multitude of different dialects were spoken and, in the Middle English period, written.

4.0 The Study of Middle English Linguistic Variation

Unlike the standardized written language of today, written Middle English was highly variable: ‘ME is *par excellence*, the dialectal phase of English, in the sense that while dialects have been spoken at all periods, it was in ME that divergent local usage was normally indicated in writing.’ (Strang 1970: 224) The reasons for this variability go back to the decline of the Late West-Saxon *Schriftsprache* following the Norman Conquest.

In the Old English period, English had come to be used as a written language for various purposes, including official and administrative uses; even though it was used much less extensively as Latin, it was a position unparalleled by any European vernacular at this time. After the conquest, ‘English ceased to be the language of government, and there was no such thing as a national standard literary English’ (Barber, Beal, and Shaw 2009: 144). Instead, French, and above all, Latin came to be used for official purposes, with English as a written language being reduced to few and local uses. Thus, when English did once again become a major literary language, there were no national guidelines or conventions for written English. The spoken language had also changed considerably under the influence of the conquerors: both that Scandinavians of the previous centuries and the Normans of 1066. These changes would effectively have rendered the the Late West-Saxon *Schriftsprache* unusable as a model, even if it had been available (see also p. 41-42).

In common usage a dialect is ‘a substandard, low-status, often rustic form of language, generally associated with the peasantry, the working class, or other groups lacking in prestige’ (Chambers and Trudgill 1998: 3). In the field of dialectology it is simply used to refer to linguistic variation, whether due to social differences or geographic distance. Within the context of geographical distance one speaks of geographical dialect continua. This means that differences are not abrupt, but cumulative: the differences between neighbours might be slight, but increase gradually with distance. Linguistic boundaries to the degree that they exist tend to reflect discontinuities of contact between speakers; they therefore coincide with political and geographical boundaries.

The idea that Middle English written variation might be studied in terms of geographical continua was first suggested by McIntosh (1956[1989]) and is based on the study of present-day spoken dialects. It is generally assumed that linguistic variation follows the same principles in all historical periods. This assumption is known as the ‘uniformitarian principle’ (see e.g. Labov 1994: 21-25). It is now increasingly recognized that geographical distance is not the only or most crucial factor when it comes to linguistic variation (see e.g.

Hudson 1980: 43; Muysken 2008: 4). The crucial point is contact between people: thus, dialect features tend to leap from town to town, in what has been termed urban or city hopping (see e.g. Chambers and Trudgill 1980: 182-204; Bergs 2006: 8). As a result, one might find a dialect feature present in two different, maybe even distant, towns, but not necessarily in the rural areas inbetween. Present-day digital media have made intensive contact possible over long distances; while the situation in mediaeval society was very different, and long-distance contacts would have been limited and cumbersome, it must be assumed that the same basic principles would have applied, and that geographical continua could be broken by other patterns.

While there are a few comments by contemporary observers, such as John Trevisa (Burrow and Turville-Petre 1996: 6), what we claim to know about spoken Middle English is on the whole derived indirectly from the study of written materials. Often the evidence is both patchy and anonymous. It is on these grounds that historical linguistics has been described as ‘making the best use of bad data’ (Labov 1994: 11). One is therefore, necessarily, restricted to the questions that the data are capable of answering: that is, those concerned with Middle English as a text or manuscript language Middle English (see e.g. Stenroos Forthcoming: 18). The term ‘text language’ was introduced by Fleischman (2000: 32) and refers to the fact that, for historical stages of language, all the evidence survives only in the written mode.

Because of the variability of written Middle English, one would expect it to be possible to find features in the written language that almost certainly do correlate with features in spoken Middle English: e.g. *þam, hom, hem* THEM, to take a few examples from McIntosh (1963[1989]). Such features were termed ‘s-features’ in McIntosh (1974: 603).

However, one cannot use the written language to draw any definite conclusions about the pronunciation of any of the variant forms it attests. As pointed out by Vachek (1976: 127-128), written language cannot simply be regarded as an optical projection of spoken language:

To the difference of material existing between the two is added another difference, more profound and more essential, that is to say, a difference of functions. The function of the spoken utterance is to respond to the given stimulus in a dynamic way. ... On the other hand, the function of the written utterance is to respond to the given stimulus in a static way.

In the same article, he points out, that written language, in any case, is not the same as phonetic transcription. It does not aspire to be more than a rough-and-ready reproduction of speech utterances (Vachek 1976: 172).

Instead, one should perhaps, examine the written language in its own right. This is a point argued by McIntosh (1963[1989]: 7) in a seminal article:

It is one of the main purposes of this paper to suggest that no position is satisfactory which fails to accord equality of status to spoken language and written language and that the analysis of one is neither more nor less linguistic than the other.

Furthermore, he points out that there are numerous features that are visible only in the written language, but that show variation, what he terms orthographic variation, i.e. 'w-features' (see McIntosh 1974: 603): e.g. *erpe*, *erthe* EARTH; *nozt*, *noght* NOT. McIntosh suggests that these forms may be plotted on maps like any other variants, and claims that many of them turn out to be demonstrably regional, with a distribution, in some cases, of quite extraordinary interest (McIntosh (1963[1989]: 5). Such an approach, he writes, 'would above all take us out of the false position of continually regarding a written manifestation of language as in some sense inferior in status to, and functionally dependent on its spoken equivalent.' (McIntosh (1963[1989]: 12) This insight has proved to be revolutionary in the study of Middle English dialects, making possible a much more detailed and direct study of the variation. Two further problems remain, however: localization and scribal copying.

4.1 Localization on Linguistic Grounds: the 'Fit'-Technique

Dialectologists studying Middle English are faced with one great problem: that of localization. The witnesses are not living people, but written texts, more often than not of unknown provenance. The scribes who wrote them are, for the most part, anonymous. Thus it is unknown where they lived or were brought up, and, accordingly, which geographical location their dialect represents.

A solution for this problem was suggested by McIntosh (1959[1989], 1963[1989]). By combining the idea that written variation could be studied in its own right with the idea of a dialect continuum, he developed a method for defining the relative position of a dialect within the continuum, known as the 'fit'-technique. The principles of this methodology were first presented by McIntosh (1959[1989], 1963[1989]) and formed the basis for the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* (LALME). The 'fit'-technique is, simply put, a technique for

localizing texts on linguistic grounds, by determining how they relate to texts already localized by similar means or to manuscripts of known provenance. Texts of known provenance are, in the context of the ‘fit’-technique, referred to as ‘anchor texts’, and are required in order to relate the dialect continuum to the geographical map.

Work on LALME was begun by McIntosh in 1952 and drew much inspiration from experience gained in setting up a modern dialect survey, the Linguistic Survey of Scotland (see McIntosh 1952). LALME covers the years 1350-1450 for reasons summarised by Benskin (1977: 500):

From before 1350 very few sources for English north of the Humber are known, and if the atlas is to cover the whole country it can represent the usages of no earlier period. In the course of the 15th century, however, and not at the same rate in all places, regional diversity gives way increasingly to Chancery Standard, the official language of the London administrators and the direct ancestor of modern Standard English. ... The period 1350-1450 is thus the one period in the history of English for which a dialect atlas of the written language can be constructed to cover the whole country.

The published work, which consists of four volumes, presents the data in the form of maps (‘Dot Maps’ and ‘Item Maps’) as well as lists, arranged both according to the text (‘Linguistic Profiles’) and ‘item’ (‘County Dictionary’). An electronic version, the eLALME, was published in 2013.

The ‘fit’-technique depends on the progressive elimination of areas with which the individual linguistic forms found in the text are incompatible, and so delimiting the area or areas from which the whole assemblage of linguistic forms does belong. The first step is therefore to create a ‘Linguistic Profile’ (LP): essentially a selective index of the linguistic forms found in the text. One may then use the maps, printed in LALME, to gradually narrow down the possible localizations.

Benskin (1991: 16-26) provides a detailed worked example of the ‘fit’-technique, where it is applied to LP 575, i.e. hand A of Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Library, Z.822. N.81. A briefer description is provided by McIntosh (1963[1989: 25]):

Let us suppose that one takes the trouble to plot on maps as much as possible of the dialectal information available in localised documents which come from various parts of S Lancashire, Cheshire, SW Yorkshire, W Derbyshire, N Staffordshire and N

Shropshire. If one then examines the language of *Gawain and the Green Knight*, it eventually becomes clear that this text, as it stands in BL Cotton Nero A x, can onto *fit* with reasonable propriety in a very small area either in SE Cheshire or just over the border in NE Staffordshire. That is to say, its dialectal characteristics *in their totality* are reconcilable with those of other (localised) texts in this and only this area.

Following these principles, the compilers of LALME were able to produce dialect maps based on a framework of more than 1,000 texts, most of which were localized using the ‘fit’-technique. The publication of LALME was an important milestone in Middle English dialectology, and its methodology has been central in much of Middle English language study over the last decades.

One project that builds upon LALME is the *Middle English Grammar Project*, and its resultant electronic corpus: MEG-C. Its purpose, according to the manual, is to be both ‘an independent research tool and [a] basis for a new description of linguistic variation and change in Middle English.’ (Stenroos and Mäkinen 2011: 2) It is expected to eventually contain approximately one thousand text samples of different text types and genres, all of texts that have been mapped in LALME. The unit here is the ‘scribal text’ as defined in LALME (I: 8): ‘any consecutive written output that is a single text in the literary sense, or a part of such a text, and written by a single scribe.’ The texts are transcribed in samples of three thousand words, or entire if shorter. The transcriptions are produced in a machine readable format with extensive coding and comments, contained within plain text files, and entered into a database alongside information about extralinguistic variables such as date, genre, register and script. The current online version (2011.1) consists of 410 texts, and is available in three versions: the base version, with all coding and comments; a readable version, published in HTML and PDF format; and a concordance version, which consists of plain text files, compatible with concordancing programs, such as AntConc. A new version is expected to be published in the Autumn 2013. This project has, in addition to the corpus, at the time of writing, produced two doctoral theses: Black (1997) and Jensen (2010).

The LALME methodology has also been employed to produce two more linguistic atlases: *A Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English* (LAEME) and *A Linguistic Atlas of Older Scots* (LAOS), both at the University of Edinburgh. As these Atlases were able to make use of computer technology from the start, they are based on entire tagged text samples, rather than on data collected with questionnaires; they have also developed computerized versions

of the LALME methods of analysis, including the ‘fit’-technique. The principles, however, remain the same.

4.2 Geographical and Linguistic Space

While the ‘fit’-technique has been enormously influential in the study of Middle English written variation, it is not a technique that can be applied in all circumstances, or for all kinds of research question or aims. As it depends on the idea of a regular dialect continuum, the anchor texts cannot be random examples, but must also be selected so that they form part of the dialect continuum. The localizations thus do not provide any direct evidence as to the physical provenance of the text, but rather relate to an ideal dialect map based on linguistic similarities (Stenroos and Thengs 2012: 3).

Williamson (2000) introduced the terms geographic and linguistic space in his article ‘Changing spaces: Linguistic relationships and the dialect continuum.’ Here, he discusses a further development of the techniques for reconstructing an historical dialect continuum, i.e. the ‘fit’-technique, and the possibility of replicating it computationally. He defines linguistic space as the purely structural framework of linguistic relations between witnesses with respect to a given set of linguistic features which they attest. Geographical space, in turn, refers to the representation on the map of the actual physical locations (‘real space’) where things take place in the real world: for example, where the manuscripts were created.

This means that, in the study of Middle English, we are dealing with two different kinds of localizations. Localizations in linguistic space, by means of the ‘fit’-technique, are relative. These can be ‘anchored’ to geographical space and projected onto a map by relating them to manuscripts of known provenance. The localizations are no more definite than they were before: the precise location of the witnesses remains unknown; the localizations on a map produced by the ‘fit’-technique are not and cannot be more than relative. In contrast, maps produced by modern dialect surveys, where the precise geographical location of the witnesses is known, represent geographical space.

An ongoing project at the University of Stavanger, ‘The Geography and Language of Middle English Documentary Texts’ is currently building up a corpus for the study of Middle English linguistic variation. *The Middle English Local Documents Corpus* will follow the same format as MEG-C, but differs quite markedly in content and intent from both it and LALME. Stenroos’ (2012: 11) paraphrase of Kretzchmar sums up its purpose quite succinctly: to find out ‘who wrote what where.’ Rather than ask which texts represent the

same dialect on linguistic grounds, it asks what kinds of written language were actually produced at a given geographic location. The corpus' primary aim is to be a tool for the study of linguistic and palaeographical variation in documentary texts that are dated and connected to specific places.

As part of this project, the two kinds of localizations have been discussed and compared by Stenroos and Thengs (2012) in a recent paper. In it they present two different sets of dialect maps of the late medieval county of Staffordshire, based on the two different approaches to medieval dialect geography outlined above. The first set is based on a corpus of local documents, organized according to the geographical provenance of the texts; a preliminary version of the *Middle English Local Documentary Texts Corpus* (MELD). The second, based on the *Middle English Grammar Corpus* (MEG-C), represents maps where the texts are localized on linguistic grounds in LALME. The two sets of maps thus respectively represent geographical space and linguistic space; accordingly, the localizations on each kind of map mean quite different things. The study compares the distributions shown in these two sets of maps and discusses their implications for the study of linguistic variation in Middle English.

An approach based solely on documents of known provenance is not without its limitations: one is restricted to texts that are quite often relatively short and contain a restricted vocabulary compared to literary texts. One might also expect that such an approach would not produce a concise and consistent picture. As the aforementioned study shows, however, that does, in fact, not seem to be the case. The patterns are often very similar to those produced by the 'fit'-technique, but sometimes differ considerably; at least for some of the items, this seems to reflect genre differences (Stenroos and Thengs 2012). A larger-scale study of Northwest Midland local documents, including a comparison between maps based local documents and MEG-C texts respectively, has now been carried out by Thengs (to be submitted).

4.3 Translations and *Mischsprachen*

Of the written material available to us, little survives in its original form. Most substantial Middle English texts survive only as copies made by scribes, often working many removes from the original versions; thus one is in a situation where a manuscript might be a copy of a copy that is a copy of a copy. Manuscripts have therefore often been taken to represent not

the language of some one scribe or place, but a conglomeration of the individual usages of all those scribes whose copies of the text stand between the present manuscript and the original. Such a conglomeration has been termed *Mischsprache*. Traditionally, most surviving Middle English texts were held to represent such mixed usages; a famous statement of this view is that of Tolkien (1929: 104):

I start with the conviction that very few Middle English texts represent in detail the real language ... of any one time or place or person. ... Their 'language' is, in varying degrees, the product of their textual history, and cannot be fully explained, sometimes cannot be understood at all by reference to geography.

The LALME methodology was based on the assumption that scribal usage, at least to a large extent, is systematic enough to be used as evidence for dialect study. McIntosh (1963[1989]: 27) cites a passage from MS CUL Ii.IV.8, where the text is described as having been 'translate oute of Northarn tunge into Sutherne that it schulde the bettir be vnderstondyn of men that be of the Selve Countre.' It is his opinion that such translated texts can be trustworthy witnesses. Cold analysis shows, he writes, that the great distrust held towards such texts is in a great many cases entirely unjustified:

If a competent scribe took on the task of turning a text from one dialect to another then he usually made a very thorough job of it, and we can use the resultant version as evidence about the dialect of the scribe himself. (McIntosh 1963[1989]: 28)

Of course, not all copies are thorough translations or accomplished such: there are those that are, essentially, transcriptions; and ones where the scribe has merely half-transformed the original, thus producing *Mischsprache* (see McIntosh 1963[1989]: 28]). According to Benskin and Laing (1981: 56), translations and various degrees of half-transformed texts are the more common. Methods for distinguishing between these types are provided in considerable detail in Benskin and Laing (1981). They distinguish between translations, *Mischsprachen*, and *pseudoMischsprachen*; in the latter, the language might initially seem mixed, but turns out to be systematic in a careful and systematic analysis. One can interpret the article to be conveying that with careful analysis it is probable that such texts could, at least in part, be reliable linguistic witnesses.

Of the present material, it is highly probable that the texts are original, in the sense that they are not scribal copies: a) they are working documents, in the sense that they have been added to and modified; b) it seems very probable that they were written by the

aforementioned Clerk of the Guild (see p. 29) Furthermore, an initial analysis of the material shows that the language of the texts is inwardly consistent; i.e. they show little evidence of being *Mischsprachen* (see p. 46).

4.4 Standardization in Late Middle English

It is commonly held that the standardization of English began in the 15th Century. This view has been expressed most clearly by Benskin (1992: 71):

The development of what became standard written English is essentially a fifteenth-century phenomenon. At the close of the fourteenth century, the written language was local or regional dialect as a matter of course ... By the beginning of the sixteenth century, in contrast, local forms of written English had all but disappeared.

Indeed, the entire Middle English period can be defined in terms of standardization, beginning with the decline of the Late West Saxon *Schriftsprache* after the Norman Conquest, a process of ‘destandardization’, and ending with ‘standardization’ in the 15th Century. (Stenroos 2013: 160). (See also p. 33).

As stated by Benskin (1992: 75) one can judge the extent to which a particular form of language has become a standard in two different ways:

- (i) the degree of internal consistency it displays, the extent to which it excludes redundant variations in spelling and morphology; or we may consider
- (ii) the extent to which this form of language has become common property, a second-learned *Gemeinsprache* as opposed to a *Muttersprache*.

No such *Gemeinsprache* or ‘reference dialect’ can be said to exist in the 14th Century. According to Stenroos (2013) it remains controversial to what extent one should be postulated for the 15th. There has, however, been a tradition for identifying such a reference dialect: the Chancery Standard or Type IV, following an influential paper by Samuels (1963[1989]). He identifies four incipient standards, three of which – Type II, III, and IV – represent London usage at different points in time; of these Type IV becomes the successful standard, eventually adopted by writers all over England. A critical discussion of its name may be found in Benskin (2004).

The idea of a single source of standard English has since increasingly been thrown into doubt. Wright (2000: 69) writes:

Standardisation is shown not to be a lineal, unidirectional or ‘natural’ development, but a set of processes which occur in a set of social spaces, developing at different rates in different registers in different idiolects.

In a seminal article, Benskin (1992) showed quite convincingly that standardization is not a process that took only place in London, but rather all over England. It is perhaps therefore better to see the process that occurred in the 15th Century as a reduction in regional variation: a purging of ‘grosser provincialisms’, to quote Samuels (1963[1989]: 75). As such one might want to use the term ‘supralocalization’ instead. The term was introduced by Nevalainen and Raumolin Brunberg (2003: *passim*).

In terms of chronology, the present three texts cover nearly half of the 15th Century (see p. 8-9). Based on the commonly held belief, that standardization began in the 15th Century, one would therefore reasonably expect *All Saints* to be more ‘standardized’ or ‘supralocalized’ than either *St. Clement* or *St. Peter and Paul*.

5.0 The Language of the Texts

The dialect of the *Statutes and Ordinances of the Guild of St. Clement* is localized to Cambridge in LALME, as LP 64, and the text appears to have been used in its entirety.³ As it is of explicit provenance it may have been used as one of the anchor texts. The dialects of the *Statutes and Ordinances of the Guild of All Saints* and *St. Peter and Paul* were not mapped in LALME; however *St. Peter and Paul* is listed amongst the local documents (LALME I: 177, 178).

Two of the three manuscripts are of ascertainable provenance. The third does not state its provenance, but may be inferred to also have been produced in Cambridge (see p. 9-10). It need not necessarily follow, however, that the scribes share that provenance or write in the Cambridge dialect. A comparison of the provenance of a manuscript with the localization of the dialect in which it is written might suggest something about the background of the scribe who wrote it.

This chapter will, accordingly, discuss the dialectal usage of the three ordinances and attempt to localize them using the ‘fit’-technique (see p. 36). The following analysis is not concerned with spoken dialects and makes no assumptions about them. As has already been established, no such assumptions can safely be made on basis of the materials: we are dealing with a ‘text language’ (see p. 34). The analysis therefore deals exclusively with the written usage.

As one of the aims is to localize the texts using LALME, the dialectal features studied are largely ones that were included in the LALME questionnaire (LALME I: 552-554). However, as the aim is also to provide a simple description of the dialect of the texts, other items are included to provide paradigmatic information; thus all personal pronouns and verbal endings have been collected. Both individual words and open categories (spelling units or grammatical categories) are included as items for collection. Items are referred to using the present-day spellings of the forms in question, in SMALL CAPITALS: e.g. THEIR *thar*.

³ ‘Cambridge, Trinity College 1343 (O.7.15). Hands A (pp. 4-40), B (pp. 41-42), C (pp. 43-47), not distinguished in analysis’ (LALME I: 176).

5.2 The Language of the Different Hands of St. Clement

At the end of the *Statutes and Ordinances of the Gild of St. Clement*, there are several statutes regarding the keeping of anniversaries of especially prominent donors (see p. 19). Several of these have been added by different hands, and are according to Toulmin Smith ‘the same as [statute 12], save that they are made in favour of those who, in later times, gave their gifts.’ (Toulmin Smith 1870: 281). They are not included in his edition.

Table 2 shows a line-by-line comparison of three of these statutes, 12, 14, and 16, each of which was produced by a different hand. Lineation has not been kept in the interest of keeping the lines as parallel as possible, and the differences between the three versions are set in bold face. The comparison shows that, while these statutes are, indeed, largely the same in terms of structure and content, save names, dates, and sums, they are not so in terms of language.

Some of these differences show no obvious patterns. For instance, the distribution of final *-e*’s or final flourishes, possibly representing *-e*, is extremely variable in all three hands. This is perhaps as one should expect. Final /ə/ would have been an archaism even at the time of hand A, as it was, according to Blake (1992: 78), so ‘by Chaucer’s time;’ and a part of the wider trend of the loss of weak vowels in Germanic. Simply put, final *-e* is unlikely to represent anything in speech, i.e. it is not an ‘s-feature’ (see p. 34). It continued to be extremely variable in English spelling for a long time (compare e.g. Shakespeare), and is not expected to show any geographical patterning at this point in time.

The sentence structure is slightly different in one sentence in statute 14: *kepe the 3erday of Jsabelle Cappe in the perych chyrch of Sant Clement 3erely as longe as the gylde endurs on the sonday next aftyr Relike sonday* ‘keep the anniversary of Isabelle Cappe in the parish church of St. Clement, yearly, for as long as the guild endures, on the sonday next after Relic Sunday’ (GSC ll. 599-604); instead of *kepe the 3ereday of Jon lyster of Cambrydge 3erly on mydelenton sonday in sent Clementys chirche al so longe as the gylde endurys*. ‘keep the anniversary of John Lyster of Cambridge, yearly on Mid-Lent Sunday, in St. Clement church, for as long as the guild endures’ (GSC ll. 506-510). Here, the clause elements defining time and place have changed places, and the formula *as longe as the gylde endurs* has been brought forward from its final position. The same difference between the scribes appears in statute 15, also written by Hand B.

One might expect a process of standardization to explain the difference between the forms *schal*’ (A), *shalle* (B), and *shall* (C) SHALL. However, *schall*’ is also used by both

HAND A

Also we haue ordeyned' be
all' oure **comone** assent
and be oure othe made ;
for to kepe the **3ereday** of
Jon lyster of Cambryge
3erly on mydelenton sonday *in*
sent Clementys chirche al
so longe as the gylde endurys .

be-cause he gafe vs .iij. marc'
in the be-gynning and
to the fortheraunce of our' gylde .
¶ And also **tho** vj . men that
chesen the alderman and the
Officers .

schul chesen othir . ij .
sufficient men . for to **kepen**
the **same** .iij. marc' to bryng
it in 3erely ;
under the same forme that
the **maystys doo**
¶ And the same . ij . men
schal' mak ordynance . for
3ereday and for the costys
yerof . and make a **trwe**
rekenyng at the next **general**
day . be the othe' that **thei** haue
made : to the gylde :

HAND B

Also we haue ordeyned be
all our **comyn** assent .
and be our othe made .
for to kepe the **3erday** of
Isabelle Cappe in the *perych*
chyrch of **Sant** Clement
3erely
as longe as the gylde endurs
on the sonday next aftyr
Relike sonday
be-cause sche gafe vs xl . s'
to the wyrchippe &
fortherans of our' gylde .
¶ And also vj men that
chesyn the alderman & the
Officers
for the 3eer foloyng
schalle chese ij .
sufficient men for to **mynyster**
the **same** . xl . s' to bring
it in 3erely
vnder the same forme that
the **masters' don'** .
¶ And also the same ij men
shalle make ordynance for
the **sade** 3erday & for the costis
ther-of and make a **trew**
rekenyng att the next **generale**
day be the othe that **they** haue
made to the gylde .

HAND C

Also we haue **ordeynde** be
owr comyn assent .
and be **owr** othe made .
for to kepe the **3eerday** of
Mastir John' Fowlyn
euery **3eer** the sonday**h**
next aftir **saynt** Clementis day
as longe as the gilde endurs

be-cause he gave us . xl . s' .
to the wirchippe and
sustentacion of our gilde
// And also **those** vj men that
cheys the aldirman and the
officers of the gilde
for the 3eer foloyng foloyng
schall' cheys ij
sufficient men for to **mynister**
the **sade** xl . s' to bryng
it in **3eerly**
vnder the same forme that
the **masters done** .
// And also tho ij men
shall mak ordynance for
the **sayd** 3erday and for the cosys
ther-of and mak a **trew**
rekenyng att the nexte **principalle**
day be the othe that **thay** haue
mad to the gylde .

Table 2: Comparison of Statutes Regarding Anniversaries in St. Clement

hand B and C. In general it is difficult to ascertain if a difference is due to standardization or if it is merely due to different contemporary usages. However, it may be noted that only Hand A shows the old plural form *schul*, which was falling out of use in the 15th Century. (See also p. 41-42).

A few differences might, in turn, suggest a geographical difference, that is, that one of the scribes was brought up somewhere else: an example is the variation between *they* and *thay*. According to LALME (Dot Map 31, LALME I: 312, THEY), the form *thay*, while present in the south, appears overall to be a more northern form than ‘they’ (Dot Map 30, LALME I: 312). There is not enough material to attempt a localization of these additions, however.

In addition, there are several differences in vocabulary: hand C uses *sustentacion* where the others have used *fortheraunce* (hand A) and *fortherans* (hand B). Previously, they have often been used in pairs, as in statute five: *And aftyr he schal’ fynde . ij . sufficient plegges for to payen to the systynaunce and to the fortheraunce of the forsayde gylde . ‘And after, he shall find ij sufficient pledges for to pay to the sustenance and furtherance of the foresaid guild.’* (GSC II. 245-249) The same is true of *principalle* (hand C) and *generall* (hand A) and *generale* (hand B). It seems reasonable to argue, therefore, that these words are in contemporary usage, and that there is no real significance as to the difference. Of more striking difference and perhaps significance is *kepen*, used by hand A, where *mynister* is used by hand B and C. Etymologically, *kepen* is from Old English and *mynister* from Anglo-Norman. *Mynister* might have been seen as a more formal, high status word, by hands B and C.

What is overall apparent is that the additions by hands B and C were not copied verbatim from hand A, as one might perhaps expect in the case of, for example, a religious text. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the language of these texts is only to a limited degree influenced by the process of copying (see p. 39-41).

5.3 The Language of the Three Ordinances

The texts have been analysed using a short dialect questionnaire. It included twenty items deemed useful for localizing the texts:

ANY, CALL, CHURCH, EACH, GOOD, NOT, SAY, SHALL, SHE, SISTER, SUCH, THAN,
THEIR, THEM, THEN, THERE, THESE, THEY, WHAT, WHEN, WHERE, WHICH, WHO,
WORSHIP, WORLD.

These items were selected on the basis of initial observation of the linguistic features present in the texts and the variation between them. The aim was to select items that are reasonably frequent in the texts, show some variation between the texts, and also show geographical patterning in LALME. In addition, the questionnaire also included all the personal pronouns and a set of inflectional verb endings, thus making possible a brief description of the morphology of the texts. The resulting data are presented in tables 3-12.

For the orthographic study and the study of the pronouns, the findings are presented separately for all the hands, including those of the additions; however, for the verbal inflections, only the primary hand of each text, i.e. hand A, is taken into consideration, as the amounts of text provided by the other hands are too short to provide evidence for comparison. Frequencies are provided for *St. Clement* and *All Saints*. *St. Peter and Paul* is included for comparison; however, since the data are here derived from a later transcript, as it does not survive in original (see also p. 5), the data must be treated with some care. Overall, it appears to be more uniform than the other two texts (see also p. 13).

The most immediate, consistent, and perhaps striking difference between the three texts are to be found in the third person plural pronouns. Both *St. Clement* and *St. Peter and Paul* use the kind of paradigm found in many non-northern texts in the fourteenth and early fifteenth century, including Hengwrt and Ellesmere manuscripts of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*: the Norse-derived subject form *they* THEY combined with the native forms *hem* THEM, *heir* THEIR. In contrast, *All Saints* shows a paradigm with all the pronouns of Norse origin: *they, tham, thar*.

It might be tempting to explain these differences with standardization. *Tham* might conceivably be thought to resemble the modern form *them* more than *hem* does. It is, however, more likely that the explanation is geography, i.e. that the scribe who wrote *All Saints* was brought up somewhere else than the ones who wrote *St. Clement* and *St. Peter and Paul*. While it is the last text to have been written, *All Saints* is no more modern, in the sense, 'standardized', than the others in terms spelling, morphology or vocabulary; instead, its language is at least as regional as that of *St. Clement*. *Tham* is used not because it is more modern, but because it is the form used in the scribe's written English. It is a form primarily

found in the north of England, with a few occurrences registered in south-eastern Lincolnshire (Dot Map 41, LALME I: 315).

		SINGULAR	PLURAL
FIRST PERSON	subjective		we (4)
	objective		vs (3)
	possessive		oure (13)
		<i>masc.</i>	
THIRD PERSON	subjective	he (30)	thei (7)
	objective	hym (4)	hem (13)
	possessive	his (19)	heir (1)

Table 3: Pronouns of St. Clement Hand, A.

		SINGULAR	PLURAL
FIRST PERSON	subjective		we (2)
	objective		
	possessive		our' (3), owr (3)
		<i>masc.</i>	<i>fem.</i>
THIRD PERSON	subjective	he (1)	sche (1) they (2)
	objective		
	possessive		

Table 4: Pronouns in St. Clement, Hand B

Standardization also seems to have had little impact on the verbs: the inflexional endings are largely the same in all three texts. However, it may be noted that the old plural form *schul*

SHALL is used in *St. Clement* (see also p. 44), but not in the two later texts. No pattern can be seen in the third person singular, where *-th* and *-s* are used in all three texts, in approximately equal proportions. If standardization had had an effect, one would expect *-s* to be more frequent in *All Saints* than in *St. Clement*. However, it should be noted that the data here is limited, with only fourteen attestations for *St. Clement* and seven for *All Saints*.

		SINGULAR	PLURAL
FIRST PERSON	subjective		we (1)
	objective		
	possessive		owr (2), our (1)
		<i>masc.</i>	
THIRD PERSON	subjective	he (1)	thay (1)
	objective		
	possessive		

Table 5: Pronouns in *St. Clement, Hand C*

		SINGULAR	PLURAL
FIRST PERSON	subjective		we (2)
	objective		vs (1)
	possessive		owr' (5)
		<i>masc.</i>	
THIRD PERSON	subjective	he (25)	they' (5), thay (1)
	objective	hym (5)	tham' (14)
	possessive	hys (16)	thar (2)

Table 6: Pronouns in *All Saints, Hand A*

Past participles vary primarily in the choice of the vowel for the inflexional ending, where *-ed* is preferred in *St. Clement* and *-yd* in *All Saints*. These are only mapped in the northern part of the survey in LALME (Dot Maps 658 & 659, LALME I: 468): *-yd* seems to show a somewhat more northern distribution. Forms of the *are* type do not appear as plural forms of ‘be’ in any of the texts, instead *bene* is used in *St. Clement* and *ben* in *All Saints*. The loss of final *-n* and *-e* appear to be the only patterns to be found with regard to this item; they are particularly clear in the infinitive: where, *bene* is the most common in *St. Clement* and *-∅* in *All Saints*. The same loss of final *-e* appears to be true of *St. Peter and Paul*.

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
FIRST PERSON	subjective		we (3)	
	objective		vs (3)	
	possessive		oure (1)	
		<i>masc.</i>	<i>fem.</i>	
THIRD PERSON	subjective		they (1)	
	objective	him’ (2)	hyr (2)	them (1)
	possessive	his (3)	hyr (1)	

Table 7: Pronouns in *All Saints*, Hand B

Overall, it seems *St. Peter and Paul* occupies a middle ground between *St. Clement* and *All Saints*; in that it shares several more typical Midland forms with *All Saints*, while also agreeing with several forms found in *St. Clement*. It shares, for instance, *theis* THESE, *ony* ANY, and *iche/yche* EACH with *All Saints*. *Theis* (Dot Map 6, LALME I: 306) appears in clusters in the Midlands, Northern Cambridgeshire and around Cambridge. *Ony* (Dot Map 99, LALME I: 329) clusters in the East Midlands and Norfolk. No such pattern can be found for *any* (Dot Map 97, LALME I: 329). *Iche/yche* (Dot Map 87, LALME I: 326) clusters primarily in the Midlands and Norfolk, trending towards the North. *Ech* (Dot Map 86, LALME I: 326), as found in *St. Clement*, trends towards the south of England. *St. Peter and Paul* shares *swich* SUCH and *gud* GOOD with *St. Clement*. *Swich* (Dot Map 74, LALME I: 323) clusters in the North, along the eastern seaboard into Norfolk, and around London, with

a pocket around Herefordshire; contrasted with *syche* (Dot Map 68, LALME I: 321) found in *All Saints*, which clusters most clearly in Cambridgeshire. *Gud* (Dot Map 435, LALME I: 413) occurs primarily in the north, with a few very spread occurrences in the south of England. The form in *All Saints*, *good'*, is not mapped in LALME, but a search in MEG-C shows it to be the dominant spelling form of GOOD throughout the country.

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
FIRST PERSON	subjective	we
	objective	vs
	possessive	oure
	<i>masc.</i>	
THIRD PERSON	subjective	he they
	objective	hym hem
	possessive	hys heyr

Table 8: Pronouns in *St. Peter and Paul*

Infinitive	-en (26), -e (17), - (3), -n (5), -ne (4)
Present indicative	3 sg. -yth (5), -ith (3), -ys (3), -eth (2), -th (1)
	pl. -e (3), -ith (1)
Present participle	-yng (7)
Past participle	-ed (17), -en (7), -e (8), -id (3), -yd (2)

Table 9: Verbs in *St. Clement*

All Saints has, in addition to the third person plural pronouns, two forms which are not shared with either *St. Peter and Paul* or *St. Clement*: *noth* NOT and *qw* for WH-. *Noth* (Dot Map 277, LALME I: 374) clusters in Norfolk, with spread occurrences elsewhere in both the north and

south of England. *Qw-* (Dot Map 272, LALME I: 372), as in *qwych* and *qwhat*, also clusters in Norfolk, with several occurrences also in the north of England.

Infinitive	- (20), -e (15), -n (10), -ne (7)
Present indicative	3 sg. -yth (3), ys (2), -th (1), -eth (1)
	pl. -e (2), - (1)
Present participle	-yng (7)
Past participle	-yd (17), -e (5), -ed (3), -en (2)

Table 10: Verbs in *All Saints*

Infinitive	-e, -, -en, -n
Present indicative	3 sg. -yth, -, -is, -ys
	pl. -ith, -e
Present participle	-yng
Past participle	-yd, -ed, -en, -e, -

Table 11: Verbs in *St. Peter and Paul*

There are several forms that are shared by all three texts: *sey* SAY, *schal* SHALL, and *ther* THERE. *Sey* (Dot Map 505, LALME I: 430) seems a more typical Midland form than *say* (Dot Map 504, LALME I: 430), which shows a more northern distribution. *Schal* (Dot Map 144, LALME I: 340) has no discernible pattern in LALME, while *THERE* is not mapped.

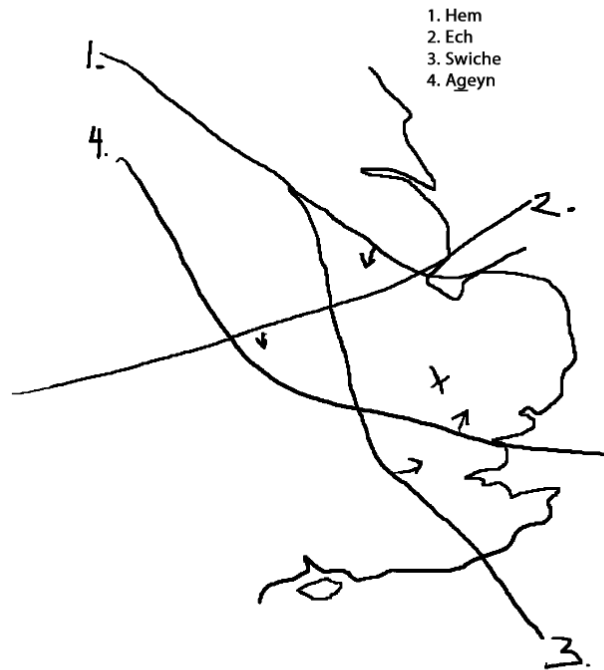
In general, it would seem *St. Peter and Paul* shows a somewhat less southern combination of dialect features compared to *St. Clement*; while *All Saints* shows a very clearly more northern usage, containing several forms that otherwise appear towards the north and Norfolk.

	ST. CLEMENT A	ST. CLEMENT B	ST. CLEMENT C	ALL SAINTS A	ALL SAINTS B	ST. PETER AND PAUL
‘ANY’	any (14)			any (11), ony (2)	any (1)	ony, any
‘CALL’	clepen (2)			clepyn (2)		clepyn
‘CHURCH’	chirch (7)	chyrch (1), chirch (1)		chyrche (3)	chirch (3), chyrch (1)	chirche
‘EACH’	ech (2)			yche (1)		iche
‘GOOD’	good (1), gud (2)			gode (1), goode (2)		gud
‘NOT’	not (10)			noth (8)		not
‘SAY’	say (9), sey (5)	sade (2)	sayd (1), sade (1)	sey (17), say (1)	say (4)	sey
‘SHALL’	schal (41), schul (7)	schal (2), shall (2)	shall (2)	schal (40), scall (1)	schall (2)	schall ((shall)) ((schul))
‘SHE’		sche (1)				
‘SISTER’	sustir (11)			sustyr (9)	suster (1), syster (1), sister (1)	sustir
‘SUCH’	swiche (2)			syche (2)		swich
‘THAN’	than (1)			than (2)		than
‘THEIR’	heir (2)			thar (2)		heir
‘THEM’	hem (13)			tham (14)	them (1)	hem
‘THEN’	than (6)			than (4)		than
‘THERE’	ther (14)	ther (2)	ther (1)	ther (12), thar (2)	ther (3)	ther
‘THESE’	these (9)			theys (5)	these (2)	theis, theys

	ST. CLEMENT	ST. CLEMENT	ST. CLEMENT	ALL SAINTS	ALL SAINTS	ST. PETER AND PAUL
	A	B	C	A	B	
‘THEY’	thei (7)	they (2)	thay (1)	they (5), thay (1)	they (1)	thei, they
‘WHAT’	what (4)			qwhat (4)		what
‘WHEN’	whan (4)			qwhan (3), qwhen (1)		whan
‘WHERE’	wher (2)			qwher (1), qwhar (1)	wher (2)	wher
‘WHICH’	which (4)			qwych (2), wych (1)	which (1)	wyche
‘WHO’	who (7)			qwho (2), qwo (1), who (2)	who (1)	who
‘WORSHIP’	worchippe (3), worchype (1)	wirchipe (1), wyrchipe (1)	wirchippe (1)	worschyp (2), worschep (2)		worchyppe
‘WORLD’	worlde (1)			worlde (2)		worlde

Table 12: Linguistic Profiles, St. Clement, All Saints, and St. Peter and Paul

5.4 Localization of the Texts

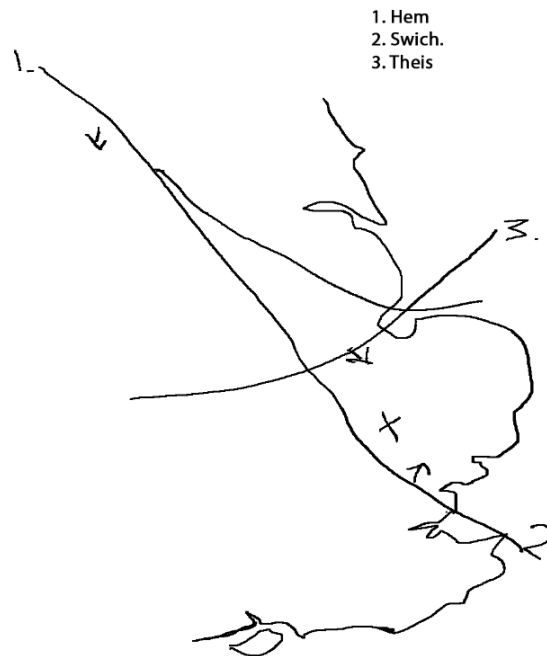


Map 1: *St. Clement*

It is not entirely without difficulty to accurately localize *St. Clement*. Of all the texts, it seems to be the most colourless. It is clearly not northern, due to the presence of the forms *hem* THEM (Dot Map 40, LALME I: 314) and *ech* EACH (Dot Map 86, LALME I: 325). The form *swiche* SUCH (Dot Map 74, LALME I: 323) shows a concentration in the east, north-east, and around London, with a pocket around Herefordshire and Gloucestershire, excluding the extreme south, and most of the west of England. To place it within that area with any accuracy, however, one needs to turn to several less frequent forms, primarily forms of GOOD and AGAINST. Of these, the most frequent, if only slightly so, is *gud* GOOD (Dot Map 435, LALME I: 413), which shows a concentration, mostly in the north, but with a few spread occurrences elsewhere. Here, it has to be taken into account that *St Clement* is mapped in Cambridge as LP 64, which therefore has to be ignored in terms of localization. A few of the occurrences of *gud* are found in Northern Cambridgeshire; however, given the sparse and uneven distribution, this is not conclusive. The form *ageyn* AGAINST, in turn, allows one to exclude parts of the western Midlands. Its spelling with a <g> (Dot Map 220, LALME I: 359)

shows a concentration north and east, with a cluster in London, and with <ey> (Dot Map 217, LALME I: 359) in the Midlands. Ultimately, this leaves us with a likely localization in Cambridgeshire. The x present on the map marks the town of Cambridge, which is where the text is mapped in LALME.

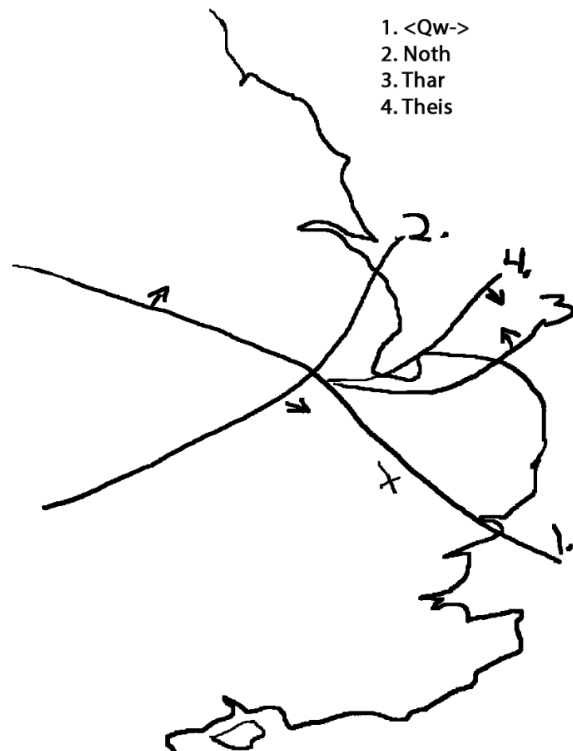
Much of the same argument can also be applied to *St. Peter and Paul*. Its forms are largely the same as those of *St. Clement*, although the presence of the form *theis* THESE (Dot Map 6, LALME I: 306) makes a localization in Cambridgeshire more certain for this text than for *St. Clement*. The form *theis* seems to be concentrated in the Midlands, with pockets in South Lincolnshire and Northern Cambridgeshire.



Map 2: St. Peter and Paul

On initial impressions alone, the forms found in *All Saints* would seem to place its dialect further north than Cambridgeshire. While this text contains a large number of distinctive forms, only a subset of the full linguistic profile is required for a reasonably accurate localization. Several of the forms present would seem to exclude most of Cambridgeshire and several of its neighbouring counties entirely. The form *qw-* (Dot Map 272, LALME I: 372), as in *qwhat* WHAT, *qwhan* WHEN, shows a concentration in the north and along the eastern

seaboard into Norfolk and East-Anglia. There are only one or two minor occurrences in Cambridgeshire. The presence of *noth* NOT (Dot Map 277, LALME I: 374) would seem to exclude parts of the north as well as large parts of western England. It shows a concentration in the county of Norfolk, around the Isle of Ely, and in South-East Lincolnshire. If one, in addition, takes into consideration *theys* THESE (Dot Map 6, LALME I: 306), which seems to largely be absent from Northern Lincolnshire, and of which there is a cluster in Northern Cambridgeshire, as well as *thar* THEIR (Dot Map 53, LALME I: 318), of which there is a small cluster in Southern Lincolnshire, a reasonable localization would seem to be the extreme north of Cambridgeshire, close to the Isle of Ely, or the northern part of Norfolk.



Map 3: All Saints

5.5 Discussion

It is commonly assumed that written English went through a standardization process during the fifteenth century; in LALME (I: 3), it is implied that texts in the southern half of the country mainly show standardized usage from the middle of the century onwards. It is therefore interesting to note how little impact standardization has had on the language of

these texts. Beyond the disappearance of plural *schull* SHALL and the gradual loss of final *-e*, evident when comparing the infinitive verb forms of *St. Clement* and *All Saints*, there is little evidence of standardization or supralocalization to be found between the earliest and the latest text here studied. It is possible that this is because these texts were primarily intended for a local audience and local usage, that is, by the members of the respective guilds of St. Clement, St. Peter and Paul, and All Saints. A potential future avenue of research would thus be to compare them to the copies of ordinances sent to the Record Office in London at the behest of Parliament in 1388; see Toulmin Smith (1870: xxiv).

From the findings presented above, it is clear that the language of the three text seems to represent a continuum, where *St. Clement* and *All Saints* differ considerably from each other, while *St. Peter and Paul* is intermediate between the two. From the geographical localizations, it could be presumed that the scribe of *All Saints* was brought up somewhere north of Cambridge. Presumably he, at some point in his life, travelled south to the nearest major town to work, or possibly to study at the University of Cambridge.

This is, of course, not something one can claim with any degree of certainty. It is merely a conjecture: we do not know where the scribe was brought up, merely where his written language seems to ‘fit’ into a continuum (see p. 35-38). Also, the scribe need not necessarily write as he spoke, as writing is not the same as a phonetic transcription (cf. Vachek 1976: 127-128 and also p. 34-35). This caveat would, in particular be important in the case of those scribes who write in a less dialectally coloured, more supralocal, language (see p. 42), such as that of *St. Clement* and to some degree that of *St. Peter and Paul*. However, it is also possible for strongly local writing conventions to be transmitted to writers from other areas.

Despite these caveats, a comparison of the localization of the language of a text in linguistic space to its provenance in real space is likely to be informative: if the two do not match, there has to be a reason. While the most obvious reason might be that the scribe of *All Saints* moved to Cambridge from further north, there are other possibilities as well. One possibility is of course that the All Saints text is of a different provenance than previously thought: there is no firm evidence connecting it to either of the two All Saints’ churches in Cambridge, and several other churches in the East Midland area share the same dedication. Another point is that the ‘fit’-technique is not necessarily reliable as a marker of provenance, especially where larger towns are concerned. The localization relies on our current understanding of the language of Cambridge, based on LALME, which is to some degree

based on manuscripts localized by means of the ‘fit’-technique, and does not necessarily tell the full story.

As observed in studies of college records and graduate lists (see Aston, Duncan, and Evans 1980: *passim*), the medieval universities Oxford and, even more so, Cambridge seem to have had remarkably high percentages of Northerners among their students. In the 15th Century, there seems to have been a trend of wealthy Northern merchants spending much time in London and sending their sons to study at the Universities, in particular Cambridge; it has even been suggested that this kind of contact might explain how so many northern forms ended up in Standard English (see e.g. Wright 2001). It is perhaps, therefore, not so surprising to find a scribe writing in a distinctly more northern dialect in Cambridge, even as late as 1473. Clearly, local forms were quite acceptable at Cambridge at this point; perhaps even if they were not Cambridge ones. Davis (1953: 125), in his classic study of the Paston letters, suggested, when comparing the writings of the brothers who went to Cambridge with those who worked in London that ‘[p]erhaps Norfolk spellings were accepted at Cambridge.’ Another way of looking at this might, perhaps, be that Norfolk forms, and other forms from surrounding areas, could have become part of Cambridge usage as writers from a large catchment area intermingled in the University town. In any case, the findings of the present study suggest that the realities are more complex than the dot-maps alone would seem to indicate. In the end, much research remains to be done on local documents in Cambridge.

Part II: Editions

Conventions

The primary purpose of this edition is to make these texts available to historical scholars, including linguists. An attempt has therefore been made to reflect the language of the original manuscripts as closely as possible. Thus lineation, capitalisation and punctuation is retained as in the original manuscripts, with . representing punctus, ; punctus elevatus, / virgule, and ¶ the pilcrow. Furthermore, accents over the i <í>, and final flourishes <'> are included. The final flourishes most likely convey no meaning, but might represent an abbreviated final -e. A more detailed discussion of both can be found in Stenroos and Mäkinen (2011). Most abbreviations are expanded, with *italics*, following the conventions of MEG-C (Stenroos and Mäkinen 2011). Abbreviations with superscript letters, e.g. y^t THAT, are retained as they are. Letters that are touched or rubricated appear in **bold** type in the edition. Decorative initials are **enlarged** compared to the rest.

Text that is underlined in the manuscript is also underlined in the transcription. Similarly, text that has been crossed out in the manuscript is ~~erossed~~ in the transcription. If there is a gap in the manuscript this is replicated in the transcription and a note is added describing the nature of the gap.

Word division that differs from present-day conventions is marked in order to make the text more readable. Words that are written as one in the manuscripts, but which in modern English would be written as two are divided and a + is inserted, e.g. *a+certeyne*. Conversely, compounds that are written together in present-day English, but appear with a space in the manuscript, are marked with a hyphen in the edition, e.g. *ther-of*. Hyphens in the edition are always editorial. At times, the scribes indicate word divisions at the end of lines with two diagonal strokes. In the edition, these are presented by =, e.g. *saide seynt Cle=ment*.

Additions have been inserted into their intended place in the text inside [square brackets] with a note about their place in the original manuscript and the method of insertion. Any insertion marks present in the manuscript are replicated in the transcription as a caret, <^>. If the addition or correction is in a different hand this is marked by using a **sans-serif** font.

Other details and editorial decisions that are not covered by these general points are commented on in footnotes.

The two texts are printed in parallel, with the St. Clement text on the left hand side and the All Saints text to the right. The texts are parallelized along the Latin headers. Notes

concerning individual words, phrases, terms and dates are provided at the end of the edition, and are organized by line number.

The Statutes and Ordinances of the Gild of St. Clement

5

10

15

20

25

30

The Statutes and Ordinances of the Gild of All Saints

f.1r	I n princípío erat <i>verbum</i> et <i>verbum</i> erat apud <i>deum</i> & et <i>deus</i> erat <i>verbum</i> ; hoc erat <i>in+prin-</i> <i>cípío</i> apud <i>deum</i> & at <i>omnia</i> per <i>ipsum</i> facta sunt & <i>síne ipso</i> fac= <i>tum</i> est nichil ; Quod fac= <i>tum</i> est in ipso <i>vita</i> erat <i>lux</i> <i>homínium</i> Et <i>lux in+tenebris</i> lu= <i>cet . & tenebre</i> eam <i>non compre=</i> <i>henderunt</i> . Fuít homo <i>mís-</i> <i>sus a+deo</i> cui <i>nomen</i> erat <i>ío-</i> <i>hannes</i> . hic <i>venít in+testí=</i> <i>moníum</i> & <i>perhiberet</i> de <i>lumí-</i> <i>ne</i> vt <i>omnes</i> <i>crederent</i> per <i>il-</i> <i>lum</i> . Non erat ille <i>lux</i> set vt <i>testimonium</i> <i>perhiberet</i> de <i>lumíne</i> . Erat <i>lux vera</i> que	5
	<i>illumínat omníem homínem</i> <i>veníentem</i> in hunc <i>mundum</i> In <i>mundo</i> erat et <i>mundus eum</i> <i>non cognuít</i> ; In <i>propria</i> <i>ve-</i> <i>nít</i> et <i>suí eum</i> <i>non receperunt</i> ; Quot quot <i>autem</i> <i>receperunt</i> <i>eum</i> . <i>dedit</i> eís <i>potestatem</i> <i>fi-</i> <i>lios</i> <i>deí</i> <i>fieri</i> <i>híjs</i> <i>quí credunt</i> <i>ín nomie</i> <i>eius</i> ; <i>Quí non</i> <i>volunta-</i> <i>te carnís</i> . <i>neque</i> <i>ex</i> <i>volunta-</i> <i>te viri</i> . <i>sed</i> <i>ex</i> <i>deo</i> <i>natí</i> <i>sunt</i> . Et <i>verbum</i> <i>caro</i> <i>factum</i> <i>est</i> et <i>habítáuít</i> <i>ín nobís</i> ; Et <i>vi=</i> <i>dimus</i> <i>gloríam</i> <i>eius</i> ; <i>gloríam</i>	10
f.1v		15
		20
		25
		30

	quasi vnigenítí a patre plenum gracie & verítatís .	
f.2r	Memoria de omnibus sanctis	
	<i>Sancti</i> dei omnes quí estís consor- tes supernorum ciuíum ínterce- dite pro nobís . letamíni ín <i>domino</i> et exultate iustí . Et gloriamini omnes recti corde /	35
	O mníum sanctorum tuorum inter- cessione <i>quesumus</i> domine placatus : et veniam nobis delic- torum nostrorum tribue . & reme- día sempíterna concede ; <i>per dominum nostrum</i> .	40
	O racio <i>pro fratribus & sorubus urins</i>	45
	D eus quí carítatís dona per graciám <i>sancti spiritus</i> tuorum cordibus fidelium ín fundis ; da famulis et famu- labus tuís fratribus et so- roribus nostris ; pro quibus tuam deprecamur clemenciam salutem mentís et corporís vt te tota uírtute diligant et que tibi placita sunt to- ta dilectione perficiant . <i>per</i> <i>dominum nostrum ihesum christum filium</i>	50
f.2v		55
f.3r	<I ⁵ >ncipiunt hic statuta edíta in on honore omnium sanctorum de comuní concensu omnium fra- trum eiusdem gilde . Anno	60

⁵ Missing in the MS

	Anno domini millesimo CCCC ^o . XXXJ ^o	
	Et quilibet frater in admis= sione sua debet iurare huius- modi statua obseruare .	65
	S tatutum primum . De primo die gene= rali & principali & quomodo	70
	omnes fratres tenentur in illo die interesse : ~	
p. 4	I N y ^e worchippe & reue= rence of y ^e blysfyl' tri- nite fadir & sone & holy	75
	goste . and of y ^e glorious pope and martyr' seynt Clement And of all' y ^e holy companye y ^t is in heuene . These ben y ^e ordynauncis and statutys of	80
	y ^e Gylde of y ^e saide seynt Cle= ment . which' is holden in y ^e chirche of y ^e same seynt Clement in Cambrigge . made be y ^e comoun assent of all' y ^e bretheren of y ^e	85
	forseyd gylde in y ^e 3ere of oure lorde ihesu . <u>Millesimo. CCCC^o & xxxj</u> First we haue ordeyned for to haue oon general' & principal'	
p. 5	day y ^e which' schal be holden	90
	euery 3ere on y ^e sonday next aftyр lowsonday' at which' day all' y ^e bretheren & y ^e sustris of this gylde schul' come to-gyder' vn-to a certeyn place assigned	95
	ther-to . as thei schul ben warnyd'	

	<i>domini . Millesimo . cccc^o lxxij^o /</i>	
	et quilibet frater ín+admis-	
	sione sua debet íurare /	
	huíusmodí statuta obser-	65
	uare . ; Statutum primum /	
	de primo díe generalí et	
	principali . et quomodo	
	omnes fratres tenentur	
	in+illo díe ínteresse . ;	70
f.3v	<I ⁶ >N the worchyppe and re-	
	verence off the blyssydfull	
	tríníte fadyr and sone &	
	the holy gooste . and off all'	
	the seyntys in hevyne Theis	75
	bene the ordynances and	
	the statutys off y the	
	gylde off <i>omnium sanctorum</i>	
	that is to sey off all the	
	seyntys maade be the	80
	commone / assent off all'	
	the bretherne off the	
	forseyde gylde yn the	
	zere off owr loorde	
	ihesu . Mill~o cccc ^{mo} lxxij ^o	85
	<F ⁷ >yrste we haue orde-	
	nyd' for to haue on	
f.4r	generall' and pryncypall'	
	day the qwych schall' be	
	holdene euyry zere on	90
	sonday nexte folowyng	

⁶ Missing in the MS

⁷ Missing in the MS

	be y ^e deen . For to gon to y ^e for- seyd chírche of seynt Clement on y ^e satírday vn-to y ^e euen- songe . and on y ^e sonday to y ^e	100
	messe . And what brothír or sustír yat is withín y ^e townn and is somownede be y ^e deen & comyth not on y ^e satyrday to y ^e euensonge he schall' payen	105
p. 6	<u>.j. lib' . wax</u> to y ^e amendment of y ^e lightes . And who so comyth' not on y ^e day to y ^e messe in his best clothyng in y ^e worchippe of gode and of seynt Clement	110
	he schal payen <u>.ij. lib' . wax</u> : ~	
		115
		120
		125
	<i>Secundum statutum de le morowspech'</i> & de pena non veniencium'	
	Also we haue ordeyned' for to haue ij . morwe=	

125

130

135

140

145

f.5r **Statutum tercium de eleccio
aldermanní et aliorum of-
ficiariorum & de pena huius-
modí officia refutancium . . .**

150

Also we have ordeynyd
that on owr gene-
rall' and pryncipall' day
an eleccyone on thys ma-
ner schall' be made . Fyrste

155

this maner schal ben made . ¶
 First y^e Aldirman schal clepenn
 vpe . ij . men be name . And the
 compenye schall clepen vpe . 165
 othir . ij . men . And these . iiij .
 p. 9 men schul chesen to hem othir
 . ij . men . And thanne these vj .
 men schul . ben chargid be the
 othe' yat yei haue made to the 170
 Gylde be-forne tyme ; yat yei
 schul gon & chesen an Aldirman
 ij . Maystirs . A clerk & a Deen .
 which' hem thynkith' be heyr
 gud conscience that ben most 175
 able for to gouerne y^e compa=
 nye in y^e . 3ere folowyng . to
 the worchippe of gode and of
 the holy martir' seynt Cle=
 ment and to the most *profy*te 180
 and avayle of the companye .
 ¶ And who so be chosen *in*
 p. 10 Office of aldirman and for=
 sakith' his office ; he schal
 payen to the encrease of the 185
 Gylde . ij . s' . & iiij . d' . Euery
 maystír . ij . s' . . [and euery pety mayster xx d'⁹] The clerke
 xij . d' . and the Deen . xij . d' .
 ¶ And there schal no man be
 chosen into noone of these 190
 forsayde officers ; vn-to the
 tyme he be clene oute of the

⁹ Inserted from below the statute with a mark.

	the alderman schall' cle-	
	pyn vp . ij . men be name	
	And the masters [of the gyld ¹⁰] scall'	160
	schall' clepyn vp othyr	
	. ij . men . And theyse	
	. iiij . men / schall' chesyn	
	to thame othyr . ij . men /	
	And than theyse . vj .	165
f.5v	men schall' be chargyde	
	be the othe that they	
	have made to the gylde	
	be-for-tyme that theye	
	schall' goone and chesyne	170
	an alderman . ij . maystys	
	a clarke and a deen . wych	
	thame thynke be thar good'	
	conscience that been moost	
	abyll' for to govyrne the	180
	compeny to the worshyp ¹¹	
	in the 3er folowyng to	
	the worschep of godd	
	and all' the seyntys and	
	to the moste profett and	185
	avayle of the compeny	
	And qwho so be chosyne	
	in offyce off alderman /	
f.6r	and forsakys hys office	
	he schall' pay to the ín-	190
	crese off the gylde . iiij . s	
	and . iiij . d' . Evyry ma ⁱ ster	
	Maystyr . ij . s . The clerk	

¹⁰ Inserted from the margin, with a caret.

¹¹ To the worshyp is marked as belonging two lines below.

dette of the forsayde gylde : ~

195

200

Statutum *quartum* . De

recepzione *catallorum* & de

securitate *eorum* per obli=

gaconem *facienda* : ~

205

p. 11 **A**lso it is ordeyned that

whan the maystirs ;

schal' receyuen the catelle of

the gylde . in-to heir handys ;

ech' of hem schal fynde ij . suffi-

210

cient plegges . bowndyn w^t

hem in a symple obligacion' .

for to make a trewe delyue=

raunce of swiche goodys as

thei receyue .

215

¹² . at the next

Generall day folowyng be-

forne the alderman and all'

the bretheren and y^e sustres

of the forsayd gylde : . ~

220

p. 12 ¶ And also the alderman

schal' haue at euery generall'

day to his drynk and for his

¹² Erasure. In the other manuscripts it reads: wyth the increce cumyng ther-of.

	x . ij . d . and the deen	
	x . ij . d' . And ther schall'	195
	no man be chosyn vnto	
	none off theys forseyde	
	offycers vn-to the tyme	
	he be clere owte off the	
	forseyde dette off the	200
	forseyde gylde . and also	
	sworne ther-to .	
	Statutum quartum de recep-	
	cione catallorum & et de eo-	
	rum securitate per obliga-	205
f.6v	cionem facienda . . .	
	A lso it is ordeynyde	
	that qwhan the	
	maystys schall' receyue	
	the catell' of th ^e gylde	210
	into thar handys yche of	
	tham schall' fynde . ij . suf-	
	fycient plegges bowndyn	
	wyth thame in a syngyll	
	oblygacione for to make	215
	a trew delyuerance a-	
	geyne off syche goodys as	
	thay receyve wyth the	
	increce cumyng ther-of	
	at the nexte generall' day	220
	folowyng be-forne y ^e	
	alderman . and all' the	
f.7r	bretheryne and the sustys	
	of the forseyde gylde' .	
	Also the alderman / schall'	225
	haue at every generall'	

geestys ; j . Galone of ale . and
 euery maystir . a . potell . and 225
 the clerk a potell . An y^e deen
 a quart of ale . ¶ Also the
 clerk schal' haue for his la=
 bour' euery 3ere . xx . denar'
 And the deen for his labour 230
 euery 3ere . xx . denar' ~

Statutum quíntum De intro=
 itu & admissione fratrum
 et de iuramento eorum *ibidem* 235
 faciendo : ~

p. 13 **A**lso it is ordeyned y^t
 whan euery brothir &
 sustir schal entre in-to this
 gylde ; he schal' at the first be- 240
 gynnyng be sworne vn-to
 these statutes and ordynaunces
 hem to maynten & susteyne .
 vn-to his power and kunnyng
 And aftyr he schal' fynde . ij . 245
 sufficient plegges for to payen
 to the sustynauce and to the
 fortheraunce of the forsayde
 gylde . xl' . denar' . and to y^e clerk
J . denar' . And to y^e deen . J . denar' 250
 And this schal be payed ~~be~~ y^e
~~schal be payde~~ be y^e next Ge-
 p. 14 nerall' day folowyng at y^e
 farrest . Or ellys y^e same day
 if he wyll of his howne gud' 255
 wylle to the more avayle &

	day to hys drynke and for hys gestys a galone of aale and euery maystyr a pottell~ the clarke a+potell'	230
	and the deen . a qwarte . Also the clarke schall' haue euery 3ere for hys labour xvj d' . and the deen for hys labure . viij d'	235
f.7v	Statutum quintum de introitu et admíssióne fratrum et de eorum íuramento ibidem faciendo	
	A lso it is ordeyned t	240
	that qwhen every brodyr and sustyr schall' entre in-to thys gylde he schall' at the fyrste be= gynnynge be sworne vn- to theys statutys and ordynance thame to mayn- tene and susteyne vnto hys power and konnynge And aftyr he schall' fynde . ij . suffycient plegges / for to pay to the susty= nance and to the forthe-	245
	rance of the forseide gylde . ij . s. vj . d' and to the clerke . j d' And to the deene . j . d' . And thys schall' be payde be the nexte generall' day fo= lowyng . at the farreste	250
f.8r		260

fortheraunce of the gylde *in-*
to his more meede be the *grace*
of oure lorde gode : ~

260

265

Statutum sextum . de . xxx^{ta} .
missis pro fratribus defunctis
Et de pena non offerencium
pro eis in *principalí* míssa & non
veniencium ad exequías : ~

270

p. 15 **A**lso whan any brothir
or sustir of this compa-
nye is passid oute of yis world'
the maystirs of the same gylde'
schal do syng for his sowle
schal do syng for his sowle
xxx . messys of the costys .
of the gylde . and that wyth-
ine . x . days aftyr' thei haue
knowlege of his deeth' ~

275

¶ And also als sone as the al-
derman hath knowyng ther'-
of ; he schal chargen the deen
for to gon warne all' the bre-
theren and sustris of thys
gylde for to been redye at a
certeyn oure assigned' and

280

285

p. 16 to come to the place wher the
deede body is . for to gon ther-
with' to y^e chirche honestly and

	<p>or ellys the same day if he wyll' of his awn gode wyll' to the more avayle and fortherance of . the gylde / and to hys moore 265 meede be the grace of god . amen / [and y^e wyffe of an broder of y^e gilde so comynge on' shall pay a j li of wex¹³]</p>	
f.8v	<p>Statutum sextum de triginta 270 missis pro fratribus et sorori- bus defunctis celebrandis et etiam de+pena non offerencium pro eis in principalí missa et non veniencium ad exequias . 275</p>	
	<p><A¹⁴>Iso qwhan ony brodyr or sustyr of thys compe- ny ys passyd owte of thys worlde #¹⁵ the maystys off y^e same gyld schall do synge 280 . xxx^{ti} . messes of the costys of the gylde and that wyth- ín . x . days aftyr they haue knowlege of hys dethe .</p>	
	<p>#¹⁵ And als also . as¹⁶ sone as 285 the alderman / hath know-</p>	
f.9r	<p>ynge ther-of . he schall' do charge the deene to go warne all' the</p>	

¹³ Added below.

¹⁴ Missing in the MS.

¹⁵ These two marks are present in the MS and mark this passage as replaced. [See p. 12](#)

¹⁶ It looks as if a word has been rubbed out here and replaced with as.

	with' the lyghtys of this com- peny . and for to offren for y ^e sowl' at the messe don therfore a farthyng . ~	290
	¶ And who so be withyn the towne and hath' knowyng ther- of and comyth not schal payen at the next morowespeche fo- lowyng . j . li' . wax be-cause of his absence : . ~	295
	¶ Also it ordeyned be all oure comoun assent that euery 3ere the vicarye of the forsayde . p. 17 chirche of seynt Clement . schal' haue <u>iiij s' & iiij . d'</u> for his certeyntee of messes for to preyen for all' the compa- nye bothe for hem that ben lyuyng . and also for hem y ^t ben deede if he be a brothir of this forseyd gylde : ~	300
		305
		310
		315
		320

	bretheryne and the	290
	sustyr's off thys gyld'	
	for to be redy at a+cer-	
	tene owre asygnede	
	and to <i>cum</i> to the place	
	qwher the dede body is	295
	for to go therewyth	
	to the chyrche / honestly	
	and wyth the lyghtys . [y ^t ys iij torchys ¹⁷]	
	of thys compeny and	300
	for to offyre for the	
	sawle at the mess done	
	therfor a+farthynges .	
	And qwho so be wyth-	
f.9v	in the towne and haue	305
	knowynge ther-of and	
	<i>cum</i> noth he schall' paye	
	at the nexte morowe-	
	speche folowynge be-	
	cause of hys absens	310
	. j . d' . Also it is seyde or-	
	denyd be all' ovr <i>commone</i>	
	assent that euery 3er the	
	vicare of the forseide	
	chyrchen / schall' haue .	315
	. iij . s . & iij d' . for a cer-	
	tene of messes . that is	
	to sey to haue in mynde	
	booth the qwyke and	
	the dede bi euery sonday	320

¹⁷ Inserted from the margins with a mark. The remainder of the page is marked for deletion by 'vacat', and there is an instruction in the margins: here ylepe to the laste leffe and than *cum hedera-gen*. The 'laste leffe' referred is found on page 94 of this edition.

		325
		330
p. 18	S tatutum septimum . De ffratribus ad paupertatem deuenientibus & quomodo succurratur eisdem de bonis eiusdem gilde : ~	335
p. 19	A lso it is ordeyned be all' the comon assent that if any brothir or sustir' of this forseyd companye falle in-to olde age or in-to grete pouerte ; nor haue not wherwith' to be foun- dene . nor to help hymselfe ; he schal haue euery woke iiij . denar' of the goodys of the gylde al+so longe as the catell' ther-of is worthe <u>xl' . s' . or more</u> ¶ And if it so be-falle yat there ben moo swich' pouer men than oon ; than it is ordeynede be the comon	340
		345
		350
p. 20	assent that the forsayd iiij . d' schal ben departyde euery woke a-monge hem all' : ~	355

	Statutum octauum . De si-	
	lencio & obediencia fratrum ín	
	presencia aldermanní & de pe=	360
	na obíurgancium cum alder-	
	manno vel cum alíjs officia=	
	ríjs enisdem gilde ~	
p. 21	Also it is ordeyned that	
	at euery morowespeche	365
	and at all' comynges to-gyder'	
	euery man to ben obedient	
	vnto the alderman in alle	
	leefull' comaundementis . and	
	that euery man holde silence	370
	and make no grett noyse . and	
	what man wile not ben in	
	pees at the byddyng of the	
	Aldirman ; the deen schal dely-	
	ueren hym the 3erde . & he wile	375
	not receyuen it ; he schal payne	
	<u>ij. libr' wax</u> ¶ And who so	
	despyse his Alderman <i>in tyme</i>	
	of síttyng for alderman ; or	
p. 22	3eue hym any reprouable	380
	wordys in disturblyng and	
	noyaunce of the compenye ;	
	he schal payne for his trespas	
	<u>ij. li~ . wax</u> . And if he do it ageynn	
	any of the maystyrs he schal	385
	payne . <u>J lí wax</u> . And ageyn	
	the clerk : half a pounce . wax .	
	And ageyn the deen ; half a	

	be departyde euery weke	
f.11r	emange tham all' . : 355	
	Statutum octauum . de silen-	
	cio et obediencia fratrum	
	in presencia aldermanní et	
	pena obiurgancium cum eo	
	uel cum alíjs officiaríjs	360
	eiusdem gilde . :	
	<A ¹⁸ >Iso i it is ordenyde	
	that at ⁊ euery	
	morowe-speche and also	
	at all' owre comyngys	365
	to-gyddyr euery man to	
	be obedyent vn-to the	
	alderman / in all' lefull'	
	commandmentys . And	
f.11v	that every man and wo-	370
	man . holde cylence and	
	make no grete noyse .	
	And qwhat man or wo	
	wyll' noth be ín pees at	
	th[e ¹⁹] byddyng of the alder-	375
	man than the deen schall'	
	deliuyr hym the 3erde	
	And if he wyll noth re-	
	ceyuen it he schall' pay	
	íj . li . wax And qwo so dys-	380
	pise the alderman / or	
	ellys gyf hym any repro-	
	vabyll~ wordys in tyme	

¹⁸ Missing in the MS

¹⁹ Inserted in the MS

	<u>pound wax</u> : ~	390
		395
		400
p. 23	S tatutum nonum . De fra- tribus litigantibus & placitan- tibus cum fratribus suis . absque licencia aldermanni ; et de pena taliter litigancium : ~	405
	A lso if any man be at heuynesse with any of his bretheryne for any maner trespas ; he schal' not pursewen hym in no maner' of courte ; but he schal come firste to the alderman . and' schewen to hym his greuance . And than the alderman schal'	410
		415
p. 24	sende aftyr that odyr man and knowen his offence ; And than he schal' make eeh eyther of hem for to chesen a brothir of the forsayde companye or ellys . ij . bre=	420

	that he syttys for alder-	
	man / <i>in</i> +dystrubelynge &	385
	noyans of the compeny	
f.12r	compeny he schall' pay	
	for hys tryspas to the	
	lyghtys of the gylde befor-	
	seyde . ij . li . wax . and if	390
	he do it ageyn ony of the	
	maystys he schall paye	
	a pownd' wax . and ageyne	
	the clarke halfe . li . wax	
	Also ageyn the deen halfe	395
	. lí . wax .	
	Statutum nonum . de fra-	
	tribus litigantibus et	
	placitantibus cum confra-	
	tribus suis absque licen-	400
	cia aldermanní et de pe-	
	na simíliter litigancium /	
f.12v	<F ²⁰ >yrste it is ordeynyde	
	be all' the compeny y ^t	
	yf any man / be at hevynesse	405
	wyth any of hys	
	hys bretheryne for any	
	maner of trespas he schall'	
	noth persewyn / hym	
	ín no maner of cowrte	410
	bot he schall' <i>cum</i> fyrste	
	to the alderman / and .	
	schewen / to hym hys	
	greuans and thane the	

²⁰ Missing in the MS

theren for to acorde hem
and sett hem at rest and
pees ¶ . And if these men
so chosen with good medi- 425
acion of the alderman
mowe not brynge hem at
acorde . and at reste ; thane
may the alderman zeuen
hem licence for to gone to 430
the comown lawe : ~

p. 25 ¶ And who so goth to the
comown lawe for any playnt
or trespas vn-to the tyme
he hath' ben at the alderman 435
and don as it is sayde befor~
he schal payen . xl' . d' . with-
oute any grace : ~

440

445

450

p. 26 **Statutum decimum** . De
fratribus ut non remaneant in
aula uel in domo officij ;

	alderman / schall' send /	415
	aftyр that othyr man /	
	and knowyn hys of-	
	fence and than he schall'	
	make eythere of tham	
f.13r	at reste and pees . And /	420
	yf theys men for to	
	chesyn / a+brothyr off y ^e	
	forseyde compeny or ellys	
	. ij . brethyrne for to acorde /	
	thame and set tham at	425
	reste and pes . and if	
	theys men so chosyne	
	wyth the goode medya-	
	cyone of the alderman	
	may noth bryng thame	430
	at acorde and at reste	
	than may the alderman	
	gyf thame lycence for	
	to goo to the comone /	
	lawe yf they wyll' And /	435
	who so gooth the comon /	
f.13v	lawe . for any pleynte or	
	trespas vn-to the tyme y ^t	
	he hath bene at the alder-	
	man and doone as it is	440
	seyde before he schall'	
	pay to the increse of y ^e	
	gylde . xl . d' . wyth-owte	
	; any grace / ²¹	
	Statutum decimum de fratribus	445

²¹ Centred in the MS

- counsel of this forsayde
 gylde or of these ordynaunce
 to any othir straunge man
 or woman ; so that the 490
 companye be sclaudride
 or hyndrid or haue any
- p. 30 othir wyllanye therby' ;
 he schal payne to the ffor=
 therauunce of the forsayde 495
 gylde . xl' . d' Or ellys he
 schal' lesen the fraternyte
 for euyr-more : ~
- p. 31 **Statutum duodecimum . De**
 obseruacione annúersaríj 500
 Johannis lyster ; et quomodo &
 quando debet obseruari : ~
- A**lso we haue ordeyned'
 be all' oure comone as=
 sent and be oure othe made ; 505
 for to kepe the 3ereday of
 Jon lyster of Cambryge 3er'=
 ly on mydelenton sonday *in*
 sent Clementys chirche al
 so longe as the gylde endurys . 510
 be-cause he gafe vs . iiij . marc'
 in the be-gynnyng and to
 the fortheraunce of our' gylde .
- p. 32 ¶ And also tho vj . men that 515
 chesen the alderman and the
 Officers . schul chesen othir . ij .
 sufficient men . for to kepen
 the same iiij . marc' to bryng

<A²³>Iso it is ordeynyde
 that qwhat brodyr
 or sustyr bewreyethe y^e
 cowncell' of thys forseyde /
 gylde or of thys ordí- 490
 nance / to any othyre
 straunge man / or wo-
 man so that the *compeny*
 f.15r be sclauderyd or haue any othyr
 vylany there-by he schal payne 495
 yan to the fortherans of the
 forsayde gylde . xl . d . or els he
 schall lesen the fraternyte for
 euery-more . : ²⁴
 f.15v²⁵ **T**hys statute is made by the comyn' 500
 assent of all the bretheren and sisteren
 of alhallowe yelde the yere of oure
 lorde . m^l . CCCC^o . iiij^o . // These ar the
 names of them þ^t made this statute
 by all þ^e comyn assent . // Fyrst be= 505
 gynnyng Johnn manfelde . Richart
 alwey . wylliam askam . Thomas kelsey
 johnn Elys and wylliam wyllys thes
 forsaid men wyll [^][and the masters of the same gylde xall se y^t euery broder
 schal haue²⁶] þat euery broþer 510
 schall haue at his departyng [^] [v prystes & iiij torchis to bryng yem to the
 chirche²⁷] v .
 prestis . and euery prest to hime

²³ Missing in the MS

²⁴ There is an illegible note in a different hand here.

²⁵ In a different hand from the previous pages. Added in 1504.

²⁶ Inserted from the margin with a mark.

²⁷ Inserted from the margin with a mark.

	it ín	²⁸ 3erely ;	
	vndyr the same forme that		520
	the maystys doo ¶ And the		
	same . ij . men . schal' mak ordy=		
	naunce . for the 3ereday and		
	for the costys yerof . and		
	make a trwe rekenyng at		525
	the next generall day . be the		
	othe' that thei haue made ;		
	to the gylde : ~		
p. 33	I n principio erat <i>verbum</i> & <i>verbum</i>		
	erat apud dium ; & deus erat		530
	<i>verbum</i> . Hoc erat in principio ap ^{ud}		
	deum ; <i>omnia per ipsum facta sunt</i>		
	& sine ipso <i>factum est nichil . Quod</i>		
	<i>factum est in ipso vita erat ;</i>		
	et vita erat lux homínium ;		535
	Et lux in tenebris lucet ;		
	& tenebre eam <i>non comprehen=</i>		
	<i>derunt</i> . ffuit homo missus		
	a deo ; cuí nomen erat <i>Johannes</i>		
	Hic venit in <i>testionium</i> ; vt testí-		540
	<i>monium perhiberet de lumíne .</i>		
	ut <i>omnes crederent per illum . Non</i>		
	erat ille lux : <i>sed ut testimonium</i>		
	<i>perhiberet de lumine . Erat</i>		
p. 34	lux vera que illumínat <i>omnem</i>		545
	<i>hominem ; venientem in hunc mun=</i>		
	<i>dum . In mundo erat & mundus</i>		
	<i>per ipsum factus est ; & mundus eum</i>		
	<i>non cognouit . In propria venit</i>		

²⁸ Erasure. In the Baker transcript of St. Peter and Paul it reads: with the encrese

íij d' of the cost of þ^e gylde . and
 the which prestis to cum to 515
 the place wher the said bodi
 ys . and to bryng him to chirch
 and to syng dirig' and masse
 for his soule . and [^][Euery brodyr [^][and syster²⁹] offyr' ffor' the sowle at the
 messe a fardying' or els' to say the thurde parts of owr' lady Savter' . and
 also³⁰] if so be þat

f.16r þ^e sayd broþer be abyll to kepe a díríge [^][& a masse³¹] of hys
 owne proper cost we wyll þat thys díríge and
 masse be deferryd tyll þ^e next day after . and to
 be sayd in the same chirch' . wher þ^e body ís 525
 byryed . Also we wyll þ^t who-so-euer be
 person vycary or parasch' prest for to be
 oone of the . v. prestys and þ^e clerke and [^]be³² sexten'
 to haue of þ^e same chirch . íij d . if so be ther'
 be no sexten the clerke to haue íij^d And 530
 vj d for to be gyvyn' in brede to pore peple
 of the same parasch if ther be any pore
 brothyr or Suster to haue part theroff . //
 Also we wyll þat euery Syster schall haue at
 hyr departyng too prestys . and they to haue 535
 viij^d . of þ^e cost of þ^e yelde and the said prestys
 for to cum to þ^e place of the dede body and
 to bryng hyr to chyrch' and to syng or say
 Dyrige for hyr Soule .

²⁹ Inserted from the line above with a caret.

³⁰ Inserted from the margin with a caret.

³¹ Inserted from the line above with a caret.

³² Inserted from the line above with a caret.

- et suí *eum non receperunt* . Quot= 550
quot *antem receperunt eum dedit*
eis potestatem filios deí fierí
híjs qui credunt ín *nomie eius*
Quí *non ex sangrinibes neqes*
ex voluntate carnis neqes ex 555
voluntate virí ; *ses ex deo natí*
sunt . Et *verbum caro factum est & haba*
uit ín *nobis* Et *vidimus gloriam*
eius gloriam quasi vnígeniti a patre
plenum *gratie & veritatis* : ~ 560
- p. 35 ¶ **Anniuersarium domini Thome Grey**³³
Statutum terrciodecímum . De
obseruacione anníuersarij *domini*
Thome Grey vicarij *quondam*
sancti Clementis & quomodo et 565
quando debet obseruari : ~
Also we haue ordeyned
be all' our' comoun assent
and be our' othe made ; for to
kepe y^e 3erday of sír Thomas 570
Grey sumtyme vicar' of sent
Clementes chirch' in y^e same chirch'
3erly *cum* al+so longe as y^e gylde
endurys on y^e sonday be-fore
sent Barthylmew day ; be- 575
cause he gafe vs . xl' s' . &
- p. 36 a baner clothe to the ^[worchype &³⁴] fortherauns
of our' gilde . ¶ And also tho . vj .
men that chesyn y^e alderman

³³ *Anniuersarium domini Thome Grey*: across p. 35 and 36.

³⁴ *Worchype &*: Inserted from above with caret.

& y^e officers . schul chesyn othyr 580
 ij . sufficient menn . for to kepe
 y^e same . xl . s . to bryng it ín
 ³⁵ 3erly ; vndyr y^e
 same forme . that y^e Maystys
 donn ¶ And also y^e same . ij . menn 585
 schall' make ordynaunce for
 y^e sayde 3erday & for y^e costys
 yer-of . and make a trewe
 rekenyng at y^e next generall'
 day ; be the othe yat yeí 590
 haue made to y^e gylde ~

p. 37³⁶ **Annúersarium Jsabelle Cappe**³⁷

Statutum quartodecium De
obseruacione annuersarij Jsa-
belle cappe et quomodo et quando debet 595
¶ Also we haue ¶ obseruari³⁸
 ordeyned be all' our co=
 myn assent . and be our othe
 made . for to kepe the zerday
 of Jsabelle Cappe in the *perych* 600
 chyrch of Sant Clement
 zerly as longe as the gylde
 endurs on the sonday next
 aftyr Relike sonday be-cause
 sche gafe vs xl . s to the 605
 wyrchippe & fortherans of
 our~ gylde . ¶ And also tho
 vj men that chesyn the al=

³⁵ Erasure

³⁶ In a different hand from the previous pages

³⁷ Annúersarium Jsabelle Cappe: across p. 37 and 38

³⁸ ¶ obseruari: Descends from the line above

be-cause he gafe vs xl' s'
 to the wirchipe & sustenta-
 coun of owr gylde ; ¶ And
 also tho vj men that chesyn 640
 the alderman and the offi=
 cers for the 3eer foloyng
 schal chese ij sufficyent men
 p. 40 for to mynyster the same xl' s~
 to bryng it in 3eerly 645
 ⁴⁴ vnder the same
 forme that the masters don .
 ¶ And also tho. ij. men shall'
 make ordynance for the sade
 3eerday & for the costis ther- 650
 of & make a trew rekenyng
 at the nexte principale day
 be the oothe that they haue
 made to the gylde . ~
 p. 41⁴⁵ **Aniuersar~ magistri johanis feklyne**⁴⁶ 655
 Also we haue ordeynde be
 owr comyn assent and be
 owr othe made for to kepe the
 3eerday of Mastir John' Fowlyn
 euery 3eer the sonday next aftir 660
 saynt Clementis day as longe
 as the gilde endurs . be-cause he
 gave us . xl . s' . to the wirchippe and
 sustentacion of our gilde. // And
 also tho vj men that cheys the 665

⁴⁴ Erasure

⁴⁵ In a different hand from the previous pages. This hand makes no distinction between <y> and <þ> and realizes both as a þ shape. This is here transcribed as <y>

⁴⁶ Aniuerar~ magistri johanis feklyne: in a different hand

aldírman and the officers of the
gilde for the 3eer foloyng folo=
yng shall' cheys ij sufficient men
for to mynister the sade xl . s' . to
bryng it in 3eerly vndir the same 670

p. 42 forme that the masters done .

// And also tho ij men shall mak
ordynance for the sayd 3erday
and for the costys ther-of and
mak a trew rekenyng att the 675
nexte *principalle* day be the othe
that thay haue mad to the gyld .

Notes to St. Clement

- ll. 60-67 'Here begin the statutes published in honour of the Pope and martyr St. Clement, and by the common assent of all the brethren of the same guild, in the year 1431. And each brother in the guild must swear to maintain them'.
- ll. 68-72 'First statute. Of the general and principall day, and how all the brothers are to be present that day'.
- l. 77 **St. Clement**, fourth pope of Rome, 92-99 AD. Commemorated on the 23 November.
- l. 83 **church of St. Clement**, a description of the church is found in Atkinson (1897: 137-138).
- ll. 89-90 **generall and principall day**, see p. 28, p. 14.
- l. 92 **lowsonday**, also known as the *Octave Day of Easter*, the Sunday next after Easter Sunday.
- l. 97 **deen**, see p. 29
- l. 106 **lib**, abbreviated *libra*. See Appendix A: List of Measurements.
- ll. 126-127 'Second statute. Of morn-speeches and the penalty for not attending'.
- ll. 129-130 **morowespechis**, 'morn-speech.' See p. 28.
- ll. 134-135 **fest of Seynt Michael y^e Archangell**, also known as *Michaelmas*. Celebrated on the 29 September.
- l. 139 **denar**, *denarius* 'penny', see Appendix B: List of Currencies
- l. 143 **aldirman**, see p. 29
- l. 149 **aftir prime be smette**, 'after the hour is struck'
- l. 151 **clepyd**, 'called'
- ll. 154-158 'Third statute. Of the election of the alderman and the other officers, and the penalty for refusing the office'.
- l. 161 **eleccioun**, 'election.' See p. 15-16.
- l. 163 **clepen**, 'call'
- l. 173 **masters**, see p. 29
- l. 173 **clerk**, see p. 29.
- l. 181 **avayle**, 'benefit'
- l. 186 **s'**, abbreviation of *shilling*. See Appendix B: List of Currencies
- l. 186 **d'**, abbreviation of *denarius* 'penny.' See Appendix B: List of Currencies.
- ll. 202-205 'Fourth statute. Of the reception of the treasury and its security through pledges'.

- I. 208 **catelle**, ‘wealth’
- I. 224 **galone**, see Appendix A: List of Measurements
- I. 225 **potell**, see Appendix A: List of Measurements
- I. 227 **quart**, see Appendix A: List of Measurements
- II. 233-236 ‘Fifth statute. Of the introduction and admission of brethren and the oath to be sworn’.
- II. 266-270 ‘Sixth statute. Of the thirty masses to be sung for the deceased and on the penalty for not attending or offering at the principal mass’.
- I. 293 **farthyng**, see Appendix B: List of Currencies
- II. 331-335 ‘Seventh statute. Of helping the brethren who are poor, and how to do so with the treasury of the guild’.
- II. 358-363 ‘Eight statute. Of the silence and obedience [to be held] in the presence of the alderman and the penalties for insulting him or the other officers of the guild.’
- II. 402-406 ‘Ninth statute. Of quarrelling brethren, who plead before the law without license of the alderman, and the punishment for doing so’.
- II. 452-457 ‘Tenth statute. Brethren may not remain in the room or guild house after the alderman has retired, and the penalty for violating this statute’.
- II. 478-483 ‘Eleventh statute. The brethren should not reveal to outsiders the council and ordinances and of the penalty for such improper revelations’.
- II. 499-502 ‘Twelfth statute. Of the observance of John Lyster’s anniversary, and how and when it is to be observed’.
- I. 506 **zereday**, ‘anniversary,’ see p. 14, p. 19.
- I. 508 **mydelenton sonday**, or *Mid-Lent Sunday*, also known as *Laetare Sunday* or *Mothering Sunday*, is the fourth Sunday of the season Lent; a period of feasting and penitence starting on Ash Wednesday and ending around Easter Eve.
- I. 518 **marc**, See Appendix A: List of Currencies.
- II. 529-560 John 1: 1-14.
- I. 561 ‘Anniversary of Sir Thomas Grey’. Possibly of the Grey family of Heaton. William Grey of that family was Bishop of Ely (1454-1478) (Fryde et al. 1996: 245).
- II. 562-566 ‘Thirteenth statute. The observance of the anniversary of Sir Thomas Grey, former vicar of St. Clement, and how and when it is to be observed’.
- I. 575 **sent Barhylmew day**, one of the twelve disciples of Jesus, commemorated on the 24 August.

- I. 592 'Anniversary of Isabelle Cappe'. Probably Isabel Cappe: wife of John Cappe, MP, also Bailiff of Cambridge 1424-1425, 1431-1432.
<<http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1386-1421/member/cappe-john>>.
- II. 593-595 'Fourteenth statute. The observance of the anniversary of Isabelle Cappe, and how and when it is to be observed'.
- I. 604 **Relike sonday**, a movable feast-day celebrating Christian reliquary, celebrated in mid-July, on the third Sunday after Midsummer's day.
- I. 623 translation: Anniversary of William Tame
- II. 624-627 translation: Fifteenth statute. The observance of the anniversary of William Tame, and how and when it is to be observed
- I. 636 **epiphanye**, a festival commemorating the manifestation of Christ to the Gentiles in the persons of the Magi, celebrated on the 6th of January.
- I. 655 translation: Anniversary of Master John Feklyn
- I. 660 **saynt Clementis Day**, the 23 November.

Notes to All Saints

- II. 1-33 John 1, 1-14.
- II. 34-57 Latin prayers, mainly from *Horae beate virginis Marie* of the Sarum usage.
- II. 58-70 'Here begin the statutes published in honour of All the Saints, by the common assent of all the brethren of the same guild, in the year 1473. And each brother in the guild must swear to uphold them. First statute. Of the general and principal day, and how all the brethren to be present on that day.
- I. 78 **omnium sanctorum**, '(of) All Saints.'
- I. 88 **generall' and pryncypall' day**, see p. 28
- I. 93 **feeste off omnium sanctorum**, also known as *All Saint's Day* or *All Hallows*, a solemnity held in honour of all the saints, celebrated on the 1 November.
- I. 102 **deene**, see p. 29
- I. 103 **chyirche of all' hallowys**, a description of Allhallows-in-the-Jewry can be found in Atkinson (1897: 125). A description of Allhallows-by-the-Castle is not included.
- I. 113 **pownde**, see Appendix A: List of Measurements.

- I. 122 'Second statute. Of mo(rning speeches).'
- II. 149-152 'Third statute. Of the election of the alderman and other officers, and the penalty for refusing the office'.
- I. 156 **electyone**, 'election.' See p. 15-16.
- I. 158 **alderman**, see p. 29
- I. 158 **clepyn**, 'call.'
- I. 160 **masters**, see p. 29
- I. 172 **clarke**, see p. 29
- I. 186 **avayle**, 'benefit.'
- I. 191 **s**, abbreviation of *shilling*. See Appendix B: List of Currencies.
- I. 192 **d**', abbreviation of *denarius* 'penny'. See Appendix B: List of Currencies.
- II. 203-206 'Fourth Statute. Of the reception of the treasury and its security through pledges'.
- I. 210 **catell**', 'wealth'
- I. 228 **galone**, see Appendix A: List of Measurements
- I. 230 **pottell**', see Appendix A: List of Measurements
- I. 231 **qwarte**, see Appendix A: List of Measurements
- II. 236-239 'Fifth statute. Of the introduction and admission of brethren and the oath to be sworn'.
- II. 270-275 'Sixth statute. Of the thirty masses to be sung for the deceased and of the penalty for not attending or offering at the principal mass'.
- II. 329-333 'Seventh statute. Of helping the brethren who are poor, and how to do so with the treasury of the guild'.
- II. 356-361 'Eight statute. Of the silence and obedience [to be held] in the presence of the alderman and the penalties for insulting him or the other officers of the guild'.
- II. 397-402 'Ninth statute. Of quarrelling brethren, who plead before the law without license of the alderman, and the punishment for doing so'.
- II. 445-449 'Tenth statute. Brethren may not remain in the room or guild house after the alderman has retired, and the penalty for violating this statute.'
- II. 469-475 'Eleventh statute. The brethren should not reveal to outsiders the council and ordinances and of the penalty for such improper revelations'.

References

- Aston, T. H., G. D. Duncan, and T. A. R. Evans. 1980. 'The medieval alumni of the University of Cambridge.' *Past and Present* 86: 9-86.
- Atkinson, Thomas D. 1897. *Cambridge Described & Illustrated: Being a Short History of the Town and University*. London: Macmillan and Co.
- Barber, Charles, Joan C. Beal and Philip A. Shaw. 2009. *The English Language: A Historical Introduction* 2nd Ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Benskin, Michael. 1977. 'Local archives and Middle English dialects.' *Journal of the Society of Archives*, 8: 500-514.
- Benskin, Michael and Margaret Laing. 1981. 'Translations and *Mischsprachen* in Middle English manuscripts.' In Michael Benskin and Michael L. Samuels (eds.), *So meny people longages and tonges*. Edinburgh: Middle English Dialect Project. 55-106.
- Benskin, Michael. 1991. 'The "fit"-technique explained.' In Felicity Riddy (ed.), *Regionalism in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts*. Cambridge: Brewer. 9-26.
- Benskin, Michael. 1992. 'Some new perspectives on the origins of standard written English.' In J. A van Leuvensteijn and J. B. Berns (eds.), *Dialect and Standard Language in the English, Dutch, German and Norwegian Language Areas*. Amsterdam: Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, North-Holland. 71-105.
- Benskin, Michael. 2004. 'Chancery Standard.' In Christian Kay, Carole Hough and Irené Wotherspoon (eds.), *New Perspectives on English Historical Linguistics. Volume II: Lexis and Transmission*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Bergs, Alexander T. 'Spreading the word: patterns of diffusion in historical dialectology.' In , Markku Filppula, Juhani Klemola Marjatta Palander Esa Penttilä (eds.), *Topics in Dialect Variation*. Joensuu: University Press. 5-30.
- Black, Merja. 1997. *Studies in the Dialect Materials of Medieval Herefordshire*. University of Glasgow: Department of English Language, PhD Thesis.
- Blake, Norman (ed.). 1992. *The Cambridge History of the English Language Volume II: 1066-1476*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brentano, Lujo. 1870. 'On the history and development of guilds and the origins of trade-unions.' In Joshua Toulmin Smith and Lucy Toulmin Smith, *English Guilds: the Original Ordinances of More than One Hundred Early English Guilds*. London: The Early English Text Society. lxxxix-cxcix.

- Burrow, J. A. and Thorlac Turville-Petre. 1996. *A Book of Middle English*. 2nd Ed. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Chambers, J. K. and Peter Trudgill. 1980. *Dialectology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cooper, Charles H. 1842. *Annals of Cambridge*. 5 volumes. Cambridge: Warwick and Co.
- Corèdon, Christopher and Ann Williams. 2004. *A Dictionary of Medieval Terms and Phrases*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer.
- Davis, Norman. 1954. 'The language of the Pastons.' *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 40: 119-144.
- Fryde, E. B. (ed.) 1996. *Handbook of British Chronology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Görlach, Manfred. 2004. *Text Types and the History of English*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Hey, David (ed.). 1997. *The Oxford Companion to Local and Family History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hoffman, Tom. 2011. 'The English provincial guilds, the Irish guilds, the Scottish guilds, the Welsh guilds'. *Tom Hoffman's Bibliography on the Guilds*.
<<http://www.bbk.ac.uk/lib/elib/databases/tom-hoffman/GUILDS%20Vol%202%20-%20BBK%20Revised%207%20Oct%202011.pdf>>. Accessed: 23 April 2013.
- Hudson, R. A. 1980. *Sociolinguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jensen, Vibeke. 2000. *Studies in the Medieval Dialect Materials of the West Riding of Yorkshire*. University of Stavanger: Department of Cultural Studies and Languages, PhD Thesis.
- Kohnen, Thomas. 2007. 'Text types and the methodology of diachronic speech act analysis.' In Susan Fitzmaurice and Irma Taavitsainen (eds.), *Methods in Historical Pragmatics*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 139-166.
- Labov, William. 1994. *Principles of Linguistic Change: Internal Factors* Oxford: Blackwell.
- LALME = See McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986).
- McIntosh, Angus. 1952. *An Introduction to a Survey of Scottish Dialects*. Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons.
- McIntosh, Angus. 1956. 'The analysis of written Middle English.' *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 55: 26-55. Reprinted in M. Laing (ed.) 1989. *Middle English Dialectology: Essays on Some Principles and Problems*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press. 1-21.

- McIntosh, Angus. 1963. 'A new approach to Middle English dialectology.' *English Studies*, 44: 1-11. Reprinted in M. Laing (ed.) 1989. *Middle English Dialectology: Essays on Some Principles and Problems*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press. 22-31.
- McIntosh, Angus. 1974. 'Towards an Inventory of Middle English Scribes.' *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 75: 602-624.
- McIntosh, Angus, Michael L. Samuels and Michael Benskin. 1986. *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*. 4 volumes. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press.
- Muysken, Pieter. 2008. 'Introduction: conceptual and methodological issues in areal linguistics.' In Pieter Muysken (ed.) *From Linguistic Areas to Areal Linguistics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 1-23.
- Nevalainen, Terttu and Helena Raumolin-Brunberg. 2003. *Historical Sociolinguistics: Language Change in Tudor and Stuart England*. London: Longman.
- Orme, Nicholas. 2006 *Medieval Schools: From Roman Britain to Renaissance England*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Oxford English Dictionary* 3rd ed. 1989. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Roberts, Jane. 2008. *Guide to Scripts used in English Writings up to 1500*. London: The British Library.
- Rosser, Gervase. 2006. 'Big Brotherhood: guilds in urban politics in late medieval England.' In Gadd, Ian A. and Patrick Wallis (eds.), *Guilds and Associations in Europe, 900-1900*. London: Centre for Metropolitan History. 27-42.
- Samuels, Michael L. 1963. 'Some applications of Middle English dialectology.' *English Studies* 44: 81-94. Reprinted in M. Laing, (ed.) 1989. *Middle English Dialectology: Essays on Some Principles and Problems*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press. 64-80.
- Stenroos, Merja and Martti Mäkinen. 2011. 'MEG-C Manual, version 2011.1.' *The Middle English Grammar Corpus*. University of Stavanger.
<http://www.uis.no/getfile.php/Forskning/Kultur/MEG/Corpus_manual_%202011_1.pdf>. Accessed: 25 September 2012.
- Stenroos, Merja and Kjetil V. Thengs. 2012. 'Two Staffordshires: real and linguistic space in the study of Late Middle English dialects.' In Jukka Tyrkkö, Matti Kilpiö, Terttu Nevalainen and Matti Rissanen (eds.), *Outposts of Historical Corpus Linguistics: From the Helsinki Corpus to a Proliferation of Resources*. Studies in Variation, Contacts and Change in English, 10. Helsinki: VARIENG.

<http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/journal/volumes/10/stenroos_thengs/>. Accessed 10 May 2013.

- Stenroos, Merja. 2013. 'Identity and intelligibility in Late Middle English scribal transmission: local dialect as an active choice in fifteenth-century texts.' In Esther-Miriam Wagner, Ben Outhwaite and Bettina Beinhoff, *Scribes as Agents of Language Change*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 159-182.
- Stenroos, Merja. Forthcoming. 'From scribal repertoire to text community: The challenge of variable writing systems.' In Jennifer Cromwell and Eitan Grossman (eds.), *Beyond Free Variation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Strang, Barbara M. H. 1970. *A History of English*. London: Methuen & Co.
- Swales, John M. 1990. *Genre Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Thengs, Kjetil. To be submitted. *English Medieval Documents of the Northwest Midlands: a Study in the Language of a Real Space Text Corpus*. University of Stavanger: Department of Cultural Studies and Languages, PhD Thesis.
- Tolkien, J.R.R. 1929. 'Ancrene Wisse and Meiðhad.' *Essays and Studies*, 14: 104-126.
- Toulmin Smith, Joshua and Lucy Toulmin Smith. 1870. *English Gilds: the Original Ordinances of More Than One Hundred Early English Gilds*. London: The Early English Text Society.
- Vachek, Josef. 1976. *Selected Writings in English and General Linguistics*. Prague: Academia.
- Williamson, Keith. 2000. 'Changing spaces: linguistic relationships and the dialect continuum.' In Irma Taavitsainen, (ed.), *Placing Middle English in Context*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 141-179.
- Willis, Robert and John Willis Clark. 1886. *Architectural History of the University and Colleges of Cambridge*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wright, Laura. 2000. 'Introduction'. In Laura Wright (ed.), *The Development of Standard English 1300-1800: Theories, Descriptions, Conflicts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1-8.
- Wright, Laura. 2001. 'The role of international and national trade in the standardisation of English'. In Isabel Moskowich-Spiegel Fandino, Begona Crespo Garcia, Emma Lezcano Gonzales and Begona Simal Gonzales (eds.) *Re-interpretations of English. Essays on Language, Linguistics and Philology (I)*. A Coruna: Universidade da Coruna. 189-207.

Zupko, Ronald E. 1985. *A Dictionary of Weights and Measures for the British Isles: The Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society.

Manuscripts

Cambridge, Trinity College 1343 (0.7.15): *The Statutes and Ordinances of the Guild of St. Clement*.

Cambridge, University Library Baker MSS : *The Statutes and Ordinances of the Guild of St. Peter and Paul*. Handwritten transcript of original MS.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C.541: *The Statutes and Ordinances of the Guild of All Saints*.

Internet resources

AntConc: <<http://www.antlab.sci.waseda.ac.jp/software.html>>

Cambridge University – About the University: < <http://www.cam.ac.uk/about-the-university/history/early-records>>

eLALME: <<http://www.lcl.ed.ac.uk/ihd/elalme/elalme.html>>

LAEME: <<http://www.lcl.ed.ac.uk/ihd/laeme1/laeme1.html>>

LAOS: <<http://www.lcl.ed.ac.uk/ihd/laos1/laos1.html>>

MEG-C: <<http://www.uis.no/meg-c>>

The Online Medieval & Classical Library, Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 750-919:
<<http://omacl.org/Anglo/part2.html>>

Appendix A: List of Measurements

The information about measures is compiled from Zupko (1985), the *OED*, and Corèdon and Williams (2004).

galone a measure for both liquid and dry goods. It is here most likely to be an ale gallon, ‘of varying dimensions prior to its standardization at ≈ 4.621 litres under Elizabeth I’ (Zupko 1985: GALLON). It contained four quarters or eight pints.

libra, lib.,

li., l. see **pound**

potell a measure used principally for liquids, contained two quarts $\approx 1.89\text{L}$

pound,

pownde a weight, here presumably the merchants’ pound $\approx 437.400\text{G}$. Its abbreviations, l., lb., li., lib., are all derived from the Latin *libra*.

quart,

qwart a measure used for dry products and liquids, which consisted of two pints; equal to $\frac{1}{4}$ gallon and $\frac{1}{2}$ potell.

Appendix B: List of Currencies

The information is compiled from the *OED* and Corèdon and Williams (2004).

- denarius, denar** originally a Roman silver coin, which was adopted by the English and named *penny*. See **penny**.
- farthyng** a coin worth $\frac{1}{4}$ penny, first minted in 1279.
- marc** a measure of weight, chiefly of gold and silver, usually representing eight ounces. In origin, a Danish unit of account, of eight *ore*, introduced into England after the Viking settlements. The Danish *ora* was reckoned at 16 English pence, giving a mark of 10s 8d. The *ora* of 20d, making a mark of 13s 4d was more common, however. There was also a gold mark equal to £6.
- penny, d.** a monetary unit and coin, equal to $\frac{1}{12}$ shilling or $\frac{1}{240}$ pound. Denoted by d. Replaced with the new penny, $\frac{1}{100}$ pound, at the introduction of decimal coinage in 1971.
- shilling, s.** a monetary unit and coin, equal to $\frac{1}{20}$ pound or 12d. Denoted by s. Its use was discontinued in 1971 with the introduction of decimal coinage.