



## Early English Printing and the Hands of Compositors<sup>1</sup>

SATOKO TOKUNAGA\*

*Keio University*

### ABSTRACT

This paper examines some distinctive uses of typefaces by Caxton's compositors in his early products at Westminster and illustrates how useful such examples are in revealing the chronology of actual book production, as well as in identifying the compositors at work on individual volumes. An exhaustive analysis of early printed books can provide us with information about compositors at work in England's earliest printing house. This paper therefore argues that it is most definitely worth considering such 'inevitable' aspects of book design as typography when editing any printed text, and introduces most recent research results contributed by a project at Keio University, which aims to establish a semi-automatic system that can transcribe every feature of the printed text including even minute differences in types.

### KEYWORDS

bibliography, Caxton, the *Canterbury Tales*, compositors, *incunabula*

### 1. INTRODUCTION

In the field of medieval studies, great advancements have been made in the disciplines of codicology and palaeography over the course of the last century, advancements that have had a considerable influence on our editorial approach to medieval literary texts. In particular, after Angus McIntosh had coined his famous terminology describing the *linguistic profile* (LP) and *graphetic profile* (GP) of scribes, scholars now regard the mentality of scribes as a significant factor in interpreting the methods of book production in the Middle Ages.<sup>2</sup> This approach should now also be extended to compositors, who were responsible for producing the text at the dawn

---

\* **Address for correspondence** Satoko Tokunaga, 3050-72 Kawashima-cho, Asahi-ku, 241-0011 Yokohama (Japan).  
E-mail: [satokot@bc.mbn.or.jp](mailto:satokot@bc.mbn.or.jp)

of the era of printing, which was a new technological medium in the late fifteenth-century. In fact, a number of studies of compositors have been conducted in the field of Renaissance English literature with a view to revealing the actual processes of book production, but it seems that the significance of compositors' roles has not yet been expressed fully in the studies of English *incunabula*.

In this paper, therefore, I would like to examine some distinctive uses of typefaces by Caxton's compositors in his early products at Westminster, and thereby illustrate how useful such examples are in revealing the chronology of actual book production, as well as in identifying the compositors at work on individual volumes. This investigation reveals that it is most definitely worth considering such 'mechanical' aspects of book design as typography when editing any printed text. The reality, however, is that typeface analysis creates a laborious task for researchers who are required to make the detailed transcriptions necessary for this work. One solution to this is to operate a semi-automatic system that can transcribe every feature of the printed text — including not only information on the 26 alphabetic characters, but also on very minute differences in types. In the final section of this paper, therefore, I would like to introduce one such project, which is currently ongoing at Keio University, Tokyo, and which aims to produce a practical system to aid the advancement of editorial and bibliographical methodologies.

## II. DISCUSSION

It has long been held that Caxton started his printing business in Westminster with the publication of the *History of Jason* (STC 15383), a popular literary work at the Burgundian court with which he was associated during his stay in Bruges. However, Paul Needham's study of the watermarks of Caxton's paper stock, and Lotte Hellinga's examination of the typeface used in Caxton's earliest publications, have revealed that Caxton's first major publication in English was in fact the *Canterbury Tales* (STC 5082), which he published along with several small quarto editions of other texts: *Indulgence* (STC 14077c.106), Lydgate's works, Russell's *Propositio* (STC 21458), and Burgh's translation of Cato's *Distichu* (STC 4850, 4851). All of these publications actually preceded the appearance of the English translation of the *History of Jason*.<sup>3</sup> This discovery suggests that Caxton chose to distribute among English readers, as his first major publication, one of the most popular vernacular texts in English — the *Canterbury Tales* — together with small books of moral or didactic texts, rather than volumes containing continental literary works or Latin texts. Thus, Caxton started his publishing career with a view to establishing his place in the business of publishing English works that were not yet available in print form. In other words, Caxton, the opportunist mercer (as Hellinga characterises him), set out to fill a gap in the market by supplying books in English — English works, in English, for an English public.<sup>4</sup> For his earliest publications, Caxton used the so-called Type 2 typeface. Scholars now agree that Caxton obtained a set of this type from Johan Veldner, a printer active

first in Cologne and later in Louvan, and that Caxton brought it back to Westminster, where he started his printing business around 1476. Type 2 is a remarkably elegant typeface, imitative of the fashionable contemporary scribal traditions that produced ornate manuscripts for the court of Burgundy.

The classification of types was established by William Blades and a pen facsimilist, G. I. F. Tupper, who for the first time systematically examined and grouped Caxton's types. Their monumental achievement, *The Life and Typography of William Caxton*, was first published in 1861 and 1863, and it has remained a landmark for the study of Caxton's typography right up to the present day. In preparing *The Life and Typography* for publication, Blades examined and described as many editions and extant copies of Caxton's books as he could possibly consult, and he made a careful inventory of all the typographical materials within them before categorising Caxton's typefaces into groups, from Type 1 to Type 6 (including Type 2\* and Type 4\*). To help him in this endeavour, Blades asked Tupper to prepare lithographic facsimiles of Caxton's typefaces. The resultant facsimile plates of types inserted into *The Life and Typography* are still of great use to scholars, because they are the most systematic graphical reproductions of Caxton's fonts to date.

One of the great contributions to Caxton studies made by this publication was Blades' precise descriptions and reproductions of Caxton's printing types, since the differentiation of the types gave scholars a much firmer basis for establishing the chronological arrangement of Caxton's books. Blades and Tupper's study was undoubtedly indebted to the previous Caxton studies which had appeared since the end of the preceding century, but *The Life and Typography* was nevertheless the first book to register in great detail the development of Caxton's printing types, by recording changes that had never been observed before.<sup>5</sup> For example, according to Blades and Tupper there are as many as two hundred sorts of typefaces that can be classified as Type 2, and some letters display considerable variation within each typeface. For example, in Type 2 some letters such as small <a>, small <d>, capital <I> and capital <R> have several distinguishable forms. Furthermore, there was seemingly a hierarchy of typefaces for each letter, and it is this characteristic that is particularly helpful in distinguishing between different compositors.

It was Lotte Hellinga who first made the perceptive observation that one of the compositors engaged in printing the first edition of the *Canterbury Tales* was particularly conscious of such a hierarchy of scripts, and that he had a graphic profile that involved making selective use of printing types. For example, Hellinga noted two variant forms of small letter <a>.<sup>6</sup> In Type 2, used to print the *Canterbury Tales*, there are two variant forms of small letter <a> — a double compartmented <a> and a simpler round one.<sup>7</sup> The double <a> is constantly adopted for the first letter of the name of the noble knight *Arcite* in the *Knight's Tale* (see Hellinga, 1982: 60, fig. 26). In the *Miller's Tale*, this double compartmented <a> is used in the titles of the learned books, such as *almagest*, *astrology* and *awgrym* (see Hellinga, 1982: 61, fig. 27). In other cases, it is often used to mark interesting nouns or words that attract attention, such

as *angels*, apostles, ale, *ambassador*. In contrast, the round <a> does not have particular function, for it is used in any position within a word, except at the beginning of a line. Using these examples, Hellinga argued that the compositor deliberately adopted the double <a> as the first letter of a word where he wanted to emphasise the significance of its meaning.

However, not every compositor used the double compartmented <a> in this manner. The hierarchical distinction between double <a> and round <a> appears in some pages, but not in other parts of the book of the *Canterbury Tales*. The distinctive use of the double <a>, Hellinga argued, can only be seen in the first half of this text, whilst the compositor of the second half seems to have avoided using the double <a>:

In the second half of the *Canterbury Tales*, beginning with the larger section in prose, in most of *The History of Jason* and in the other folios, we encounter a very different use of the double u. Here the compositor seems to have tried to avoid the double *a* altogether. He may have disliked it, because stylistically the two-storeyed *a* does not belong to the Burgundian *bastarda* script from which Type 2 was developed. However, he did use it occasionally, but then in a way markedly different from what the first compositor of the *Canterbury Tales* did. He might use just a few double u's very rarely and quite indifferently, probably because they had become mixed with round u's in the type-case. We find this in the prose section of the *Canterbury Tales* and in some of the small quartos. Also, shortage of type could force him to use double u's (Hellinga, 1982: 6142).

Hellinga's theory to explain this distinction can be summarised as follows. There were at least two compositors at work: one, who was conscious of the distinctive use of the double <a>, named "the *Canterbury Tales* compositor" by Hellinga, and was presumably in charge of the first part; a second, who seems to have avoided using the double <a>, and whom Hellinga calls "the *Jason* compositor", as he was seemingly in charge of printing the most substantial part of *The History of Jason*.

Hellinga's methodology in analysing the distribution of types seems an effective way to distinguish the divisions that separate different compositors' work, although no further attempt has so far been made to follow up on her work. In the following sections of my paper, therefore, I would like to extend the scope of Hellinga's methodology to include Caxton's other early publications, and analyse other books printed with Type 2 in Caxton's printing house, with specific reference to the compositors' use of the letter <a> forms. Through this examination of the distinctive use of the double <a>, I will trace various compositors' work throughout the chronology of Caxton's books.

As I have already mentioned, Caxton is considered to have started his printing business with the publication of small quarto books, followed by the first edition of the *Canterbury Tales* and other literary works. From the bibliographical evidence, those of Caxton's books that were published between 1476 and 1478 can be further categorised into three groups. Caxton's earliest publications include small quarto books such as Lydgate's and Cato's texts, which are categorised as Group 1. Subsequently, he embarked on printing the first folio volume of the

*Canterbury Tales*, at the same time reprinting the quarto books; collectively, these can be categorised as Group 2. The third group comprises part of Cato's text, the *Parliament of Fouls* (STC 5091), *Anelida and Arcite* (STC 5090), and the *Book of Courtesy* (STC 3303), which were presumably printed along with or after the *History of Jason*, and were then followed by the *Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers*, which has the distinction of being the first of Caxton's books to contain information related to the publication date.'

It has so far been assumed that initially, only one compositor was at work in Caxton's workshop.' Yet, the books printed during Caxton's earliest career can be further classified into two according to the treatment of the double compartmented <a>, which suggests that more than one compositor was working at this time. The first editions of *The Horse, the Sheep and the Goose* and the *Propositio* display a hierarchy in the use of the double compartmented <a> and single <a>, as is the case of the first half of the *Canterbury Tales*. In contrast, *Stans puer ad mensam* and the first edition of *Disticha* contain a few double compartmented <a> forms, and these are used only for the article <a> and the beginning of the conjunction *and*, and so have a merely grammatical function. This seems to indicate that there were at least two compositors at work—the *Canterbury Tales* compositor, who was aware of the hierarchy of script, and another compositor, indifferent to such distinctions, both of whom were already involved at this stage of printing. The second compositor could well have been the same man who composed *Jason*, on the evidence of his indifference to hierarchies of script.

As we have already seen, the *Canterbury Tales*, which follows the publication characteristics of Group 1, was printed by at least two compositors, the *Canterbury Tales* compositor and the *Jason* compositor. Around the same period as the first appearance of the *Canterbury Tales*, *The Temple of Glass*, *Indulgence*, and the second editions of the quarto books (*The Horse, Sheep and Goose* (STC 17032), *The Churl and the Bird* and part of *Disticha*) seem to have been printed with the characteristics of Type 2.<sup>10</sup> Hellinga considered that the *Jason* compositor "had an important hand in the second group of quartos" printed during this period ca. 1476).<sup>11</sup> The *Jason* compositor appears to have been in charge of the second editions of Cato's text and part of *The Horse, the Sheep and the Goose*. It seems, however, that the *Canterbury Tales* compositor was also active in printing other books in the second group. The practice of the *Canterbury Tales* compositor is detected not only in the *Canterbury Tales*, but also in *The Horse, the Sheep and the Goose*, *The Churl and the Bird* and *The Temple of Glass*, and he seems to have been very diligent in following this practice. It is likely, then, that both the *Canterbury Tales* and the *Jason* compositors were actively at work during the second earliest period of Caxton's workshop (i.e. around 1476).

In contrast to the situation in the earlier publications, only the *Jason* compositor, who avoided the double <a> form, seems to have been principally engaged in printing the books of the third group, although a new compositor seems to have become involved in setting some parts of a few of the works from this group. The first major work of this period, *The History of Jason*, was largely set by the *Jason* compositor, although the *Canterbury Tales* compositor also assisted

him on several pages of the first quire (see Hellinga, 1982: 95-97). Group 3, to which the *History of Jason* belongs, includes a number of Caxton's other publications such as the *Purliament of Foules*, *Anelidu and Arcite*, the *Book of Courtesy*, *The Dictes of the Philosophers* and *Moral Proverbs*. Most distinctively, no double compartmented <a> was used at all throughout this group, except in the texts of *Juson* and the *Moral Proverbs*, which is not the case for the previous two groups. The absence of the double <a> seems to indicate that, with the exception of *Juson* and the *Morul Proverbs*, the books in Group 3 were printed mainly by the *Juson* compositor.

At the same time, the printed pages of these two books, *Juson* and the *Moral Proverbs*, display some common idiosyncrasies in the use of the double <a> form. In those of Caxton's publications that are held to have been published before *Juson*, the double compartmented <a> is always used as the first letter of the word, whether it has any function or not. In addition, it never appears in any other position within words. *The History of Jason* and the *Moral Proverbs*, however, both have pages where the double compartmented <a> occurs even in the middle of a word. One reason for this irregularity might be attributed to the shortage of types of the round <a>. Because more types are needed in a prose text than in a verse text, it is possible that the compositor shortly ran out of the round <a> and had to adopt the double storied one instead of the round one. And in fact, when the double <a>s appear in the *History of Jason*, they are frequently found nearer to the last line of the page. However, there are also cases where the double <a>s are scattered within a single sheet; moreover, it is unlikely that the types ran out in printing the *Morul Proverbs*, which is a very short verse text consisting of only four folios. When all of this is taken into consideration, it is reasonable to believe that the compositor had ample types of both the round and the double compartmented <a>, but nevertheless was completely indifferent to the hierarchy of the script and far less exacting than the *Juson* compositor, and that he mixed up these two types which originally had different functions from one another in the text. Apparently, this compositor was not the same as the *Juson* compositor, and a new workman might well have joined Caxton's printing shop around this period.

There is another noteworthy change that occurs in this third group: the practice of the *Cuntenbury Tules* compositor is hardly to be seen in the books published after the *History of Jason*. There are some examples of the distinctive use of the two storied <a> in the first quire of the *History of Jason*, which suggests that the *Cuntenbury Tules* compositor was involved in setting some pages of this quire. However, his work is not observed in the other books that belong to the third group. There is no doubt that the *Cuntenbury Tules* compositor was a key person who printed most of the books in the preceding period, but there is little evidence that his hand was involved in the printing of the Group 3 texts. What, then, could this abrupt departure have to tell us about the situation in the workshop?

Without any firm ground on which to base a case, all efforts to explain this change must remain purely hypothetical. With that said, it is worth considering the possibility that the *Cuntenbury Tules* compositor — a man seemingly experienced in printing from the earliest days of the trade — was a workman whom Caxton brought back to his printing shop from the Low

Countries; perhaps he was even Caxton himself. It was Caxton who learned the techniques of printing and first introduced them into England, where he set about instructing his workmen on how to exercise this new technology in his newly established workshop. Some skilled men might have come over the sea to England to assist Caxton, while in the early stages of the development of his business, Caxton himself might have been directly involved in the actual printing process both as master-printer and compositor. As time went by, he gradually left this work in the hands of his apprentices such as the *Jason* compositor, and acted solely as a supervisor. This might have allowed him time to start the preparation of the translations that he published several years later.

In order to pursue this possibility, it would be worthwhile examining both Caxton's own prologues and epilogues and his earliest publications, which seem to have been prepared by the *Canterbury Tales* compositor, and analysing the linguistic and graphical characteristics of these printed books, although this is beyond the scope of the present article. As I have demonstrated above, analyses of the distinctive use of the different sorts of types of the same letter can help us to identify the division of work between various compositors. Further analysis of Caxton's early publications, including not only those printed in Westminster but also those produced in Bruges, may generate a clear picture of the day-to-day business of England's first printing house. Moreover, such a vivid glimpse of Caxton's printing house might even allow us to hypothesise about Caxton's own role in the printing process with some certainty.

I have already stated that in the types of Type 2, some letters have several forms and that, in total, there are more than two hundred sorts of types. Besides, compositors had their own preferences when choosing the types of the same letter. A detailed examination of such differences could, therefore, start to reveal the actual processes of book production, which have largely remained a mystery to this day. Thus, it is essential to make a detailed transcription of the printed pages, not only in order to transcribe the text itself, but also to describe the typographical features of every sort of type. This was the starting point of the research project the members of the HUMI Project, whose members are currently working on the development of a computer-assisted system for the typographical analysis of the digital images of Caxton's first edition of the *Canterbury Tales*.

In the spring of 2002, the British Library and the HUMI Project at Keio University made an agreement to collaborate on the digitisation of early printed books, and in that same year two editions of the *Canterbury Tales* printed by Caxton were digitised. The digital images of both editions are available on the website of the British Library<sup>12</sup> and also on the CD-ROM published by the *Canterbury Tales* Project (Bordalejo, 2003). The HUMI Project also launched an inter-faculty joint project, which aims to develop a system for a computer-based analysis of Caxton's typography using the digital images of the first edition of the *Canterbury Tales*.<sup>13</sup> This system is based on the lithographic reproduction of Caxton's Type 2 made by Blades and Tupper; following their work, we have encoded every sort of type with a number. In the case of the letter <a>, for example, the capital <A> is labelled as '1-1', the round <a> is labelled as '1-2', and so

on. On the basis of this classification, the system performs a pattern-matching and labelling procedure on the digital images and, with the aid of this system, we can obtain various data about hundreds of sorts of Caxton's types in a digital form. Such a massive amount of data allows researchers to make a more detailed analysis of the typographical variations and combinations in Caxton's printed books. Thus, we have realised that the compositor of the first edition of the *Canterbury Tales*, who made distinctive use of the double compartmented <a>, was possibly also engaged in printing the second half of the book. This means that we need to revise Hellinga's theory slightly. It is true, as Hellinga claimed, that the distribution of the double <a> in the second half of the book, particularly in the prose section, is quite different from that in the first half. In some pages, the compositor seems to have avoided the double <a>, as does the *Jason* compositor. However, in other pages it is frequently employed, sometimes even with a consistent pattern.

In the *Tale of Melibee*, for example, the words *apostle* and *alfons* appear repeatedly, and they constantly start with the double compartmented <a>. This characteristic detail can also be found in the *Parson's Tale*. For instance, in the section on *accidia*, the keyword *accidyde* consistently starts with <a> in the double compartmented form. Likewise, in the following part on *auaryce*, the double <a> is used. These examples demonstrate that the compositor in the prose section adopted the double <a> to demarcate significant words, as is the case in the first half of the book. In addition, the compositor facilitated the reading of prose texts by applying the double compartmented <a> to the conjunction *and*, where he combined it with a slash or a punctuation mark. Figure 1 in the appendix shows part of a page from the *Tale of Melibee* where a number of *ands* appear. It is noticeable that the double compartmented <a> is used when the conjunction is preceded by a slash (/) or punctuation mark (+). Such a graphical apparatus might have possibly been of great help to readers, allowing them to pause and take a breath where there is a short interruption in the flow of the sentence. The compositor who made use of the double <a> for the conjunction *and*, combined with a slash or punctuation, was presumably intent on creating pages that might facilitate the reader's appreciation of the prose text, by making distinctive use of the double compartmented <a>.

### III. CONCLUSIONS

A trial analysis of the fifty-one pages of the *Tale of Melibee* reveals that the double <a> does not appear at all in only nineteen of these pages, whilst in the ninety-four pages of the *Parson's Tale*, the double <a> is not used at all in only twenty-seven of the pages. In other words, ninety-nine out of one hundred and forty-five pages—nearly seventy percent of the prose sections—contain the double compartmented <a>. It is possible that the *Jason* compositor used the double form letter <a>, but it is more likely that these pages were set by a workman who was conscious of the hierarchy of scripts. Thus, it seems more probable that the compositor, who was attentive to the need to employ the hierarchy of typefaces, was also involved in printing the second half of



the *Canterbury Tales*.

The close examination of different uses of two variations of small <a> therefore not only allows us to revise Hellinga's view, but also illustrates that the type-distribution pattern reveals much about the idiosyncrasies of individual compositors. An exhaustive analysis of early printed books, as is here exemplified in my examination of the distinctive use of <a>s in Caxton's early publications, will provide us with even more information about compositors at work in England's earliest printing house.<sup>14</sup>

## NOTES

1. For my study of Caxton's first edition of the *Canterbury Tales* I used digital images of the British Library's copy, which was digitised in 2002 with the technical assistance of the HUMI (HUMANITIES Media Interface) Project of Keio University, as I will describe later. My special thanks should go to Professors Toshiyuki Takamiya and Masaaki Kashimura, both of the HUMI Project of Keio University, as well as to the team members of HUMI who were involved at every stage in the process of the digitisation of Caxton. I am also grateful to Professor Shinji Ozawa, Mr Katsuya Ogawa and Mr Tomohiro Kishida of Keio University. I owe much to Dr Jeremy Lowe, who kindly polished my English. Nevertheless, I am solely responsible for any misunderstandings or errors remaining in this paper. Part of this research is supported by the fellowship made available to me by the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science.
2. For example, see McIntosh (1974).
3. Hellinga (1982: 54-68). The analysis of Caxton's paper stock cited here may be found in Needham (1978: 79-87). With regard to Caxton's publications set with Type 2, I follow the dates presented in Hellinga (1982).
4. Caxton might have published the *Sarum Hours* (STC 15867) as well, but this may have been printed in Bruges rather than in Westminster. See Hellinga (1982: 68).
5. Of course, significant works that have offered revisions of Blades' systematic analysis have been published, including works by Hellinga & Hellinga (1966) and Barker (1976-77). My point is that no reproduction of Caxton's entire typography has been made that can replace Blades' publication in its entirety.
6. The following paragraph is a summary of Hellinga (1982: 59-62).
7. The distinctive use of the small <a> may have come from manuscript tradition. For example, the double compartmented and simple forms are mixed up in the Ellesmere manuscript, written in bastard script. It may be worthwhile to investigate manuscripts, and in particular those textually close to Caxton's *Canterbury Tales*, to examine if the compositor was influenced by a manuscript exemplar, though this would require further research. I am grateful to Professor Takamiya for this comment.
8. The *Dicts* is considered to have been published before 18, November, 1477
9. "At first this consisted of one press, with one compositor working for it, using one typeface; soon one, possibly even two larger presses were added (working concurrently on two halves of the *Canterbury Tales*); another compositor can be recognized", Hellinga, 1982: 84.

10. The chronology of the two editions of the quarto books has **been** controversial, but studies by **Bühler** and Needham **determined** that Cambridge University Library copies (STC 4850, 17008, 17018) were printed after those that were **formally** considered to be second editions (STC 4851, 17009, 17019). The present **study** accepts this chronology.

11. **Hellinga** (1982: 67). See also Needham (1978), where the author **explains** that a compositor who misunderstood the system of the different use of letter <a>, that is, **the Jason** compositor, was responsible for printing the second edition of Lydgate's Horse book.

12. <http://www.bl.uk/treasures/caxton/homepage.html>

13. The main members of the **project** are Mr. Katsuya Ogawa, Mr Tomohiro Kishida and Professor Shinji **Ozawa**, from the Department of Science and Technology, who are in charge of the technical development of the system, and **I have been** working as a research consultant for bibliographical issues, under the supervision of Professors Toshiyuki Takamiya and Masaaki Kashimura.

14. **In** addition to such wealth of data, our system **will also provide** a new reproduction of the images of Caxton's types using the digital images. The lithographic **facsimiles** made by Blades and Tupper display detailed differences of each type, but there are **certain** limitations in their manual methodology. Until today, no attempt has **been** made to produce the complete inventory of Caxton's typefaces using a different method, so even **niodem** scholars depend heavily upon Tupper's lithographic **facsimiles** when they need to obtain knowledge of Caxton's typography. **I do not claim here** that digital reproductions are more authentic than Blades' lithographic reproduction, but there has **been** a growing awareness that Blades-Tupper's **manually** made reproductions of **Caxton's** types **should** be replaced by a new **technology**. **In** the near future, our system **will** offer a possible means of producing a new facsiinile of Caxton's types.

## REFERENCES

- Barker, **Nicholas** (1976-77). Caxton's Typography. *Journal of the Printing Historical Society*, **11**, 114-33, and plates.
- Blades, **William** (1861-63). *The life and typography of William Cuxton*. 2 vols. Loiidon: J. Lilly.
- Bordalejo**, Barbara (2003). *Caxton's Canterbury Tales: The British Librury Copies* (CD-ROM). Leicester: Scholarly Digital Editions.
- Bühler**, Curt F. (1941). The Churl and the Bird and The Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers: Two Notes. *Librury*, 4th ser., **21**, 279-84.
- Hellinga**, Lotte (1982). *Cuxton in focus: the beginning of printing in England*. London: British Library.
- Hellinga**, **Wytze & Hellinga**, Lotte (1966). *The fifteenth-century printing types of the Low Countries*. 2 vols. Ainsterdam: M. Hertzberger.

McIntosh, Angus (1974). Towards an Inventory of Middle English Scribes. *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 75, 602-24.

Needham, Paul (1978). Bibliographical Evidence from the Paper Stocks of English Incunabula. In Lotte Hellinga & Helmar Härtel (Eds.) *Buch und Text im 15. Jahrhundert: Arbeitsgespräch in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel vom 1. bis 3. März 1978*, (pp. 79-87). Hamburg: Hauswedell.

Needham, Paul (1986). *The printer & the pardoner: unrecorded indulgence printed by William Caxton for the hospital of St. Mary Rounceval, Charing Cross*. Washington, DC: Library of Congress.

## APPENDIX: Figure 1

not to hym But ye knowe Well that this dre that is to  
 saye my grief and my desire toucheth me right nygh and  
 therefore though I be woth and impacient it is no meruayll  
 And sayung your grace I can not see that I shold greetly  
 harme me though I toke vengeance For I am richer and  
 more mighty than myn enemyes ben & it is Wel knowen that  
 by money and haung grete possessions ben al thinges of  
 this World gouerned And also salamon saith that alle  
 thise thinges opeyn to moneye Whan prudence had her  
 her husbonde a Raunte hym of his ryches & of his moneye  
 dispreysng the polber of his enemyes she spack and said  
 in this wise Certes dre syre I graunte you that ye be riche  
 and myghty and that riches ben good to hem that haue  
 goten hem Well and that Wel can vse them For right as  
 the body of a man may not lyue withoute the soule nomore  
 may the lyf withoute temporel goodes And by richesse may  
 a man gete hym grete frendes And therefore saith pamp  
 philes pf an erlis daughter be riche he saith she may chese of a  
 thousand men Whom she wil take to her husbonde For of  
 a thousand men one wil not forsake her And this pam  
 philes saith also pf that thou be right happy that is to saye  
 pf thou be riche thou shalt fynde a grete nombre of felawes  
 and frendes and pf thy fortune change fare Wel friendship

Fig. 1. Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales* (Westminster: William Caxton, c. 1476), STC 5081, The British Library [1B.55009]. With permission of the British Library.