8-2014

The Auchinleck Manuscript: A Study in Manuscript Production, Scribal Innovation, and Literary Value in the Early 14th Century

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To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Tricia Kelly George entitled "The Auchinleck Manuscript: A Study in Manuscript Production, Scribal Innovation, and Literary Value in the Early 14th Century." I have examined the final electronic copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in English.

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The Auchinleck Manuscript:

A Study in Manuscript Production, Scribal Innovation, and Literary Value

in the Early 14th Century

A Dissertation Presented for the

Doctor of Philosophy

Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Tricia Kelly George

August 2014

Dedication

To Jon, who has taught me so much out of your incredible well of depth.

Acknowledgements

For a project this long, there are so many people to thank, and if I do not mention someone by name please forgive the oversight. First I want to thank Dr. Thomas Hall, Dr. Jana Schulman, and Dr. Michael Lieb for their patience during my MA classes as they introduced me to complex early modern realms. From the University of Tennessee, I would like to thank the many professors who provide us with a top-notch education, such as Dr. Laura Howes and Dr. Heather Hirschfeld. I also want to thank MARCO at UT and the many individuals there who contribute to a dynamic early modern learning environment with offerings such as the Latin reading groups and book discussions. I will also always appreciate the curators and librarians who were invaluable when I chose to complete this dissertation in California: Dr. Vanessa Wilkie at the Huntington Library, Kathleen at UT's Interlibrary Services, and Leslie Mosson at Allan Hancock College. Of course, I am very grateful to my dissertation committee members, Dr. Elizabeth Jane Bellamy, Dr. Jay Rubenstein, and Dr. Mary Dzon, for taking the time to help me refine this dissertation. I also very much appreciate the unexpected but important encouragement I received from early modern scholars Dr. Sally Harper and Dr. Lynda Dennison. And, after all of these years, I cannot thank enough my dissertation advisor, Dr. Thomas Heffernan. Who knew that intensely debating the merits of St. Augustine of Hippo in my first class with you would lead to such an enduring scholarly bond? I thank you for helping me to develop my strengths as a scholar as well as to become aware of my weaknesses. My kind friends and family who listened and contributed ideas are not to be forgotten, especially Amanda Ayres, Meghan McDonald, Jane Bullington, Dr. Georgia Caver, and Dr. Pat Lees. Finally, my eternal gratitude is to Jon, and our household of pets – Red, Sam, Rosie, Simba, and even Sadie – for bearing with me through the late nights, tiring trips, and occasional absent-mindedness about daily life. I do not know how I would have made it without your love and support.

Abstract

The Auchinleck Manuscript (National Library of Scotland Advocates 19.2.1) was written in London by six scribes and contains 44 extant texts. This manuscript is an early 14th century English manuscript (c. 1331) best known for its many unique and first versions of texts, such as the first version of the Breton lay *Sir Orfeo*, a Breton adaptation of the Orpheus legend. It is also the first literary manuscript we have that is written almost entirely in English after the Norman Conquest. My research provides answers to some of the perennial questions raised by scholars concerning this manuscript: the identities of the master artist, the patron, and the scribes as well as the date and provenance. I have identified that the master artist for the Auchinleck was the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist although his contribution is mostly indirect, that the wealthy patron commissioning the manuscript was tied to the Warwick title and most likely was Thomas de Beauchamp, and that the scribes were Chancery clerks who created this manuscript in London c. 1331. I demonstrate that the physical evidence, the *mise-en-page*, the work of the artists, the scribal agency in decision-making, and the unique content of the texts establish that the scribes and artists were working collaboratively to create this important literary English manuscript and were very likely conscious of its political impact. My analysis also demonstrates for the first time that there were two different scribal teams, a senior team and a junior team, with the senior scribes having agency and supervision over the junior scribes. My new presentation of their scribal collaboration helps not only to further clarify the identity of these scribes but also to make sense of many decisions made in the *mise-en-page*. Lastly, I also discuss the impact the contents of the Auchinleck literature appears to have had on its powerful patron, Thomas de Beauchamp, as he, his brother John, and their friend King Edward III prepared their countrymen for the Hundred Years War.

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[1] All images are from the Auchinleck Manuscript unless otherwise specified. As will be indicated throughout my dissertation, all images have been included by permission of the libraries which own the manuscripts.

Introduction

The Auchinleck Manuscript (National Library of Scotland Advocates MS. 19.2.1) has presented tantalizing mysteries for scholars for several centuries because the 334 extant folios of the Auchinleck Manuscript have not left solid evidence as to its provenance, date, scribes, master artist, or patron. In fact, this manuscript has left individuals since at least Sir Walter Scott puzzling over such identifications. Furthermore, although I argue that the manuscript can now be reliably dated to c.1331, the Auchinleck Manuscript still does not easily fit in the *milieu* of the early 14th century. For example, the 44 extant poems are composed almost entirely in Middle English at a time when Middle English was just starting to emerge as a literary language. In addition, the poems in the Auchinleck Manuscript are often regarded as the first extant versions or unique versions of the texts, so their sources cannot easily be determined. Furthermore, the fact that the manuscript contains five extant miniatures and two illustrated initials (and evidence for at least thirteen more miniatures) causes this manuscript to stand out from most of the early 14th century codices because illustrations were generally too expensive to add to manuscripts, particularly vernacular manuscripts. And yet, the illustrations themselves are too few and of too poor a quality to have drawn much notice from art historians. Indeed, many fundamental questions still exist about this extraordinary manuscript. Where was it written, by whom, and what patron was wealthy enough to finance its production? And for what end? The only evidence we have to answer such questions is the manuscript itself. Therefore, my dissertation presents a methodology (or a set of related methodologies) for ascertaining these identifications as well as the answers I propose to these long unsolved and tantalizing questions.

As a prefix in his 1804 edition of *Sir Tristrem*, Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832) presented the first physical analysis that we have of the Auchinleck Manuscript.[1] Scott begins his description with:

> This valuable record of ancient poetry forms a thick quarto volume, containing 334
> leaves, and 44 different pieces of poetry; some mere fragments, and others, works of
> great length. The beginning of each poem has originally been adorned with an
> illumination: for sake of which the first leaf has in many cases been torn out, and in
> others cut and mutilated. The MS. is written on parchment, in a distinct and beautiful
> hand, which the most able antiquaries are inclined to refer to the earlier part of the 13th
> [14th] century[2] … In two or three instances there occurs a variation of the hand-writing;
> but as the poems regularly follow each other, there is no reason to believe that such
> alterations indicate an earlier or later date than may be reasonably ascribed to the rest of
> the work … Many circumstances lead us to conclude that the MS. has been written in an
> Anglo-Norman convent. (xiii)

With Scott's commendation, the Auchinleck Manuscript – and related speculation as to where it was created, when, and by whom – was thrust into a great spotlight. Indeed, this impulse to *describe* the manuscript, its artwork, its handwriting, and its poems has been caught up in these larger mysteries of trying to determine who compiled this manuscript, for whom, and why.

While fields such as codicology and paleography were not well-established in the early 19th century, Scott's nineteen page overview of the Auchinleck is of interest to me

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[1] Scott's prefix was included in David Laing's own study (1857), which is now the most accessible format for Scott's analysis.

[2] Laing himself added the editing comment of "[14th]" rather than 13th century. As Scott references commentary in relation to the reigns of Edward II (1307-1327) and Edward III (1327-1377), it is clear that he was also aware of the early 14th century nature of the Auchinleck content (xxi, xxvii, xxx).

methodologically as it weds the content of the folios with a description of them. For example,

when analyzing the Auchinleck's item 20, now called *The Sayings of the Four Philosophers*,

Scott succinctly asserts that the poem is: "apparently referring to the reign of Edward II. Perfect

in one leaf. The introduction is in alternate French and English" (xxi). Scott's assessment thus

calls attention to the context, the length, and the language. All too often modern scholarly

analysis would split such assertions into three different fields: literary analysis, codicological

analysis, and dialectical analysis. And each of these fields, but particularly those providing

physical descriptions of a manuscript, often condenses such information to the point where vital

but simple details get lost. The important commentary on Edward II's reign contained in item

20, which I will return to throughout my dissertation, has been overlooked by many codicologists

who assume that the short poem is merely "blatant filler" or some other such unimportant matter.

In addition, the fact that this poem is only one leaf often gets lost in the lists focusing on

the scribal copying order. For example, in Timothy A. Shonk's influential article, "A Study of

the Auchinleck Manuscript" (1985), he proposes that Scribe 2 was contracted at one point by

Scribe 1 to copy just item 20. Shonk's assertion grows out of his theory that the Auchinleck was

the product of an efficient, rapid, piecework production model. In this, Shonk (and later scholars

who build on his model) seldom pauses to consider the length of this poem – just one leaf. If,

according to this piecework production model, a scribe is an independent, freelancing contractor

copying in his own small workshop,[3] why would Scribe 2 be hired to copy just one leaf of filler?

According to Shonk's production model, Scribe 1 would have to contact Scribe 2, send the

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[3] Shonk's model of freelancing scribes working independently in small workshops is based on A. I. Doyle and M. B. Parkes' influential article "The Production of Copies of the *Canterbury Tales* and the *Confessio Amantis* in the Early Fifteenth Century" (1978). Doyle and Parkes' influential 15th model is also now being challenged by Linne R. Mooney and Estelle Stubbs, who argue that the 15th century literary production also took place in collaborative environments such as the London Guildhall. I discuss these models more thoroughly in Chapter 2.

related gathering to him, and then wait for the gathering to return, which would take more time than to copy the one leaf himself. I believe that there is ample evidence, such as this point about item 20, to assert, instead, that the Auchinleck was created in a collaborative environment. But numerous scholars have accepted Shonk's model, including this flawed assertion related to item 20, because the important detail that item 20 was just one leaf has been lost in the theoretical production model that Shonk proposed. And this is not the only such detail which has been left behind in modern Auchinleck scholarship; rather I have found that many critical details have been overlooked in favor of those which are most helpful to a given theory.

Of course, Scott was not always or even often more insightful than modern scholars in his analysis of the Auchinleck. Scott's work may have been ahead of his time, but he made some missteps. For example, not every text has illustrations at its beginning, there are certainly more than three scribal hands which have since been identified, and no one has seriously proposed an Anglo-Norman convent as the creator of the Auchinleck since Scott.[4] However, Scott's discussion of the content of the poems as well as the physical details of the folios has brought together details which are now often lacking in modern scholarship in which codicologists often focus on just the physical details and literary scholars often focus on just the content. For example, while Shonk (in his 1981 dissertation) and Ralph Hanna (in his 2005 book *London Literature*) cannot account for why f.69v was left mostly blank, Scott easily fills in the blank: item 13 is "incomplete, not from mutilation, as usual, but because the author or transcriber had tired of his task" (xviii). Undoubtedly Scott's off-hand remark about the scribe tiring of his task is pure speculation, but it does reveal that Scott had read with some sensitivity the entire manuscript before describing it, which was crucial to his analysis and description. In this

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[4] Scott also seems to have skipped item number "6" when he numbered the extant items of the Auchinleck.

dissertation I have also tried to be mindful of the content of the poems while discussing their

form on the folios. Considering the words of the given literary work has often allowed me to

assert more precise insight into the scribes' intent and decision-making. For example, rather than

simply endorse previous scholarship which asserts that squeezing the miniature between columns

a and b of f.72r helped the folio fit in with the standardized layout, I address the fact that

squeezing the small miniature between the columns makes it conspicuous and memorable.

Furthermore, utilizing the scholarship of Mary Carruthers, Richard H. Rouse and Mary A.

Rouse, I argue that the intent of the scribes was indeed to help this folio stand out. After all, the

poem in question on f.72r is *The Paternoster* (item 15), which was surely an important prayer for

the patron and one which he would want to be able to locate easily with the help of this eccentric

miniature.

Of course, Scott had a luxury which modern scholars tend to lack, which is ample time to

examine the Auchinleck. O. D. Macrae-Gibson's article "Walter Scott, the Auchinleck MS., and

MS. Douce 124" (1966) demonstrates that Scott and his amanuensis, Robert Leyden, had

immediate access to the Auchinleck for at least a year (1801-02). They were transcribing items

32 (*Otuel a Knight*, 10 folios) and 26 (*Of Arthour & of Merlin*, 56 folios) for the indefatigable

literary antiquarian George Ellis (1753-1815) for use in that latter's *Specimens of Early English*

Metrical Romances (1805). Even more strikingly, Scott's letters to Ellis indicate that Scott and

Leyden actually were able to borrow the manuscript and to travel with the Auchinleck from

place to place, living with the manuscript on a daily basis in such a way that revealed nuances

and details about the Auchinleck which less intimate contact cannot. This is an important point

which I will return to momentarily; first I want to give a brief overview of how the Auchinleck

discourse has progressed since Scott, taking into account the related issues of each scholar's access to and focus on the Auchinleck Manuscript.

After Sir Walter Scott, the next influential figure to describe the manuscript, Eugen Kölbing, similarly had immediate access to the Auchinleck for many years. In his "Vier Romanzen-Handschriften" (1884), Kölbing provided a physical description of the Auchinleck and first proposed a serious paleographical study of the different scribal hands. He proposed five scribes (α-ε) due to his careful analysis and comparison of all of the folios of the manuscript.[5] That Kölbing had extensive access to the Auchinleck Manuscript is made clear by the seventeen years he took to produce his volumes on the edition of *Sir Beues of Hamtoun* (item 25) present in the Auchinleck, complete with careful analysis of this text in relation to other versions. Thus, as with Scott, Kölbing's codicological analysis intersects with his interest in the contents of the manuscript. In fact, Kölbing was the first serious scholar of the Auchinleck to suggest that unaccountable variations in item 25 were due to scribal agency: after years of careful dissection and analysis, Kölbing could find no other solution to the additions and editing found in the Auchinleck's version of *Sir Beues* than that Scribe 5 had adapted his exemplar.[6] In this we see that intimacy with many details of a literary work within the Auchinleck caused Kölbing to assert a scribal model which challenged conventions about scribal work, but Kölbing found this unconventional suggestion necessary because no other scribal production model had the flexibility needed to account for the evidence in the actual manuscript.

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[5] Kölbing's analysis was written in German, and his codicological analysis is now most easily accessed via A. J. Bliss's 1951 article which includes a summary of Kölbing's work. However, I found errors in Bliss's summary that I have not seen other Auchinleck scholars address. I discuss this issue in Chapter 4, Section D: "The Scribal Court Hands," particularly in fn. 36.

[6] In Chapter IV, "Edited Text as Medieval Artifact: The Auchinleck Bookshop Theory," of his dissertation (1994), Fred Porcheddu discusses the seventeen years Kölbing spent editing item 25 and the thorough nature of his analysis. For further information, see Chapter 4, Section E: "Scribe 2" and Porcheddu ("Editing the Auchinleck" 143-52).

Since Sir Walter Scott's and Eugen Kölbing's years spent pouring over the Auchinleck Manuscript, our scholarly consideration and understanding of material culture has advanced considerably: paleography, dialect analysis, art history, and codicology have matured into fields with their own technical vocabulary, assessments, and categorizations. While scholars can no longer take the Auchinleck Manuscript home with them for a few years to consider at their leisure, they can approach the manuscript in shorter durations with a very studied eye. In his "Notes on the Auchinleck Manuscript" (1951), A. J. Bliss demonstrated just how far things had progressed when he studied the Auchinleck *in situ* and successfully identified six scribal hands (1-6) and the makeup of the gatherings in a mere ten page article. Pamela Robinson similarly concisely and yet expertly described important aspects of the Auchinleck in her 1972 Oxford thesis where she introduced the important concept of manuscript booklets. However, their skillful descriptions were also narrowly focused, demonstrating how these scholars could produce an expert analysis but only within a small scope. Neither scholar was able to study the Auchinleck *in situ* long enough to sort through its many complexities or to produce sufficient evidence to answer its long unsolved mysteries about the identification of its date, provenance, scribes, artist, or patron.

If time with the Auchinleck Manuscript naturally contracted over the years, Derek Pearsall and Ian Cunningham utilized technology to make the Auchinleck accessible for codicological analysis in a new way via their 1977 facsimile edition of the Auchinleck. While Pearsall and Cunningham summarized much of the Auchinleck scholarship to that point in their introduction and added some additional analysis, their black-and-white facsimile edition spawned a new kind of intensive study well beyond what Pearsall and Cunningham themselves included in the introduction. Within four years, two dissertations, by Judith C. Mordkoff and

Timothy A. Shonk, were submitted detailing hundreds of pages of new physical observations.

The facsimile edition essentially allowed a portal for these scholars to spend more time with the

physical manuscript which in turn allowed the physical descriptions of the manuscript to now

reflect the fairly mature fields of codicology and paleography. Shonk's 1985 article in *Speculum*

(summarizing much of his dissertation's findings) came to be recognized as the most up-to-date

important scholarship on the manuscript as Shonk had been able to study the facsimile edition

with the most progressive techniques and production theories while also traveling to Scotland to

study the actual manuscript *in situ*.

Since the 1980's, discussions of the physical manuscript have relied on this foundation

provided by Shonk, sometimes with reference to Judith Mordkoff's quite different interpretation

of the Auchinleck. Scholars, like Ralph Hanna and Alison Wiggins tend to refer to both of these

figures as the experts on the Auchinleck and rely on Mordkoff and Shonk for their codicological

theories. However, a careful consideration of both Mordkoff's and Shonk's work together

demonstrates that the Auchinleck's attendant mysteries were not yet solved: Mordkoff was

convinced that the Auchinleck was produced in a collaborative monastic scriptorium while

Shonk was convinced that secular scriveners worked in separate locations as freelance scribes.

Indeed, the codicological analyses of Mordkoff and Shonk often challenge each other, and

neither theory allowed either scholar to assert much more than a provenance and a vague

identification for the date and the scribes. Thus, examination of their scholarship demonstrates

that more work needs to be done to resolve the mysteries related to the Auchinleck's provenance,

scribes, the master artist, the date, and the patron.

Alison Wiggins, in her utilization of technology to present a new way to study the

Auchinleck, has become a figure similar to Pearsall and Cunningham in the history of the

Auchinleck Manuscript: while her 2000 dissertation summarizes much of the scholarship at that point and adds her own analysis, Wiggins created an on-line portal which allows for more immediate access to the Auchinleck when she collected edited versions of the texts, transcribed the manuscript, digitized it, and placed the entire manuscript on-line.[7] While Wiggins's own introductory material to this on-line version resembles some of the same conservative tendencies of Pearsall and Cunningham's introduction to their facsimile edition, her work to produce an image of each folio as well as an edited version of the text in an easily accessible format allows for the next wave of scholarship. The color images can be zoomed in to a very high degree, and scholars can once again "live" with a very good proxy of this manuscript and study it at their leisure in a manner not viable since Scott traveled around with the Auchinleck. Whenever there is a question, a detail to check, or a concern about another scholar's assertions, I have been able to access a high quality color image of the folio in question from my computer. In fact, with the use of the "zoom" feature, even ambiguous letter-forms can be identified and details on the faces in the artwork can be scrutinized. This on-line edition has also been crucial for my analysis because it has allowed me to share my theories with knowledgeable codicologist Thomas Heffernan and noted early 14th century art historian Lynda Dennison, both of whom could then check these images easily themselves and give their feedback promptly. Indeed, I think the potential for collaborative scholarship due to digitized versions of manuscripts is immense.

Of course, in addition to this online access to the Auchinleck, there have also been further developments in manuscript scholarship since the 1980's. For example, while Mordkoff and Shonk unselfconsciously assume that the primary goal for the scribes was to standardize the look

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[7] The Auchinleck website is sponsored by the National Library of Scotland and can be viewed here: http://auchinleck.nls.uk/. Wiggins has been thorough in indicating which edited version of the text has been included with images of the folios. However, she also added detailed individual notes for each line where there is a question about the exact wording or other issues.

of every folio as much as possible, more recent scholarly developments by Carruthers, Rouse and Rouse have allowed me to challenge such assertions. And so, in this dissertation, I return back to Scott's method of wedding text to physical artifact. Like him, I wed the content of the manuscript with its material culture. Like him, I have also had the privilege to live with the manuscript for a good while. However, I also employ the most relevant scholarship – codicological, dialectical, literary, and from the fields of art history and history – to my own Auchinleck analysis. In this approach, I am adding to the recent trend in manuscript analysis, complete with large color images, found in Raymond Clemens and Timothy Grahams' *Introduction to Manuscript Studies* (2007) and Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, Maidie Hilmo, and Linda Olsons' *Opening Up Middle English Manuscripts: Literary and Visual Approaches* (2012). These gorgeous books are synthesizing a wealth of resources to give scholars a strong foundation in studying manuscripts. However, as both volumes provide an overview of numerous manuscripts, the analyses of Hilmo and Olson of the Auchinleck still rely heavily on the codicology of Shonk and Mordkoff from the 1980's. In this dissertation, focusing on just the Auchinleck has allowed me to build a new codicological foundation, to propose a production model for the Auchinleck which fits the complex evidence, and to answer the five perennial questions concerning the Auchinleck related to its date, provenance, scribal identities, the master artist, and the patron. Furthermore, I believe I understand why the Auchinleck was commissioned and propose a theory about the impact on and value to its patron.

Specifically, by carefully reconsidering all aspects of the Auchinleck Manuscript, and in particular the physical folios in Chapters 1-4, I have constructed a production model which fits the extant evidence thoroughly. In Chapter 1, I give an overview of the manuscript, including a confirmation of previous scholarship that the provenance of the manuscript is London with new

additional evidence; this London identification becomes significant in later chapters as I consider who precisely the scribes may be. I also take up two issues widely neglected in Auchinleck scholarship: an identification of proofreading hands that are not scribal hands and signatures at the bottoms of folios. Both the alien proofreading hands and the signatures help me to establish the collaborative nature of the production environment. In Chapter 2, by focusing on variations in the *mise-en-page*, I add solid new evidence that the scribes worked in a collaborative manner, thus helping to establish their relationships as well as their production process. In addition, my analysis establishes that there were two sets of scribes, including a set of senior scribes – Scribes 1, 2, and 3 – who negotiated their working habits with each other and who played a supervisory role in the manuscript's production. In Chapter 3, I have identified the master artist of the Auchinleck to be the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist, so named by art historian Lynda Dennison because his style was similar to and yet distinct from those who painted the famous Queen Mary Psalter (London BL MS. Royal 2 B vii). Although most of his influence on the Auchinleck artwork is indirect, this artist's involvement helps to date the Auchinleck to the early 1330's and not later than 1335.[8] I also propose that at least four Auchinleck scribes, mostly the junior scribes (Scribes 4, 5, and 6), helped with simpler artistic efforts. In Chapter 4, I further develop my theory that there were senior and junior scribal teams. And with my paleographical and historical analysis, in Chapters 4-5 I provide evidence that the scribes were trained at the Chancery, that they adapted their exemplars, and that they possibly worked at the Chancery collaboratively on the manuscript. Finally, in Chapter 5, I present solid and compelling new evidence that Thomas de Beauchamp commissioned the Auchinleck Manuscript from the Chancery clerks c.1331. My research in Chapters 4-5 thus adds to the growing body of

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[8] I am grateful for Lynda Dennison's insight via private correspondence that 1335 represents the latest possible date for the artwork found in the Auchinleck Manuscript, particularly based on the master artist I have identified in Chapter 3.

scholarship which indicates that government clerks in both the early *and* the late 14th century were significant in the development of literature in England at this time, with Chaucer of course being the most famous administrative clerk later in the century.

In addition to presenting answers to many of the questions surrounding the Auchinleck Manuscript, I hope that this dissertation also provides a sample methodology for studying codicology in the digital age. We have more resources available to us than scholars ever have had before. While Scott may have been able to take the Auchinleck Manuscript home with him, he could not at the same time, without enormous and possibly insurmountable difficulty, have taken home the Queen Mary Psalter, the Breviary of Chertsey Abbey (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Lat. liturg. d. 42), the Sherbrooke Missal (NLW MS. 15536E), Bangor Pontifical (GB-Bangor, Cathedral Dean and Chapter, MS. 1), and a variety of legal manuscripts found at the Huntington Library.[9] While I studied the Huntington Library manuscripts *in situ*, overall my analysis demonstrates the strength of utilizing digital versions of manuscripts being made available by generous academic libraries and scholars the world over. Many times I have been able to compare high quality color images from two different manuscripts directly next to each other; this ability has been invaluable particularly in studying both the artwork and the paleography of the Auchinleck. The wealth of information can be overwhelming at times, but I have organized the important details of my manuscript scholarship in an orderly fashion throughout my chapters. With such a systematic method, this information can be digested and can present new compelling arguments, analysis, and theories, as I hope I have done here.

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[9] These manuscripts are mostly discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, where I provide links to their digital images. Images have been included by permission from each library.

Chapter 1: An Introduction to the Auchinleck Manuscript

The Auchinleck Manuscript (National Library of Scotland Advocates MS 19.2.1) was written in London by six scribes[1] and contains 44 extant texts. This manuscript is an early 14th century English manuscript (c.1331) best known for its many unique and first versions of texts, such as the first version of the Breton lay *Sir Orfeo*, a Breton adaptation of the Orpheus legend. It is also the first literary manuscript we have that is written almost entirely in English after the Norman Conquest (1066).[2]

Though the poetry of this early 14th century codex cannot be attributed to any named authors, the Auchinleck Manuscript has been connected with several famous literary figures over its history. The Auchinleck Manuscript first drew the attention of antiquarians due to Lord Alexander Boswell of Auchinleck (1707-1782), who rescued the codex from a university professor who was tearing out folios to use in binding; Boswell then indicated his ownership by adding his signature within the first blank folios of the codex: Alexander Boswell Auchinleck 1740.[3] This Lord Auchinleck is often noted by Auchinleck scholars for being the father of James Boswell (1740-1795), the well-known biographer of Samuel Johnson (1709-1784); the manuscript was thus named after Lord Auchinleck when he donated it to the Faculty of Advocates in 1744.[4] The next literary figure connected with the Auchinleck Manuscript is Sir

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[1] There are six distinct scribal hands, as identified by Bliss (652-54). I discuss the dialect of five of the scribes and the handwriting of all six in Chapter 4. There is some discussion, prompted mostly by Robinson, however, that one scribe may be responsible for more than one distinct hand. I also address this issue in Chapter 4.

[2] It should be noted that there are collections of homilies in English which survive and are older than the Auchinleck Manuscript, such as the "Northern Homily Cycle" (c. 1280) as well as hagiographic collections in English which antedate the Auchinleck, such as the *Southern English Legendary* (c.1280). The Auchinleck is unusual precisely because it is solely comprised of literary texts written in English, except for a few lines in Latin or French.

[3] The oft-repeated anecdote is that Alexander Boswell of Auchinleck rescued the Auchinleck manuscript "in 1740 from a professor of Aberdeen University who had been tearing out leaves to make covers for notebooks" (Lupack). For further discussion on the Boswell signature, see Shonk ("Investigations" 8).

[4] This Faculty of Advocates in turn donated the Auchinleck Manuscript to the National Library of Scotland in 1925 when the library was established (Pearsall and Cunningham vii).

Walter Scott (1771-1832), who was fascinated by many of its contents, including the

Auchinleck's version of *Sir Tristrem* (item 37). Scott later adapted this text, added an ending to

it, and attributed it to Thomas of Erceldonne in his own *Sir Tristrem* (1804). Scott also wrote the

first description of the Auchinleck Manuscript as an appendix to the first edition of *Sir Tristrem*

(David Laing i-iii). The Auchinleck's best-known literary connection remains Laura Hibbard

Loomis's assertion of a connection between Geoffrey Chaucer (c.1340-1400) and the Auchinleck

Manuscript in her "Chaucer and the Auchinleck Manuscript: *Thopas* and *Guy of Warwick*"

(1940). Loomis viewed the similarity of edited passages between Auchinleck's *Guy of Warwick*

and Chaucer's *Sir Thopas* as evidence that Chaucer had read the Auchinleck Manuscript and had

been inspired by it, a theory still sparking discussion today.[5]

While the authors of the Auchinleck poetic texts themselves remain anonymous, the

poems of the Auchinleck Manuscript are worthy of study in their own right. The Auchinleck

Manuscript has received a good amount of attention from antiquarians and scholars, especially

since Loomis's articles in the 1940's. Derek Pearsall proclaims that:

> It has long been recognized that the Auchinleck Manuscript is one of the most important
>
> surviving manuscripts of medieval English poetry. Perhaps only MS. Harley 2253
>
> (British Library), of manuscripts produced before the late fourteenth century, is of
>
> equivalent importance. Its significance is in its early date, in the range, variety and
>
> intrinsic interest in its contents, and in the evidence it provides, for English poetry, of
>
> book-production and readership in the period before Chaucer. (Introduction vii)

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[5] For example, Christopher Cannon reviews this theory again in his "Chaucer and the Auchinleck Manuscript Revisited" (2011). He does not think that the evidence is strong, but he believes that his methodology points to a stronger relation between Chaucer's work and the *South English Legendary*, which also influenced the Auchinleck. Linda Olson provides a summary of many findings favoring a connection between Chaucer and the Auchinleck and an interesting discussion as well (Kerby-Fulton 108-09). From this point forward, Kerby-Fulton, Hilmo, and Olsons' book *Opening Up Middle English Manuscripts* will be cited with just a reference to Kerby-Fulton.

Thus, due to the clues it provides as to manuscript production, to its unique and earliest versions of texts, and to its being the first early 14th century literary manuscript written almost exclusively in English,[6] the Auchinleck Manuscript has attracted the attention of numerous scholars. Of course, the lack of identification within the Auchinleck of its scribes, artist, patron, provenance, or precise date has further drawn scholarly interest to these mysteries of this manuscript.

I will address each of these aspects of the Auchinleck Manuscript – manuscript production, its distinctive texts, and its use of English language – throughout this dissertation. Through careful attention to the extant material evidence, I will demonstrate for the Auchinleck Manuscript that the *mise-en-page*, the work of the artists, the handwriting of the scribes, the unique content of the texts, and the nuanced focus on national identity establish that the scribes and artists were working collaboratively to create this literary English manuscript and were conscious of its political impact. More precisely, I believe that professional scriveners, most likely trained at the Chancery, were commissioned as a team to produce the Auchinleck Manuscript for Thomas de Beauchamp and his family c.1331. Indeed, the Auchinleck's production methods, evident scribal decision-making, and innovative texts sometimes give the palpable feel of the exciting – if sometimes messy – process which the scribes and artists negotiated as they tailored this codex for their patron.

A. The Auchinleck Discourse

In these first three chapters, I will focus just on the clues the Auchinleck Manuscript provides for manuscript production.[7] The early 14th century is known to be an obscure period for

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[6] The exceptions are the occasional Latin headings and the English and French macaronic beginning of item 20.
[7] The Auchinleck Manuscript is one of the treasures of Scotland and as such its use is highly restricted even for senior scholars. There is an excellent facsimile, however, and the National Library of Scotland has sponsored the digital version (http://auchinleck.nls.uk/index.html). I have used both of these sources in my dissertation.

our understanding of the processes of manuscript production. It occurs in the gap between the

dominance of the monastic scriptorium, which diminished after the 12th century, and the secular

professional model of the 15th century.[8] Certainly in the early 14th century some monasteries

were still producing manuscripts, some professionals were copying texts for the universities, and

some wealthy households employed their own scribe to compose or copy texts as they desired,

but the Auchinleck does not meet any of the characteristics for any of these production venues.[9]

In addition to her theory about Chaucer and the Auchinleck, Loomis drew attention to the

Auchinleck in relation to early 14th century manuscript production when she asserted that the

Auchinleck Manuscript was created in a secular bookshop in the early 14th century.[10] Due to the

secular nature and the innovative content of the texts, Loomis believed that the only possible

production process for the Auchinleck was a kind of collaborative bookshop where the scribes

utilized some techniques from a monastic scriptorium but also were free to adapt and edit many

of the poems for the Auchinleck.

Unfortunately, Loomis's Auchinleck scholarship tended towards sweeping

generalizations rather than thorough analysis, with scholars like Judith Mordkoff, Timothy

Shonk, Fred Porcheddu, and Allison Wiggins later challenging the holes in Loomis's theories. In

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[8] For further discussion, see Loomis ("The Auchinleck" 595-97), Judith C. Mordkoff (3), Timothy A. Shonk ("Bookmen" 71), Lynda Dennison ("Liber" 128-29), Matthew Fisher (190-91), and Linne R. Mooney and Estelle Stubbs (2-3). Until recently, the piecework production theory as suggested in A. I. Doyle and M. B. Parkes' influential article "The Production of Copies of the *Canterbury Tales* and the *Confessio Amantis* in the Early Fifteenth Century" (1978) was the dominant model for the 15th century manuscript production. This model is now being challenged by Mooney and Stubbs. When relevant to the Auchinleck, in the first three chapters I will discuss Mooney and Stubbs' new model as well as Doyle and Parkes' model for the 15th century manuscript production.

[9] For example, the Auchinleck is primarily made of secular texts which seems odd for a monastery, and is thought to have been produced in London (see Section B, Part 2: "Provenance" below) which does not relate to any particular university. While a wealthy noble such as an earl may have an extensive administration, there is no evidence that such an administration would employ six different professionals trained in a formal handwriting such as the bookhand found predominantly in the Auchinleck or the court hand techniques also found in the Auchinleck which is an indicator of Chancery training. Also, the Auchinleck's use of English makes it a questionable fit for any of these settings. For more information on the handwriting of the Auchinleck scribes, see Chapter 4, Section D: "The Scribal Court Hands." For more information on wealthy households and their administration, see Chapter 5.

[10] For more detail, see her "The Auchinleck Manuscript and a Possible London Bookshop of 1330-1340" (1942).

her 1981 dissertation, Mordkoff insisted that there was no proof of secular scriptoriums in the early 14th century and so asserted the Auchinleck Manuscript must have been produced in a monastic scriptorium. In his 1981 dissertation and 1985 article, Shonk argued again that there was no proof of a 14th century bookshop and so asserted that early 14th century manuscript production was actually similar to the then dominant 15th century piecework production model.[11] Lastly, in his 1994 dissertation and 2001 article, Porcheddu undermined Loomis's credibility by pointing to her sole use of edited texts and to her rhetoric of absolutes; thus Porcheddu asserts that we should no longer consider Loomis's scholarship accurate, although he does not have any evidence to counter the bookshop theory specifically. In her scholarship since 2000, Alison Wiggins has built upon Shonk's and Mordkoff's codicological analyses and her own expertise in dialect analysis in order to assert that scribes worked as independent contractors who formed networks to not only find jobs but to also circulate manuscripts.[12]   Thus, since Loomis, the manuscript production scholars have sought to move the Auchinleck discourse away from this "romantic" bookshop theory towards something more concrete and verifiable.

Yet, the bookshop theory has haunted Auchinleck scholarship, with Wiggins classifying the romantic bookshop idea as "one of those 'persistent images' of reading medieval texts which

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[11] A piecework production model is one in which scribes were hired as contract workers by a central editor, and each scribe completed his work in an independent location. Shonk adapted Doyle and Parkes' 15th century piecework production model to the 14th century for his scholarship. As Shonk's model is currently quite dominant in Auchinleck scholarship, I will be discussing his ideas thoroughly in the first four chapters. In addition, as the titles for Shonk's dissertation (1981) and related article (1985) are very similar, in citations they will be distinguished by the first words which are distinct, "Investigations" for the dissertation and "Bookmen" for the article. Wiggins has similar titles in her dissertation (2000) and a later article (2003); her dissertation will be referenced as "*Guy of Warwick,*" and her article as ""*Guy of Warwick* in Warwick?"

[12] For further discussion, see Mordkoff (170, 186-87, 256-57), Shonk ("Bookmen" 72-73), Porcheddu ("Edited Text" 476-78), and Wiggins ("*Guy of Warwick*" 122-24, *The Auchinleck Manuscript* "Importance"). Wiggins has greatly contributed to the Auchinleck discourse by digitizing the manuscript and adding important basic information, such as available edited transcriptions of texts and a summary of the scholarship to this point (*The Auchinleck Manuscript*). Unless otherwise noted, quoted lines from the Auchinleck reference the versions found on this website.

are difficult to eradicate once they become established."[13]   Literary scholars are drawn not only

to its simplicity in explaining the type of creative environment where scribes were free to adapt

their exemplars at will, but also as a mechanism to explain the many intertextual borrowings

literary scholars have identified between various Auchinleck texts.[14]   In addition, art history has

long accepted lay *ateliers* working on early 14th century manuscripts, which seems to indicate

that secular professional opportunities were available for skilled artisans; Lynda Dennison

specifically mentions a South London fraternity in the bustling medieval area of Cripplegate

where illustrators and painters lived and worked together.[15]   More recently, Linne Mooney and

Estelle Stubbs have used paleographical evidence to ground late 14th and early 15th century

manuscript production in the London Guildhall by identifying some of the scribal hands of the

literary manuscripts as the same hands as those found in the city records. Therefore, there is a

growing body of evidence to suggest that Loomis's bookshop theory about a collaborative,

secular production environment may have had merit after all. I would suggest that a fraternity or

an administrative office in London such as the Chancery may be a more appropriate location

than a bookshop for the collaborative environment, but Loomis was clear that she used the term

"bookshop" as a placeholder to describe the secular, collaborative nature of the production

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[13] For further information, see Wiggins (*The Auchinleck* "Importance"). For the term "persistent images" Wiggins cites Pearsall (1977).

[14] By intertextual borrowings I mean that literary scholars have found many passages within the Auchinleck which replicate or are adapted from other passages in the Auchinleck. For summaries of where scholars have seen evidence of intertextual borrowings, see Arthur Bahr's *Fragments and Assemblages* (115) and Matthew Fisher's *Scribal Authorship* (156).

[15] For the reference to the fraternity, see Dennison ("Liber" 128-29). As far as the art history discourse about secular production, in her 1942 article "The Auchinleck Manuscript and a Possible London Bookshop of 1330-1340" Loomis indicates that it was "long since accepted in art studies and more and more widely established, of the development of the medieval lay atelier" (596). From the 1980's onward Dennison has worked on specifically distinguishing the art of the professional Queen Mary Psalter Artist and his partner (the Ancient 6 Master) from other professional artists working in the early 14th century. In her article "'Liber Horn', 'Liber Custumarum' and Other Manuscripts of the Queen Mary Psalter Workshops" (1990), Dennison further argues that many early 14th century artists traveled to their projects, with there being essentially two established secular workshops, the Queen Mary workshop in London and another based in East Anglia, possibly in Norwich. I will return to these issues in Chapter 3, which focuses on the art of the Auchinleck.

environment. Her main goal was to explain how the scribes were able to collaborate, make decisions together, and adapt passages from each other's works.[16]

However, it would be a mistake to jump straight into the manuscript production discourse for the Auchinleck Manuscript without understanding the evidence foundational to that discourse. So we must first turn to the very basics of codicology. Otherwise, the "messy"[17] nature of the Auchinleck quickly can lead any of us to draw conclusions that support our desired manuscript production theories without considering the evidence fully with its proper context.[18] In Chapters 2, 3, and 4, I will address more contested codicological issues, including the *mise-en-page*, artwork, and production processes which have been based on this analysis. In Chapter 4 I will also propose the production process which I think is most accurate for the Auchinleck, given the codicological evidence and scholarship about other early 14th century manuscripts. The physical aspects of the Auchinleck Manuscript discussed in this chapter will focus on the most basic aspects of the manuscript, including those details not intentionally transmitted by the scribes to their audience, as this information is also helpful in understanding the scribes, their processes, and interestingly also the patron.

When scholars discuss Auchinleck codicology, they typically start with Eugen Kölbing's codicology of the Auchinleck from 1884 and then jump to A. J. Bliss's article from 1951; from there Robinson's thesis from 1972, Cunningham's work beginning in 1972, and Pearsall's

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[16] Loomis's careful definition of the bookshop is: "for convenience, this hypothetical lay center where went on, whether under one roof or not, the necessarily unified and directed work of compiling, copying, illuminating, and binding any book, is here called a book shop" ("The Auchinleck Manuscript" 597). The precision of her wording here has often been lost in later scholarship which focused on the bookshop as a commercial book center.

[17] Hanna notably cites the Auchinleck being "big and messy" as reasons he had originally wished to avoid addressing it ("Reconsidering" 92).

[18] Numerous Auchinleck scholars have noted how easy it is to find evidence for one's preferences in this "messy" manuscript, with Porcheddu's 1994 dissertation and later article "Edited Text and Medieval Artifact: The Auchinleck Bookshop and 'Charlemagne and Roland' Theories, Fifty Years Later" (2001) focusing explicitly on how the Auchinleck can easily become a mirror for any scholar's editing desires. In his 2013 book, Bahr also discusses this issue in his introduction to his chapter on the Auchinleck (105-06).

contributions with Cunningham in the 1977 facsimile edition of the Auchinleck Manuscript have been foundational to descriptions of the Auchinleck. The two most extensive studies of the physical manuscript are Mordkoff's and Shonk's dissertations from 1981, which heavily inform Linda Olson's recent analysis; Shonk's 1985 article, distilled from his dissertation, has been foundational for Ralph Hanna's and Wiggins's individual scholarship starting in 2000.

While these scholars have each added excellent insights about the manuscript, in my descriptions below I have tried to broaden my range of scholars a bit in order to add new perspectives into the discussion. Since the 1980's, Dennison has written compelling work about early 14th century manuscripts, typically focused on art history but also addressing manuscript production as well. Likewise Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse have continually published studies of manuscripts, such as their recent *Bound Fast with Letters* (2013), which reflect not only their detailed analyses of numerous manuscripts but also their broader interest that we must not forget the real patrons and real scribes who brought such manuscripts into being. In addition, Mary Carruthers has contributed interesting perspectives to manuscript production due to her work on medieval theories about memory. In her 1984 dissertation Jean H. Burrows touches on the Auchinleck production and the scribes in her in-depth thematic and content analysis of six Auchinleck texts.   And Sir Walter Scott and David Laing provide interesting insights and analysis from a 19th century perspective that are sometimes surprisingly helpful. The insights of these scholars, along with a handful of others, will be integrated with the more commonly cited Auchinleck scholars as I seek to methodically and holistically describe and assess the Auchinleck manuscript. In doing so, I will demonstrate the first important part of my thesis, which is that the Auchinleck Manuscript was the product of collaboration, and moreover that no text was started without some discussion and negotiation with fellow Auchinleck creators. The

collaborative working habits appear in many surprising aspects of the Auchinleck, not the least of which are the proofreading and signatures discussed in this chapter. The collaborative nature of this work will then be foundational to my assertions about the manuscript production, agency of the artisans, the identification of the scribes, the patron, and the intended political impact of the Auchinleck Manuscript.

B. The Auchinleck Manuscript, Basic Codicology

1. Date

By 1804 the Auchinleck Manuscript was dated to the mid-14th century on the basis of its contents, and on paleographical grounds the scholarly consensus is that the Auchinleck was written from 1330 to 1340. As early as 1804, Sir Walter Scott asserted the manuscript's earliest possible date to be 1327 due to a reference in *The Anonymous Short English Metrical Chronicle* (item 40) to King Edward II's reign and a prayer for young King Edward III. Helen Cooper now believes that the earliest date is 1331 due to Thorlac Turville-Petre's observation that an event in the Auchinleck's *The Short Chronicle* (item 40) is reminiscent of an event in October 1330 when Roger Mortimer and Queen Isabella barricaded themselves into Nottingham Castle.[19] I concur that based on the paleography of the texts that the Auchinleck was almost certainly written between 1330-40,[20] and it is likely closer to 1331 due to political references, which I address in Chapter 5, and my identification of the artist, which I address in Chapter 3.[21]

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[19] For more information see Laing (i-ii), Scott (xxviii), Cunningham and Mordkoff (281), Turville-Petre (111), and Wiggins (*The Auchinleck* "Physical make-up"). Wiggins states that Helen Cooper brought the Turville-Petre reference directly to her attention.

[20] I say this keeping in mind Richard Rouse's advice to Robert Somerville: "'don't believe *anyone*' who offers a date for a manuscript hand more precisely than within fifty years" (Rouse and Rouse *Bound* xi).

[21] In Chapter 3, Section A: "The Auchinleck Artist" I offer evidence for 1335 as the latest possible date due to the master artist's involvement, and in Chapter 5 I discuss various political references which situate the Auchinleck close to 1331.

2. Provenance

There is nothing definitive in the actual manuscript to connect the production of the Auchinleck Manuscript to London, but London has generally been considered a commercial center appropriate for the secular production of the manuscript. I would add that London also was quickly becoming a strong bureaucratic center as both the London and royal administrations were growing rapidly, the royal administration was beginning to establish roots in London when not traveling with the royal court, and more and more scholarship is indicating the likely connection between administrative clerks and the development of literature.[22]

The London connection is strengthened by dialect analysis situating Scribe 1, the main scribe of the manuscript, in Middlesex, Scribe 3 in London proper, and Scribe 5 on the very western edge of Essex (and therefore also near London). Scribe 3 is the second largest contributor to the manuscript and one whose hand shows evidence of Chancery training, and so scholars have suggested that he earned his living in the Chancery or another of London's government offices. Further, multiple Auchinleck texts provide very detailed descriptions of streets and shops of London, such as Charring Cross.[23]

I would suggest that there is a further, unique, and strange account in the Auchinleck's *The Anonymous Short English Metrical Chronicle* (item 40, referred to as *The Short Chronicle* hereafter) which seems to connect the Auchinleck Manuscript with the well-known chamberlain of London, Andrew Horn (c.1275-1328), a fishmonger from Bridge Street who served in that

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[22] For further information, see Chapter 4, Section D: "The Scribal Court Hands," Section E: "Scribe 2," Chapter 5, Section I: "The Chancery Production of the Auchinleck," Thomas F. Tout (367-71, 381-89), Wendy Childs (xxiv-xxxii), Jeremy Catto ("Andrew Horn," "Horn"), Clementine Oliver (3-28), Hanna (*London* 24-39, 54-98), and Mooney and Stubbs (7-16, 123-40).

[23] For further information, see Loomis ("The Auchinleck" 601, 626-27), Pearsall and Cunningham (ix), Mordkoff (2), Matthew Fisher (151-52), Wiggins (*The Auchinleck* "Importance"), and Hanna ("Reconsidering" 95). I will address these scribal profiles more fully in Chapters 4 and Chapter 5, Section D: "The Auchinleck Manuscript and the Warwick Region" and "Section I: "The Chancery Production of the Auchinleck."

office until he died.[24] In this strange account in *The Short Chronicle*, St. Peter himself blesses

Westminster Abbey after he secretly catches a ride with a local fish merchant across the Thames

to bless the Abbey, and then afterward St. Peter fishes with the fisherman. In fact, Peter's final

comment in this episode, in addition to a blessing for King Seberd, is: "Loke þat neuer bi al þi

miȝt / No fische nouȝt on þe sonne niȝt" (ll.1221-22), which refers to the fishing laws in the

Thames for London at that time.[25] As Horn represented Londoners and specifically businessmen

in government affairs, the unusual concern with a fisherman and fishing laws in relation to St.

Peter's miraculous arrival to bless Westminster in Auchinleck's *Short Chronicle* seems to be a

gesture to this popular man who died around the time the Auchinleck Manuscript was begun.[26]

In fact, this nod to Horn, or perhaps the powerful fishmongers at that time more broadly,[27] seems

to be indicated clearly with King Seberd's final thoughts on Peter's appearance, promising a:

> 'couenaunt ichil þe hold
>
> For þe tiding þou hast me told;
>
> Riche man þan schaltow be
>
> & al þine ofspring after þe.' (ll. 1249-52)

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[24] Much of this we know from Horn's colophon in *Liber Horn* (f.206): "Iste liber restat Adree Horn piscenario London' de Breggestrete in quo continentur Carta el alie consuetudines predicte Ciuitatis. Et carta libertatis Anglie et Statuta per Henricum Regem et per Edwardum Regem filium predicti Regis Henrici edita. Quem fieri fecit Anno domini mcccxi Et Anno Regni Regis Edwardi filii Regis Edwardi vto" Catto ("Andrew Horn" 371).

[25] Burrows relates this warning to Christian symbolism but also to "obviously the ecclesiastical rules about fishing in London" (Burrows 204, 212). For further analysis of this episode, see Matthew Fisher (151-52). There, Fisher argues that this episode shows the London provenance of the Auchinleck though he does not make the connection with this episode and Andrew Horn.

[26] The chamberlain position was technically the "city's chief financial officer," but the man in this post was typically elected from the largest merchant companies. This position was up for re-election every year, and Andrew Horn was re-elected many times between 1320 and his death in 1328 (Mooney and Stubbs 8). Even though Mooney and Stubbs focus on the late 14th and early 15th century, they mention Horn somewhat frequently because his legacy in the London Guildhall is so prominent.

[27] Hanna discusses the powerful fishmonger guild that Horn represented, specifically during the Justices in the Eyre of 1321, where they sought to squash individuals trying to sell fish outside of their group. (*London* 72-73). Catto presents this same episode more positively for Horn and another powerful fishmonger Hamo de Chigwell, the mayor, by referring to these other individuals as the blackleg fishmongers ("Andrew Horn" 379-80, "Horn").

Thus, this unusual episode not only brings Saint Peter to London to bless Westminster, but it supports the wealth and prominence of fishmongers in the city of London.

The Auchinleck Manuscript and Horn may be even more tightly bound together as Horn was responsible for initiating manuscript projects related to English history and English laws which he donated to the City of London on his death.[28] Due to his initiating manuscript projects related to the London Guildhall, it is tempting to try to connect Horn to the Auchinleck more directly by suggesting the London Guildhall as the likely location of production, as Hanna has been pursuing in his scholarship. However, after my in-depth research and analysis, outside of the influence of a master artist,[29] I did not find any evidence to connect the Auchinleck to the London Guildhall. Therefore, this gesture to Horn in the Auchinleck must reflect Horn's widespread popularity in London and even his legacy for attempting to constrain the corruption of King Edward II (1284-1327) from his position as chamberlain. Thus, this reference in item 40 to a fishmonger who earned great respect and wealth confirms the London provenance and also suggests the political leanings of the contents, which tend to criticize Edward II's reign and to support those who opposed Edward II, which I address more thoroughly in Chapter 5.[30]

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[28] Andrew Horn wrote in Latin that on his death, "I leave unto the chamber of the Guildhall of London one great book of the History of the English, in which are contained many things of utility; also, one other book on the ancient [laws] of England; with a book called 'Bretoun', and with a book called 'Mirror of Justices'; also another book composed by Henry of Huntyngdone; as also another book on the Statutes of England, with many liberties and other matters touching the City" (qtd. in Dennison "Liber" 118-19, cf. H.T. Riley, ed. *Liber Custumarum*). With Dr. Heffernan's help, I have adjusted the added word [law] in previous translations to [laws] due to veteribus being plural. ["Item lego camere Gildaule London[ie] unum magnum librum de gestis anglorum in quo continentur multa utilia, et unum alium librum de veteribus [word omitted] anglorum cum libro vocato Bretoun et cum libro vocato speculum Justic', et alium librum compositum per Henricum de Huntingdon[ia]. Item aliem librum de statutis Anglorum cum multis libertatibus et aliis tangentibus civitatem."] (Catto "Andrew" 370-71).

[29] This master artist is referred to as the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist, whose style was similar to that of the central Queen Mary workshop although he never worked with those artists. His hand has been identified as contributing to Andrew Horn's *Liber Custumarum*, and in Chapter 3 I identify his influence, mostly indirect, in the Auchinleck.

[30] For further discussion of Andrew Horn, see Catto ("Andrew Horn", "Horn"), Dennison ("Liber" 118-19), Mooney and Stubbs (8-14), and Hanna ("Reconsidering" 96-97). Hanna tries to develop parallels between the Auchinleck and Andrew Horn's legal books in his chapter "Reconsidering the Auchinleck" (2000) and book *London Literature*

3. Vellum

The vellum of the Auchinleck has been observed to be of a consistent good quality. The flesh sides of the vellum, which are white, are placed facing outside of the gathering, and the yellowish hair sides are facing in. However, the wear over time has made it somewhat difficult to discern the difference. There are a couple of exceptions to the consistency of the vellum, including scuff marks and small patches.[31]

It has also been noted that gathering 7, which Scribe 2 uses for most of his item 10, consists of slightly heavier vellum. However, the heavy vellum for item 10 is an example of the kind of information which can be used selectively to support a manuscript production theory. Mordkoff and Wiggins both suggest that the difference in the vellum could support their views that Scribe 2 copied item 10 before the Auchinleck Manuscript project began.[32] However, I do not find their arguments convincing. For example, Mordkoff admits a further inconsistency in the thickness of the vellum: the vellum for gatherings 30-31 is "also somewhat heavier (although not so strikingly so) than the rest of the manuscript" (Mordkoff 107). Gatherings 30-31 are in the middle of Scribe 1's *Of Arthour & of Merlin* (item 26),[33] which no one believes was copied earlier than the rest of the Auchinleck. Thus the heavier weight vellum for these three gatherings suggests only that the vellum that was attained for the manuscript varied although great effort was exerted to keep it as consistent as possible.

(2005), but the claims are vague and the underlying codicology problematic. I will address his theories in Chapters 2-5 and also propose my own theory, which connects the Auchinleck with the Chancery instead.

[31] For further discussion, see Pearsall and Cunningham (xi), Cunningham ("Notes" 96), and Shonk ("Investigations" 8). Shonk adds that "the vellum was not rubbed to any extraordinary degree of thinness; writing on the verso of the folios can be seen only vaguely through the recto when it is held to the light" ("Investigations" 8). Cunningham specifically describes that, "three holes on f.259 were repaired before writing by pasting a piece of vellum to the sheet" (Introduction xi).

[32] Mordkoff first notes this heavier gathering and then discusses its possible implications for Scribe 2's activity in her dissertation (76, 107); Wiggins adds Mordkoff's observation to her dissertation to support the idea of Scribe 2's early contribution to the Auchinleck (119).

[33] The first two folios of item 26 share gathering 29 with Scribe 5's *Sir Beues of Hamtoun* (item 25).

4. Binding

Cunningham and Pearsall had the enviable ability to study the manuscript when it was taken apart and rebound in 1971. They noted that there have been at least three bindings: sewing holes which may be original, a second binding of cords which is likely from the 1820's when the Advocates' Library rebound older manuscripts, and the recent binding of the manuscript in 1971 following their examination.[34]

The historical commentary on the binding provides more insight into the Auchinleck's history. For example, in 1857 David Laing commented on the binding he found on the manuscript and the repairs done:

> Probably attaching much less importance to the volume than it has obtained, it was bound in the plainest manner, some of the leaves were misplaced, and, when compared with the recovered fragments, of which the parts folded over boards are preserved, it must have suffered in the binding, by being rather unsparingly cut in the edges. The volume is now rebound in morocco, in a style more suitable to its worth. (iii)

It seems that this new "morocco binding" that Laing mentions in the nineteenth century is the one that Cunningham surmised was from the 1820's and one which he described as "red morocco" ("Notes" 97, Introduction xvi). It is not clear if the new "morocco binding" that Laing refers to is from the 1820's, as is often cited by Auchinleck scholars, but I would suggest that the red morocco binding was added closer to his 1857 publication as he himself seemed to see the older binding. I would also suggest that the previous binding "in the plainest manner," which

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[34] Cunningham first published his findings in "Notes on the Auchinleck Manuscript" (97). His account of the three bindings tends to be repeated fairly verbatim; see for example Wiggins' dissertation (104), her discussion on *The Auchinleck* website ("Physical make-up"), or Shonk's slightly longer description in his dissertation (6-7).

Laing observed prior to the red morocco one, is not the original one but represents a fourth

binding, because he indicates that the manuscript was cropped to fit this binding and that

fragments preserved separately were larger.

5. Condition, Damage, and Losses

There are now 44 extant texts found in 334 extant folios as well as stubs for fourteen

other folios in the Auchinleck Manuscript though the manuscript once contained well more than

386 folios.[35] The folios are now approximately 250x190 mm with the written space closer to 200

x 140 mm.[36] One bifolium, preserved separately as the Saint Andrew University Library

fragment of *King Richard* (S R.4 ff.1-2), may be closer to the original folio size as it measures

264 x 203 mm.[37]

There are forty-six gatherings of eight folios each. There is an additional gathering,

gathering 38, which has ten folios; gathering 38 is currently self-contained as it is entirely copied

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[35] Mordkoff believes the manuscript contained "well over 400 leaves" (12, 83-84).

[36] For further discussion see Pearsall and Cunningham (xi), Robinson (128), Mordkoff (7), and Shonk ("Investigations" Chapter IV). Robinson lists the folio size as 252 x 195 mm. Mordkoff claims more precisely that, the writing space is "in the neighborhood of 195-200 by 145-150 mm" (77). Shonk adds some very detailed observations, such as: "the cropping was somewhat irregular in the early folios: the opening cover folios were cropped on an inward slant at top and bottom; the following 4 cover pages are 250 x 195 mm. The next page, which contains the Boswell signature, is a bit larger, measuring 270 x 190 mm. Two rather white, blank vellum sheets of the same size follow" ("Investigations" 8). Shonk is even more precise as he analyzes Scribe 1's first extant text: "In figure 1-A, the entire ruled rectangle measures approximately 195 x 148 mm from the extreme outside margin lines. The first column in approximately 3 mm wide; the second column, which separates the first letter from the rest of the line, is 3 mm also, or sometimes than half a millimeter narrower. The right column, which served as a margin marker even though no line even closely approaches it, is a bit wider at 4 mm" (52-53). He proceeds with such exact measurements in Chapter IV of his dissertation, "The Dimensions and the Rulings of the Leaves."

[37] Cunningham also notes that the Edinburgh University Library folios measure 260 x 200 mm, and the University of London Library and other Saint Andrews University Library folios (for *King Alisaunder*, item 33) are 200 mm broad (Introduction xi). For the sake of accuracy, I would like to point out an error on *The Auchinleck* website's "Physical make-up" page where these details are discussed in Wiggins's "Damage, Condition, and Losses" section. There she notes that the original folio size may be determined by the University of London Library's *King Richard* (item 43) fragment, even though directly above she noted, correctly, that the University of London Library only has a portion from *King Alisaunder* (item 33).

by Scribe 6 and only contains the single text *Otuel a Knight* (item 32).[38] However, item 32 is

incomplete, and at least one gathering has been lost after it; therefore, it is possible that at least

one more gathering also had ten folios. I have adapted Pearsall and Cunningham's original

diagram reconstructing each known gathering (see Appendix B); my recreation of this diagram

includes modern gathering numbers, folio numbers for each gathering, booklet numbers, scribal

stints, and details about stubs and about fragments preserved externally.[39]

Ten folios, or five bifolium, have been discovered and exist separately from the

Auchinleck manuscript; all are damaged and worn a good bit more than the rest of the

manuscript, as might be expected. There are two bifolia at Edinburgh University Library (whose

folio numbers begin with E): the third and fourth folios for gathering 3's *The Life of Adam and

Eve* (item 3), and the second and seventh folios for gathering 48's *King Richard* (item 43). There

are two bifolia at St. Andrews University Library (whose folio numbers begin with S): the fourth

and fifth folios of gathering 40's *King Alisaunder* (item 33), and the fourth and fifth folios of

gathering 48's *King Richard* (item 43). There is one bifolium at the University of London

Library (whose folio numbers begin with L): the third and sixth folios of gathering 40's *King

Alisaunder* (item 33).[40] The Saint Andrew's bifolium for *King Alisaunder* (item 33) contains just

two long horizontal strips. The other four bifolia are in decent shape, missing a few lines and

readable on one side of the bifolium, with the other side partially readable.[41] David Laing notes

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[38] Arabic numerals will be used to denote the modern numbers, such as folio numbers (determined when most of the folios and stubs had been identified), item numbers for texts (indicating each item's location within the extant 44 texts), gathering numbers (of which there are 47 extant), the numbers for booklets (of which there are 13), and the scribes (of which there are six). The medieval item numbers will be written in roman numerals, as they are written in the manuscript.

[39] The diagram is based on Bliss's analysis, adjusted by Cunningham in his "Notes on the Auchinleck Manuscript" (1972). I recreated Pearsall and Cunningham's diagram (xii-xiii) in order to make the information more accessible.

[40] For more information, see Pearsall and Cunningham (xi), Mordkoff (82), and Shonk ("Investigations" 5-6). As one might expect when leaves are excised from a manuscript, the romances on Richard and Alexander seemed to be exposed to greater wear, with their fragments turning up in various locations, possibly reflecting their popularity.

[41] These bifolium are described Mordkoff in her dissertation (16) and by Pearsall and Cunningham (vii).

that he is responsible for recovering two of the fragments: one set was given to him to consider, which helped him remember another set "having been employed as covers of blank paper-books, which were purchased for note-books by a Professor in the University of St Andrews, before the middle of last century [c.1750]" (iii).[42]

Due to damage to the Auchinleck Manuscript, fourteen poems are acephalous, ten have lost their conclusion, and three have lost both. In fact, when internal damage to texts is also considered, only eleven texts of the extant 44 texts are complete from beginning to end, and only six of these do not have a patch at the beginning or end where presumably a miniature is missing.[43] At least twenty-three folios have been lost, including works at the beginning of the manuscript, at the end of the manuscript, and often folios at the beginning of a text where the entire folio was removed.

Laing notes that, "the mutilated leaves have been carefully mended" (iii), which suggests that some of the damage was repaired before he saw the manuscript in 1857. The most obvious repairs are the small red-ruled vellum rectangles preceding 13 texts, which range from 30-50 mm high and 55-70 mm wide (a column's width). These patches almost certainly replaced miniatures that were excised, which also frequently caused the loss of seven to thirteen lines on the other side of the folios.[44] Unfortunately, greater damage was sustained when entire folios

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[42] Laing seems to have identified one of the notebooks referred to in the well-cited anecdote of Lord Auchinleck rescuing the Auchinleck from a professor tearing out folios for his own purposes, mentioned above. Laing seems to confirm the anecdote, saying, "the discovery of these few leaves is sufficient to suggest the idea that Lord Auchinleck rescued the bulk of the manuscript from being so employed" (iii).

[43] The eleven complete texts: items 4, 13, 14, 20, 21, 23, 29, 32, 36, 39, and 40. The six texts technically missing nothing: items 13, 14, 20, 21, 23, and 39, which aligns with Mordkoff's findings; however, as Mordkoff also notes, item 13 was not finished when copied and breaks off mid-narrative though technically the poem – as it was left by the scribes – is still intact (14, 87-88). Burrows also has a similar list (19), but she adds item 4 (which has lost its miniature) and item 36 (which has lost its miniature and lines on the verso side where the miniature was).

[44] For further discussion, see Cunningham and Pearsall (xv), Mordkoff (86-87), and Shonk ("Investigations" 93, "Bookmen" 81). Texts with rectangle patches preceding them: *Seynt Mergrete* (item 4), *Seynt Katerine* (item 5), *þe desputisoun bitven þe bodi & þe soule* (item 7), *The Nativity and Early Life of Mary* (item 13), *Sir Degare* (item 17),

were removed, with stubs preceding the first extant folio of eleven texts, which are thus acephalous.[45] Six works have their entire preceding folio or even gathering missing so it is hard to know what may have been lost.[46]

In addition to stubs, rectangle patches, and missing folios at the beginnings of texts, the Auchinleck has sustained other damage. Marginal cropping has caused the loss of some important information, such as some of the medieval item numbers, signatures, and catchwords. One folio of *þe Wenche þat loved þe King* (item 27) has been heavily scraped, and its only other folio has mostly been cut away, likely due to some kind of censorship.[47] *Alphabetical Praise of Women* (item 42) has had about one third of f.325 cut away in a sweeping arc. This appears to reflect use as f.325 is opposite *King Richard* (item 43) and the first folio of *King Richard,* f.326r, shows remarkable wear; this suggests that the manuscript was flipped open to these folios for a long period of time and so were vulnerable to destructive handling over time. The first folio of *The Paternoster* (item 15), f.72r, is also quite faded and stained, and the miniature seems quite

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Of Arthour & of Merlin (item 26), *How Our Lady's Sauter was First Found* (item 29), *Lay le Freine* (item 30), *Otuel a Knight* (item 32), *The Thrush and the Nightingale* (item 34), *David the King* (item 36), *Sir Tristrem* (item 37), and *Horn Childe & Maiden Rimnild* (item 41).

[45] Texts with stubs preceding them: *St. Patrick's Purgatory* (item 6), *The Harrowing of Hell* (item 8), *The Clerk Who Would See the Virgin* (item 9), *Amis and Amiloun* (item 11), *Life of St Mary Magdalene* (item 12), *The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin* (item 16), *The Seven Sages of Rome* (item 18), couplet *Guy of Warwick* (item 22), *A Penniworþ of Wit* (item 28), *Roland and Vernagu* (item 31), and *Sir Orfeo* (item 38). (For some reason Cunningham adds item 23, Stanzaic *Guy of Warwick*, to his list of texts missing preceding folios – where he combines stubs with entire missing folios on page xv of the Introduction – even though it is well-known that one of the puzzling aspects of item 23 is that it continues on with hardly a break from item 22, couplet *Guy of Warwick*, and possibly should be considered as one item.)

[46] Texts with entire folios or gatherings missing preceding them: *The Legend of Pope Gregory* (item 1), *The Life of Adam and Eve* (item 3), *Floris and Blauncheflour* (item 19), *Kyng Alisaunder* (item 33), *The Sayings of St Bernard* (item 35), and *Alphabetical Praise of Women* (item 42). For further discussion, see Shonk ("Bookmen" 81) and Mordkoff (86-87).

[47] Melissa Furrow suggests that the censorship is due to the text being a fabliaux (443), while Mordkoff believes that the text was political (88).

dirty which also suggests that this Christian prayer could have been a highly sought item within the manuscript.[48]

In addition, there are notes taken on the margins throughout the Auchinleck and names of people which appear from different centuries which could represent various owners and scholars working with the manuscript.[49] These marginal hands have been dated from the 14th to 18th centuries, with the earliest hands writing mostly names.[50] One of the latest hands to write on the Auchinleck is Joseph Ritson (1752-1803), who wrote "a short description and list of the contents," which he signed and dated "Edinb. 22nd Aug. 1792" (H.M. Smyser 261).[51] The heaviest amount of marginal notation is on the first quarter of the text *Of Arthour & of Merlin* (item 26); these scholarly annotations are estimated to be from the 16th or 17th century. Interestingly, while most of the text in item 26 is considered unique, the first quarter of item 26 has been found in four later manuscripts, including the early 15th century Lincoln's Inn 150 (Lincoln's Inn Library Hale MS 150).[52] Therefore, well before Sir Walter Scott and George Ellis

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[48] Unlike for the wear shown for *King Richard*, I do not think the manuscript was necessarily left open to this folio with the *Paternoster* as neither f.71v or f.72v shows the same level of wear. For further discussion of the worn miniature on f.72r, see also Chapter 3, Section D, Part 1: "Illustrated Initials & Miniatures."

[49] For further discussion, see Pearsall and Cunningham (xv-xvi), Wiggins (*The Auchinleck* "History and owners"), and Mooney and Stubbs (56).

[50] Cunningham and Wiggins provide a list of these names, their locations and the approximate date of each (Introduction xv-xvi, *The Auchinleck* "History and owners"). Shonk provides some interesting speculative analysis trying to connect various names to the contents of the pages ("Investigations" 7-8). The earliest names (from the 14th or 15th centuries) are listed on f.183r: William Barnes, Richard Drow, William Dro.., Anthony Elcocke, and John Ellcocke. F.183r is in the middle of *Sir Beues* (item 25). A 15th century hand penned the names of the Browne family all on f.107r: Mr Thomas, Mrs. Isabell, Katherin, Eistre, Elizabeth, William, Walter, Thomas, and Agnes. The nine names of the Browne family appear on f.107r after the list of Norman names (item 21). The name of Walter Brown is found on the Saint Andrews fragment from *King Richard* (item 43). Wiggins remarks that "None of these names has ever been traced" ("History and owners"), and I have not seen any other scholarship on them.

[51] Smyser is interested in this list of descriptions by Ritson because Ritson was the first to characterize the *List of Norman Names* (item 21) as *The Battle Abbey Roll*, which is a legendary list of Norman knights who accompanied William the Conqueror in 1066 (Smyser 261). This makes the Auchinleck copy of *The Battle Abbey Roll* the earliest extant copy of this list; however, this list was more culturally significant than historically accurate. See Chapter 5, Section C: "The Beauchamps in the Auchinleck Manuscript" and Smyser's "This List of Norman Names in the Auchinleck MS. (Battle Abbey Roll)" (1948).

[52] The three other manuscripts where the first quarter of item 26 is found are: Bodleian Library Douce 236, British Library Additional 27879 (Percy Folio), and British Library Harley 6223. For further information, see Pearsall and Cunningham (xv), Macrae-Gibson (449), Vaughan (*Related MSS*), and Wiggins (*The Auchinleck* "Importance").

(1753-1815) also discovered a connection between the Auchinleck *Of Arthour & of Merlin* text and the Lincoln's Inn fragment in 1801, it seems likely that the 16th or 17th century scholars had identified that the first part of the Auchinleck text was related to at least one of the fragments and had written extensive notes in the Auchinleck Manuscript about the different versions.[53]

Due to the amount of damage in the Auchinleck Manuscript, scholars have utilized various parts of the damage to justify their codicological interpretation and resulting production theories. Outside of Laing, other Auchinleck scholars – including Scott, Cunningham, Mordkoff, Shonk, Murray Evans, Wiggins, Melissa Furrow, Porcheddu, and Maidie Hilmo – who mention the damage done to the Auchinleck manuscript assert that much of the damage to individual folios is due to fortune-hunters removing miniatures and even entire folios containing miniatures in order to sell them. I would caution that we should be careful about assuming that we understood why damage happened. If miniatures were sought by vandals to sell, why would they have left the very large and seemingly desirable miniature before *Reinbroun* (item 24) on f.167r? Furthermore, if the miniatures were wanted for their gold backgrounds, it seems the defaced miniature on f.256v would have been taken first because it has a large space of undisturbed gold.[54] Laing's observation seems at least as possible in that:

> it may be conjectured that the volume had fallen into the hands of an ignorant binder,
>
> who was in the process of cutting it up for the purposes of his trade, when so many of the

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[53] Macrae-Gibson documents extensive correspondence between Scott and Ellis where they discover that the Auchinleck Arthurian narrative (item 26) completes the partial Lincoln's Inn text that Ellis was working with. Once they made this discovery, Scott and a scribe (Leyden) imperfectly transcribed the rest of the Auchinleck poem (which is quite long, running to nearly 10,000 lines total) over roughly a year and sent them to Ellis in packets. Ellis, in turn, utilized long excerpts for his *Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances* (1805). Macrae-Gibson identified the Bodleian Library MS Douce 124 as the transcript that Scott provided Ellis.

[54] This is a theory suggested by Shonk ("Investigations" 92).

illuminations were taken out, as things of no value, before the most considerable portion

of the volume was fortunately rescued from complete destruction. (ii)

Thus, it is possible that binders, whom we know damaged the manuscript because Laing

discovered various fragments in the binding of notebooks, would not have valued the

miniatures.[55]

Focusing on these miniatures as the main reason for damage to the Auchinleck has

caused some scholars to try to use them explain why Auchinleck texts are shorter than other

versions. For example, even though the Queen Mary Psalter (London, BLMS Royal 2B vii),

which is considered a parent book for the Auchinleck, uses historiated initials and miniatures

only to head texts, Mordkoff theorizes about very large miniatures and miniatures appearing

midway through texts – including a folio-sized large illustration – to account for folios missing

in the middle of texts and to account for "missing lines" when the Auchinleck texts are short

compared with other versions of the poems.[56] Her theory here demonstrates her reluctance to

recognize that many Auchinleck texts are unique versions because Mordkoff believes that monks

copied the texts from exemplars and therefore cannot imagine those scribes innovating in that

context. While Mordkoff herself acknowledges that there is no solid evidence to suggest

miniatures in the middle of poems or full page illustrations for the Auchinleck,[57] other scholars

have repeated this idea of folios being removed from the middle of texts for miniatures or extra-

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[55] For more information, see Clemens and Graham (113-16).

[56] Mordkoff attempts to explain every lost folio, and has some good insight, but her suggestion that a folio was lost because "one possible explanation is that the vandal who removed the miniatures cut the wrong leaf here, intending to take the next leaf on which the miniature heading item vii [item 2] appears in the inner column" (88) is clearly strained. For further information about artistic conventions in the early 14th century, see Chapter 3.

[57] Mordkoff does eventually acknowledge that some of these ideas may be far-fetched (89-90), but I find her pursuit of the unknowable to be indicative of her approach to the Auchinleck, including the presumption that the Auchinleck texts should match other versions as much as possible.

large miniatures when they desire to explain "missing lines" in the Auchinleck version of a poem.[58]

Another reason to be careful about unproven assumptions regarding the miniature vandals is that these speculations quickly become the foundation for assumptions about the *mise-en-page*, or layout of the manuscript. For example, Shonk asserts, "of the 44 items in the volume, 35 probably were, at one time, preceded by miniatures" ("Investigations" 92) in order to support his idea that the Auchinleck Manuscript had a predetermined standardized layout which Scribe 1 communicated to the other scribes when he hired them as independent contract workers. There are only five extant miniatures and patches for thirteen more, meaning that we only have evidence that 18 poems began with miniatures.[59] With Shonk's assertion of there once being 35 miniatures, we see that the assumption that art vandals damaged the manuscript seeking only miniatures is utilized by Shonk to argue that now damaged poems once had miniatures, which matches his idea of the standardized *mise-en-page* of the Auchinleck.

Similar to the theory of Mordkoff, Maldwyn Mills, and Wiggins about immaterial and unprecedented miniatures mid-way through the texts to account for the shorter lengths of Auchinleck versions of poems, Shonk utilizes this theory about the miniatures to further his streamlined production model in which a centralized editor distributes the exemplars and the precise instructions about page layouts to contract scribes. Thus, even such basic assumptions,

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[58] See, Maldwyn Mills (*Horn Child* 16), Wiggins ("*Guy of Warwick*" 103, 130-31), and Olson (Kerby-Fulton 104).
[59] With this estimation of 35 texts having miniatures, Shonk assumes that all texts missing first folios had miniatures except one, even though we only have 5 extant miniatures. However, 7 extant texts do not have any miniature or elaborate initial, and Shonk adds Scribe 1's item 40, with the foliated initial, to this list of items without a miniature ("Investigations" 93). Therefore we already know that 8 of the extant 44 texts do not meet Shonk's criteria for a miniature, which only leaves us with 36 texts that possibly could have a miniature. Thus, with his estimation that 35 texts once had a miniature, he is saying that of the 25 texts missing first folios only 1 more did not have a miniature. (With 13 patches and 5 miniatures, and Shonk would add the historiated initial as a 6th, we can only solidly account for the beginnings of 19 of the extant 44 texts; thus we have 25 extant texts where we do not know what the beginning looked like). If we calculate the 8 current texts without miniatures out of 19 extant first folios, 42% of current first folios do not follow his ideal *mise-en-page* for miniatures.

here about how many miniatures may have been included in the Auchinleck, need to be challenged. An example of the impact of Shonk's theory and scholarship here is that both Linda Olson and Maidie Hilmo base much of their analyses on the historiated initial in the Auchinleck on the fact that this is the only "(extant)" historiated initial; however, standard decorative layouts in the Queen Mary group of manuscripts during the early 14th century indicate the prevalence of historiated initials, foliated initials, and foliated borders along with miniatures, and the Auchinleck contains another such initial and foliated border, as will be discussed in Chapter 3.[60] And so we should recognize that art vandals may not solely have cut the manuscript for miniatures when seventeen folios were removed at the start of texts, indicating that the target could have been elaborate borders and initials as well.

When we are considering the damage to the Auchinleck Manuscript, an important foundational idea is that the Auchinleck Manuscript was not a luxury manuscript commissioned to be preserved carefully in a library like the Queen Mary Psalter, nor was it fortunate enough to be donated to the Chamber of the Guildhall, such as those manuscripts we have today due to Andrew Horn's bequest.[61] The manuscript has suffered damage, first likely in the household of a noble family, and then perhaps in other locations within that region, and later in business centers before being rescued by Lord Auchinleck in 1740. Thus we see that f.3 has three wedge-shaped lacunae cut into it near the inner margin for no apparent reason, and, as mentioned above, f.325 has had a good third sliced out of it cleanly though not for a miniature as it goes through columns of text on both sides. Damage and loss are part of the ravages of time, and likely many people damaged the manuscript for a variety of purposes, some no doubt accidentally and not all of

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[60] For further discussion, see Kerby-Fulton (106, 163-65), Dennison ("Liber" 123-25), and Chapter 3.
[61] For further discussion, see Pearsall and Cunningham (viii), Stanton (12), Shonk ("Bookmen" 81), and Dennison ("Liber" 118-19).

whom we should expect were connoisseurs of art when they handled the old codex.[62] We can

probably say that a good bit of damage was done to the manuscript due to people focused on the

miniatures, especially where the rectangular patches have been added; or, more broadly, we can

assert that various people were targeting illustrations, including historiated initials, foliated

initials, and foliated borders, when cutting up the manuscript. However, I would not argue that

the desire for miniatures was the primary motivation for damage, and I would hesitate before

promoting any production or *mise-en-page* theory based on such an assumption.

6. Proofreading

The folios of the Auchinleck indicate that the manuscript was proofread by the scribes

themselves at some point during the production process, by other contemporary figures, and

possibly by later hands. First, each scribe corrected his own texts, which demonstrates that each

scribe read his work at some unknown point during production.[63] The scribes used a variety of

indicators to correct their mistakes. For Scribe 1, on ff.255v and 317r you can see the a+/b+

tactic used to add in a line marked b+ to the location marked a+ with the *a* and *b* written in the

margin in red ink. However, Scribe 1 also sometimes squeezed words in above the line, such as

the word *her* added with a caret on f.201v, and an entire line above another line, such as on ff.36r

and 303v.[64] And on f.324r you can see an example of where Scribe 1 wrote over an erased area.

Scribe 2 used a couple different techniques as well. He used a caret to insert word on

f.39r, and he seemed to indicate that he wrote two stanzas out of order on f.333v as one stanza

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[62] The three wedge-shaped lacunae on f.3 not mentioned by other scholars seems a prime example of this senseless violence. Linda Olson makes a similar claim, seeing noble children as likely candidates for the damage (Kerby-Fulton 109-16).

[63] For more information, see Shonk ("Investigations" 55-56, 85, 87-92) and notes added next to the individual lines of the poems (for the on-line versions) about the issues related to transcribing the given line (*The Auchinleck*).

[64] Due to the smudging below the regularly spaced line, it appears that the new line on f.303v was first inserted below that line and then erased and inserted above it.

has a brown *b* in the margin, the next has an *a*, and the final one a *c*, to indicate apparently where

the natural order picks up again. A red mark seems to indicate awkwardly inserted letters on

f.44r. In his dissertation, Shonk describes other corrections of Scribe 2 as inserting a word to the

left of a column on f.40v, striking through a repeated line on f.41v, and inserting a red *d* on a

word on f.46r (87). In his utilizing different techniques from Scribe 1, Scribe 2's proofreading

efforts seem to indicate that he was not trained as a scribe along with Scribe 1. In fact, Scribe 2's

autonomy here seems to indicate his agency in approaching his work according to his own

methods, a behavioral habit of his which will continue to emerge throughout this dissertation.

Scribes 3, 5, and 6 seem to be trained in a manner similar to Scribe 1, as they also erased

words, wrote letters above the line, or wrote over a letter without erasing. However, Scribe 3's

frequent use of erasures, sometimes writing over the space, could be a sign that he was

particularly meticulous and proofread while he copied. [65] Scribe 5 also used the a+/b+ notation

of Scribe 1 for an omitted line, but on f.197r he used four dots in the left margin (one set just

visible under the initial capital) to note where an omitted line should be added instead. Scribe 6

squeezed one missing line in to the right margin. Scribe 6 also inserts an *i* next to a *B* below the

initial capital on f.271v and uses the same red *a/b* notation of Scribe 1 on that folio, but without

the + signs, for a further correction. The similarity of the a/b method could indicate that Scribe 1

instructed these scribes, and particularly Scribes 5 and 6, in their proofreading. Interestingly,

Scribe 4, who just wrote a list of names, simply wrote the name again if he was mistaken,

without even crossing out his first attempt. [66]

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[65] For further discussion, see Shonk ("Investigations" 88-89).
[66] For further information, see Chapter 4, Section C: "The Junior Scribal Team" and Smyser (267-68).

By far the most fascinating issue with the proofreading is that at least seven new hands –

and by "new" I mean these hands are not one of the six scribal hands already associated with the

manuscript – can be found proofreading Scribe 1's work.[67] In Tables 3-5 in the appendix I

provide images of each of the unusual editing marks that Shonk identified within Scribe 1's

texts, plus one additional instance, although this list is not exhaustive. After analyzing these

instances of additional hands proofreading Scribe 1's work, I would say that just one insertion is

that of a later hand. This later hand proofreading Scribe 1's work adds *bi* before a line on f.136r

(see Table 3 in the appendix). The tapering, upright stem of the *b* does not match any

contemporary handwriting styles I am familiar with, although the ligature to the *i* suggests

familiarity with writing in a cursive hand. This editing mark could indicate that later owners

and/or scholars of the Auchinleck could have edited Scribe 1's work, as Shonk suggests.[68]

However, this still leaves us nine contemporary additions to consider. I would say at

least one of them is actually a court hand, possibly contemporary, due to the script (see Table 4

in the appendix for images of the court hand proofreading marks).[69] This hand is responsible for

& sa_y, shown in Figure 1, and for the three different marks in item 28, such as the *y* shown in

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[67] In his dissertation, Shonk lists nine such corrections to Scribe 1's work in unfamiliar hands in a blacker ink; Shonk notes that strange hands turn up on ff.34v, 67v, 136r, 211v, 222v, 233r, 258r, and 259r ("Investigations" 88-90). The poems associated with these folios are: *The King of Tars* (item 2), *þe Desputisoun* (item 7), *The Nativity* (item 13), couplet *Guy of Warwick* (item 22), *Of Arthour* (item 26) for those on ff.211v, 222v, and 233r, and *A Penniworth of Witt* (item 28) for ff.258r and 259r. See Tables 3-5 in the appendix for images and further discussion.

[68] For further discussion, see Shonk ("Investigations" 89) and individual notes on texts on *The Auchinleck* website. While Shonk first identified these editing marks, he believed that Scribe 1 was the editor of the Auchinleck and the last scribe to proofread it, and thus he found these corrections only to Scribe 1's work to be strange and did not discuss them outside of the short Chapter VII "Corrections" in his dissertation ("Investigations" 87-91).

[69] In Chapter 4, Section D: "The Scribal Court Hands" I discuss the hand of each scribe and the distinction between a bookhand and a court hand.   A bookhand is a formal hand, often used in luxury and liturgical manuscripts, identified primarily by the fact that each letter is drawn separately, often with many strokes to create the desired thickness of the letter, as seen in Figure 3. A court hand, on the other hand, was used in the Chancery (and possibly the London Guildhall) for formal documents. It is characterized by thin, rounded letters with ligatures which allow the scribe to write more quickly. A looping, double-chambered *a* which rises above the line, as seen in Figure 1, is a hallmark of this writing style.

Figure 2. Consider, for example, the *& sa_y* and *misse[y]de*, as shown in Figures 1 and 2;[70] the thin letters, the sharp *v* of the *y* with a looping descender, the looping, double-chambered *a* rising above the line, and the ligature connecting the *sa* are all characteristic of a court hand. On the other hand, the heavy *v's* with a thin downstroke for Scribe 1's *y*, shown in Figure 3, is characteristic of the alternating thick and thin strokes used in a bookhand, as is Scribe 1's effort to draw each letter separately. The presence of this clear editing court hand, not identified by other scholars, is very significant; this court hand suggests that the Auchinleck was being proofread in an environment where professionals had been trained by the Chancery for formal writing.
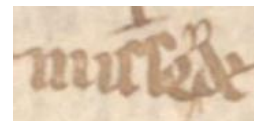
Figure 1: *& say* f.67v

Figure 2: *misseyde* f.259r
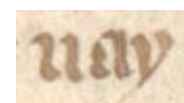
Figure 3: *nay* Scribe 1

The *ger* added on f.211v could be a later hand except the gap between the words seems too large to have been conveniently left for this later hand, and it looks like the *g* also has been written over a slightly erased area which would indicate a contemporary editing process (see Table 4 in the appendix). I would suggest that this insertion on f.211 v is also by someone accustomed to writing a court hand but attempting to write in a bookhand, as each letter is drawn individually but with thin, rounded strokes. Such a combination of bookhand and court hand techniques is actually prevalent throughout the Auchinleck, as I discuss in Chapter 4, Section D: "The Scribal Court Hands" because at least five of the Auchinleck scribes also demonstrate tendencies of both styles of handwriting. The presence of court hands and hands with court hand tendencies confirms other evidence I will present that the Auchinleck was created in a

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[70] All images of the Auchinleck have been included by the permission of the National Library of Scotland. Each folio referred to can be viewed at the Auchinleck website that they sponsored: http://auchinleck.nls.uk/index.html.

collaborative environment and that this environment was likely tied to royal administration, such as the Chancery itself. I will address these issues further in Chapters 2-5.

In addition to the court hand proofreading insertions, there are four bookhand additions which look fairly similar to other Auchinleck scribal hands, indicating that the additions were contemporary and possibly by other Auchinleck scribes (see Table 5 in the appendix for images and further descriptions). The first contemporary hand is a bookhand which adds *s_ey_d* to f.11r at the end of the line but indicates with parallel lines where the word should be inserted within the line (see Table 5 in the appendix); this hand looks similar to both Scribe 1's and Scribe 6's hand but is not a precise match for either.[71] Another hand adds a fairly stout, straight *b_r* on f.34v over what seems to be an erased area; the original stem from Scribe 1 with a hook to the left at the tip can be seen at the top, and the bumpy letters seem to indicate uneven vellum, likely due to the scrubbing of the vellum. Due to the addition over the erased area, it seems that this addition was also contemporary. In addition, the *b* added to f.222v is superficially similar to Scribe 2's script, but the *b* in Scribe 2's handwriting is more angular and shorter; this *b* also is bumpy and seems to be inserted over scrubbed vellum. Thus, the similarity to Scribe 2's hand and the insertion over an erased area seem to indicate a contemporary editing process. Finally, and surprisingly, the straight-line *a* in *ga_tes*, shown in Figure 4, is quite similar (if we allow for uneven writing) to the straight-side, two-compartment *a* found in Scribe 6's work, which is shown in Figure 5. The erased text, similar ink, and match to Scribe 6's hand
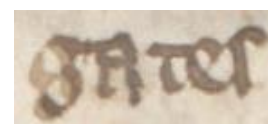
Figure 4: *gates* f.233r
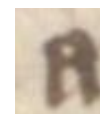
Figure 5: *a* Scribe 6

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[71] The left lean and rounded form of the long *s* and the narrow body of the *d* with the long stem indicate that this is not Scribe 1's hand nor Scribe 6's hand. Shonk also compares this hand to Scribe 1 ("Investigations" 88).

substantiate that this is a contemporary addition, and an addition possibly by Scribe 6, which means at some point he helped out Scribe 1 by proofreading some of Scribe 1's *Of Arthour & of Merlin* (item 26).[72]

Thus, close analysis of these ten proofreading additions indicates approximately seven different hands edited Scribe 1's work in addition to Scribe 1 himself. One later hand was likely a later owner and/or later scribe using the Auchinleck as an exemplar. However, the other sets of characters indicate that a number of contemporary hands were helping to proofread Scribe 1's work; although Shonk, Mordkoff, Wiggins, Hanna, and even Loomis and Robinson (at times) see Scribe 1 as the central editor for the Auchinleck, it does make sense that he received help with proofreading as he copied over 70% of the folios himself.[73] The fact that Scribe 6 seems to have helped with at least one of these letters indicates importantly that he was working collaboratively with Scribe 1. However, the fact that there are five other contemporary hands that do not seem to match any of the Auchinleck scribes, with at least one of these hands utilizing a court hand, indicates that their collaborative work area included more than just the six scribes and that they worked in an administrative office together, like the Chancery. These conclusions will be corroborated by further analysis in the following chapters.

7. Foliation and Collation:

See Appendix A for a list of texts, including modern titles (along with alternate titles) and modern and medieval item numbers. See Appendix B for a diagram recreating of each gathering of the Auchinleck Manuscript, which includes information about the booklets and scribes.

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[72] See Chapter 4, Section D: "The Scribal Court Hands" for further paleographical analysis of each scribe.

[73] Shonk himself admits as much when he asserts that, "we can conclude that no one person proofread the entire volume" ("Investigations" 90).

8. Catchwords:

The catchwords have been important in helping us to determine that the leaves of the Auchinleck are currently (mostly) in the right order, which can assist my remarks on the *ordinatio* and *compilatio* of the Auchinleck. In fact, although the manuscript was so tightly bound as to prevent Bliss's analysis of the individual gatherings in the early 1950's, Bliss accurately reconstructed most of the extant 47 gatherings of the Auchinleck using 37 extant catchwords and a handful of other clues to in his "Notes on the Auchinleck Manuscript" (654-57). When Cunningham was able to view the manuscript unbound in 1971, he confirmed Bliss's reconstruction with just a few changes.[74] However, it is important to note that we do not have a catchword to link to our current final gathering, which contains Scribe 2's *Þe Simonie* (item 44), meaning that this text may originally have been elsewhere in the manuscript.[75]

Since there are some extant gatherings without any catchwords, it is likely that missing catchwords have been lost on the missing folios or have been cut during cropping. Thirty-five of the extant catchwords have been established to be in the hand of Scribe 1, which surprises no one because he copied over 70% of the manuscript; even Robinson allowed Scribe 1 (or D)[76] this bit of editorial work although she asserted that a different person was the compiler who directed

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[74] Cunningham specifically asserted that, "Bliss's reconstruction of the gatherings from the catchwords is almost completely confirmed" ("Notes" 96). Cunningham then goes on merely to point out that the first folio of gathering 17 is a stub rather than entirely lost, and that Scribe 6's gathering 38 has ten folios rather than eight, which means that Bliss's theoretical 39th gathering has not left any trace ("Notes" 96); however, due to the jump in medieval item numbers and the fact that Scribe 6's item 32 is incomplete, we know that at least one gathering has been lost here. Thus, Cunningham and scholars after him have continued to keep Bliss's original numbering of the gatherings, including 39 and 49-51, which also did not leave any trace, as estimates for lost texts. See also Mordkoff (84).

[75] Scholars such as Robinson and Mordkoff assert that we know the manuscript is currently in order due to extant catchwords (Robinson 134, Mordkoff 15), yet they forget to acknowledge item 44 as the exception. Also, some scholars focus on the catchwords just between booklets, which are self-contained groups of gatherings (e.g. Hanna "Reconsidering" 93, Wiggins "*Guy of Warwick*" 112). However, there are only 13 such booklets in the Auchinleck, and there are 37 catchwords, so the catchwords link gatherings as well as booklets.

[76] As will be addressed in Chapter 4, Robinson asserted that there were only four scribes and assigned them letters whereas most other scholars follow Bliss's six scribe theory with each being numbered.

most of the manuscript project.[77]   Scribe 1's responsibility for the catchwords is even more

accepted since Mordkoff and Shonk independently asserted Scribe 1 to be the editor of the

manuscript.[78]

The two controversial catchwords appear in booklet 3, at the ends of gathering 14 on

f.99v and of gathering 16 on f.107v respectively. Bliss asserts that, "scribe 3 wrote only one

catchword (gathering 14)" and that "one of the catchwords was written by Scribe 4" (657).[79]

While these suggestions by Bliss have stirred some interesting discussion and while multiple

hands writing catchwords would support my argument for a collaborative work environment,[80] I

see no evidence that Scribe 3 copied the catchword on f.99v or that Scribe 4 copied the

catchword on f.107v.   Of the two catchwords, the one on f.99v is the more questionable, and this

catchword on f.99v thus has received the most attention; as always, the identification of this one

catchword becomes the foundation for other theories about the manuscript.[81]

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[77] Curiously, in a later chapter and in her appendix, Robinson also refers to Scribe 1 (or "D" in her terms) as "one … who assumed the responsibility of putting all the booklets together" and then "the main compiler" so perhaps that was a later conclusion she reached as she studied the manuscript (35, 70, 136). If so, within a decade, Robinson, Mordkoff, and Shonk all came to the conclusion that Scribe 1 was the compiler/editor.

[78] For further discussion see Mordkoff (75), Shonk ("Bookmen" 87), and Wiggins ("*Guy of Warwick*" 113, 119).

[79] Shonk and Wiggins simply assert that Bliss claims that Scribe 3 wrote one of the catchwords and leave out all mention to scribe 4 (Shonk "Bookmen" 84, Wiggins "*Guy of* Warwick" 112, *The Auchinleck* "Physical make-up").

[80] Bliss explores the significance of the different hands and the catchwords succinctly: "If all these catchwords had been written by scribe 1, the obvious implication would have been that it was he who decided the order of the articles, and that he wrote the catchword for the guidance of the next scribe. Since in fact one of the catchwords was written by Scribe 4 for the benefit of Scribe 1, this conclusion is eliminated" (657).

[81] Cunningham and Mordkoff believe that Scribe 3 could have written catchwords in his gatherings due in part to one being cropped off on f.76v (Pearsall and Cunningham xi, Mordkoff 75). Mordkoff considers this possibility as "opening the door to speculation that [Scribe 3] could have functioned as 'editor' prior to Scribe 1" (75); for a slightly different analysis of Scribe 3's seeming autonomy, see Chapter 4, Section B: "The Senior Scribal Team," where I argue that Scribe 3 could be part of a senior scribal team which includes Scribes 1, 2, and 3. Wiggins uses Cunningham and Mordkoffs' suggestion that Scribe 3 wrote his own catchwords as the basis for her assertion that Pearsall, Cunningham, and Mordkoff argue that the catchword on f.99v is in the hand of Scribe 3 (*The Auchinleck* "Physical make-up"). Shonk argues that the hand of catchword on f.99v is Scribe 1's which supports his theory that Scribe 1 was not only an editor but a central coordinator ("Bookmen" 87); Hanna references Shonk here as he makes his own claim that the Auchinleck is "scribe 1's book" ("Reconsidering" 93), and Wiggins agrees with Shonk and builds her model of contract scribes working in networks based on Shonk's theory of Scribe 1 as a central coordinator ("*Guy of Warwick*" 112).

As you can see from Figure 6, there is a clear change in the heaviness of the ink after the first two letters of the catchword on f.99v, and letter three's thickness suggests the scribe has just dipped his pen. However, all of the letters are consistent with Scribe 1's hand. Even though the first two lighter letters echo the thinner, tapering letters written by Scribe 3, the first letter, a *tironian nota*, and the second, *t*, are replicated
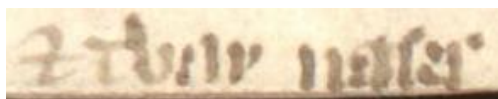
Figure 6: Catchword
f.99v

throughout Scribe 1's body of work (See Chapter 4 to compare this with samples of the scribes' handwriting.) However, due to all of the missing catchwords on lost or cropped folios, it is possible that other scribes did write other catchwords. What is clear is that, in addition to copying many of the texts, Scribe 1 had some organizational role as he connected many of the gatherings in Auchinleck manuscript with his catchwords. Thus, even though I argue for a collaborative work environment as the production environment for the Auchinleck, this workplace likely involved a kind of hierarchy, with Scribe 1 acting as one of the senior scribes.

9. Signatures

For a fairly small and often hardly visible system of letters and symbols, the signatures of the Auchinleck Manuscript provide ample evidence for the collaborative relationships between scribes and artists. While the Auchinleck appears typical for the early 14th century in not having any scribal signatures,[82] it does have a system of marks and letters at the bottom of its folios. These are typically taken by manuscript scholars to be the gathering or folio signatures of the

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[82] In his study of fifteen 14th century manuscripts for his *Rereading Middle English Romance* (1995), Murray J. Evans asserts: "scribal signature is rare in these manuscripts … there are only thirty-eight instances total" (33). You can see in the four pages of Table A2 of his Appendix (where he lists all of his observations of the Auchinleck specifically) that Evans does not consider the Auchinleck contain anything like a scribal signature nor does any other scholar.

Auchinleck, which would thus act as an established system of letters or numbers used to keep

track of folios and gatherings and assist the scribes with putting these in the proper order during

compilation. Mordkoff has pursued these signatures more than any other scholar by far,[83] and

she published her findings with Cunningham, observing:

> the signatures of the manuscript do not present an easily deciphered or coherent picture.
>
> The present article does not fully explore this interesting matter: its purpose is to
>
> supplement the list formerly published and to provide descriptions of details not
>
> observable in the facsimile. It should be noted that some marks described herein are not
>
> visible either under artificial light, and there are some of an ambiguous nature.[84] (282-83)

All told, Cunningham and Mordkoff compiled a list of thirteen distinct letter signatures and forty

distinct marks total; some of these distinct signatures and marks run on consecutive folios for a

total somewhere on the order of sixty signatures and marks.[85] (See Table 6 in the appendix for a

list of and details about these signatures.)

Despite the efforts of Robinson, Mordkoff, Cunningham, and Wiggins, the signatures

have not yet been decoded. I believe this is due to these manuscript scholars' assumptions that

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[83] For discussion of Mordkoff's efforts, see Cunningham and Mordkoff (282) and Hanna ("Reconsidering" 93). Mordkoff's article with Cunningham seems like an updated, slightly easier-to-read, and more conservatively analyzed version of pp. 130-156 of Mordkoff's dissertation. Wiggins has written some about the signatures, but I find her accounting of them to be a bit confusing. In her dissertation, Wiggins seems to defer to Mordkoff's dissertation, where Mordkoff suggests that a set of signatures was accidentally cropped off and then added back by rubricators in red because the signatures were still important (Wiggins "*Guy of Warwick*" 111, Mordkoff 149). On the Auchinleck website, Wiggins does not mention any of the work done by Mordkoff or Cunningham but instead focuses on Shonk's 1985 article as a source of information about the brown and red signatures although I have not found a reference to signatures in Shonk's article (*The Auchinleck* "Physical make-up"). Further, Wiggins states that she cannot find the red signatures although I have found some on her website. For example, there's a red *c* at the very bottom of E.f.1 (the Edinburgh fragment for item 3).

[84] Their article provides a very helpful, detailed, accurate list of signatures, noting the various sizes of the letters, precise locations in the manuscript and on the folio, their guess at the scribal hands, and ink types of the signatures.

[85] Cunningham and Mordkoff do assert that the signatures are for gatherings rather than folios though they indicate there are several folio numbering systems as well (285, 290). They indicate that they found signatures in the hands of Scribes 1, 2, 3, and 5, but they generally connected the hand of the scribe who wrote the text above to the signature below, which is a system I contest as there is not enough evidence to support that claim.

the signatures should conform to their expectations of folio and gathering signatures which would help the scribes to put the gatherings in order. For example, Robinson dismisses the system fairly quickly as "there is clearly no order to these signatures" (128)[86] because the system did not follow her expectations. While placing the gatherings and booklets in a certain order was no doubt important to the scribes, assuming that the letters at the bottoms of the folios are just for these functions during production is limiting: there were many other details that the scribes and artists were keeping track of and communicating with one another, like captured in these signatures as they do not necessarily follow established signatures systems used elsewhere.[87]

Thus, in order to understand these signatures, we need to think beyond the scope of folio and gathering signatures. The scribes were part of a new initiative to create a literary manuscript almost entirely in English, and the newness of that enterprise as well as their unique versions of texts and intertextual borrowings would provide ample reasons for the scribes to leave marks on the folios outside of just the folio and gatherings signatures. As I consider these signatures and the Auchinleck Manuscript more broadly, two important ideas will guide my theorizing:

1. The early 14th century scribes (and, more broadly, manuscript creators, where that term is more applicable) were competent, intelligent problem-solvers.[88]

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[86] Robinson herself seems to have favorable opinions of the ability of the compilers and scribes to adapt their works competently, as she discusses in Chapter IV, "Quot Aliena Tot Sua", of her dissertation, and particularly pp. 70-80 where she discusses various Auchinleck scribes adapting their texts. This leads me to believe that her terse remark about there being "no order" to the signatures does not belie an attitude of being dismissive towards the scribes overall and just denotes that, at that moment, the signatures did not match her expectations.

[87] The signature process that Robinson, Cunningham, and Mordkoff expected was a system of letters or numbers which followed a clearly discernible pattern. I.e. they expected a different letter for each gathering or a series of numbers for each folio. Some of the Auchinleck signature systems may be less obvious to a modern reader but still follow a logical progression. For example, Cunningham and Mordkoff note numerous sawtooth numbering strokes, in which a series of jagged connected lines – resembling teeth of a saw – are used as a numerical system.

[88] Matthew Fisher dismantles the trope of the incompetent scribe in his chapter "The Medieval Scribe" of his *Scribal Authorship and the Writing of History in Medieval England* (2012), and respecting the scribes' capabilities is an important foundation for my analysis. See Chapter 2, Section C: "Challenging the Standardized Auchinleck *Mise-en-Page*," Chapter 4, Section B: "The Senior Scribal Team" and Section E: "Scribe 2" for further discussion.

2. Professional scribes and artists were able to innovate their processes in the early 14th

century. As mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, there is an important gap

between the dominance of the monastic scriptoriums of the 12th century and the more

established commercialized book trade of the 15th century; I am thus arguing that the

Auchinleck was created in a professional environment that allowed the scribes – or at

least the senior ones – to be creative with things like layout, genre, composition, and

other decisions relating to the manuscript.[89]

With these concepts in mind, if all of the signatures are not in any order that corresponds with

our current order of gatherings and booklets, then the logical conclusion seems to be that at least

some of these marks and signatures do not have much to do with organizing folios and

gatherings. Instead, the puzzling nature of these erratic signatures adds more weight to the theory

that the scribes and artists were problem-solving as they created this manuscript, and so they left

many different notes for themselves to keep track of things rather than following an established,

prescribed production process. For example, when considering Scribe 1's marks, Cunningham

and Mordkoff note, "The brown ink signatures are particularly neatly executed, suggesting that

at this stage Scribe 1 was conducting his work with methodical care" (289). Yet, these

methodical marks contrast with other signatures which are more hastily executed, thus

suggesting that the professionals involved wrote different systems of signatures at different

stages of the manuscript production process as different needs came to mind. The range of

letters, sawtooth folio numbers, folio numbering strokes, and other strokes (often cropped) in red

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[89] Fisher argues for this kind of artistic freedom in the 14th century at the end of his study *Scribal Authorship and the Writing of History in Medieval England* (190-91). Dennison argues for artistic experimentation and innovation by professional artists throughout the early and mid-14th century, especially for those artists based in East Anglia ("An Illuminator" and "The Technical Mastery"). Mooney and Stubbs argue that authors and scribes of the late 14th century had close working relationships, as many were employed at the London Guildhall, and so the collaborative nature of their working relationships helped the literary works to flourish.

ink, brown ink, green ink, grey lead, and brown crayon demonstrate the impressive range of shorthand developed by the professionals in order to notate or communicate important information that was not meant to be seen by the end user. I would suggest, then, that numerous marks were meant to be cropped off, and that some that remain (sometimes partially) are the accident, which is part of the reason that the remaining notation does not fully make sense to us.

In addition, in a manuscript so heavily implicated with intertextual borrowings, and by this I mean similar passages and echoes of passages found in multiple texts *within* the Auchinleck Manuscript, it makes sense that at least some of these notations could be for scribes marking such passages that were to be repeated. To this end, in Table 6 in the appendix, I added a column which indicates which other items the given text is associated with due to similar passages. My hope is that broadening the scope of the information considered relevant to the signatures means that some of the mysterious systems may be solved one day. Interestingly, no marks have been found on *The Short Chronicle* (item 40), one of the texts most involved with other texts; however, as mentioned, I also think it's possible that most of these marks were meant to be cropped off or rubbed out, and it is fortunate where some have been preserved.

While it is easy to focus on the scribes who copied these texts as those who were making and reading the signatures, Chapter 3 will explore the artists who worked on these folios, and the blurred distinction between scribes and artists in the early 14th century. While some of the marks may focus on ordering the poems and some marks may help the scribes locate passages to adapt in other narratives, it seems quite likely that the scribes and artists were also noting where decorative attention would be needed as well. Thus, these marks seem to show evidence of the professionals' collaboration, communication, and decision-making over a period of time, with

the different writing instruments representing some combination of whichever instrument was at hand at the moment and a very complicated system of signifiers.

C. Conclusion

This first chapter on the Auchinleck Manuscript has focused on some of the most basic aspects of the Auchinleck Manuscript. The date, provenance, vellum, binding, current condition, proofreading, catchwords, and signatures help us start to get a sense of the manuscript and those responsible for creating it. The Auchinleck Manuscript seems to gesture to Andrew Horn, a fishmonger and important political figure in London in the decade before the Auchinleck's creation. However, this nod to the popular chamberlain may indicate more about the patron's political leanings (supportive of anyone who challenged Edward II) than a direct link to the London Guildhall.

The proofreading and the signatures apparent in the Auchinleck paint a picture of a collaborative environment for the Auchinleck scribes and artists. The six contemporary hands found proofreading Scribe 1's work seem to suggest a shared workspace with the presence of extra figures in addition to the six scribes. The court hand proofreading Scribe 1's work indicates that this collaborative environment may have been an administrative office, such as the Chancery. If Scribe 6 also added at least one letter to Scribe 1's work, then we have further evidence that Scribe 6 was actively collaborating with Scribe 1 rather than copying his own work in a distant location.[90] In addition, the signatures do not follow the patterns manuscript production scholars expect for keeping track of folios or gatherings; however, the flurry of activity there indicates many systems of short-hands being used to denote and communicate

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[90] Shonk's piecework production model stresses the importance of the scribes all carrying out their work in independent locations, which were small workspaces of one or two scribes, as defined in Doyle and Parkes' piecework production model for the 15th century.

information that was important to those working on the manuscript together. I think it is likely that some of this information was not purely about ordering the texts, but also contained information relevant to intertextual passages being adapted, illustrations, and to various other details the workers needed to communicate with one another.

The early 14th century has been a somewhat obscure time for manuscript production because scholars have struggled to determine where manuscripts were made in this time period. There are various possibilities, such as certain monasteries, wealthy households, and stationers in university towns, but none of these fit a large literary manuscript produced in London like the Auchinleck. And yet the activity of the Auchinleck scribes dovetails with emerging theories that this time period represents a time when professionals in the Chancery, the London Guildhall, fraternities, or other types of administrative positions experimented with their roles and texts.[91] While the secular scribes held onto some of the traditional techniques and methods used in monastic scriptoriums, working on vernacular poetry rather than liturgical manuscripts seemed to encourage a kind of creativity, decision-making, and collaboration of efforts. Perhaps the greatest indicator of this creativity, decision-making, and collaboration seen thus far is the flurry of activity found in the lower margins of the folios where those working on the manuscript created complex codes in order to communicate with one another.

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[91] I will address this emerging scholarship in Chapters 2-5, and particularly in Chapter 3, Section C: "The Division of Labor in the Auchinleck Artwork," Chapter 4, Section D: "The Scribal Court Hands," Section E: "Scribe 2," and Chapter 5, Section I: "The Chancery Production of the Auchinleck."

Chapter 2: The Scribal *Mise-en-Page* of the Auchinleck Manuscript

While numerous scholars have made strong contributions to our understanding of the creation of the Auchinleck Manuscript for well over a century, too many scholars have assumed that the goal of the Auchinleck creators was to have an extremely standardized *mise-en-page,* or design layout, for the codex. While certain anomalies to the design layout have been discussed by prior scholars, these anomalies are frequently discussed in relation to a theoretical ideal *mise-en-page*. The idea that the Auchinleck Manuscript was designed to be presented as a codex with rigidly similar folio layouts has been particularly prominent in the scholarship since the 1980's, when both Mordkoff and Shonk assumed that a standardized *mise-en-page* was the goal for the scribes. In their work and in the scholarship since, anomalies to the theoretical ideal are either considered accidents to be explained away or evidence that the folio in question was begun before the official Auchinleck project – with the standardized *mise-en-page* in place – was started.

In this chapter I will discuss the *mise-en-page* for the Auchinleck, with a focus on the layout decisions, including those considered anomalous. I will establish the generally understood ideal *mise-en-page*, note the exceptions to the ideal as efficiently as possible, assess important previous theories about these anomalies, and ultimately analyze these anomalies within the context of the manuscript.[1] One key variable which is currently missing in codicological analysis of the Auchinleck – and the reason for my detailed introduction to the

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[1] In this chapter I am focusing on the *mise-en-page* related to writing as opposed to illustrating, which will be covered in Chapter 3. Notably, in her dissertation (2000) Wiggins promises a somewhat similar approach: "in order to review these developments [in scholarship] and to bring description of the manuscript in line with current knowledge, the physical description below includes consideration of the often contradictory ways in which the physical evidence has been interpreted and the implications of this for understanding the construction and compilation of the manuscript" (102). However, as you will find, Wiggins and I analyze and interpret many things very differently.

manuscript codicology and my citation of the work of previous scholars – is an appreciation that differences in the *mise-en-page* may be an intentional signifier rather than merely deviation from an ideal, as will be discussed in this chapter. When the assumption that the scribes were supposed to follow a standardized *mis-en-page* is stripped away, I found that the codicological evidence most supported the fact that the scribes collaborated on and experimented with their layouts, which conflicts with the conclusions of Mordkoff, Shonk, and Wiggins. Thus, in this chapter I will demonstrate that the scribes negotiated with one another, balancing individuality with standardization and innovation with organization, in order to bring about the layouts we find in the Auchinleck. And I conclude that the Auchinleck Manuscript demonstrates that it was produced in a collaborative environment as the secular scribes created their English literary codex.

A. The Auchinleck *Mise-en-Page* and the Bookmaking Discourse

There are several important production theories about the Auchinleck Manuscript still in play in Auchinleck scholarship. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Loomis argues that the Auchinleck was produced in a secular bookshop, although she did not assert this based on an examination of the codicology of the manuscript but rather based on the secular and intertextual nature of so many of the texts. In addition to arguing for a secular collaborative work environment, known as the bookshop, Loomis also argues for scribal authorship or at least adaptation of many of the Auchinleck texts as they are frequently found to be first or unique versions of texts. After Loomis, Pamela Robinson began a discourse that linked careful analysis of the codicology and *mise-en-page* of the Auchinleck Manuscript with establishing the production process. Robinson

also supported Loomis's bookshop theory and argues for scribal composition and adaptation.[2] In addition, due to her analysis of the structure of the Auchinleck Manuscript as well as the design layout of certain folios, Robinson broke the manuscript into 12 self-contained units called booklets (and I believe a 13th could be added),[3] but she also argues for collaboration among the scribes after these booklets were begun due to the way the *mise-en-page* of various booklets begin to look more unified.

Robinson thus established many of the issues currently debated by Auchinleck scholars who seek codicological evidence for production theories about the Auchinleck Manuscript.[4] Specifically, there are several interrelated and complex issues to consider when analyzing the *mise-en-page* of the Auchinleck Manuscript: booklets, scribal collaboration, scribal innovation, and manuscript unity. Each scholar has contributed solid support for his or her theories, but at this point only Robinson's booklet theory is effectively established. Pearsall, Cunningham, Mordkoff, Hanna, Wiggins, Arthur Bahr, and Matthew Fisher, among others, all agree that the Auchinleck Manuscript is comprised of a series of booklets, and their utilization of this theory is well-founded as there is strong evidence to support booklets. For example, in the Auchinleck

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[2] For further discussion, see Loomis's "The Auchinleck Manuscript and a Possible London Bookshop of 1330-1340" and Robinson (34-35, 70-78).

[3] I define booklets in the most basic sense of the term where a booklet refers to a self-contained set of gatherings. By this I mean that typically a text is copied over the needed number of gatherings and frequently ends in the middle of a gathering; at that point a new text is started, which is often copied through the end of the gathering and into the middle of another gathering. In this way, the gatherings are interlocking, and so one text typically cannot be moved around in the manuscript without also moving the other related texts. A booklet refers to a set of gatherings in the manuscript where the first text of the booklet begins on the first folio of the booklet and the final text in this set ends on the final folio of the booklet, and so the booklet can be moved around without interfering with the content of the texts within. In this way, the manuscript can be broken into clean divisions where booklets begin and end. See Appendix B for a recreation of the gatherings and booklets of the Auchinleck.

[4] For example, Mordkoff's dissertation can be seen as pursuing Robinson's theories to their natural conclusion; Mordkoff's analysis of the *mise-en-page* dovetails with Robinson's in that she asserts that numerous booklets were started independently, and then at a certain moment a decision was made to unify the Auchinleck Manuscript with a distinct *mise-en-page*. Yet, in asserting a monastic scriptorium created the Auchinleck Manuscript, Mordkoff diverges from Robinson in that Mordkoff does not believe that a monastery would allow for scribal authorship and innovation. This stance causes Mordkoff to associate differences in the Auchinleck *mise-en-page* with scribal error rather than scribal innovation or intent.

Manuscript, there are 13 self-contained sets of gatherings, or booklets. While Robinson

identified 12 booklets in the Auchinleck, I found that booklet 3 may further have been divided

into 3A (Items 14-18) and 3B (Items 19-21). However, I would argue that there is little

foundation to assert, as Pearsall has in the "Introduction" to the facsimile edition, that a booklet

production process necessitates that all of the booklets were produced independently, selected by

a customer, and then assembled by a compiler, according to Pearsall's interpretation of the

production model based on booklets. The booklets of the Auchinleck demonstrate too much

active collaboration and integrated decision-making while they were being produced to support

such as model. Robinson also originally argued that the *mise-en-page* demonstrates that the

booklets were worked on collaboratively, and the detailed discussion in this chapter will

demonstrate the integrated nature of the booklets.[5]

The second issue in the Auchinleck production scholarship is whether the scribes worked

in a collaborative environment or as independent contract workers. When we consider

innovation along with collaboration, we are seeking evidence in the *mise-en-page* as to whether

the scribes worked in a collaborative secular environment (allowing innovation), a collaborative

monastic scriptorium (discouraging innovation),[6] or as contract-based scribes in a piecework

production model (with a predetermined *mise-en-page* and exemplars, thus discouraging

innovation). As was discussed in Chapter 1, Loomis originally suggested the secular, innovative,

collaborative environment for the Auchinleck scribes, known as her bookshop theory. However,

manuscript production scholars for the Auchinleck, led by the in-depth analysis of Mordkoff and

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[5] For further discussion see Robinson (34-35, 120-26, 134), Pearsall and Cunningham (viii-xi), Hanna ("Reconsidering" 94), Marshall (40-41), and Bahr (107-15).
[6] I am grateful to Dr. Dzon for pointing out that just because Mordkoff views a monastic scriptorium as a place discouraging innovation of the content, this does not mean that this is true. In fact, the witty, near contemporary *The Land of Cokaygne* (1320s-30s) was almost certainly adapted from its Old French analogue in a monastery or even convent (Kerby-Fulton 8-10). However, as I will discuss in Chapter 4, the Auchinleck hands seem to support a secular environment. Therefore, references to monastic scribes here will focus on Mordkoff's arguments.

Shonk, continually assert that there is little evidence to support Loomis's collaborative and innovative secular workspace. Mordkoff provides one approach to manuscript historians for the manuscript, which is to consider the evidence of collaboration evident in the Auchinleck *mise-en-page* as supporting production in the collaborative monastic scriptorium. Shonk has provided the more popular approach to the Auchinleck. Shonk adapted Doyle and Parkes' 15th century piecework production model for his early 14th century Auchinleck production model, and manuscript historians invested in this approach focus on the aspects of the *mise-en-page* which support a secular decision-making process with little scribal innovation or collaboration.[7]

Recently, following in the steps of Mordkoff and Shonk, Wiggins attempts to undermine not only Loomis's bookshop theory but also any scholars who still support a secular, collaborative, and innovative workspace. As mentioned briefly in Chapter 1, Wiggins specifically sets up a dialectic between literary scholars, who still offer "a degree of support for the bookshop theory," and "manuscript historians, especially paleographers and codicologists, [who] have been far more skeptical and their work has convincingly demonstrated the theory's fundamental flaws" ("*Guy of Warwick*" 123-24).[8] The sense which pervades Wiggins's scholarship is that literary scholars are drawn to the romantic theory of a bookshop where scribes can inspire each other and innovate their texts, but those who know better – the manuscript historians – point to solid codicological facts.[9] Wiggins thus indicates that knowledgeable manuscript production scholars will wrestle with codicology in terms of Mordkoff's collaborative monastic scriptorium or Shonk's piecework production model as serious

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[7] For further discussion, see Mordkoff (3, 18-59), Shonk ("Investigations" 2-4, 34-38, 133-35), and Doyle and Parkes' influential "The Production of Copies of the *Canterbury Tales* and the *Confessio Amantis* in the Early Fifteenth Century," particularly pp. 163-67.

[8] For further discussion, see Wiggins ("*Guy of Warwick*" 122-26).

[9] While I may disagree with Wiggins on some of the issues mentioned in this and following chapters, I do want to thank her for her hard work and dedication to build an excellent website with very helpful notes and resources.

production models, with neither model allowing for any innovation or agency on the part of the scribes. Because Shonk explicitly refutes a collaborative environment as well as the booklet theory, it may seem that the codicological debate for the Auchinleck Manuscript is thus set up between Shonk's piecework production model where contract scribes rely on a predetermined plan laid out for them and Mordkoff's collaborative environment where scribes began writing distinct-looking booklets prior to the official Auchinleck project but then after a handful of texts are told specifically how they will unite their design layout.

Recent scholarship outside of the Auchinleck discourse seriously challenges both Mordkoff and Shonk's theories, however. For example, Doyle and Parkes' 1978 influential article about the freelance-based piecework production model in 15th century publishing – the basis of Shonk's derivative model for the Auchinleck Manuscript production – has been directly challenged by Mooney and Stubbs' *Scribes and the City* (2013). Mooney and Stubbs have established that paleographical evidence from the late 14th and early 15th century manuscripts demonstrates that the scribes and authors of literary manuscripts worked together at the London Guildhall. Mooney and Stubbs have identified the hands of Chaucer's and Gower's scribes along with Chaucer and Gower themselves as clerks working for the London government, which challenges Doyle, Parkes, and thus Shonk, who argue for piecework production contract-based arrangements. Specifically, Mooney and Stubbs argue that the scribes, often co-workers at the London Guildhall, acted as a friendly, professional support network for one another and had access to a number of literary exemplars at the London Guildhall for their literary manuscripts as the Guildhall became a natural library for the literate men of London. In addition, there is evidence, for example, that Adam Pinkhurst and John Marchaunt would have had privileged access to parts of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* while Chaucer was alive due to their common

connections with the London Guildhall. Further, it is likely that after Chaucer's death that

Pinkhurst and Marchaunt would have had access to Chaucer's foul papers in order to complete

the *Canterbury Tales* due to Chaucer's son's role of coroner for the City of London. Thus, even

the 15th century production model now shows that the scribes not only worked with each other

but also with the authors as they ordered and edited their works.[10] And, as I will demonstrate in

this chapter, the Auchinleck Manuscript does not support the theory of a predetermined *mise-en-*

page or even a predetermined plan for the texts of the manuscript either.

In addition to these challenges to the piecework production theory, other recent

scholarship has contested what is known about early 14th century manuscript production. For

example, Mordkoff asserts that the only viable collaborative environment for the Auchinleck is a

monastic scriptorium due to the lack of evidence of a secular 14th century scriptorium. Yet, even

Mordkoff wondered why a manuscript produced by a monastery would be dominated by so

many secular romances, have so many different scribes working on it, and be made into such an

elaborate finished product.[11] In addition, as mentioned in Chapter 1, art historians have long

argued for the presence of secular professional artists. And since Mordkoff's dissertation in

1981, evidence has continued to surface to support a secular collaborative book production

model in the early 14th century. For example, Michael A. Michael and Lynda Dennison have

argued for the presence of two secular art workshops – the Queen Mary workshop in London and

the East Anglican workshop likely based in Norwich – in the early 14th century. In addition, for

lesser known artists, Lynda Dennison asserts evidence that, "By 1328 there was a fraternity of

painters dedicated to St Luke in St Giles, Cripplegate, where apparently many of them lived, but

the distinction between illuminators and painters, if indeed there was one at that date, is difficult

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[10] For further discussion, see Shonk ("Bookmen" 77-78, 85) and Mooney and Stubbs (2-4, 67-74, 129-31, 140).
[11] For further discussion, see Mordkoff (220-21, 224-25).

to establish from surviving documents" ("Liber" 128-29).[12] Thus, there is evidence for secular

professionals working together in the early 14th century, and some of these professionals were

scribes (or painters) as well as illustrators.

The connection between London and the Auchinleck (explored further in Chapters 4 and

5) also suggests that the Auchinleck may have been an early literary project for professionals

working in administration and familiar with London, such as Chancery or London Guildhall

clerks. If the Auchinleck Manuscript is connected with these professional scriveners, then the

Auchinleck was an early literary project for the London government clerks, a model which

Mooney and Stubbs argue was common later in the century. Therefore, Mordkoff's codicology

arguing for a collaborative environment (albeit a monastic one) can now be seen to support the

idea of a secular collaborative environment, one which is rather like Loomis's bookshop theory

despite Wiggins' claim that paleographers and codicologists would not support this theory.

B. The Problematic Auchinleck Standardized *Mise-en-Page*

While scholarship outside of the Auchinleck discussion challenges the conclusions about

the Auchinleck production in important ways, the key to understanding the Auchinleck

production process lies in understanding the Auchinleck codicology, with the *mise-en-page*

being central to this endeavor. It may seem tempting simply to combine Shonk's and

Mordkoff's core codicological analyses with more recent scholarship about manuscript

production. However, with the Auchinleck production freed from the confines of the monastic

scriptorium as well as the theoretical 15th century piecework production model, we are free to

reconsider other important pieces of the puzzle: scribal innovation and manuscript unity.

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[12] For further discussion, see Dennison ("Liber" 128, "Technical" 268), Sally Harper (73-76), Mooney and Stubbs (133-40), and Kerby-Fulton (48-49).

I argue that the Auchinleck *mise-en-page* demonstrates a process of negotiation and decision-making between the Auchinleck creators which establish their agency. In addition, while there is definitely an effort to unify the manuscript to some extent, I do not believe that a perfectly unified *mise-en-page* was ever the goal for the Auchinleck creators. The central flaw to both Mordkoff's and Shonk's scholarship is that they both assume that the scribes were not allowed to innovate and so they assume that differences in the *mise-en-page* denote a violation of an ideal standard *mise-en-page*. In fact, Mordkoff, who supports a monastic scriptorium, and Shonk, who proposes the piecework production model, both argue for a kind of standardized *mise-en-page* for the scribes to follow rather than an environment where the scribes had artistic freedom to innovate and make a series of collaborative decisions. For example, Mordkoff asserts:

> In fact, it seems more likely that after Scribe 2 had finished items 10 and 44, and shortly after Scribes 1, 3, and 5 had begun work on Fasc.I, III, and V [booklets 1, 3, and 5] respectively, something happened that led to a decision that henceforth decoration of all major poems should be uniform. (100)

Thus Mordkoff considers the *mise-en-page* through the lens of identifying the moment when all of the scribes decided to use the same design template, no doubt decided upon by someone of rank in the monastic scriptorium, and orders her analysis and conclusions accordingly.

This tendency to standardize the *mise-en-page* seems to be particularly true since Shonk published his article "A Study of the Auchinleck Manuscript: Bookmen and Bookmaking in the Early Fourteenth Century" (1985), which is a streamlined version of his 1981 dissertation. In both pieces of scholarship, Shonk emphasizes that the Auchinleck scribes followed a piecework

production model with a "predetermined design" plan; Shonk asserts ideas throughout his article

along the lines that "the six scribes followed the same general format, which gives the book the

appearance of unity and raises the possibility of predetermined design" ("Bookmen" 77). The

assertion of a standardized *mise-en-page* is foundational to Shonk's theory that the scribes did

not work together in a collaborative environment; in Shonk's piecework production model, each

scribe was given both exemplars to copy as well as the layout he needed to follow, and Shonk

argues that each scribe could and likely did complete his own work in a separate location, based

on Doyle and Parkes' assertion of one or two man workshops.

The assertion of a standardized *mise-en-page* has now permeated many studies of the

Auchinleck, particularly since 2000 when both Hanna and Wiggins both reassessed the

codicology of the Auchinleck and largely agreed with Shonk.[13]   Shonk's assertion of a

predetermined unified *mise-en-page*, where differences in the layout and details of Auchinleck

folios are rationalized as "some minor variations in format and style" ("Bookmen" 72), has

become the foundation of modern Auchinleck scholarship and even of early 14th century

bookmaking. Hanna's and Wiggin's backing have given Shonk's codicology an imprimatur of

authority. Between reference to Shonk and Hanna (who bases his few codicological remarks

about the Auchinleck on Shonk), the codicology in Shonk's article has solely undergirded four

studies on the Auchinleck[14] and has been considered along with Cunningham's brief

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[13] Both Hanna and Wiggins preferred Shonk's article to Shonk's and Mordkoff's more detailed dissertations. In fact, Hanna commends Shonk's 1985 brief article as "the finest single study of the manuscript" which he explicitly asserts is "considerably more useful than Shonk's unpublished 1981 University of Tennessee dissertation" ("Reconsidering" 93). Hanna only mentions that Mordkoff's dissertation to be "filled with meticulous observed detail" ("Reconsidering" 93). Notably Wiggins does draw on some of Mordkoff's work as she theorizes about Scribe 2 although she still follows Shonk's piecework production model fairly closely otherwise.

[14] This Shonk article, and Hanna's analysis based on it, are the sole codicological sources for four recent Auchinleck studies: Lydia Yaitsky's thesis on *Sir Tristrem* (2009), Bo Hyun Kim's thesis on the Auchinleck and lay piety (2011), Christopher Cannon's article revisiting the debate about Chaucer and the Auchinleck (2011), and the chapter about the Auchinleck in Arthur Bahr's new book *Fragment and Assemblages* (2013).

observations in seven more studies.[15] In addition, when Mordkoff's dissertation is referenced,[16] her idea that a standardized *mise-en-page* was implemented after the work began still seems to confirm for scholars that there was an essential standardized *mise-en-page.*

After all of my analysis, I realized that differences in the *mise-en-page* should not necessarily be read as problematic. My conclusion that anomalies could be important and intentional suddenly highlighted the faulty critical lens of previous scholars who chastise the scribes and their limitations. For Mordkoff, the monks were not in an environment which encouraged them to innovate and make independent decisions: thus, when Mordkoff analyzes slight differences in the height of Scribe 5's initial capitals, she says, "perhaps one may best assume that Scribe 5 was insensitive to such aesthetic matters as consistency of decoration: his erratic hand shows no tendency toward awareness of such a sort" (105). Similarly she suggests with little hard evidence that Scribe 2 was perhaps removed from the project because he just could not follow her ideals for the manuscript layout (170). Shonk's contact workers were also expected to replicate exactly a model layout: Shonk frequently berates Scribe 2, calling him "troublesome" in his article (78) and "rather inexperienced and undisciplined" in his dissertation (64) simply because Scribe 2's layout did not match Shonk's ideal and so complicated Shonk's

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[15] Shonk's article is considered along with the handful of pages in Pearsall and Cunningham's Introduction in seven further Auchinleck studies: Murray Evans's book *Rereading English Romance* (1995), Thorlac Turville-Petre's chapter "English in the Auchinleck Manuscript" (1996), Nicole Clifton's insightful article "'Of Arthour & of Merlin' as Medieval Children's Literature (2003), Rhiannon Purdie's interesting analysis in *Anglicizing Romance: Tail-Rhyme and Genre in Medieval English Literature* (2008), Emily Runde's "Reexamining Orhographic Practice in the Auchinleck Manuscript Through Study of Complete Scribal Corpora" (2010), Helen Marshall's "What's in a Paragraph" article (2010), and G.R. Riggs's dissertation on "How Saladin is Transformed from the Auchinleck MS to the Silver Screen" (2011).

[16] The studies which consider Shonk's article and Mordkoff's dissertation are Embree and Urquhart's *The Simonie: A Parallel-Text Edition* (1991) and Inju Chung Yim's dissertation "Seynt Katerine: A Critical Edition" (1997). In their discussions of the Auchinleck in *Opening Up Middle English Manuscripts* (2012), Maidie Hilmo and Linda Olson actually reference Shonk's dissertation and article as well as Mordkoff's dissertation. The one scholar who uses Mordkoff's work over Shonk's work is Siobhain Bly Calkin, whose 2002 dissertation was repackaged as the book *Saracens and the Making of the English Identity* (2005), although she also leans on Hanna's chapter based on Shonk's work. Notably, in their earlier article "The Simonie: The Case for Parallel-Text Edition" (1987), Embree and Urquhart rely just on the work of Cunningham and Pearsall, including Cunningham's article with Mordkoff.

streamlined production model. And when trying to determine why Scribe 3 did not leave space

for a miniature at one point, Shonk concludes that Scribe 3 forgot this important detail

("Bookmen" 82). Thus both Mordkoff and Shonk value conformity to an exact standard, and the

scribes are to blame when anomalies are found. Wiggins summarizes and perpetuates this

sentiment so well with her assertion, "As with the miniatures, the format of the codex is

dominated by a consistent design though some irregularities have been tolerated" ("*Guy of*

Warwick" 117). Olson does the same more recently when she states that, "certain works were

farmed out to scribes less accomplished than the main copyist, like the rather inconsistent Scribe

2 … and the possibly less-experienced Scribe 5" (Kerby-Fulton 105-06)

Unfortunately, Mordkoff, Shonk, Wiggins, and Olson all assume that mass production of

a standardized pattern is the natural ideal for the manuscript, which Shonk unselfconsciously

confesses with his assertion that the work of Scribe 3 was more appealing to "our more modern

desire for quality control" (64). And, based on her embrace of Shonk and Mordkoff, Wiggins

sums up the differences in the Auchinleck Manuscript *mise-en-page* as: "the inconsistencies that

occur have been explained by Mordkoff as the result of the very earliest stages of production,

before the volume was planned, and as is described below, by Shonk as the inevitable result of

piecework production. Both of these are acceptable and it seems likely that a combination of

both occurred" ("*Guy of Warwick*" 120).[17] But, Wiggins is critically wrong on this point; it is

not expected conformity and then lackluster scribes which naturally leads to the layout anomalies

we find in the Auchinleck Manuscript. Rather the differences in design throughout the

Auchinleck Manuscript, as my research shows, regularly suggest the active collaboration of

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[17] Olson also endorses Mordkoff's idea of a two-stage implementation of the *mise-en-page* with item 44 likely representing "an early part of the project since it appears in the single-column format later abandoned by Auchinleck's scribes" (Kerby-Fulton 115).

engaged minds and the flexibility to allow independent decision-making of the scribes when sensible.

C. Challenging the Standardized Auchinleck *Mise-en-Page*

Therefore, I want to reexamine and challenge the underlying "modern" assumption in the Auchinleck discourse that differences from some sort of ideal *mise-en-page* demonstrate either ignorance or incompetence by the scribes. Scholarship outside of the Auchinleck discourse again offers some interesting insight on this point. For example, Mary and Richard Rouse argue that after the start of universities, with larger class sizes and less time to read entire manuscripts slowly, there became a need to include finding aids in the manuscripts because readers could no longer rely on their memories of the texts gained by unhurried reading and individual tutelage. The 13th century thus saw a flourish of finding aids, including both rational and alphabetical indices of manuscripts. However, page layout became very important as well; once a text finder was used (generally some sort of index), the folios themselves included layout systems to help readers find their way through texts: "such techniques as running headlines, chapter titles in red, alternating red and blue initials and gradation in the size of initials, paragraph marks, cross-references, and citation of authors quoted" (Rouse and Rouse *Authentic Witnesses* 198). These layout techniques became integral in other manuscripts of the 13th and14th centuries as well; for example, "In the Auchinleck manuscript nearly every item was once illustrated and the illustrations or historiated initials at the beginning of each text together with titles and numbers enabled the reader to find his way about the book quickly" (Robinson 78).[18]

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[18] For further discussion, see Mary Carruthers (*Book of Memory* 274-77), Robinson (76-78), Evans (3-4), Clemens and Graham (164), and Rouse and Rouse's *Authentic Witnesses*, Chapter 6: "*Statim invenire*: Schools, Preachers, and New Attitudes to the Page."

In addition, the layouts used to aid readers in finding texts were not always identical. For example, Evans's study has demonstrated evidence that romances were decorated differently than other texts in the manuscripts; thus, we need to consider that different genres – defined according to how our scribes may have defined genres – may have intentionally rather than unwittingly received different treatment. In addition, these differences were more than just aesthetic choices. The notions of items being "orderly" and "distinct" were important medieval concepts for helping an audience to digest and recall information. Mary Carruthers explains that, according to the understanding of medieval thinkers and writers, orderly, distinct visual and auditory cues need to enter "one of the gates to memory, and the form it takes often has to do with what is useful not only to understand a text but to retain and recall it too" (*Book of Memory* 281). The gates to the memory were considered to be the eyes and the ears, thus the visual and auditory nature of the texts (with the readers often reading aloud) were important. Educated medieval thinkers valued unique visual and auditory cues in texts, the *painture* and *parole* of the text respectively, in order to be able to distinguish various texts (and parts of texts) in order to understand and remember them.[19]

Aristotle, Quintilian(us), Augustine, Aquinas, Dante, Richard de Fournival, Chaucer, and Lydgate all indicate that they considered the *painture* and *parole* of the text to help the ideas to enter the "house of memory." A few examples focused on the *painture*, the physical presentation of the text, will help to substantiate this point. Richard de Fournival's preface to his 13th century *Li Bestiaire d'amours* demonstrates that he valued the *painture* – with the letters and

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[19] Carruthers clarifies that "letters, *litterae*, make present the voices (*voces*) and ideas (*res*) of those who are not present…so pictures serve as present signs of or cues to those same *voces* and *res*. For further discussion of these issues, see Evans (50), Carruthers and Ziolkowski (7-8), Carruthers (*Book of Memory* 274-281), Rouse and Rouse (*Manuscripts and their Makers* 152).

punctuation necessarily painted on the page[20] – as important visuals to help him and his reader remember a text.[21] Dante pictured words in his memory under paraphs, a symbol used to indicate to a reader the start of a distinct subsection or stanza in a text.[22] John Lydgate pictured his text – including the illustration, red and black rubrics, paraphs, and the illustration – prior to writing it, thus considering the layout as well as the words.[23] Finally Chaucer pictured the voices of his text *House of Fame* coming to life in red and black clothing, depending on the color of the ink used for the voice, demonstrating how critical the two colors of text are in helping him distinguish different disembodied voices.[24] Thus, these very painted words, paraphs, and illustrations help authors and readers alike to distinguish, picture, and recall certain moments of the text.

From all of this we learn that, when we consider the *mise-en-page* and decorative details of the Auchinleck, it is very important not to skim over differences or cut them out of the Auchinleck scholarship altogether. Indeed, as Anne Rudloff Stanton considers the *mise-en-page* of the Queen Mary Psalter, she notes the importance of "the page layout of the medieval book – including the size and shape of the words, the placement and organization of images" (7) when she explains the important and intentional design decisions made by the scribes and artists.

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[20] As Carruthers asserts, "Abbot Gilbert's is not a mimetic definition but a temporal one, in keeping with the traditions of both ancient and medieval philosophy and pedagogical practice; the letters and other images are signs (*notae*), not primarily by virtue of imitation but by virtue of recalling something again to memory, making one mindful as the prophet is made mindful. This understanding requires that pictures themselves function recollectively, as letters do. It is equally true to say that letters can function as pictures of a sort" (275).

[21] For further discussion of each example cited in this paragraph, see Carruthers *Book of Memory* (277-80). Richard de Fournival: "And I will show you how this text has both *painture* and *parole*. For it is clear that is has *parole*, because all writing is made in order to signify *parole* and in order that one should read it: and when one reads it aloud, writing returns to the nature of *parole*. On the other hand, it is clear that it also has *painture* because the letter does not exist unless one paints it" (*Li Bestiaire* 5).

[22] Dante: "written in my memory under large paraphs" (*scritte ne la mia memoria sotto maggiori paragrafi*) (*La vita nouva* 2:10).

[23] Lydgate pictured Pity in his mind and wrote: "Rubrisshes departyd blak and Reed/ Of ech chapitle a paraph in the heed/ Remembryd first Fifteene of her gladynessys/ And next in ordre were set her hevynessys" (*The Fifteen Joys and Sorrows of Mary*).

[24] Chaucer: "Whan any speche ycomen ys/ Up to the paleys, anon-ryght/ Hyt wexeth lyk the same wight/ Which that the word in erthe spake,/ Be hyt clothed red or black,/ And hath so very hys lyknesse/ That spoke the word that thou wilt gesse/ That it the same body be,/ Man or woman, he or she" (*House of Fame,* 1074-82).

Therefore, distinct looking areas and folios in the Auchinleck Manuscript would be seen as important visual cues for the reader to help a given item be found and remembered. As I describe the Auchinleck *mise-en-page* below, I will argue and substantiate that the anomalies in decoration and layout in the Auchinleck Manuscript are often positive rather than negative signifiers. I believe that my concerted focus on the *mise-en-page*, including the anomalies, will clearly demonstrate how inconsistently the theoretical unified ideal is actually applied throughout the manuscript; instead, we shall find experimental, collaborative processes and decision-making as this manuscript was being produced.

An important part of the collaboration and decision-making is the ability and willingness of the scribes to make decisions, including aesthetic, pragmatic, and those indicative of the larger aims of the text and manuscript. These decisions and evidence of collaboration can best be observed in my critical analysis of the parts of the layout analyzed below referring specifically to scribal copying decisions.[25] The evidence of collaboration here, along with other recent scholarship that supports secular fraternities, the Chancery, the London Guildhall, professional *ateliers*, and other configurations producing early 14th century manuscripts (as will be explored more in Chapters 3-5), demonstrate that the codicology of the Auchinleck Manuscript does, in fact, support Loomis's suggestion of a secular, collaborative, innovative work environment.

One final important issue is that at least five folios of the Auchinleck Manuscript indicate that the manuscript was left unfinished. This sense of incomplete items turns up in several different ways. As will be discussed below, the texts of items 13 and 39 appear to not have been completed. In addition, f.256v shows an odd transition between items 26 and 27, with item 26

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[25] In Chapter 3 I will focus on the rest of the *mise-en-page*, which will include the work and influence of the artists.

possibly not being completed before the miniature of item 27 was drawn in. It is possible that

some of the items are missing titles due to the fact that the scribes did not have time to finish the

manuscript. I shall also discuss in Chapter 3 several instances where the folios have unfinished

illustrative work, including a lack of rubricated letters on f.21r and a lack of red paraphs on f.78r.

Sometimes these incomplete aspects of the Auchinleck have been misunderstood or

misinterpreted by previous scholars, and so I want to introduce the concept that the Auchinleck

was not quite finished and perhaps the scribes were rushed at the end of production or, more

likely, were working on the manuscript *ad hoc* around their duties in administrative offices.

D. Components of the Scribal *Mise-en-Page*

There are five crucial components of the *mise-en-page*, related to the copying decisions (as

opposed to artistic ones which shall be covered in Chapter 3). These five components are:

columns of text per folio, lines of text per column, item numbers, titles & headings, and *Explicit*

and *Amen*. Each of these for the Auchinleck Manuscript will be described and discussed below.

1. Columns of Text per Folio

Auchinleck scholars have considered the standardized layout to be two columns of text

ruled roughly 200 mm long and 70 mm wide with 10 mm between the columns.[26] Indeed, 41 out

of 44 extant texts of the Auchinleck Manuscript have two columns, with the three exceptions

being items 1, 21, and 44. However, these three exceptions show us that the scribes

implemented their decision to use two columns per folio with greater flexibility than scholars

allow the scribes. In addition, the variation in the measurement of the columns demonstrates that

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[26] For further discussion see Robinson (35), Pearsall and Cunningham (xi, xiv), Mordkoff (76-77), Shonk ("Investigations" 69, "Bookmen" 77), and Wiggins ("*Guy of Warwick*" 117).

the scribes may have been given, or have decided upon, a rough sense of the dimensions to aim for, but each scribe was allowed to determine how he would go about attaining that goal.

Scribe 4's *Battle Abbey Roll* (item 21), a list of Norman names, is the easiest exception to the double-column standard to address. Undoubtedly it would be economically wise for Scribe 4 to use four columns rather than two due to his ability to conserve expensive parchment; this decision may have been aesthetic as well for the list of names which are much shorter than a typical line of poetry. Scribe 4 seems to have ruled his four-column work over the standard double-column format as the double columns as the original second column are just visible at the top of certain folios.[27] Thus, we can conclude that pure conformity to some theoretical double-column ideal is not the only or greatest priority. The two-column *mise-en-page* decision was balanced with other considerations; here, the Auchinleck decision-makers elected for four columns as they valued an efficient use of space over the unity of the layout.

The other two anomalies are single-column exceptions to the double-column standard that require further exploration: our first extant item, Scribe 1's *The Legend of Pope Gregory* (item 1), and our last extant item, Scribe 2's *Þe Simonie* (item 44).[28] With these two texts, I believe we are dealing with two different issues. Scribe 2's item 44 is a bit easier to understand although previous scholars have been too quick to write item 44 off as one more anomaly tied to Scribe 2; Robinson, Mordkoff, Wiggins, Olson, and even Shonk (in his dissertation) all suggest

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[27] On ff.105v, 106r, and 107r a light set of three lines can be seen in the top margin in the middle; these lines would have originally set off the right column in a double-column format, but here fade into the background of the third column. Shonk and Wiggins both also mention the economic value of four columns. For further analysis see Bliss (657), Shonk ("Bookmen" 78-78), and Wiggins ("*Guy of Warwick*" 117).

[28] The idea that the first and last text were meant to bookend the manuscript with these single-columns may sound tempting but is problematic for two reasons: first, our current item 44 has no catchword related to it or contemporary item number and so could have been inserted at various other parts of the manuscript where we know we have lost at least one gathering (Bliss 656). Second, our current item 1 seems to have been the sixth item of the manuscript based on the medieval item number, as Shonk also noted ("Investigations" 62).

that the single-column format of Scribe 2's *Þe Simonie* (item 44) indicates that this text was

copied not only before the standardized *mise-en-page* was put in place but even before Scribe 2

and this poem were officially part of the Auchinleck manuscript project.[29] As such, previous

scholars have missed an important issue with this text which causes it to need a single column:

the bob of the stanza, which so perplexed Shonk, complicates the space requirements because the

short bob has been written off to the right and marked with a red paraph for emphasis.[30] I

therefore want to point out, as no scholar has previously, that the *Þe Simonie* has thus been

written with a unique poetic structure that would not work in a double column, even if its long-

lines had been broken into smaller lines in order to fit them in a double column-format.

Importantly, these bobs in the stanza for item 44 both aurally and visually punctuate each

stanza with a clear, bold thought, while the poem ranges over a number of issues, shown for a

stanza in Figure 7. Indeed, item 44, titled *Þe Simonie*, is a bold poem airing grievances: "*The*

Simonie is a Middle English evil-times complaint -- that is, a poem that attacks the ecclesiastical,

political, economic, and social

abuses of society and that

despairs of society's moral

condition" (Dan Embree and

Elizabeth Urquhart *Parallel-*
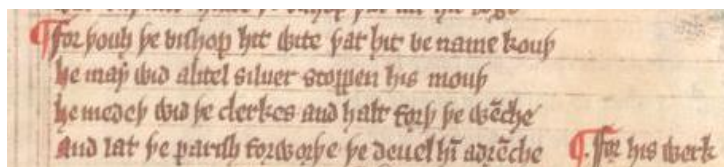
Figure 7: Stanza from Scribe 2's item 44
f.329r

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[29] The single-column layout of item 44 is not the only reason why these scholars conclude that item 44 may have been copied earlier, but it is a primary reason. While Scribe 2's item 10 and 44 will be noted as exceptions to the theoretical standard *mise-en-page* several more times, in this section I restrict my analysis to item 44 in relation to its columns in order to consider this issue more carefully. For further discussion, see Robinson (35), Mordkoff (105-107), Wiggins ("*Guy of Warwick*" 119), Olson (Kerby-Fulton 115), and Shonk ("Investigations" 62, 64).

[30] See Shonk ("Investigations" 64). Embree and Urquhart describe the poetic structure as: "composed in six-line stanzas, rhyming aabbcc, in which the first four lines have four to seven stresses, and the fifth and sixth are a one-stress bob and a four-to seven-stress wheel ("Case" 52). David Matthews further explains that, in item 44, that the bob forces a kind of dramatic pause which emphasizes that heavy stresses of the final line of the stanza; for Matthews' analysis of item 44, see *Writing to the King* (119-25).

Text 7). According to the concepts of the *painture* and *parole* of a text (the visual and auditory components that influence how a text is recalled) discussed above, item 44 has been structured so that the visual bob is separated out in such a way as to enhance its auditory stress role in the stanza. Writing the poem in a single-column format with this visual and auditory bob emphasizes a point for each stanza and thus enhances memorability.[31] Considering these aesthetic and practical concerns for *Þe Simonie* seems to have caused Scribe 2 to make the decision (perhaps along with a team working on the manuscript) to adapt the double-column format to a single-column format with a bob, indicating that the Auchinleck decision-makers – likely including Scribe 1 – were again flexible enough to accept a variation in the layout as desired.

The final non-standard column text, *The Legend of Pope Gregory* (item 1), demonstrates the willingness of another scribe to experiment with different layouts. Our current item 1 does not have long lines which you may expect to be the reason for it to be copied in a single-column; rather two short lines of verse are written in one line together as is demonstrated by the rhyme scheme and is shown in

Figure 8.[32] There has been some consensus that this single-column text was likely experimental and

Figure 8: Two lines of text from Scribe 1's item 1
f.6r

then later called into question, as after this point two columns are used where possible. While it is true that our current item 1 was probably the sixth text of the manuscript and thus a number of texts may have been copied in a single-column before this experimental format was rejected, the

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[31] Like Shonk's two works, Embree and Urquhart have published two works, and article and a book, with similar names. "Case" will refer to the 1987 article, and *Parallel-Text* will refer to the 1991 book.

[32] The two lines shown in Figure 8 are: "Þe wif wel ȝern was about Þat Gregorij was þer fet./ Þe housbond was stern & stout Þe penaunt hadde hard gret" (ll.886-89).

evidence for a decisive change in relation to the number of columns is compelling. After this text in the manuscript, when necessary the scribe in question "divides a genuine long line (usually seven-stress, without medial rhyme, the type of line used in the *South English Legendary*) … into two short lines and rubricates the mono-rhymed quatrains in eights, so creating a stepping stone to the developed *abababab* stanza" (Pearsall and Cunningham viii).[33] Thus, after our current item 1, a decision was made not to use a single-column format whenever a double-column format could be made to work. The innovative approach to item 1 should be noted, however, because it is not the only time the scribes were willing to try out various layouts and decisions before changing course. In fact, the experimental nature of this single-column item 1 suggests an environment where a trial-and-error method was acceptable.

Ultimately, the evidence from the Auchinleck codicology just for the number of columns per folio indicates two things. First, a decision was made, likely early on, and communicated to others to use two columns per folio when possible. Second, this decision was flexible to the needs of a single column for item 44 and for the four-columns for item 21. This supports my general view that for certain parts of the *mise-en-page* there is a kind of normative *mise-en-page* that was put in place as the scribes began their work. However, I do not believe this generic layout was the result of one great moment of instruction by an authority and then implemented rigidly across the remaining texts, as Robinson and Mordkoff argue. Rather, a kind of plan for

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[33] For further discussion, see Pearsall and Cunningham (viii), Mordkoff (78), and Shonk ("Investigations" 53-54). While Scribe 1's experiment with one column for at least this text (as it was originally the 6th item) is standardly acknowledged by scholars, Hanna overlooks it when he compares the Auchinleck's use of double columns to Horn's legal books and their use of double columns. Hanna asserts: "Further, quite unusual for a book so large, when texts allowed it, every other scribe set out to imitate [Scribe 1's] ruling system and his double column format, as I have already suggested a feature closely resembling Horn's books" (*London* 75). Thus, in order to assert that Scribe 1 led the way in using double columns and to suggest that Scribe 1 forms a link with Horn's preferred *mise-en-page*, Hanna must ignore the fact that Scribe 1 used a single-column format at first. There is also no evidence that the other scribes copied a Scribe 1's ruling system; rather the evidence indicates – as I shall discuss in Chapters 2 and 3 – that Scribes 1, 2, and 3 negotiated a number of decisions related to the *mise-en-page*, including the ruling system.

the manuscript was negotiated over a series of small decisions, and – importantly – unity also was not the only consideration; it is equally clear that the scribes had some agency to experiment with formats, such as Scribe 1's playing with the single-column format, likely early in the production process, and Scribes 2 and 4's deviating from that format for one text each. Therefore, the evidence suggests an environment where communication and independent decision-making were supported, which indicates the Auchinleck was produced in a collaborative environment where such decision-making was negotiated.

2. Lines of Text per Column

According to the standardized *mise-en-page* asserted by scholars, there are 44 lines per column in the Auchinleck. When assessing scribes who do not follow the 44 line per folio "ideal," many scholars tend to focus on Scribe 2 and rehearse something like Robinson's succinct description: "Each scribe writes approximately 44 lines per page except Scribe B [or 2][34] who writes approximately 24 lines per pages" (128).[35] While the exact exception noted for Scribe 2 varies, the real issue scholars have not fully acknowledged is that there are a large number of folios that do not follow 44 lines, and not just those by Scribe 2. When we let go of the idea that there was an ideal *mise-en-page,* what becomes apparent is that the 44 lines per folio was not the predetermined plan for the manuscript and that there was never a rigid standard number of lines for the *mise-en-page* for the entire manuscript. Rather, certain texts appear to be intentionally distinct, and certain decisions seem to be left to the scribes.

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[34] As mentioned, Robinson uses a different set of terms for the scribes from most in Auchinleck scholarship. This will be addressed more in chapter 4, but her scribe B is equivalent to Scribes 2 and 4 combined.

[35] For further information, see Robinson (128), Pearsall and Cunningham (xi), Mordkoff (77), Shonk ("Investigations" 69), Wiggins ("*Guy of Warwick*" 117), and Hanna (*London* 74).

The evidence suggests that the scribes – particularly Scribes 1, 2, 3, and 4 – decided how they wanted to approach the lines per folios, sometimes not hitting anywhere near the 44 line per sheet norm on certain folios. For example, scribes sometimes adjusted the lines for very specific folios, as they determined what was needed, and even precise Scribe 6 dabbled in this latter process.[36] In fact, only Scribe 5 did not vary his lines per folio at all, which is part of the reason that Shonk suggested, briefly in his dissertation, that Scribe 5 could be an apprentice of Scribe 1, with Scribe 1 looking over his shoulder.[37] Thus, a lack of variation is not a signifier of scribal competence but of due diligence to a master scribe; in other words, it is natural and necessary to allow capable scribes to adjust their lines per folio as is necessary for each folio.

When we consider the other five scribes, however, I believe scholars have been too hasty in concluding that variations in the lines per folio are mistakes or evidence of the texts being copied prior to a standardized *mise-en-page*. First, differing aesthetic sensibilities may be in play. For example, Scribe 3 has small and thin handwriting, and yet he seems to naturally prefer more space between his lines and fewer lines per folio than the 44 line norm, as he ruled between 33 and 40 lines per sheet for many of his folios. Notably, a decision was made at some point during Scribe 3's work in booklet 3A; for items 14-17 he ruled between 33 and 40 lines per folio, but starting with item 18 (the last text in booklet 3A) he ruled 44 lines per folio.[38] Wiggins

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[36] Scribe 6's precision is evident in numerous ways. For example, only Scribe 6, who copied one extant text, *Otuel a Knight* (item 32), which occupies one gathering, has very consistent and exact measurements for almost every folio: 200 mm exactly for the length and 150 mm across (Shonk "Investigations" 69-70, Mordkoff 101). And Shonk specifically notes, "the precision of this final scribe's ruling may be his most outstanding characteristic. All of the dimensions cited above are nearly exact on every leaf. This conscientiousness is in contrast to the sometimes inconsistent work of some of the other scribes (most notably scribe II)" ("Investigations" 70).

[37] For further discussion, see Shonk ("Investigations" 68). Not surprisingly, Shonk cuts out this idea of Scribe 5 being a possible apprentice for his article, likely because the apprentice relationship would provide evidence of the scribes working together collaboratively in a physical workspace. However, I address Scribe 5's possible status as an apprentice again in Chapter 4, Section C: "The Junior Scribal Team."

[38] Robinson and Mordkoff see this change as evidence of when the standardized *mise-en-page* was put in place: "a trend toward the same format can be seen more clearly in the work of Scribe 3 since all of his work is continuous within one fascicle" (Mordkoff 102, and supported by Robinson 35, 134), even though Scribe 3's columns were

suggests that Scribe 1 ruled the gathering of booklet 3B for Scribe 3, but Scribe 3 ruled his

columns in a distinct manner.[39] Yet clearly Scribe 3 did not suddenly assume he should copy two

items (18 and 19) with 44 lines per folio. Also, as will be discussed in relation to item numbers

below, the contemporary item numbers written on four folios of item 19 (Scribe 3's only poem in

booklet 3B) suggest that originally booklet 3B may have been incorporated earlier in the

manuscript and so possibly was copied before booklet 3A. Therefore, all we can conclude is that

some sort of negotiation happened during Scribe 3's copying of booklet 3A as there is a clear

split in how the folios were ruled for his work in items 14-17 and then items 18 and 19, but we

do not know what decision was made or even the order the booklets were copied in. We do know

that this interference happened after the decision to copy most items in the Auchinleck

Manuscript in two columns, however, because Scribe 3 copies all of his texts with two columns.

For the often repeated issue with Scribe 2's large handwriting, there has been a consensus

among Auchinleck scholars to claim that Scribe 2 ruled fewer lines per sheet because he was

limited by his large handwriting[40] even though Scribe 3 ruled as few as 33 lines per folio and has

small handwriting. In addition, each scholar has to admit that Scribe 2 wrote smaller and quite

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notably shorter than the ideal 200 mm for the last four folios of item 19 (Shonk "Investigations" 66). And because booklet 3 can be broken into two additional booklets, Scribe 3 could technically have copied item 19 in booklet 3B, which also has 44 lines per column, *before* he copied those with varying line per folio in booklet 3A. Overall, the evidence that the standardized *mise-en-page* was implemented during Scribe 3's copying stint is not conclusive.

[39] Wiggins suggests that Scribe 1 ruled these lines in order to assert that Scribe 2 (who copies item 20 in the same gathering as Scribe 3's item 19) had direct contact with Scribe 1 ("Are Auchinleck" 20). But Shonk documents irregularities in the ruling of Scribe 3's items 18 and 19 that do not fit how Scribe 1 ruled over 70% of the manuscript: "on fols. 85r and 93r-98v irregularities do occur in that the scribe drew only a single instead of double line for the right margin. Moreover, on fols. 93r-98v only the top rule crosses the entire page; the bottom rules extend only to the margin lines" ("Investigations" 65). He then explicitly states, "it would seem possible that III was using sheets ruled by I. That possibility is negated [because] we can conclude from minor variations noted above that each scribe apparently ruled his own sheets in this manuscript" ("Investigations" 65). Also, as mentioned above, Scribe 3's columns were physically shorter for the last four folios of item 19 (Shonk "Investigations" 66). Shonk's fourth dissertation chapter "The Dimensions and the Rulings of the Leaves" gives precise measurements for all of the different scribes' rulings.

[40] Scribe 2 ruled 24-31 lines per folio for item 10 and 27-30 lines per folio for item 44. For their specific comments about Scribe 2's ruling due to his large handwriting, see Pearsall and Cunningham (xiv), Mordkoff (105), Shonk ("Bookmen" 78), and Wiggins ("*Guy of Warwick*"117).

fine for his item 20, which actually has 44 lines per column.[41] Rather, I think we need to reconsider the possibility that Scribe 2 was making an intentional and significant decision for his items 10 and 44, where he ruled fewer lines per folio, in order to allow his texts to stand out. It is true that Scribe 2's script is an elaborate and time-consuming bookhand[42] and that his handwriting in items 10 and 44 is larger than that of most Auchinleck scribes. However, his handwriting does not seem large compared to that found in the Queen Mary Psalter. And the comparison with the Queen Mary Psalter, a luxury psalter, seems appropriate here: writing in a large hand can be viewed as an indicator of luxury and formality because it uses more precious parchment and ink and the large size would have allowed for ease of reading. Therefore, I would assert that Scribe 2 was allowed to treat his items 10 and 44 as important texts. Rather than seeing his large handwriting and ruling as errors to be tolerated, we need to understand that Scribe 2's items 10 and 44 are intentionally prominent in the manuscript, and this distinction would have been a mark of respect for him and his work as the large handwriting would allow his work to be identified, found, and remembered more easily than many other poems.[43]

As mentioned above, Scribe 2's *The Sayings of the Four Philosophers* (item 20) on f.105r does actually follow 44 lines per folio and represents his exception rather than his rule. It is likely that Scribe 3 ruled the entire gathering, as Scribe 2 copied after Scribe 3 completed item 19 and so adjusted the size of his handwriting in order to fit this ruling.[44] Due to Scribe 2's small handwriting here and his sharing a gathering with Scribes 3 and 4, item 20 has naturally

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[41] Robinson, Mordkoff, Wiggins, and even Shonk (in his dissertation) also all assume that item 20 was Scribe 2's last contribution to the manuscript because his other two works are distinct looking so these scholars argue that Scribe 2 copied them prior to the implementation of the standardized *mise-en-page*.

[42] See Chapter 4, Section D: "The Scribal Court Hands" for an image and detailed analysis of Scribe 2's hand.

[43] For further discussion on handwriting and luxury, see Stanton (17). Scribe 2's items 10 and 44 are distinct-looking for additional reasons, but – again – each factor will be considered individually.

[44] Bliss first suggested that the scribes ruled their own gatherings (657-58), and Shonk pursued this line of thinking best with his exact measurements and descriptions in his fourth dissertation chapter. Scribe 2's poem on the Magna Carta (item 20) also blends in to the manuscript much more than his other verses; I will return to this point later.

generated much discussion. For example, Mordkoff and Robinson have concluded that Scribe 2 must have started on items 10 and 44 prior to the Auchinleck but was brought back in to work on this text, which was copied after the official Auchinleck project began. Wiggins agrees with their analysis of the two different time periods when Scribe 2 worked, and she further asserts that the evidence demonstrates that Scribe 2 was part of Scribe 1's network of freelance workers who were called back repeatedly as needed. I want to stress that Wiggins makes this assertion based just on Scribe 2's small hand-writing in item 20. From there, she considers Scribe 2's small handwriting to be a metaphor of his being a "professional shape-changer," being a professional scribe who assisted Scribe 1 in different roles as needed.[45]

I believe that the assumption that Scribe 2 worked earlier than everyone else on items 10 and 44, whether as a contract worker or in a scriptorium, to be unfounded. The difference in his handwriting really is the main change between Scribe 2's item 20 and his items 10 and 44. For example, Scribe 2's item 20 still varies from the "ideal" *mise-en-page* in that item 20 has no title, no miniature, and just one initial capital for which he did not leave room. The assumption that Scribe 2 essentially copied two works, items 10 and 44, before there was an established Auchinleck project and then was added to the project again later – a judgment based mainly on the smaller size of his handwriting – is not demonstrable.

Furthermore, Scribe 2's responsibility for item 20 actually is a strong indicator that he was working in a collaborative environment. When Wiggins suggests that Scribe 2 returned to copy item 20, or when Shonk suggests that the gathering was sent to Scribe 2,[46] they neglect to mention that item 20 is a mere leaf long, f.105r. Conservatively estimating that Scribe 2's

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[45] For further discussion, see Mordkoff (107) and Wiggins ("Are Auchinleck" 20-21, "*Guy of Warwick*" 119). I discuss further problems with Wiggins' theory in Chapter 4, Section E: "Scribe 2," particularly fn. 53.
[46] For further discussion, see Wiggins ("*Guy of Warwick*" 119) and Shonk ("Bookmen" 74-75).

copying rate, when he is copying with his large hand, is two to four folios a day,[47] this one folio

with smaller handwriting easily represents less than half of a day's work for Scribe 2. Indeed, if

we consider the piecework production model (Shonk's model and the core of Wiggins's model),

it would presumably take longer to contact Scribe 2 and hire him again to copy the exemplar

than to have central Scribe 1 just copy the one folio himself. Thus, Scribe 2's contribution for a

single folio indicates that he was on hand for this copying work rather than a freelance

professional who copied in an independent workshop.

Wiggins was on the right track when she considered Scribe 2 to be a professional shape-

shifter, but her argument is too narrow. The early 14th century represents a time when the

professionals in the book trade often wore many hats, and it is not even clear if there was a solid

distinction between scribe and illustrator, as I shall show in Chapter 3. In the Auchinleck itself, I

have detected Scribe 2's hand in several places where I believe he was proofreading the folios to

check that all the initial capitals were added, and he inserted at least one and possibly two initial

capitals at different stages in the production process. And rather than believing that Scribe 2 left

the project and came back, we must remember he also was busy editing and/or adapting all three

of his items as well as adding paraphs to his items 10 and 44, as I will show in Chapters 3 and 4.

Thus, Scribe 2 was an integral part of the Auchinleck project, as an author, scribe, proofreader,

and illustrator.

In conclusion, the evidence about the lines per folio indicates a couple of important

things about the scribes and their work. At some point, 44 lines per folio seems to have been

negotiated as a goal for the Auchinleck folios, but every scribe outside of Scribe 5 had the

agency and felt the need to adjust the exact number of lines per folio at times. Scribes 2 and 3

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[47] For an analysis of the copying rates of the scribes, see Mordkoff (171-80) and Mooney and Stubbs (132).

notably adjusted their lines per folio the most, likely indicating their seniority as this represents

an expensive decision which requires more vellum to execute. Both Scribes 2 and 3 also seemed

to prefer to have fewer lines per folio although Scribe 3's handwriting is quite slender and small.

Scribe 2's large, elaborate bookhand in his items 10 and 40 is likely an indicator of luxury,

especially since both texts seems to be original adaptations by him.[48] Scribe 2's writing with a

smaller hand for item 20, which he copied at the end of Scribe 3's stint in booklet 3B, indicates

not that he was hired at a later time to copy this one leaf but, rather, that Scribe 2's on hand

availability to copy this one sheet demonstrates a collaborative process.

3. Item Numbers

Figure 9: *vii* (now item 2)
f.10r

Auchinleck scholars frequently note that a

contemporary hand, likely Scribe 1, wrote the medieval item

numbers in lower-case roman numerals in dark ink in the

middle of the upper margin on the recto side, as shown in

Figure 9. There is a blue paraph to the left of these item numbers. The same item number is

written on the upper recto margin of each folio of a text.[49] However, previous scholars have not

studied these item numbers closely; most mention that the item numbers are complicated for a

number of reasons, including the damage to and loss of numerous medieval numbers. I would

add that close analysis of the damaged item numbers indicates that the poems of the Auchinleck

were not at all predetermined prior to the start of the project. Rather, the complications in the

item numbers indicate that the booklets were rearranged a bit and that item numbers started

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[48] This important point will be explored and established in Chapter 4, Section E: "Scribe 2."

[49] For a discussion of the standard, see Pearsall and Cunningham (xiv), Mordkoff (75-76, 82-83), Shonk ("Investigations" 50-51), and Wiggins ("*Guy of Warwick*" 112). For a broader discussion of this issue, see Evans (32-33).

being assigned to texts before the scribes knew how long each poem would be and how many texts would be needed to fill a booklet. If the scribes were merely copying exemplars given to them, certainly Scribe 1 (or a central editor figure) could fairly accurately estimate how many poems were needed to fill each booklet and create the item numbers accordingly. Instead, some of the problematic item numbers establish that *ad hoc* adjustments were being made and that the scribes were making a number of decisions while they were creating the Auchinleck.

The damage to and loss of medieval item numbers are fairly substantial in the Auchinleck. Numerous item numbers are cropped midway, and it is also believed that folios entirely missing item numbers have simply had them completely cropped off.[50] Due to this damage, the following medieval item numbers do not exist in the current manuscript: *i-v, xviii-xxi*, *xxv*, *xxxii*, and *xxxvii-li*. The numbering system gets a bit more complicated as we consider lost folios and even lost gatherings. Our current item 1, for example, is numbered *vi*, leaving us to conclude that we are missing five texts from the beginning. However, our current numbering system is not merely off by five numbers. By the time we get to our modern item number 43 (*King Richard*), the medieval item number is *lvi*, and so we are at least thirteen items off. Bliss, Cunningham, and Mordkoff have made valiant strides trying to determine, based on the manuscript and other versions of Auchinleck poems, how many gatherings, folios, lines, and items may have been lost, with Appendix B reflecting their reconstruction of the codex.[51]

However, I would assert that the issues with the item numbers that are most interesting and revealing are the sets of item numbers that are not sequential:

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[50] For example, item numbers are cropped on ff.2r, 57r, 147r, 268r, 324r. That item numbers were lost due to cropping can be concluded from the fact that some of the slightly larger fragments preserved separately from the manuscript have an item number preserved just below the top margin, such as on E f.1r for *The Life of Adam and Eve* (item 3) and E f.3r for *King Richard* (item 43).

[51] For further discussion see Bliss (652-53), Pearsall and Cunningham (xii-iv), and Mordkoff (83-84).

- items 12 and 13 share *xvii*
- there seems to be at least two lost item numbers (*xix* and *xx*) between item 13 and item 14[52]
- items 22 and 23 share *xxviii,* which is not an error if you consider the couplet and stanzaic *Guy of Warwick* narratives to be one continuous item[53]
- items 20 and 21 share *xxvii*[54]
- item 19 should be numbered *xxvi* but is numbered *xvi* for ff.101r,102r, and 103r
- *xviii* is written on one folio (f.149r) instead of *xxviii* (in the middle of item 23)
- an item number has been skipped, with item 37 having *li* while item 39 has *lii*[55]

I believe that most of these "errors" in the medieval item numbers are a strong indicator of how the 44 texts were being organized while the manuscript was being produced. The concept of booklets, self-contained units, becomes very important here, as there are 13 extant booklets that could be rearranged at will (with some additional ones now lost). While Mordkoff, Shonk, Wiggins, and Hanna simply deferred to Cunningham's assessment of problematic item numbers,[56] when I compared the booklets with the item number "mistakes" I found that they are closely aligned. In fact, when we consider repeated item numbers, with the exception of the two *Guy* texts which share one number, the repeated numbers only occur for the final two texts of a

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[52] That is, there are two missing item numbers if we correct item 13 to be *xviii* and if we add *xxi* to item 14, as item 15 is numbered *xxii*.

[53] Bliss is one of the first to challenge Kölbing's decision to separate medieval item *xxviii* into two items, modern numbers 22 and 23, even though they are two parts of the *Guy* romance (658). The narratives in question are somewhat ambiguous, and can be seen either as one whole text or as two separate texts. The reasons why it could be seen as one whole narrative are that the same item number is used throughout, there is no title or illustration to denote the stanzaic second part, and the narrative of the two parts is fairly continuous. The reasons why the narrative can be seen as two poems are that the verse switches from couplets to stanzas, there is an introduction at the beginning of the second half, and the place of the split in the narrative suggests an intention for each part to teach a different set of lessons, with Burrows particularly focusing on the last issue in her dissertation (95-183).

[54] My analysis here differs from Cunningham's analysis that items 19 and 20 share *xxvi*.

[55] This list has been adapted from Pearsall and Cunningham (xiv).

[56] My analysis here deviates from most previous scholarship as Mordkoff, Shonk, and Wiggins simply repeat Cunningham's assertion of the problematic item numbers, (Mordkoff 83, Shonk "Bookmen" 85, Wiggins "*Guy of Warwick*"112), rather than reexamining the item numbers. Hanna asserts, incorrectly, that the problematic item numbers indicate that various portions of the book were handed off by Scribe 1 to an illuminator or the patron for inspection; however, the problematic item numbers, as I explain below, actually more clearly support the analysis that the scribes were figuring out the contents of the Auchinleck as they proceeded, a view which Hanna also suggests although for different reasons (*London* 77, 79). Wiggins and Mordkoff do offer one comment each on Cunningham's list of numbers: Wiggins removes items 22 and 23 (couplet and stanzaic *Guy*) from sharing a number, likely because she follows the valid argument that those two poems are meant to be one narrative, and Mordkoff adds the qualifier "probably" at one point.

booklet. I would therefore suggest that the various booklets were started, arranged in order, numbered, occasionally rearranged, and then the final gatherings of the booklet would be filled, sometimes with two items rather than the one planned.

A more detailed explanation will demonstrate the connection between the repeated item numbers and the end of a booklet. As far as Scribe 1's items 12 (*The Life of St. Mary Magdelene*) and 13 (*The Nativity and Early Life of Mary*) sharing *xvii* and then item numbers being skipped until *xxii* turns up on item 15 (with Scribe 3's item 14 likely being numbered *xxi*), the following points have not been made hitherto. First the item numbers for item 13 are extremely cropped, with only a partial item number shown in Figure 10 being in any way legible; it does seem like *xvii*, but if the last *i* was drawn slightly higher than the others, which sometimes happens, then we would not be able to see it now.

Figure 10: *xvii?* f.68r

The second, related issue about the missing item numbers between items 13 and 14 occurs at this same place of transition between scribes and booklets: Scribe 1 copied items 12 and 13 at the end of booklet 2, and Scribe 3 copied the next items in booklet 3A. I agree with Robinson's proposal that there was at least one additional tentative booklet which bridged the gap in item numbers between Scribe 1's item 13 and Scribe 3's item 14 in booklet 3A.[57] If in fact items 12 and 13 do share *xvii*, as the evidence is far from certain, I would further suggest that this tentative additional booklet would have contained items *xviii, xix,* and *xx* which were numbered before Scribe 1 finished copying items 12 and 13; thus, he copied the final two items of booklet 2 (items 12 and 13) towards the end of the production process, with only item number

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[57] Robinson suggests that this tentative booklet was taken out before the final binding, with the catchword at the end of item 13 added after to bridge the gap between booklets 2 and 3A (34-5, 121).

xvii available. This forced him to use the same item number for both texts, indicating that the Auchinleck creators were determining the number of poems that they needed while they were compiling the manuscript. The fact that item 13 is left unfinished (a point I will substantiate in Part 5 below) furthers our sense that item 13 was one of the final texts being worked on.

In booklet 9 we confront a similar issue with medieval numbering for the final two texts of a booklet, though the booklet is very short. In booklet 9, there are three poems but only item numbers *li* and *lii*. Specifically, Scribe 1's item 37 (*Sir Tristrem*) is numbered *li* and begins booklet 9; his item 38 (*Sir Orfeo*) starts in the final gathering of the booklet but does not have an extant medieval item number. Scribe 1's item 39 (*The Four Foes of Mankind*) is numbered *lii* and completes the gathering and booklet. This booklet was inserted before Scribe 1's item 40 (*The Short Chronicle*), which is numbered *liii* and is the beginning of booklet 10. Therefore, as in the situations above, as booklet 9 was inserted here before booklet 10, I believe that only item numbers *li* and *lii* were allotted for the booklet. However, at some point it was determined that there was enough room for a third text, and so the one folio item 39 was added, and the final two items of the booklet essentially had to share the number *lii*.[58] The fact that item 39 questionably also was left unfinished (as discussed in Part 5 below) further substantiates that this was one of the last texts being copied.

This pattern of two items sharing a medieval item number occurs at the end of booklet 3B, but this situation is more complex. First, the final two texts of booklet 3B, Scribe 2's item 20 (*Sayings of the Four Philosophers*) and Scribe 4's item 21 (*The Battle Abbey Roll*), likely share the medieval item number *xxvii*.[59] Figure 11 demonstrates how much the item number on

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[58] In this reconstruction, three-folio item 38 was also originally numbered *lii* like the final item of the booklet (item 39), which seems logical as both items 38 and 39 are fairly short, while item 37 is nineteen folios long.

[59] My assertion here challenges Cunningham's assessment that items 19 and 20 share *xxvi*.

f.105r (the only folio for item 20) has been cropped: only the

bottom of two *x*'s and a downstroke of a final *i* can be seen and so

Figure 11: *xxvii?*
f.105r

we assume the *v* was written a bit higher. However, if you

compare the space between those *xx's* and the final *i* in Figure 11

with the item number for item 21 in Figure 12, the spacing is

Figure 12: *xxvii*
f.106r

larger for Figure 11 than Figure 12, which suggests that the item

number in Figure 11 can hold the *v* and another *i*.[60] Therefore, I

conclude that item 20 shares *xxvii* with item 21, and these are the last two items of booklet 3B.

The item numbers in booklet 3B are further complicated by

the fact that item 19 in booklet 3B has *xvi* mistakenly written on

four folios; I question that someone accidentally wrote *xvi* for item

Figure 13: *(x)xvi*
f.101r

19 on four of five extant folios (definitely ff.101r-103r, possibly

also on f.100r), as shown in Figure 13, and only realized on the

final folio to number it *xxvi*, as shown in Figure 14. Indeed, for

Figure 14: *xxvi()*
f.104r

both of these numbers, some kind of editing is obvious; for those

folios originally numbered *xvi,* someone later tried to indicate that

an additional *x* should be added, as can be seen in Figure 13. In

Figure 14, for the one folio "correctly" numbered *xxvi*, it seems that this folio was originally

numbered *xxvii*, and then the final *i* was erased. Both of these editing marks provide clues about

the production of the manuscript: the evidence about the item numbers of these texts in booklet

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[60] Specifically, the space between the end of the *x* and the final downstroke for f.105r is 5 mm, which is larger than the distance between the *x* and final *i* for f.106r and f.107r, which measure 4.5 and 4 mm respectively. Both ff.106r and 107r have the medieval item number *xxvii.*

3B indicates that the scribes were negotiating a series of decisions as to where these texts would be placed in the manuscript and how many texts were needed to fill the booklet.

Specifically, I would suggest that the longer poem in booklet 3B (Scribe 3's item 19) was originally numbered *xvi,* and so the *xvi* on item 19 was not originally a mistake.[61] Scribe 3's booklet 3B was therefore originally inserted earlier in the manuscript and possibly separate from Scribe 3's booklet 3A, with items 14-18.[62] In any case, booklet 3B was eventually moved to the current location, in between booklet 3A and the *Guy* romances, the latter of which are numbered *xxviii*. The final folio of item 19, f.104r, was originally left unnumbered – perhaps as they halted to figure the next step – then numbered *xxvii*, and then changed to *xxvi*. This seems to indicate that the scribal team realized that item 19 would not fill the entirety of booklet 3B; the remaining folios were then numbered *xxvii,* with the assumption that one text would be used to fill the rest of booklet 3B or because at this point only number *xxvii* was available. Finally, two works were copied in (Scribe 2's item 20 and Scribe 4's item 21) and again forced to share the same item number. The fact that the list of Norman names for item 21 only fills 8 lines on f.107r and that f.107v is left entirely blank again supports the idea that these texts were some of the last to be copied as it seems that there was not time to find or compose a final text to fill the final sheet and three-fourths of a leaf for booklet 3B.[63] Also, the number of individuals and different types of

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[61] Our current item 18 does not have an extant item number which adds to some of the confusion. Unfortunately, many folios have been lost between what is extant for items 18 and 19 as it is estimated that at least one gathering (gathering 15) is missing between the last folio of item 18 and the first extant folio of Scribe 3's item 19 (the first folio of gathering 16). See Appendix B for a recreation of these gatherings. However, due to these issues with the numbering of item 19, I believe that item 19 may have been part of a separate booklet than the rest of Scribe 3's work, which means that it could have been placed elsewhere, which accounts for why it had *xvi* placed on it at first.

[62] Possibly his booklet 3B was written at an earlier stage than 3A, as explored above when considering why items in booklet 3B have 44 lines per folio, but the fact that item 19 was originally numbered *xvi* also suggests that booklet 3B may originally have been tentatively placed in an earlier location in the manuscript which can cause us to question if Scribe 3 copied booklet 3A or 3B first.

[63] I return to this juncture again in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, Section C: "The Beauchamps in the Auchinleck Manuscript." There I address how items 20-21 address issues important to the likely patron, Thomas de

texts involved in these folios could help explain why there were so many changes made to the item numbers. Indeed, there is a collaborative effort in these folios as Scribe 3 copied a long romance through f.104v, Scribe 2 copied a one leaf political poem on f.105r, Scribe 4 copied the list of Norman names for the final work, and Scribe 1 presumably added in the item numbers.

I believe the discrepancies in each of these numbering sequences substantiate that Scribe 1 was not in command of the process, dictating what everyone should copy from exemplars. Rather, the evidence suggests that Scribe 1 waited on textual decisions made by others while trying to establish a numerical order. Importantly, he (and perhaps a team) was negotiating the item numbers while poems were still being added to the manuscript, which again adds to the very strong sense that the scribes were figuring out how to create this codex in an *ad hoc* fashion. Item numbers must have been instrumental in keeping the material organized and so were not added at the end of the manuscript production process, but the project was not so organized that the item numbers had been settled in a predetermined plan, as Shonk would argue. Rather, it seems like substantial changes to the order of texts were made at least once (to account for the missing item numbers between booklets 2 and 3A) and possible twice (to account for item 19 once being labeled *xvi*). My analysis of these item numbers suggests that large works and most booklets were copied first, with decisions about what would be copied and presumably who would copy works at the ends of booklets 2, 3B, and 9 being made very late in the production of the manuscript. The fact that the final poems of booklets 2 and 9 appear to be unfinished and that almost two folios were left blank at the end of booklet 3B supports the conclusion that these texts were some of the final folios that the scribes were working on when the Auchinleck project was terminated before the scribes had a chance to complete their work.

Beauchamp, and so placing these items directly before the *Guy* narratives weds the Beauchamps to the Warwick legend. According to this logic, nothing was placed after item 21 so as not to disturb this union.

4. Titles and Headings

Scholars have noted that brown ink of varying tones was used to copy the main text, and red ink was used for prominent words, particularly titles written by Scribe 1 and occasionally headings within a text.[64] However, there are problems with these generalizations. First, there are five extant items without titles, suggesting that certain texts were not finished when the manuscript left the workspace or were considered by the scribes to be problematic.[65] In addition, the varying shades of red ink used for the titles also do not suggest that they were all written at one late stage by Scribe 1, as argued by Shonk, but rather throughout the production process. Finally, Scribes 1, 2, and 3 demonstrate continued agency and independence as they make decisions about the headings of some of their works (See Tables 7 and 8 in the appendix for samples of titles and headings).

To begin this analysis, it is difficult to assert conclusively why certain texts may not have titles, but the effort to consider each text is still worthwhile. In addition, we should consider the content of the works that are the exceptions, a continual blind spot for manuscript production scholars. Scribe 1's stanzaic *Guy of Warwick* (item 23) turns up as an exception again, this time for not having a title, but that text is again unique in that it can questionably be considered an experimental second half to the couplet *Guy of Warwick* narrative (item 22). Scribe 4's *Battle Abbey Roll* (item 21) seems to land in the exceptions list because it is and will be an exception to

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[64] For further information see Pearsall and Cunningham (xv), Shonk ("Bookmen" 79, "Investigations" 84, 93), and Mordkoff (75). For a broad statistical analysis across many manuscripts, see Evans (19-22).

[65] Texts with some sort of title: items 2, 4, 5, 7, 13, 14, 15, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 36, 37, 40, 41, 43, and 44 for a total of 21 texts. Texts where we cannot tell if they had a title: items 1, 3, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, 31, 33, 34, 35, 38, and 42 for a total of 18 texts, and of these two items, 17 and 34, were possibly excised with the miniatures. Texts which are not missing anything and have no visible title: items 10, 20, 21, 23 (complicated), and 39 for a total of 5 texts. For a discussion of titles and headings more broadly, see Clemens and Graham (24-25).

virtually every category of any notion of a standard *mise-en-page*; at the end of chapter 3, I will analyze the significance of this list in light of how much it stands out in the manuscript.

Of the remaining three texts without titles, Scribe 1's *The Four Foes of Mankind* (item 39) contains one of the seemingly unfinished folios of the Auchinleck and so likely Scribe 1 ran out of time to add a title. For item 39, the end of the poem on f.303v does not end with the standard *amen* or *explicit,* even though this is the end of the booklet as well as the text. However, the text does seem to be winding down, as the final lines state: "Now haue y founden þi fas / Finde tow þi frendes…" (ll.111-12) with the last bit of the line smudged out.[66] Indeed, we find below the final line that approximately 15 lines have been scrubbed, as if something else was planned or written and then halted. This area could be roughly equivalent to a miniature if one were planned for item 40, which begins on the next folio (and booklet), or some other text. This area could also represent lines of the poem that Scribe 1 wrote and then never changed his mind about, as if he did not have time to complete the complex poem the way he wanted to, which could explain why Scribe 1 also never added a title.[67]

I am not sure why Scribe 1 did not add a title for Scribe 2's *Speculum Gy* (item 10). It is tempting to dismiss this as another aberration on the part of Scribe 2, as Wiggins does in her dissertation. However, analyzing each of these design components separately allows us to understand that the titles appeared to be Scribe 1's responsibility, not Scribe 2's, and there was more than enough room in the upper margin for Scribe 1 to add a title. Understanding that certain texts were left unfinished can vastly alter our understanding of the design intentions in

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[66] As mentioned previously, all excerpts from Auchinleck texts are from the edited versions on the *Auchinleck* website unless I state otherwise.

[67] The copy of item 39 in the Auchinleck is unique, has strong northern forms, and is "composed in a very complex and demanding kind of verse-form which belongs to a genre that seems not to have developed anywhere in England much before about 1300 and which flourished for little more than a century thereafter" (Angus McIntosh "The Middle English" 137). Thus, the complex verse may have taken substantially more time to adapt as desired.

place; however, I am not sure that Scribe 1 simply did not have time to add a title as item 10 is the first work copied in booklet 2, and there are works copied after it in booklet 2 which received a title. As will be explored in Chapter 4, item 10 appears to be a unique composition which Burrows believes was specifically adapted for the Auchinleck manuscript due to inspiration by the *Guy* romances and the likely patron.[68] But, again, I am not sure that this is a factor as to why the text did not receive a title; the lack of a title for item 10 remains a mystery to me.

As far as why Scribe 2's item 20 does not have a title, as mentioned in the previous section, it appears that the items at the end of booklet 3B may contain some of the last texts to be copied. In that scenario, Scribe 1 may simply have run out of time to add a title. However, an additional possibility may be that the scribes did not want to draw undue attention to item 20. Indeed, there may have been an effort to help Scribe 2's item 20 blend in as much as possible as this text can be succinctly described as, "the bilingual poem on the king's breaking Magna Carta" (Robinson 128). Thus, this one leaf of text is actually a potentially controversial and politically charged work with at least one precursor which criticizes Edward I for violating Magna Carta additions c.1306. The scribes would have known that the work was politically volatile and may not have wanted to draw undue attention to this work and so sought to have it seem like just another folio of *Floris and Blancheflour* (item 19). A desire to blend in could be another reason Scribe 2 adapted his hand to fit the 44 lines per folio ruling. However, Scribe 2's final work, *Þe Simonie* (item 44) is also politically charged as it is also known as "On the Evil Times of Edward II" (Ross 173) and yet has received a title; but, notably, item 44's title – *Þe Simonie* – is fairly short in the Auchinleck and rather suggestive of critique only of the church

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[68] For further discussion, see Wiggins ("*Guy of Warwick*" 113), Chapter 4, Section E: "Scribe 2," and Burrows (18, 21-23). Despite various scholars who want there to be exemplars for every work, there is no clear antecedent for experimental item 10, which blends sermon techniques, romance figures, and letters exchanged between figures. The experimental nature of items 10 and 11 mirrors the experimental use of a single-column format early on, as discussed for item 1.

and not the king. The hesitancy with long titles for items 20 and 44 therefore suggest that the Auchinleck creators were tentative to offend the court but not the church. This select use of titles may indicate something about our audience and possibly our scribes and their professional vulnerability, especially if they were employed in the Chancery or the London Guildhall.[69]

For texts which do have titles, there is concern within Auchinleck scholarship as to when, in the production process, titles were added to the texts. Cunningham has set the tone for the discussion of Auchinleck titles when he indicated that the titles seemed to have been a last minute decision. Seven titles – for items 4, 5, 7, 13, 24, 27, and 29 – have been identified where the titles are separated from the incipit of their text or are squeezed in oddly with the *explicit* of the previous text. One may be tempted, therefore, to think that the titles were added all at once at the end production process, as Shonk argues. However, the red inks used for decorative details definitely vary, within a folio as well as across folios.

For example, the title of *King Richard* (item 43) has a very orange-red ink used, as seen in Figure 15, and the next title, *Þe Simonie* (item 44) has a purplish red ink, as seen in Figure 16. The variation in red is not a determiner of distinct times or places when the titles were added as the differing shades of ink could merely be the result of different ink batches being mixed and used, even by the same scribe in the same place. The

Figure 15: *King Richard* title f.326r
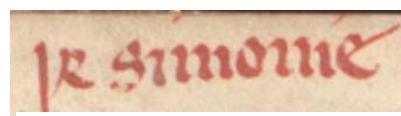

Figure 16: *Þe Simonie* title f.328r

picture we have for the titles in the Auchinleck, however, is that there is no clear and easily

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[69] For further analysis of the political content of items 20 and 44, see Chapter 4, Section E: "Scribe 2" and Chapter 5, Section C: "The Beauchamps in the Auchinleck Manuscript" and Section D: "The Auchinleck Manuscript and the Warwick Region."

definable pattern of distinct ink shades used within a folio, within a work, or across the manuscript.[70] For example, the titles are not all written in the same shade, and we cannot identify distinct groups of titles Scribe 1 wrote with one shade of ink before he mixed a new batch and wrote another distinct set of titles. Therefore, we cannot easily conclude that all of the titles were written by Scribe 1 at once. Likewise, as often the red of the title does not match the rubrication of the folio, we cannot conclude Scribe 1 wrote the title at the same time that other red decorative work was done on a folio in some sort of collaboration with the artists. Therefore, it seems that the red of the titles and headings were written as made sense to Scribe 1 but not to us, and the signatures discussed in Chapter 1 again may act as further evidence of all of the coordination needed and notes made to accomplish this.

The final issue related to titles and headings are the various individual decisions made by the scribes that do not follow the standard *mise-en-page* as defined by Auchinleck scholars. For example, Scribe 3 wrote his first and second title. In addition, Scribe 2 wrote his own Latin headings in a larger hand than usual, even for him, for his item 10 in red while Scribe 3 wrote his Latin lines in his item 15 in brown and Scribe 1 has blue first initials added to his red headings for his *Dauid the King* (item 36). (See Tables 7 and 8 in the appendix for images of each of these anomalies.)

If we consider these titles, the fact that Scribe 3 wrote two titles points to an important flaw in Shonk's overly rigid piecework production model. Shonk asserts that, "As in the case of the item numbers, the titles were added after the decoration. Since no room was allotted for the titles, the miniatures preceding major items occupying all available space, some titles were

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[70] For further images and descriptions, see Tables 7 and 8 in the appendix. For further discussion, see Cunningham (xiv), Mordkoff (161-67), and Shonk ("Investigations" 15).

squeezed into curious places" ("Bookmen" 87). As discussed in the previous section, the item

numbers do not, in fact, indicate that they were added all at once at the end of the production; as

discussed above, the titles do not either. Shonk also asserts, "scribe III's disappearance from the

text at this point [f.105r] suggests that he had fulfilled his contract by copying his exemplar and

was no longer connected with the production of the manuscript" ("Bookmen" 74).

Thus, Shonk speaks in such absolutes that his model cannot embrace Scribe 3's writing

of his own title. First, if we

consider the title shown in Figure

17, there is no doubt that Scribe 3

Figure 17: *Þe Pater Noster undo on Englissch* title
f.72r

left room for the title as blank

lines were left between the two

texts on f.72r so that this title could be placed directly at the head of item 17. More importantly,

because Scribe 3 wrote the title in Figure 17 (which no one contests), we find a paradox

according to Shonk's model: either Scribe 3's title was not written at the end of production or

Scribe 3 did not disappear from the project after he finished his copying. In the first scenario, the

title in Figure 17 was not added after the decorative work, as Shonk argues, but sometime during

the time when Scribe 3 was adding his texts to the Auchinleck. However, as soon as we consider

that one title was not done at the end of production, what is the keep us from considering that

other titles may have been added in stages throughout production as there is no solid evidence

against this theory? If we suppose, instead, that Scribe 3 wrote his title at the end of the

production process when Scribe 1 wrote the other titles, then Scribe 3 did not disappear when he

finished copying his texts because his contract was up, but rather was physically involved in the
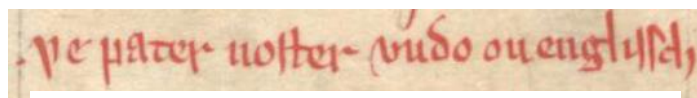
project at the end Scribe 1.[71] The first scenario seems the most likely, but with the realization

that Scribe 3 wrote at least two titles as he copied, then we realize that Scribe 3 was able to make

this decision for at least two of his texts.[72] Further, Scribe 3's writing of these titles as he went

adds further evidence that other titles were inserted while the manuscript texts were being copied

rather than at the end of the production process.

As I have been at pains to show that a streamlined order of operations was not

predetermined for the Auchinleck project, we should consider some of the other anomalies with

titles and headings. Not only does Scribe 3 write the title of his item 15, but he also wrote the

Latin headings in brown ink rather than red although he also indents these lines to have them set

off by initial capitals. As Scribe 2 copied his item 10, he made a decision similar to Scribe 3's to

write the headings himself, but he used red to write his Latin headings and left space for initial

capitals below the headings. The combination of an initial capital with a red heading is a format

which is also used in Scribe 1's items 7, 8, 34, and 36, and thus the initial capitals paired with

headings seem to be a medieval convention intentionally followed for most Auchinleck texts,

with a red heading representing a decision negotiated at some point during the process.[73]

While Scribe 3's independent use of brown Latin headings in his item 15 could be

considered an early decision predating an agreement to use red headings, this kind of

rationalization for an anomaly cannot be applied to Scribe 1's item 36. Indeed, all previous

Auchinleck scholars have instead simply not mentioned the blue letters used for the first initials

of the red headings of *Dauid the King* (item 36), shown in Figure 18. I think scholars have

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[71] The third option is that Scribe 1 sent the codex to Scribe 3 to add in these titles, if one wants to insist that the scribes did not physically work together, as Shonk does, but I do not believe anyone would agree that Scribe 1 sent the manuscript to Scribe 3 to add these two titles.

[72] We do not have any of the beginnings of Scribe 3's other four texts to know if he wrote the titles for the rest or not. In Table 7 in the appendix I analyze why I think Scribe 3 wrote the title for his item 14 as well as item 15.

[73] Mordkoff also makes this observation that pairing an initial capital with a heading is common (224).

Figure 18: Detail
from Scribe 1's
heading for item 36
f.280v

passed over this point because item 36 is Scribe 1's work, is just one folio long, is the last text of booklet 8, and follows other "filler" poems.[74] Therefore, according to rubrics set up by Robinson, Mordkoff, Shonk, and Wiggins, item 36 *should* follow the standardized *mise-en-page* that these scholars assert is in place by this point in the production process. And yet, Scribe 1 clearly left brown initials on ff.280r-v to the left of the heading for the blue initials to be painted in directly above the initial capitals, as shown in Figure 18.[75] Thus, we see that Scribe 1 made the independent decision to have item 36, often considered a filler work, include more color in its decoration than is found in almost any other text, which certainly makes this text distinct and memorable. Scribe 1 also thus was not as concerned as modern scholars with the need to follow a standardized *mise-en-page* to unify the Auchinleck Manuscript.

What we have here, then, is a variety of factors – texts without titles, varying shades of red ink, titles not written by Scribe 1, and headings which do not follow a standard – which cannot easily be rationalized as to why they do not fit the "standardized" *mise-en-page*. In addition to the manuscript not being completed, there is evidence of autonomous decision-making by Scribes 1, 2, and 3; these three scribes each made distinctive aesthetic choices, and these distinctions could mirror a desire to many of their poems distinct and memorable.

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[74] The term "filler" is a technical term employed to denote small poems used to fill booklets. For example, see Robinson (123, 125), Mordkoff (13, 92, 105-106, 198, 200), Shonk ("Investigations" 50, "Bookmen" 74, 76), Hanna ("Reconsidering" 94, *London* 76, 79), Wiggins ("*Guy of Warwick*" 114, 119), and Bahr (111). However, the dismissive tone often accompanying this term – "blatant filler" or "anodyne" filler" – is often mistaken; even the shorter texts at the ends of booklets were selected, copied, and decorated with care. In fact, the shorter texts are often relatively more decorated (as far as colored ink per folio) than the longer romances. See also Chapter 4, Section A: "Scribal Collaboration" and Chapter 5, Section C: "The Beauchamps in the Auchinleck Manuscript."

[75] These blue initials, in fact, are reminiscent of first blue letters of important words picked out in red in the Bangor Pontifical and the tiny initial capitals in the Sherbrooke Missal, two manuscripts which will be discussed more in Chapter 3 as they were decorated by the same subset of artists as the Auchinleck.

However, there was also an effort to unify the look of the Auchinleck to some extent, such as an early pairing of red headings with initial capitals and a somewhat later decision to have Scribe 1 write most of the titles. I would conclude then that, as with the item numbers, the titles and headings do not present the picture of a streamlined order of operations with Scribe 1 handing out the predetermined instructions to everyone else. Rather the titles and headings were added in an environment where decisions were made and communicated while the scribes were all working, but some of those decisions prioritized individualizing certain folios rather than the unification of the *mise-en-page* of the Auchinleck Manuscript.

5. *Explicit* and *Amen*

While no previous Auchinleck scholar has called attention to the ways the extant poems end, there is an assumption that texts will end with *explicit* or *amen*. The evidence, however, is a bit more complicated than we might imagine.[76] There are nine texts that finish with *amen*, three texts that finish with *explicit*, seven texts that finish with both *amen* and *explicit*.[77] The use of *amen* is therefore much more common, and there is a bit of range with the presentation with these *amen's.* Typically, the *amen* is written at the end of the line in brown ink, and sometimes is abbreviated, as shown in Figure 19. However, for Scribe 3's *On the Seven Deadly Sins* (item 14) the *amen* is rubricated. In addition, the *AMEN* (partially excised) in Scribe 1's
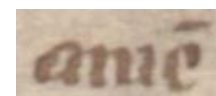

Figure 19: *amé* f.201r

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[76] Texts with a missing ending: items 1, 2, 5, 8, 10, 11, 15, 17, 18, 24, 27, 30, 34, 37, 41, 43, and 44 (although someone apparently much later drew *finis* at the end of item 44) for a total of 17 texts. It is possible that an *explicit* for Scribe 1's *The Life of St. Mary Magdelene* (item 12) was excised with a miniature below; also, the *amen, amen, par charite* supposedly finishing Scribe 1's *A Peniworth of Wiit* (item 28) takes some guesswork as a good part of it is excised with the following miniature. Bahr discusses this issue in relation to booklet 3A & 3B (138-40). For a broader discussion and analysis of this issue, see Evans (15-16, 25-28).

[77] The nine texts with *amen*: items 3, 12, 14, 20, 25, 28, 29, 35, and 36. The three texts that end with *explicit:* items 7, 19, and 23. The seven texts that end with both: items 4, 6, 9, 33, 38, 40, and 42.

hand is written in an elaborate hand below Scribe 1's *Life of Adam and Eve* (item 3) (and below

the title *Seynt Mergrete* squeezed in for the work which begins next), as shown in Figure 20.[78] In

the rest of the manuscript, Scribe 1

writes in a bookhand with some court

hand traces (see Chapter 4, Section D for

further analysis), and the change in his

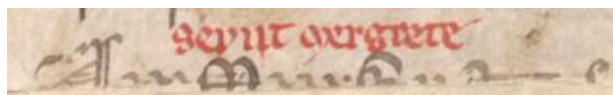handwriting here indicates his ability to

switch his handwriting as needed.

Figure 20: *A~M~E~N*
f.16r

When we consider the three works which just end with *explicit*, we only know that Scribe

1's *Þe Desputisoun bitven þe bodi & þe soule* (item 7) has an *explicit* because it survived in the

bottom left hand corner of the recto side when most of the stub f.35 was excised; it is possible

and even quite likely that this text also had an *amen* further to the right where the text was

excised due to the fact that 16 of the other 18 texts which have some sort of ending (*explicit* or

amen or both) having an *amen* at the end. Interestingly, the two other texts with only *explicit*,

Scribe 3's *Floris and Blancheflour* (item 19) and Scribe 1's stanzaic *Guy of Warwick* (item 23),

mark the end of a copying stint; Scribe 3 marks this

ending emphatically with all capital letters with

punctus in between, as shown in Figure 21.

Figure 21: *E·X·P·L·I·C·I·T*
f.104v

However, when Scribe 5 ends *Sir Beues* (item 25)

and Scribe 1 starts *Of Arthour & of Merlin* (item

26), Scribe 5 ends with just the abbreviated *amen* shown in Figure 19, and there are no other

extant transitions between scribes within a booklet to consider.

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[78] This is likely Scribe 1's hand as the ink matches the text above. Mordkoff noted Scribe 1's change of hand here (98).

For texts ending with neither an *explicit* nor an *amen*, item 13 (*The Nativity and Early Life of* Mary) stands out because only six lines are copied on its final leaf, f.69v, which means that there was more than enough room to add an *amen* or *explicit*. However, the last six lines read:

> He þouȝt he wald oway flen
>
> þat no man schuld it write.
>
> A niȝt as he awayward was
>
> an angel to him cam
>
> & bad him bileuen al þat diol
>
> þat he to him name. (ll. 308-10)

Thus, this narrative stops in the middle of a thought; in fact, we are in the middle of the well-known gospel story where Joseph has just learned that Mary is pregnant, feels betrayed, and anticipates great future shame (ll. 301-07).[79] Joseph thus wants to flee, and – at the moment when the narrative stops – an angel arrives asking Joseph to trust him with the coming message. Therefore, we see that the text was never finished, and again that this was one of the final poems being copied when the Auchinleck project was abruptly stopped, suggesting that the Auchinleck was produced in an *ad hoc* manner rather than with a piecework production model. After all, according to a piecework production model, Scribe 1 here would have inexplicably not fulfilled

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[79] Sir Walter Scott noted this incompletion, amusingly if inaccurately commenting: "Incomplete, not from mutilation, as usual but because the author or transcriber had tired of his task" (xviii), and Kölbing spends a good bit of space on this (184-85). Mordkoff also noted that the text was incomplete but does not theorize why (14). Shonk, however, was completely puzzled at the incomplete folio, saying, "it is hard to believe that a scribe in a commercial bookshop would tolerate such an extravagant waste of vellum. Surely he could have found a short filler poem to flesh out the leaf" ("Investigations" 56). Hanna relies on Shonk's analysis here, and asserts that Scribe 1 failed to produce a continuous manuscript at this juncture (*London* 76). Thus, in not understanding that the poem was not completed, Shonk and Hanna miss an important indicator; the incomplete folio does not support a piecework copying model because the scribe did not complete his text. Rather, this incomplete folio supports an *ad hoc* production model in which item 13 was one of the last being worked on when time ran out, an analysis which Hanna supports elsewhere (*London* 79).

his contractual obligation to his patron; in a collaborative fits-and-starts model, the scribes and artists all work on the texts and illustrations as they can when they have time, but inevitably various details were left undone when time ran out.[80]

For three other texts without an *explicit* or *amen,* the evidence further suggests that production was halted and never completed, as with item 13. Scribe 3's transition from *The Assumption* (item 16) to *Sir Degare* (item 17) on f.78r will be discussed more fully in chapter 3; briefly, the last two lines of item 16 were copied below the original bottom line in column a and in a darker ink, possibly in order to squeeze in a miniature, and so however Scribe 3 originally ended item 16 may have disappeared in the layout adjustment.[81] Scribe 1's *Of Arthour & of Merlin* (item 26) possibly had its final lines rubbed out or placed under what is now the miniature for his *Þe Wenche þat loved þe King* (item 27) on f.256v as item 26 seems to end abruptly.[82] As mentioned above, Scribe 1's *Four Foes of Mankind* (item 39) ends with a smudgy grey area, which seems like an erasure, on f.303v where plans may have changed and the whole was left incomplete. Thus, whatever the precise methodology used by the scribes for ending their works, there seems to have been a level of agency and decision-making as they went about this as well as a number of changes and interruptions to their work once they began.

E. Conclusion:

Consideration of the physical evidence of the manuscript, the codicology, consistently argues against the idea of a "standardized *mise-en-page*." All of the anomalies to the imagined ideal cannot be rationalized away with the idea that Scribe 2 was undisciplined and troublesome

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[80] This naturally leads one to question why time ran out when the Auchinleck was being created. In Chapter 5, I entertain two possibilities: that the Auchinleck was presented at a kind of ceremony or that the court moved to travel about the country and the Chancery clerks (whom I believe the scribes were) had to leave with the court.

[81] F.78r has only blue paraphs on that folio as well, further supporting the sense that work was disrupted.

[82] With an ultraviolet light, a final *amen* may be visible under all the damage at the end of the final line.

or that Scribe 1 had to tolerate sloppy work from an inept team, including himself at times. Therefore, I feel that Auchinleck scholarship needs to pause and reconsider this *othering* of differences; by *othering* of differences, I mean that we need to pause before considering anomalies to the Auchinleck *mise-en-page* to be problems and reasons to chastise the scribes. Rouse and Rouse, Carruthers, and Stanton have demonstrated that we can study differences in the codicology, paleography, and layout as an important, integral part of a manuscript. Searching through a 334 plus folio volume for a specific folio is already difficult, but it would become nightmarish if all of the folios and works were designed exactly the same way. Indeed, the scribes were not only cognizant of the need of readers to find different texts, but also their need to find different parts of texts and to be able to digest the content. Thus, the medieval scribes would consider that having the works laid out in distinct and orderly parts would aid their readers in recalling the texts.

In addition, we should focus on the many talented contributions added by the scribes instead of blaming the scribes when something seems to be "wrong," which more accurately means that it does not meet a modern expectation. For example, the intelligent Scribe 1 would not have absent-mindedly added item numbers incorrectly, skipping some numbers and writing the wrong ones on folios. We should look closer at the evidence to see if anomalies can help us learn more about how the manuscript came together. And, when things are not clear, we should give the benefit of the doubt to the scribes and Auchinleck creators on the whole. As Delaissé has noted: "many mediaeval books had a complicated and even sometimes a disturbed life: their execution shared by different craftsmen, or was even interrupted, and their content altered" (428).[83] Wiggins is critically wrong when she asserts that the piecework production model

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[83] Lynda Dennison also refers to Delaissé's insight here ("Liber" 118).

naturally leads to the Auchinleck errors which need to be tolerated; rather, the Auchinleck Manuscript demonstrates the active collaboration of engaged minds. The more hands and the more minds engaged in making decisions about the manuscript, the more complicated the process became and the more likely we would find variation.

Thus in this chapter I have demonstrated that Shonk's popular piecework production process does not admit the flexibility necessary to understand the production process for the Auchinleck Manuscript. In fact, we need the scribes -- and particularly Scribes 1, 2, and 3 -- to both be able to make independent decisions but also to be informed when new decisions are made for the manuscript as a whole, suggesting that they form a kind of senior scribal team with both agency and accountability to one another. The decisions that were negotiated over time by these senior scribes for the Auchinleck *mise-en-page* were not put in place all at once or in just a couple of stages, as Shonk, Robinson, Mordkoff, and Wiggins would argue, but rather slowly as the scribes worked on the manuscript. Thus, again, the evidence indicates that the Auchinleck Manuscript was made in a collaborative environment, most likely where the scribes were located physically near one another. Indeed, my conclusion here about a collaborative work environment supporting scribal agency dovetails well with evidence presented in Chapter 1 (specifically, the additional proofreading hands and the signatures) and which will be presented about scribes and illustrators in the early 14th century in Chapters 3 and 4.

Chapter 3: The Auchinleck Artwork and the *Atelier*

In her 1972 thesis, Robinson introduced an important theory about the *atelier* for the

Auchinleck manuscript which has been frequently deferred to but not thoroughly explored: with

the help of J.J.G. Alexander,[1] Robinson asserted that the illustrations of the Auchinleck were:

> a later product of the Queen Mary Psalter *atelier* which operated in the first half of the
>
> fourteenth century. The figures have the long slender bodies and feminine faces
>
> characteristic of the work of this atelier, which contrasts with the work of most of its
>
> English contemporaries of whom the chief characteristic is virility. (135)

Robinson believed that all of the miniatures and illustrated initials (historiated and foliated) came

from this same *atelier* as "the miniatures also share the burnished gold and diapered backgrounds

found in manuscripts originating from this workshop, while the two initials (fols. 176r and 304r)

have the characteristic cusped marginal extensions terminating in leaves" (135). Mordkoff,

Shonk, and recently Olson all defer to Robinson's judgment here, with Mordkoff adding that

ateliers generally traveled from shop to shop or abbey to abbey.[2]

As we now know, Alexander and Robinson followed an impulse of the late 1960's and

early 1970's to add the Auchinleck to the large Queen Mary Psalter group, "a corpus of at least

thirty manuscripts which bear some relationship to the 'parent book'," but "past studies have not

clearly distinguished the manuscripts of the 'central' Queen Mary workshop from the large body

of works illuminated in this general style" (Dennison "An Illuminator" 287, "Liber" 118, 123).

No other scholar has since tried to describe and carefully analyze the Auchinleck illustrations in

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[1] Specifically, Robinson states that, "from the style of the illustrations and illumination Dr. J.J.G. Alexander has kindly identified them for me as a later product of the Queen Mary Psalter *atelier* which operated in the first half of the fourteenth century" (135).

[2] For further information, see Mordkoff (247-49), Shonk ("Bookmen" 81-82), and Olson (Kerby-Fulton 105-06).

relation to the Queen Mary Psalter workshop and the rest of the Queen Mary group.[3] In this

chapter I will produce my evidence that the master artist behind the Auchinleck is the Subsidiary

Queen Mary Artist,[4] but likely at a late stage in his career when he was training an apprentice.

After this analysis of the master artist, I will demonstrate that the rest of the decorative work in

the Auchinleck is the work of at least six professionals, most likely including some of the

scribes, thus showing that the Auchinleck was a collaborative project with the scribes

contributing to the decorations as well as copying the texts.[5]

A. The Auchinleck Artist

After having completed my careful analysis of illustrations, including faces and borders, I

believe that the master artist of the Auchinleck Manuscript is the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist,

but that he drew very few of the actual illustrations and instead was training a protégé as well as

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[3] Importantly, Lynda Dennison paves the way for this analysis with her assertion that the Auchinleck "is illuminated in a late (c. 1330) version of the 'Liber Custumarum' style; this is particularly evident from the foliage decoration" ("Liber" 133 fn. 70). Dennison asserts that the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist is one of the artists who helped decorate the 'Liber Custumarum', and when she mentions the "'Liber Custumarum' style" of "foliage decoration," this could reference the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist whose work is characterized by such foliated details ("Liber" 120-23). However, Dennison does not provide further analysis in that article. While Hanna picks up on this identification by Dennison ("Reconsidering" 96, *London* 80-81), Hanna adds confusion rather than clarity to this issue. Hanna highlights Alexander's late 1960's/early 1970's identification of the Auchinleck as being illustrated by the artists of the central Queen Mary workshop (which Alexander passed on to Robinson); Hanna then discusses how Alexander's identification conflicts with Dennison's analysis, whose Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist did not work in the central Queen Mary workshop. As I have mentioned, the impulse to identify numerous manuscripts as part of the central Queen Mary group was typical of the 1960's and 1970's, and Dennison and Michael A. Michael have brought great clarity to this field of study since then.   However, rather than work with Dennison's and Michael's more recent classification of artistic hands, Hanna claims that the art history analysis of the Queen Mary workshop is confusing and asserts that "the conception 'Queen Mary Group' may require an interrogation that it has not heretofore received" (*London* 81). Therefore, I instead will utilize Dennison's more recent and precise analysis for the different branches of the Queen Mary group for my analysis. I am also very grateful that Lynda Dennison herself was willing to review this chapter and via private correspondence endorsed my conclusion that the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist influenced the Auchinleck but did not actually illustrate most of its artwork.

[4] Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist was the name given to a professional artist by art historian Lynda Dennison. The Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist has an artistic style which reflects that of the central Queen Mary workshop although this professional never worked with the central Queen Mary illustrators on a manuscript as far as we know.

[5] In Chapter 4 I will provide thorough evidence, but linguistic and paleographic evidence indicates that there were at least four different scribes working on the Auchinleck Manuscript, and I support the more standard assertion that there were six different scribes. The *Linguistic Atlas of Late Middle English* has identified five distinct dialects between the scribes, and the sixth scribe – Scribe 4 – only wrote a list of Norman names and so presents no dialectical evidence. Still I will provide evidence that Scribe 4's handwriting is distinct from the other scribes.

directing other assistants. The Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist was so named by Dennison when she was distinguishing his work from the Queen Mary workshop artists as he was influenced by the Queen Mary workshop but never painted with those artists. The Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist was, instead, a traveling artist most active between 1310-20; it is believed that he traveled, as a professional, because his hand has been identified – at times working alongside other identifiable artists – in numerous manuscripts whose provenance can be located in both the London area and East Anglia. The Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist's illustrations are distinct in that he often uses more foliage in his borders, heavily uses viridian and orange pigment in his work, draws thicker human figures with expansive drapery, applies his paint more opaquely, uses paired clovers and trefoil leaves in borders,[6] and includes foliated initials in his manuscripts.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the earliest possible date of the Auchinleck Manuscript is 1327, but it may be as late as 1340,[7] and so it is possible that the Auchinleck is a very late project worked on by the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist, well after his prime years of 1310-20. One would think, with the Auchinleck having been illustrated c.1327-c.1340, that the Auchinleck illustrations would demonstrate the more elaborate and sophisticated illustrative styles shown in 1330's and 1340's manuscripts; these more experimental later styles, which included continental influence and new ways of portraying natural drapery, grew out of the earlier Queen Mary Psalter era of decoration from 1310 to 1320.[8] However, as will be demonstrated in my discussion below, the Auchinleck does not include examples of such experimentation and sophistication; rather, the depth of field and drapery of the Auchinleck illustrations are much

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[6] Much of this analysis stems from Dennison's insightful work in her "'Liber Horn', 'Liber Custumarum' and Other Manuscripts of the Queen Mary Psalter Workshops" (1990). Dennison also characterizes this artist, albeit more briefly, in her "The Apocalypse, British Library, Royal MS 19 B. XV: A Reassessment of its Artistic Context in Early Fourteenth-Century English Manuscript Illumination" (1994), specifically pp. 43-50.

[7] See Chapter 1, Section A: "Date" for further discussion.

[8] For further information on the developments of the 1330's and 1340's artwork that grew out of the 1310's and 1320's, see Dennison ("The Technical" 260-61, "The Apocalypse" 41-50).

simpler and less lifelike than those found in other manuscripts of the Queen Mary group from 1310-1320, including those illustrated by the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist. Thus, the dates and the level of artistry support the assertion that the Auchinleck contains the art of an apprentice or protégé of the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist as well as touches by the traveling artist himself.[9]

That the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist may have been training a protégé can most clearly be seen by comparing the human figures illustrated in the Auchinleck with those in the earlier Sherbrooke Missal (National Library of Wales MS. 15536E) and the Bangor Pontifical (GB-Bangor, Cathedral Dean and Chapter, MS. 1), known to be illustrated by the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist.[10] Unfortunately, most of the faces of the few extant Auchinleck illustrations have been damaged: several faces have been scratched off, and several are very worn. However, we can compare the face of the figure in the historiated initial of the Auchinleck shown in Figure 22 (where the face is best preserved)[11] with a face from a historiated initial of the Sherbrooke Missal shown in Figure 23,[12] and a face from the main illustration of the Bangor Pontifical shown in Figure 24.[13]

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[9] This suggestion matches the scholarship of Dennison, who also suggests that the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist had his own circle of influence. For further information see Dennison ("Liber" 122, 128).

[10] The Sherbrooke Missal itself is dated c.1310-1320 (*Sherbrooke Missal*), and the Bangor Pontifical is dated broadly 1306-1328 due to this illustration of Bishop Anian, but more narrowly to 1309-1324 due to other factors, such as scribal hands and the history of the two Bishop Anians (Sally Harper 69, 74). The Sherbrooke Missal and Bangor Pontifical were specifically chosen for my analysis as they are identified as projects illustrated by the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist as the only master artist (Dennison "Liber" 124).

[11] Images for the Auchinleck's illustrations can be seen in Tables 9-10 in the appendix and at http://auchinleck.nls.uk/. Three of the Auchinleck illustrations which show armor, including the parts shown in Figures 22 and 25, can be seen here: http://manuscriptminiatures.com/search/?manuscript=4916

[12] Images from the Sherbrooke Missal were included by permission of the Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru / National Library of Wales and can be seen here: http://www.llgc.org.uk/digitalmirror/she/SHE00001/index.html?lng=en

[13] Images from the Bangor Pontifical were included by permission of the Dean and Chapter of Bangor Cathedral, and Bangor University. Images were taken from http://www.diamm.ac.uk/ and in order to find the Bangor Pontifical there, follow the instructions here: http://www.bangor.ac.uk/archives/bangorpontifical/images.php.en

Figure 22: Sir Beues of
Hamtoun
Auchinleck f.176r

Figure 23: Priest
Celebrating Mass
Sherbrooke Missal f.1r

Figure 24: Bishop Anian
Bangor Pontifical f.8v

In each of these illustrations, there is a noted similarity in the long thin face, bulbous forehead,

prominent nose and eyebrow ridge, prominent upper right eyelid, and downturned upper lip; in

these faces (and some additional ones seen in these three manuscripts) the Subsidiary Queen

Mary Artist has a particular habit of joining the figure's nose with his left eyebrow, forming a

notable – and sometimes quite prominent – angle in doing so.

However, the face from the Auchinleck figure in Figure 22 seems

lopsided under the helmet, as if someone else drew the body

around this face or the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist drew the

face in at a later time. The Auchinleck miniature involving King

Richard I, shown in Figure 25, also has a lopsided face out of

Figure 25: King Richard I
Auchinleck f.326r

proportion with the surrounding body and helmet.[14] Therefore,

although there are parallels between the Auchinleck faces and those of other manuscripts done

by the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist, the Auchinleck helmets suggest that an apprentice of some

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[14] The face in Figure 25 of King Richard I is smaller and less detailed than those shown above, but in a manner
similar to the one that can be seen in the upper left historiated initial on f.1r of the Sherbrooke Missal (a different
initial than the one shown in Figure 23), particularly in the composition of the mouth, chin, and beard. However, the
draping of the figure's robes in this upper left historiated initial of the Sherbrooke Missal on f.1r is nowhere near as
realistic and three-dimensional in the lower left historiated initial, which contains the figure shown in Figure 23.
Therefore, possibly here we see that the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist working with an apprentice in the
Sherbrooke Missal as well or that the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist greatly simplified his style when a small space
required him to do so.

sort was working with the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist, and this apprentice is responsible for illustrating the helmets and indeed the rest of the bodies in the Auchinleck.

My surmise that an apprentice (or several apprentices) sketched and painted the bodies of the Auchinleck miniatures is further confirmed by the armor and robes of all of the Auchinleck figures. In the Auchinleck illustrations, the armor is stiffer and the robes show less depth of field than in the artwork in the Bangor Pontifical or the Sherbrooke Missal. For example, Figure 26 shows part of the King of Tars Auchinleck miniature.[15] Rather than show the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist's style of drawing expansive robes, the robes in Figure 26 tightly cling to the body and do not show realistic draping of the fabric along an upheld bent right arm. In addition, the body is out of proportion with the large head and hands and the small legs and feet. Contrast the image of the kneeling robed man in Figure 26 with that of the draped priest shown in the lower left historiated initial of the Sherbrooke Missal shown in Figure 27.[16] Here, the expansive robes show more depth of field from the shoulders down, and the draping on the upheld bent right arm flows naturally. In addition, the head and legs are in proportion with the body. The

Figure 26: King of Tars Auchinleck f.7r

Figure 27: Priest Celebrating Mass Sherbrooke f.1r

[15] The faces on ff.7r and 167r of the Auchinleck are unfortunately too damaged to compare well. It is not clear if the damage to the faces of Auchinleck figures was intentional or to signify anything in particular. This damage could well be one more side effect of the Auchinleck's existence in the private and professional settings for such a long time, as discussed in Chapter 1, Section E: "Condition, Damage, and Losses." The figures on f.7r do show oversized hands, however, which can be characteristic of the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist.

[16] For a discussion of the iconography shown in the figures of this historiated initial, see William Marx (162, 164-65). This image from the Sherbrooke Missal was included by permission of the Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru / National Library of Wales.

Auchinleck kneeling Sultan[17] in Figure 26 is therefore drawn with an inferior quality to the

Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist's known capability, shown in Figure 27, highly suggestive that an

apprentice was working on much of the Auchinleck artwork.

The bodies of men in armor in various Auchinleck miniatures likewise seem stiff, out-of-

proportion, and two-dimensional compared with illustrations known to be drawn by the

Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist.[18] In addition, the buildings in the Auchinleck miniatures, such as

the most prominent on f.167r, do not show the subtle shading of stones or attention to

architectural detail that the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist demonstrated on f.8v of the Bangor

Pontifical. While he may have sketched items or painted a few of the faces of the Auchinleck

illustrations, it seems that the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist was training an apprentice while

working on the manuscript as these illustrations are not of the same quality as his previous work.

However, in addition to this evidence of the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist's influence on the

faces of the Auchinleck figures, the Auchinleck does reflect this artist's use of foliated initials

and foliage-based borders, and even the shape of some of his initial capitals, details of his initial

capitals, and paraphs, as will be discussed later in this chapter. Therefore, the Auchinleck

Manuscript generally fits the stylistic corpus of the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist's work but

demonstrates little of his direct contribution to the illustrations. Given that c.1324 is the latest

date for two other manuscripts to which the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist contributed,[19] it also

---

[17] Confusingly, while the poem is called *The King of Tars*, the miniature actually depicts the sultan that the King of Tars' daughter marries; in this scene he prays alone to an idol. In the other part of the split scene for this miniature, the artist then shows him praying to a crucifix with his Christian wife after he converts to Christianity.

[18] For an illustration by the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist including armor, see f.144v in the Sherbrooke Missal. In private correspondence Lynda Dennison noted that the Auchinleck's armored figure of Sir Beues in the historiated initial on f.176r does possess a "fairly elegant sway," suggesting that the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist modeled this figure but then that the apprentice or another artist failed to properly interpret this sketch, as can be seen in the poor "proportions of the figure, the absence of corporeality of form and confidence in draughtsmanship."

[19] 1324 is the latest likely date of the Bangor Pontifical as well as 'Liber Custumarum.' For further information, see Dennison ("Liber" 122-24), and Harper (67-68, 73-74).

seems likely that we need to date the Auchinleck to the early 1330's as anything later represents

too large a gap in time from the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist's known body of work.[20]

B. The Traveling Artist and the Auchinleck Workspace

Because the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist's hand has been identified with other

distinctive artists in manuscripts of differing provenance, it is believed that he traveled to

different workspaces in order to illustrate manuscripts. For his work on the Auchinleck, the

Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist would have traveled to a collaborative workplace where he could

contribute to the Auchinleck manuscript along with the Auchinleck scribes.[21] In the first two

chapters, I have shown that we must consider some kind of collaborative environment where the

Auchinleck scribes worked and negotiated a number of decisions together; this collaborative

environment thus also hosted this traveling artist. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Dennison presents

us with evidence of an environment which, surprisingly, no one has connected to Loomis's idea

of a secular bookshop or the production of the Auchinleck at all:

> Unfortunately, nothing has as yet been uncovered which related specifically to the
>
> presence of illuminators in the City of London at this time (i.e. c. 1310-1320/25), an area
>
> which requires further investigation. By 1328 there was a fraternity of painters dedicated
>
> to St Luke in St Giles, Cripplegate, where apparently many of them lived, but the

---

[20] I am grateful for Lynda Dennison's insight, given via private correspondence, that the stylistic nature of the Auchinleck artwork fits the early 1330's and that 1335 seems to be the latest reasonable date for the involvement of the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist.

[21] For further information, see Dennison ("Liber" 122-24, "The Apocalypse" 43-45, 49-50) and Hanna ("Reconsidering" 96). The traveling nature of the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist and other artists at this time agrees with Mordkoff's earlier contribution that, "it is generally accepted that artists moved from place to place. It appears from the nature of the manuscripts that this particularly group illustrated that they moved from abbey to abbey. One of their stops must have been at the London-area house where the Auchinlek MS was copied" (248). Mordkoff thus also disputes Shonk's assertion that the Auchinleck artwork was done at an *atelier* in another location ("Bookmen" 78). Rouse and Rouse's recent chapter "Wandering Scribes and Traveling Artists" (*Bound* 423-48) further addresses this issue.

distinction between illuminators and painters, if indeed there was one at that date, is

difficult to establish from surviving documents. ("Liber" 128-29)

This fraternity of professional scribes and illustrators living together presents a prime location

for a collaborative workspace for the Auchinleck production, but it is not the only one. For

example, around this time Chancery clerks were likely living together in a place like the *domus*

conversorum near Westminster when the court traveled there, and there is a growing body of

scholarship which considers such government clerks to be likely candidates to fulfill literary

commissions. The likelihood that the Auchinleck was produced by a collaborative workgroup

such as this Cripplegate fraternity, a shared space for the Chancery clerks, or Hanna's suggestion

of the London Guildhall will be addressed further in Chapters 4 and 5.[22]

For the sake of our current analysis, in addition to abbeys, the Cripplegate fraternity, the

Chancery, and the London Guildhall all provide the kind of collaborative workspace where the

Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist and apprentice would have traveled when there was work. There

the master artist could have directed the more inexperienced illustrator/painter professionals.

Alternatively, though more difficult to substantiate, the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist could have

joined something like the Cripplegate fraternity, where he then trained apprentices, which

surmise seems eminently plausible as the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist's body of work seems to

trail off after the early 1320's and as he appears so indirectly involved in the Auchinleck

manuscript. There are thus a range of possibilities in the late 1320's or early 1330's in which the

Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist traveled with an apprentice to the secular workspace for the

Auchinleck project or otherwise joined such a collaborative workspace.

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[22] For further information, see Chapter 4, Section D: "The Scribal Court Hands," Section E: "Scribe 2," Section F: "The Auchinleck Production Process," Chapter 5, Section I: "The Chancery Production of the Auchinleck," Dennison, ("Liber" 123, 128-29), John H. Fisher ("Chancery" 874-75), and Hanna (*London* 74-83).

C. The Division of Labor in the Auchinleck Artwork

With the influence of the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist now established, the next issue to address is whether he and his apprentice were responsible for all of the decorative work in the manuscript, including the foliated initials, initial capitals, paraphs, and rubrication of the first letters of each line. While the evidence I have given suggests that the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist was training at least one apprentice while working on the Auchinleck, the amount of decorative work throughout the Auchinleck was the responsibility of more than just these two men. In general in the early 14th century, the principal artist of a manuscript worked with multiple assistants: "divisions of labor within a given manuscript were the customary method of production in English manuscripts of the fourteenth century" (Dennison "The Technical" 254). More specifically, while it was rare to have more than one master artist working on a manuscript, Stella Panayotova proposes that a subset of East Anglian manuscripts suggests that a master artist sketched designs while at least two assistants focused on borders and painting in the sketches.[23] Thus, even if the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist designed the decorative plan for more minor features of the Auchinleck Manuscript, it is unlikely that he would have illustrated these himself as he would have been accustomed to having at least two assistants. It is also unlikely that one apprentice would have taken over all of the remaining work because, as I have shown above, the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist was even less involved in sketching the Auchinleck Manuscript's artwork than a master artist typically is as the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist seems to have illustrated just the faces. In addition, I will demonstrate Section D, Part 3 below that there are at least six different hands contributing to the decorative work in the Auchinleck.

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[23] For further information, see Dennison ("The Technical" 254-55).

Therefore, we need to consider other professionals who could have helped with the illustrative work of the Auchinleck, and the scribes themselves are likely candidates for this work. In fact, as was indicated in my discussion above, in the early 14th century there was not always a clear distinction between illustrators and scribes, with "painters" being a term which could be used for scribes because they painted letters on the page. And for simpler decoration, often the scribe decorated the manuscript himself.[24] For example, even as late as the late 15th century, Abbot Esteney of Westminster Abbey wrote to Prior Richard Synger of Milburga's Priory (at Wenlock) about a monk, Edward Botiller, who wanted to join their order and was "a faire writer, a fflourissher and maker of capitall letters."[25] This monk appears to have been a scribe, rubricator, and illustrator. Mordkoff further elucidates the issue that our term rubrication, "still used to cover all aspects of adding color to a manuscript, is unfortunate since it confounds scribal and decorative work. The term 'flourishing' was also used for decorating letters with pen scroll-work" (159). Thus the Auchinleck scribes could easily have executed the simpler levels of decoration, including simple initial capitals, paraphs, and red line-initial rubrication. Indeed, I will show in the second half of this chapter that there is strong evidence to suggest that the scribes, or some subset of the scribes, were involved with the decoration of the Auchinleck.

D. Components of the Decorative *Mise-en-Page*:

In Chapter 2, Section D, I considered the scribal elements of the *mise-en-page*.[26] With the influence of the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist and his assistants established, we can now consider the decorative *mise-en-page*. Its components are: illustrated initials & miniatures, initial capitals, alternating red & blue paraphs, and *litterae notabiliores*.

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[24] For further information on the conflation of scribes and illustrators see Carruthers (*Book of Memory* 278, 281). Elizabeth Danbury makes a similar argument about the Chancery clerks decorating their own documents (163-65).

[25] For further information, see J. Armitage Hobinson and M.R. James (12) and Mordkoff (159).

[26] Its components are: columns per folio, lines per folio, item numbers, titles and headings, and the ending of texts.

1. Illustrated Initials & Miniatures

There are two illustrated initials (a historiated initial on f.176r and a foliated initial on f.304r) and five extant miniatures (on ff. 7r, 72r, 167r, 256v, and 326r) heading texts in the Auchinleck Manuscript (See Tables 9 and 10 in the appendix for images and descriptions). As discussed in Chapter 1, there is a good bit of damage to the beginnings of many other poems which obscures what originally was there: there are rectangular patches preceding 13 texts, stubs preceding the first extant folios of 11 texts, entire missing folios or gatherings preceding the first extant folio of six texts, and seven extant texts which do not have an illustrated initial or miniature.[27] The 13 rectangular patches repair damage done from the excision of the miniatures, and so most Auchinleck scholars will assert something along the lines that most Auchinleck texts – including all of the major poems – were originally preceded by a miniature and that much of the damage to the Auchinleck was done by vandals searching for miniatures.[28] However, this judgment ignores the presence of the two important illustrated initials in the Auchinleck which complicates the idea that only miniatures were intended to head the important Auchinleck works. Indeed, the prevalence of such historiated initials in other Queen Mary group manuscripts and the presence of historiated *and* foliated initials in other manuscripts illustrated by the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist suggest that historiated and foliated initials were important design features in this group of early 14th century manuscripts. Thus, I will consider the Auchinleck illustrations in the context of the illustrations and conventions of the Queen Mary group of manuscripts and of the illustrations and conventions more specifically of the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist.

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[27] Hilmo provides images for four of the miniatures (not including the damaged one on f.256v) and the historiated initial and discusses these within the context of the text and other manuscripts (Kerby-Fulton 158-65). See also Chapter 1, Section E: "Condition, Damage, and Losses." The seven extant texts without an illustration preceding them are: Scribe 2's items 10, 20 and 44, Scribe 3's item 14, Scribe 4's item 21, and Scribe 1's items 23 and 39.

[28] For example, see Scott (xiii), Laing (i), Pearsall and Cunningham (xv), Mordkoff (86), Shonk ("Investigations" 2, "Bookmen" 81), Wiggins ("*Guy of Warwick*" 114, *The Auchinleck* "Physical make-up"), Hanna (*London* 79-80), and Hilmo (Kerby-Fulton 158-59).

The historiated initial heading *Sir Beues* (item 25) on f.176r in the Auchinleck, whose face was shown in Figure 22, is important because historiated initials – and not just miniatures – were part of the decorative convention of the Queen Mary group and because this allows us to compare the initials. Historiated initials were used, along with miniatures, to head texts in the Queen Mary Psalter itself[29] as well as other manuscripts influenced by the Queen Mary workshop. The Queen Mary Psalter, the parent book of the Queen Mary group, contains the historiated initial shown below in Figure 28. The Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist, the artist connected to the Auchinleck Manuscript, drew the historiated initial in the Sherbrooke Missal, shown in Figure 29. Figure 30 shows the historiated initial found in the Auchinleck:

Figure 28: Initial for Psalm 119
Queen Mary Psalter f.256v[30]

Figure 29: Initial for Priest at Mass
Sherbrooke Missal f.1r[31]

Figure 30: Initial for *Beues*
Auchinleck f.176r

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[29] This is another example of where Hanna is too hasty to suggest a connection between the Auchinleck and Horn's legal books and therefore misses an important convention in the Queen Mary group. Hanna asserts, "The decorative programmes of Auchinleck and 'Liber Custumarum' share features not the property of the greater run of 'Queen Mary' products, e.g. Psalters or Apocalypses. Painting in Horn's books appears most prominently in illustrations … affixed to the heads of their legal acta" (*London* 82). While it may be true that both the Auchinleck and 'Liber Custumarum' both have illustrations heading their works, it is not true that both deviate from the Queen Mary Psalter group in doing so. As Stanton clearly states in relation to the Queen Mary Psalter: "the Latin devotional text, or psalter proper, is presented in the divisions typical for English psalters … Here incipits are marked by large illuminations and by historiated initials" (12). Thus, the convention for the Queen Mary Psalter itself is to mark incipits of texts with illustrations of some kind. For further information, see Clemens and Graham (25-29).

[30] Stanton also includes an image of this folio in her work (xxxi). The British Library does not require permission for Queen Mary Psalter (or other digital manuscript) images but requests that the link to the digital manuscript be made available, as here: http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=6467

[31] This image from the Sherbrooke Missal was included by permission of the Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru / National Library of Wales.

The influence of the Queen Mary workshop initial, in Figure 28, on the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist's initial, in Figure 29, is evident in the shape and proportion of the initial, the red (or reddish-mauve) and blue interwoven framing of the initial, and the white geometric designs on the initial, including prominent white *x*'s. However, the depth of perspective and rich color pallet present in the Queen Mary Psalter historiated initial, in Figure 28, are absent in both of the initials attributed to the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist, with the Auchinleck initial having the fewest colors.[32] And while the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist's initials in Figure 29 and Figure 30 both share a golden background, in the Auchinleck initial (in Figure 30) a browner shade has been substituted for the reddish-mauve used in framing the Sherbrooke initial (in Figure 29), and the geometric patterns in the Auchinleck initial are further simplified to a curvilinear line and circles. Still, importantly, the influence of the Queen Mary workshop is evident here with the blue and mauve/brown used to frame the letters and white geometric patterns within the letters. And, moreover, historiated initials were used to head items in the Queen Mary Psalter *as well as* miniatures, and so the Auchinleck's inclusion of a historiated initial shows that the Auchinleck Manuscript was following artistic conventions established by the London based Queen Mary workshop, despite the lesser pictorial quality of the initial.

One of the appeals of these historiated initials is that they allowed the artists to illustrate the folios elaborately with marginal bars and borders, including leaves, figures of men, animals, insects, grotesques and the like. For the Queen Mary Psalter initial, Figure 31 shows the detail from the lower left corner of the initial (cut out of Figure 28) where a branch blooms into eight trefoil leaves colored green, rust, blue, and yellow. Figure 32 shows a similar, though more

---

[32] And the Auchinleck historiated initial is by far the simplest, with Sir Beues not even having an earthly setting to stand within, and, as discussed above, his face is twisted in his helmet and his body is stiff and out of proportion, further giving the sense that the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist may have been directing an apprentice at this point.

simply executed, detail (cut out from Figure 30) for the

historiated initial in the Auchinleck which extends as a blue and

brown branch down the left margin and onto the bottom margin

where it blooms into the ten trefoil leaves colored rust and green,

shown here. In the Sherbrooke Missal, a marginal bar extends

from the historiated initial on f.1r to become a border which

encircles the entire folio and includes a dog chasing a hare, birds,

insects, and the like. Such borders were

common in the manuscripts of the first half of

the 14th century. Therefore, as I argued in

Chapter 1, many of the missing first folios of

Auchinleck texts were as likely to contain

illustrated initials with elaborate marginal bars

and borders as they were to contain small, rectangular miniatures.

Figure 31: Psalm 119 Historiated Initial Detail Queen Mary Psalter f.256v

Figure 32: *Sir Beues* Historiated Initial Detail Auchinleck f.176r

The Auchinleck Manuscript contains an additional

illustrated initial, a foliated initial, of a type which is not found in

the Queen Mary Psalter but which is found in the Subsidiary

Queen Mary Artist's body of work. This foliated initial, shown in

Figure 33, heads the Auchinleck's *Short Chronicle* (item 40). The

foliated initial shares some similarities with the Auchinleck's

historiated initial, shown above, including the use of reddish-

brown with the blue to frame the initial, the simple white geometric designs within that initial,

and the branches with rust and green trefoil leaves. In addition, both illustrated initials in the

Figure 33: Foliated Initial Auchinleck f.304r

Auchinleck use a stylized design of a red trefoil leaf with white texture lines wrapped within a

white vine as part of the marginal bar. Within the body of the Auchinleck's foliated initial,

instead of a human figure, are two more trefoil leaves – these like striped maple leaves – still

wrapped within a white vine. Smaller foliated initials with marginal bars which branch into

trefoil leaves are scattered throughout the Subsidiary Queen

Mary Artist's Sherbrooke Missal, such as the initial shown in

Figure 34.[33] The wavy trefoil rust and green leaves on the left

side of Figure 34 descend from the marginal bar of another

foliated initial higher up the page, while the foliated initial itself

demonstrates the same use of blue and mauve to frame the letter

Figure 34: Foliated Initial
Sherbrooke f.7r

with white geometric lines as well as small trefoil leaves within

the initial. The Auchinleck's foliated initial, then, should not be

considered evidence that item 40 (headed by this foliated initial) was decorated prior to the

implementation of a standardized *mise-en-page* in the Auchinleck, as Mordkoff argues, nor

should the foliated initial be overlooked in the scholarship altogether, as has been effectively

done by Shonk, Wiggins, Olson and Hilmo.[34] Instead, the foliated initial is an important

identifier of the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist's influence and should be acknowledged as part

of his set of conventions. As such, we can conclude that foliated initials were an intentional part

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[33] Again, the slight differences in the foliated initials suggest that the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist was directing the work of an apprentice here, or possibly a different apprentice than he worked with on the Sherbrooke initial. This image from the Sherbrooke Missal was included by permission of the Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru / National Library of Wales.

[34] Mordkoff views the differences at the beginnings of booklets as evidence that various booklets were started before the standardized *mise-en-page* was put in place (92-93). In his dissertation, Shonk mentions but does not theorize about the historiated initial and then claims, "no other foliate decoration has survived in the Auchinleck" (95-96). Olson defers to Shonk on this exact point (Kerby-Fulton 106), and therefore she and Hilmo overlook this foliated initial and its foliated border. In Shonk's article, neither initial is mentioned, and Wiggins describes them both in her dissertation but does not theorize about them (117), and she leaves them both out of the codicology of the Auchinleck on the website (*The Auchinleck* "Physical make-up").

of the illustrations of the Auchinleck and, like the historiated initial discussed above, evidence

that other foliated initials with elaborate borders may have been lost in the missing folios as well.

As we turn our attention to the Auchinleck miniatures (see Table 10 in the appendix for

images and descriptions), the Queen Mary workshop's influence on the Auchinleck can be seen

here as well. As with the historiated initials discussed above, it is likely that most of the

influence from the Queen Mary workshop shown in the Auchinleck comes via the Subsidiary

Queen Mary Artist (and his apprentice). The Queen Mary workshop's influence is evident in

different aspects of the five Auchinleck miniatures, and I would like to address two of these

briefly.

We first see this influence in the Auchinleck with the

seated, robed figure of Christ, shown in Figure 35, heading *The*

Paternoster (item 15). While the miniature is difficult to see

due to smudging and wear, we can identify a figure in reddish

robes who raises up his right hand, has white and blue cloth

over his knees, and faces directly forward, which is a posture

used in the Queen Mary group manuscripts typically for God,

Christ, or a ruling saint.[35] In multiple Queen Mary workshop

manuscripts, a similar seated, robed figure is seen with his

Figure 35: Image of Christ
Auchinleck f.72r

right hand raised up (or, more typically, three fingers on his right hand) as in the Auchinleck, and

in his left hand this figure has a scepter, orb, or a scroll, with the latter seen specifically in the

Auchinleck. For example, from the Breviary of Chertsey Abbey (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS.

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[35] While Shonk accurately notes that Robinson considers the figure on f.72r to be God (Robinson 132), Shonk
believes that the figure could also be "a priest who is reading to his congregation" ("Investigations" 94-95), thereby
missing the significance of the imagery. For further information, see Dennison ("An Illuminator" 287- 291).

Lat. liturg. d. 42),[36] Figure 36 shows a similar full body version of St. Peter in red robes, with

three fingers of his right hand raised up, a scepter in his left hand, and with white and blue cloth

around his feet. I find the most compelling similarity to be the Auchinleck artist's poor attempt

to replicate the reddish outer robes along with the white undergarment with blue trim; Figure 36

shows what the Auchinleck artist was trying to accomplish

with the white and blue cloth over the figure's knees in

Figure 35.[37] Therefore, in the Auchinleck we see the

Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist or, more likely here, an

assistant[38] consciously replicating imagery used by the Queen

Mary *atelier* for representing a divine figure.[39]

Figure 36: Image of St. Peter
Chertsey Breviary f.28r

In addition to replicating imagery for a divine figure,

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[36] This image has been included by permission of the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. The image is within a historiated initial for the letter *P*. Dennison includes this depiction of a ruling saint in her article "An Illuminator" (Plate XLII). You can see the illustrations of the Breviary of Chertsey Abbey (also known as the Chertsey Breviary) at: http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/medieval/mss/lat/liturg/d/042.htm

[37] The drapery on the damaged miniature on f.256v has been illustrated in a more sophisticated manner, possibly indicating the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist's more direct involvement for this miniature. Lynda Dennison, via private correspondence, noted that the drapery of this miniature reminded her of the drapery of the Nativity miniatures in both the Alice de Reydon Hours (Cambridge UL, Dd. 4. 17) and the Peterborough Psalter and Bestiary (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 53), both of which were illustrated by the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist. The rich blue and red colors and the white trim of the robes in the Alice de Reydon Nativity miniature are also strikingly similar to that seen on the remaining drapery on f.256v in the Auchinleck.

[38] The face on this particular figure in the Auchinleck is very worn and difficult to see. However, while at first glance it seems simpler and less detailed than any other face previously discussed, enlarging the image of the face does show some of the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist's stylistic indicators, such as the notable angle made by the figure's nose and left eyebrow and the downturned upper lip. Therefore, again the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist may have drawn the face while the robes were added by an apprentice.

[39] The shape and imagery of the towers and the knights in the Auchinleck miniatures on ff.167r and 326r are also similar to that found in the Queen Mary Psalter scene: the Death of Abimelech (f.39r, shown on Stanton 19). For example, there are parallels between the arched doorway in the tower, the cross-shaped arrow slits with cross-hatched ends, the wall between the two towers, the men in tight grey chainmail from neck to foot with a mono-colored coat of arms over the top, and even a man on the left with a sword dominating a man on the right leaning on the right tower. The replication of these shapes supports the argument that the Auchinleck artists may have been working with a kind of Queen Mary workshop pattern-book (or other method of mirroring imagery used in the Queen Mary workshop) as they drew illustrations for the Auchinleck. The pattern-book is one of Dennison's theories to explain the Queen Mary workshop's influence on other artists at the time, including the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist, as no other artist's hand can be identified as working alongside the two Queen Mary workshop artists ("Liber" 125). This pattern-book would be comprised of motifs, imagery, and samples of illustrations.

the frames of the Auchinleck miniatures reflect those found in the Queen Mary Psalter.

Left Red Border
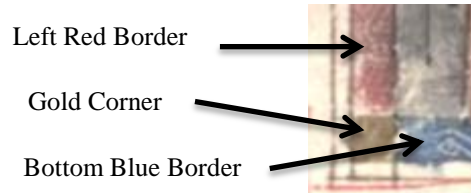Gold Corner
Bottom Blue Border

Figure 37: Lower-left corner detail
Auchinleck f.167r

Figure 38: King of Tars split scene
Auchinleck f.7r

Typically the Auchinleck miniatures have red and blue frames with white geometric lines and with gold squares in the corners. For example, you can see the left red frame meeting the bottom blue frame in the detail shown in Figure 37. However, the Auchinleck miniature heading *The King of Tars* (item 2), shown in Figure 38, has a thick red frame with very faint white lines and gold squares at the corners; this thick red frame splits the scene into two, with the Sultan praying to an idol on the left, and the now Christian ruler and his Christian wife praying to a crucifix on the right. The use of a red frame to split a scene into two scenes can be seen throughout the early folios in the Queen Mary Psalter, such as on ff.4v and 12v, and thus again shows the Auchinleck's indebtedness to conventions from the Queen Mary workshop.[40]

When we consider the process of joining these illustrations to the incipits of Auchinleck poems, the miniatures and rectangular patches (repairing excised miniatures) heading items 2, 4, 5, 13, 17, and 43 demonstrate that adjustments were made to the manuscript by the scribes and

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[40] The Queen Mary images with red split scenes can be seen in Stanton's text (xxiii, xxv) or here http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=6467. The border of the Auchinleck miniature for King Richard, on f.326r, also is red but does not split the scene. However, an attempt to adapt this decision seems evident in the unique green border painted around three sides of the red border, as if there was a desire to add in a bluish color at a later point. (See Table 10 in the appendix for an image and description.)

artists in order to insert these miniatures after copying had begun.[41] Items 2 and 17 seem to have

had their miniatures squeezed into a small space at the top of a column; the miniature heading

The King of Tars (item 2, on f.7r) is a fairly compressed miniature at the top of column a, and

even then it rises about two lines (or 10 mm) higher than the written space of column b. For *Sir*

Degare (item 17), f.78r has a patch on the top of column b where the miniature has been excised,

but the bottom of column a shows that the last two lines of item 16 were copied there below the

usual 44 lines in a blacker ink; it seems likely that those two lines had been at the top of column

b, and then Scribe 3 added them again later to the bottom of column a so that a miniature could

be squeezed in to the top of column b. In addition, the miniatures for *Seynt Mergrete* (item 4),

Seynt Katerine (item 5), and *The Nativity and Early Life of Mary* (item 13) seem to have been

squeezed in at the bottom of the column of the previous item.[42] I believe the miniature of Scribe

1's *King Richard* (item 43) shows an adjustment which

suggests another change was made during the production. In

the gold background of the upper left corner of the miniature,

the red (and perhaps also blue) thick lines of an *R* and maybe

Figure 39: Detail from the King Richard miniature Auchinleck f.326r

a *K* can just be seen, as shown in Figure 39.[43] The *K*, if

indeed the reddish-blue left side of the flag is a *K*, appears to

have been converted into a flag. However, the *R* just floats in mid-air, and a black diamond shape

floats between them and does not have any significance in the current miniature. The *R*, the

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[41] Mordkoff analyzes the adaptations made for items 2, 4, 5, and 17 (96-99). Shonk notes but does not theorize about similar observations for the miniatures of items 4 and 13 ("Investigations" 12, 15, 41, 56).

[42] More specifically, the excised miniature for *Seynt Mergrete* (item 4) was squeezed in to the bottom of column b on f.16r (after the end of item 3) while the text itself begins at the top of column a on f.16v. The excised miniature for *Seynt Katerine* (item 5) is squeezed into the bottom of column a of f.21r (after the end of item 4) while the text begins at the top of column b on f.21r. The excised miniature for *The Nativity and Early Life of Mary* (item 13) was squeezed into the bottom of column b on f.65v (after the end of item 12) while the text itself begins at the top of column a on f.66r.

[43] I have faded out the image as much as possible so that the *R* and possible *K* can most clearly be seen.

black diamond, and the possible *K* seem to confirm that a different plan had been in place for the artwork before this miniature was added.[44]

What is evident is that the plan for these miniatures, at the very least, was not predetermined. Some other, possibly simpler and much cheaper, *mise-en-page* was in place for the manuscript, and this original plan may not have been implemented consistently either. As mentioned above, using a miniature or historiated initial at the head of a new text to identify the incipit is a hallmark of the Queen Mary Psalter. Therefore, the decision to add miniatures and illustrated initials may have been made after the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist and his apprentice were consulted for the project. In any case, at some moment in the Auchinleck production process, there was a conscious decision made to have the artwork in the Auchinleck resemble that found in other manuscripts in the Queen Mary group, including other Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist manuscripts.[45] And, from what we can tell of the remaining extant folios, the scribes were then aware of the decision to add illustrations as they added space for miniatures and illustrated initials after these initial works were copied.

The miniature squeezed between columns a and b of Scribe 3's *Paternoster* (item 15) on f.72r, shown in Figure 35, has garnered scholarly attention because it is an important miniature to consider in relation to the decision made to add miniatures to the Auchinleck *mise-en-page* and the scribal involvement in this decision. As no room was left for the miniature in the first column, it appears to have been squeezed in after the fact. Robinson and Mordkoff thus point to this miniature as a definitive moment when there was not yet a standardized *mise-en-page*

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[44] I am not sure what may have been sketched out prior to the miniature as the first nine lines of column a seem to have been left blank for something large, but the original design seems to have been altered to this miniature instead.
[45] As the Auchinleck miniatures reflect both certain stylistic devices of the Queen Mary group (such as the seated divine figure and the red borders for splitting scenes) and those more specific to the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist (such as his foliated initials), this influence could be explained with a Queen Mary pattern-book or could simply be due to the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist's knowledge of the Queen Mary workshop conventions. See fn. 39 above.

(which includes miniatures) and argue that one was implemented after this point.[46] And because

proving that the Auchinleck had a predetermined *mise-en-page* is central to Shonk's piecework

production theory (in which Scribe 1 distributed contracts, exemplars, and predetermined

instructions to other scribes), Shonk refers to this miniature in Figure 35 as the "troublesome

miniature" and ultimately concludes that Scribe 3 simply forgot to leave space for it.[47]

I do not think that that Scribe 3 "forgot" to leave room for this miniature between the

columns of item 15 as Scribe 3 also did not leave room for one before his item 14 either, and this

would mean that Scribe 3 forgot to leave space for miniatures before the first two items, items 14

and 15, that he copied in booklet 3A. It seems that three possibilities remain: Scribe 3 was

misinformed about the need to leave room for miniatures, it was originally decided neither of

Scribe 3's initial short works would need a miniature, or that the decision to include illustrations

in the manuscript had not been made yet. Given that we have already seen other examples of

Auchinleck texts in which the decision to add in the miniature was made after the copying was

done and so the miniatures had to be squeezed in, I think that the final scenario is most likely.

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[46] For further discussion, see Robinson (35) and Mordkoff (99-100). This odd miniature, the lack of miniature for item 14, and Scribe 2's items 10 and 44 are the core of Robinson's argument that booklets were started independently. Robinson's idea then paved the way for Mordkoff's thesis that these works were started before the standardized *mise-en-page* was implemented at one specific moment. I agree that the decision to add miniatures was made after the Auchinleck began, but I do not agree that there was ever a standardized *mise-en-page* rigidly implemented. For example, Mordkoff takes the foliated initial heading item 25 to be further evidence of an earlier, non-standardized *mise-en-page* when we have seen that this type of initial is found in the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist's body of work and so is part of the intentional Auchinleck *mise-en-page*.

[47] For further discussion, see Shonk ("Bookmen" 82) and Wiggins (*The Auchinleck* "Physical make-up"). It should be noted that Shonk creates confusion as he considers this point; he argues that Scribe 3 "was ignorant of the intention to include such decoration or simply to forget to skip enough lines to afford room for it. Given the evidence of a standard format for the manuscript and the fact that Scribe III shared a gathering with Scribes II and IV, the first suggestion seems unlikely" ("Bookmen" 82). What Shonk neglects to tell the reader is that Scribe 3 also did not leave space for a miniature for his previous text, item 14; also Shonk's logic here that Scribe 3 *should* have known to leave space due to his sharing a different gathering with Scribes 2 and 4 is unfounded: Scribes 2 and 4 do not leave space for miniatures, so it is not clear how sharing a gathering with them would be evidence that Scribe 3 would know that he had to leave space for a miniature.

That said, we need to be careful in assuming – as Robinson, Mordkoff, Shonk and Wiggins have done – that the instructions were then given to the artists to go back and squeeze a miniature in between columns a and b of f.72r in order to help increase the uniformity of the manuscript. If anything, leaving the item without a miniature would have helped it to blend in with the seven other extant texts without an illustration and with the hundreds of folios without a miniature much more than squeezing the miniature in between the columns of verse, which has caused this folio to appear so eccentric. Rather, this is another instance where codicological studies can be genuinely aided by a consideration of the content of the folios in question. That is, we should try to consider the manuscript from the perspective of the reader trying to find items in the manuscript rather than from the perspective of the producers making a supposedly uniform manuscript.

It seems likely that some subset of decision-makers (most likely the senior scribal team of Scribes 1, 2, and 3 as I will define more clearly in Chapter 4) recognized the value to the reader of being able to find The Lord's Prayer in English – the text (item 15) on f.72r currently under discussion. Essentially the Auchinleck decision-makers realized that because this poem originally lacked an illustrated initial or miniature for whatever reason, it seems likely that it blended in *too* much with the rest of the manuscript. I believe it was then suggested by the Auchinleck team that a miniature – here appropriately an image of Christ praying *The Paternoster* – would help the patron to find the prayer quickly. In fact, this folio shows considerable wear, suggesting that this was a popular item – read and looked at often – and the miniature's worn state supports that hypothesis.[48] Further, the unpainted scroll in the figure's

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[48] Stanton notes a similar wear to the pictorial incipits of the devotional texts, though she adds, "this wear may reflect modern rather than medieval viewing" as "conventional wisdom" dictates that "luxury psalters" were not for

left hand indicates that this miniature was left unfinished,[49] suggesting that the illustrators may have been rushing at this point or that the scribe assigned did not get to it. If its unfinished status indicates that this is one of the last miniatures added to the Auchinleck, then this miniature could also reflect one of the final decisions made by the Auchinleck senior scribal team as they carefully considered their patron's needs.

The illustrations of the Auchinleck thus indicate the artistic influences on the manuscript, the artistic decisions being made while the scribes were still working, and the collaborative nature of these decisions. I conclude that the illustrations in the Auchinleck were not planned before production started, but that a decision was made after numerous works had been started. However, it is not even as simple as saying that, after this decision to include illustrations was made, that the miniatures were then included in the manuscript as much as possible. First of all, the illustrations were not all meant to be miniatures as we have evidence that both a historiated and a foliated initial with foliated bars were part of the Auchinleck decorative *mise-en-page*. Second, collaborative decision-making led to unique circumstances surrounding the inclusion of many of these miniatures, the historiated initial, the foliated initial, and foliated borders. For example, once the decision was made to add a miniature to the top of column b on f.78r, Scribe 3 was involved in this decision as he went back to transfer two lines to the bottom of column a on f.78r from the top of column b so that a miniature could be squeezed in at the top of column b. In addition, at least one illustration was added very late in the production process and had to be squeezed between the columns once the Auchinleck decision-makers realized the value for their

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devotional use but rather for display (17). The Auchinleck, on the other hand, has many battle scars declaring its frequent use in daily life.

[49] In other miniatures from this era with a scroll, there are words printed on the scroll. Wiggins also considers this interpretation of an incomplete miniature due to the unpainted scroll ("*Guy of Warwick*"115).

patron of finding *The Paternoster* (item 15). Thus, these were individually crafted decisions rather than simply a new standard being implemented across production.

And while I understand the importance in the Auchinleck scholarly discourse of trying to identify how illustrations fit in with the production process, it is well to note that there is also just enough artwork also to consider the Auchinleck within the greater Queen Mary group. The illustrations that head the Auchinleck texts do not only have to impact our assessment of the Auchinleck production process; rather, the decision to include such illustrations adjoining the incipits can help us to appreciate the intention of the Auchinleck creators. In fact, building on my discussion in Chapter 2 about the importance of distinct-looking details and folios as finding aids for the reader,[50] the artwork in the Auchinleck Manuscript functions to create unique, memorable folios to help the reader navigate the manuscript and remember the texts. Claire Richter Sherman mentions this same revelation as she studied French translations of Aristotle:

> By examining the manuscripts as integrated physical structures, I began to see how their calligraphic and decorative organization worked with the illustrations and textual elements to organize the reader's understanding. For example, Oresme's introductory paragraphs and chapter headings highlight key concepts. I speculated whether in an analogous way placement of the illustrations at the beginning of each major text division pointed to way-finding and indexical functions linking text and image. (xxii)

Thus, rather than solely focus on if and when the Auchinleck miniatures became part of a standardized *mise-en-page*, I also have explored who was responsible for these illustrations, their working habits, and their impact on the reader.

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[50] For further information, see Chapter 2, Section C "Challenging the Standardized Auchinleck *Mise-en-Page*" where I consider the scholarship of Rouse and Rouse, Carruthers, and Ziolkowski, among others.

2. Initial capitals

The initial capitals of the Auchinleck Manuscript have blue letters, two to five lines high, with red flourishes and red scrollwork as shown in Figure 40 (See Table 11 in the appendix for another example and description). Because the distance between lines can sometimes vary, the actual height of these initials can further vary a good bit, from the 10 mm tall initial *L* on f.105r to the 30 mm tall initial *W* on f.328r (not including the red ascenders and descenders).[51] These initial capitals are used to mark major sections of the poems and sometimes to mark the incipit of a text. Typically the scribes left small brown guiding letters to indicate where an initial capital should go. As with the illustrations discussed above, the initial capitals offer interesting information about the Auchinleck manuscript, such as the way the decision to include these initial capitals was implemented flexibly, the four elaborate initial capitals which indicate that the Auchinleck decision-makers wanted booklets to have distinctive first folios which recall each other, and the five single-colored initial capitals which reveal information about the production process.

Figure 40: *Þ* Auchinleck f.261r

The initial capitals unify the Auchinleck manuscript visually as well as anything, especially with the unusual decision to use only blue letters with red flourish (minus the handful of anomalies discussed below). In numerous other manuscripts of this era, including the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist's Sherbrooke Missal and Bangor Pontifical, similar initial capitals are prevalent but frequently switch between several color schemes. One popular option is to

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[51] This range excludes the two initials, 10 or more lines tall, which are closer to 50 mm tall. Both will be discussed below in this section.

alternate between a blue initial with red flourish and then a red initial with blue flourish, as can be seen on f.14r of the Bangor Pontifical. Gold initials and foliated initials are also found on the same folio heading sections in the Sherbrooke Missal, such as on f.13r. Thus, due to the use of just blue initials with red scrollwork and flourish throughout the Auchinleck Manuscript, I would suggest that the decision to use this style of initial capital was one of the earliest decisions made for the manuscript to help unify its appearance.[52]

However, while the blue initial capitals with red flourish do help unify the look of the Auchinleck Manuscript, it is important to note that there are a handful of works without any initial capitals at all: Scribe 3's *Assumption of the Blessed Virgin* (item 16), Scribe 4's *Battle Abbey Roll* (item 21), and Scribe 1's *A Penniworth of Wiit* (item 28).[53] In the case of Scribe 4's item 21, it makes sense that there are not any initial capitals as the list of Norman names is not divided into different sections, and no other decoration was added to this item. However, Scribe 1's item 28, which spans over two folios, and Scribe 3's item 16, which spans over five folios, have more than enough extant text to have added in initial capitals. I see no reason to consider either poem as having been copied before the decision to add initial capitals was made, however, because items 16 and 28 follow other items copied by the same scribes where space was left for the initial capitals that were painted in. Therefore, we seem to be witnessing another scenario where Scribes 1 and 3 made independent decisions for these two texts, here not to use initial capitals to head sections of these two narratives. These decisions by Scribes 1 and 3 here follow

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[52] For further information, see Clemens and Graham (25-27).

[53] Technically the one extant column of Scribe 1's *Sayings of St. Bernard* (item 35) also does not have initial capitals, but it is difficult to say if Scribe 1's item 35 ever had any as we only have one extant column of text. Robinson, Cunningham, Shonk, and Wiggins focus on the uniformity of the initials across the manuscript without mentioning that there are texts without initial capitals. For example, Cunningham and Wiggins only mention Scribe 4's text as an exception (Pearsall and Cunningham xv, Wiggins "*Guy of Warwick*" 118). Robinson and Shonk do not mention any of the texts without initial capitals at all. For a statistical analysis and broad discussion of initial capitals, see Evans (23-25).

a consistent pattern of autonomous choices made by Scribes 1, 2, and 3 to adapt the *mise-en-page* to their own needs for a specific text. This is why we must see the decisions about the Auchinleck *mise-en-page* as a series of negotiations, and Scribes 1, 2, and 3 form a kind of senior scribal team who had the most agency to make such choices.

In addition to demonstrating the scribal flexibility to not include initial capitals, the Auchinleck contains four elaborate initial capitals designed to stand out (see images below and Table 12 in the appendix for larger images and descriptions). The four elaborate initial capitals are: the parted *h* heading Scribe 2's item 10 (and booklet 2, f.39r), a 10-line tall *I* heading Scribe 3's item 14 (and booklet 3A, f.70r), another parted *h* heading Scribe 6's item 32 (and booklet 7, f.268r), and an 11-line tall *I* heading Scribe 1's item 37 (and booklet 9, f.281r). Because these four initials are either large (the two *I's* are about 20 mm taller than any other initial capital in the manuscript) or have a two-color treatment (red and blue initials for the parted initial *h's* rather than just blue),[54] they were intentionally drawn differently than the other initial capitals and thus grab the reader's attention. As I argued in Chapter 2, distinct, organized parcels of information were seen as key in order to aid the memory of the readers of the manuscript.[55]

When we consider the four elaborate initial capitals, I do not think it is an accident that these four elaborate initials head booklets, but rather these four initial capitals indicate that further flexibility was allowed with the *mise-en-page* and intentional decisions were made to make booklet incipits look unique. If we add these four elaborate initial capitals heading

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[54] A parted initial is an initial with two colors, here blue and red, being used to form the initial rather than just the blue used elsewhere for the initial capitals in the Auchinleck. Typically the blue and red form a kind of symmetrical pattern in a parted initial, as shown below. I am grateful to Lynda Dennison for informing me, via private correspondence, that these initials can also be referred to as puzzle initials.

[55] For further information, see Chapter 2, Section C "Challenging the Standardized Auchinleck *Mise-en-Page*," where I addressed research from Carruthers and Ziolkowski (7-8), Carruthers (*Book of Memory* 276-281), and Rouse and Rouse (*Manuscripts and their Makers* 152).

booklets to the historiated initial heading Scribe 5's item 25 (and booklet 5, f.176r), the foliated

initial heading Scribe 1's item 40 (and booklet 10, f.304r), and the lack of any decoration

heading Scribe 2's item 44 (and booklet 12, f.328r), we then find that we have seven out of 13

booklets which begin distinctly, and we are missing the first folio of booklets 1, 4, 8, and 3B.

Thus, only Scribe 1's *Lay le Freine* (item 30, heading booklet 6, f.261r) and *King Richard* (item

43, heading booklet 11, f.326r) follow what other scholars have assumed to be a standardized

mise-en-page of a red title, miniature (with a patch for the excised miniature for item 30), and

regular-sized initial capital at the start. And even items 30 and 43 are problematic because we

have to assume that the excised miniature was standard for item 30 and to forgive the fact that

the miniature for item 43 appears to be painted over a red and blue *K* and *R* (shown in Figure 39

and also in Table 10 in the appendix). Thus, the distinctive look of different texts at the start of

Auchinleck booklets seems to have been intentionally implemented to help readers find key texts

and different sections throughout the manuscript.

The very different appearance of each of these first folios of the booklets speaks even

further to a range of different perspectives collaborating on how the first folios should look.

These differences are not as simple as one master artist alternating colors in his usual templates

Figure 41: *I*
Auchinleck
f.281r

to create a difference. On the other hand, there is enough similarity in these

folios to argue that they were not created entirely independently. Instead, at

least seven first folios of the 13 booklets show evidence of contributions

from different artists working together to decide how the folios should look.

For example, the *I* heading item 37, shown in Figure 41, is particularly

interesting because this is the only curvilinear capital *I* in the Auchinleck, is

one of only two capitals taller than 6 lines (the other is shown in Figure 42),

and only has red scrollwork and flourishing on its left side.[56] However, this *I* in Figure 41

exactly mimics a curvilinear *I* decorated on just the left side found on ff.18v, 60v, and 62v of the

Bangor Pontifical and is found in gold on f.329v of the Sherbrooke Missal. Thus this distinctive

I may be a type of signature for the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist or those mentored by him.

And yet, the Auchinleck scribes and artists made an interesting decision to both unify and

differentiate the look of Auchinleck booklet headings when they decided to leave space for

Figure 42: *I* Auchinleck f.70r

another extremely tall initial *I*, this one heading item 14. This time the

Auchinleck team did not decide to add another curvilinear *I* as found

throughout the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist's body of work. Instead, a

square *I* with red scrollwork on all sides – more standard in the Auchinleck

– was inserted here, as shown in Figure 42. I think having two different

large *I*'s is one of many conscious decisions made in the Auchinleck to have

folios with artwork which echo each other and yet are distinct, thus making

each folio more memorable. Another way to state this is to say that the two

large *I*'s are similar enough to look like they were intentionally added to the same manuscript but

different enough that a reader can remember them distinctly.

As with the two large *I*'s discussed above, the parted initial capital *h*'s (which head items

10 and 32) reveal further distinct creative processes which echo one another.[57] The parted initial

capital *h* heading Scribe 6's item 32, shown in Figure 43, demonstrates the symmetry typically

found in parted initials in other manuscripts,[58] but this initial capital is distinct within the

Auchinleck Manuscript due to its width. While most Auchinleck initial capitals intrude at most a

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[56] See Table 12 in the appendix for larger images of these two 10+ line initial capital *I's* heading booklets.

[57] See Table 12 in the appendix for larger images of these two parted initial capital *h's* heading booklets.

[58] There are a range of parted initials that can be seen in early 14th century manuscripts. For example, the following English manuscript, HM 19916 (from the first quarter of the 14th century), has a parted initial in the lower-left corner of f.2: http://dpg.lib.berkeley.edu/webdb/dsheh/heh_brf?Description=&CallNumber=HM+19916.

couple of letters into the line, the bowl of the *h* in Figure 43 intrudes nine letters into the text (or

29 mm). Because the letter *h* is relatively short compared to the width of the bowl, this width

shows an intentional decision as it allows the two-color treatment of the parted initial (blue and

red) to create a design in the *h*'s body which is mostly symmetrical

on both sides. Thus, careful planning by Scribe 6 is evident in the

space left for the parted initial *h* that allows the two-color treatment

of the *h* to be carried out in an almost symmetrical manner. In

addition, the artist of this parted initial made this initial distinctive

via its short red vines and the red and blue tail trailing down the left

margin. The tail is unusual within the Auchinleck, but a precedent

Figure 43: Parted *h*
Auchinleck f.268r

was set for it in the Bangor Pontifical.[59]

The parted *h* heading Scribe 2's item 10, shown in Figure 44,

is the only other parted initial in the extant Auchinleck Manuscript

and thus also stands out. Further analysis suggests that this initial

was perhaps inspired by the one in Scribe 6's work as there is again

an echo in having two parted *h*'s; indeed, the design made in blue

Figure 44: Parted *h*
Auchinleck f.39r

and red on the right side of the *h* bowl in Figure 44 is similar to that

in Figure 43. However, the design on the left side is not at all symmetrical due to *h* being taller

than it is wide due to the space Scribe 2 left for the initial. As seen in Figure 44, this parted

initial *h* only intrudes 3 letters (or 10 mm) into the line although an attempt was made to widen

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[59] On ff.15v and 45 of the Bangor Pontifical we can see alternating red and blue long *I* type shapes being woven into the flourish to create this kind of tail. For further discussion of the parted initials in the Auchinleck, see Mordkoff (93-94) and Wiggins ("Are Auchinleck" 20). Bahr also offers a discussion about the parts of the Auchinleck (specifically the booklets) and their relation to the whole manuscript though with a different focus (107-08).

the letter by having it hang another 10 mm into the left margin. Thus, Scribe 2 did not intentionally leave space for the symmetrical treatment of a parted initial, but there were further efforts made to distinguish these parted initials. There is no red and blue tail for this *h* shown in Figure 44, and the long red vine flourishing matches a more standard Auchinleck initial capital. In addition, while we find a precedent for blue scrollwork in the Sherbrooke Missal and Bangor Pontifical, the faded blue scroll work in Figure 44 is unique in the Auchinleck. And so both initials have some precedent in previous manuscripts worked on by the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist and echo each other, but as with the tall *I*'s discussed above, both parted initials have been made to look distinctive from each other as well.

In addition to the four elaborate initial capitals used to distinguish booklet incipits, there are five single-colored initial capitals which help us consider how feedback was processed when
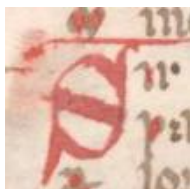
Figure 45:
All-red *S*
Auchinleck f.157r

mistakes were made. (See Tables 13-14 in the appendix for images and descriptions). For example, the all-red *S*, shown in Figure 45, demonstrates a deliberate change from a paragraph sign to an initial capital, which indicates that someone (or some set of professionals) was proofreading the manuscript while or after paraphs were added.[60] The three other all-red initial capitals also seem to have been added during a proofreading stage. For example, underneath the red ink of both the all-red *A* on f.118v and the all-red *n* on 139r the brown guiding initial left for the artist can be seen; thus someone proofreading the manuscript must have seen the missing initials and inserted them in red, which indicates that red ink was much more readily available than blue to the

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[60] Shonk also mentions this initial on f.157r and the all-red initial capitals on ff.118v and 139r, and he also indicates their presence indicates proofreading by the scribes, though he focuses on Scribe 1 ("Investigations" 103).

proofreaders.[61] The all-red *n* on f.139r actually seems to have been added by Scribe 2, but I will return to this point momentarily.

Instead of indicating a proofreading process, however, the all-blue *G* in Scribe 1's item 1, shown in Figure 46 and which no other scholar has mentioned, seems to represent a distinct moment of communication between Scribe 1 and the artist.[62] Scribe 1 left a brown guiding initial *g* for the artist, and the artist began to draw in the blue initial *G* but stopped before adding a red flourish and smudged out the blue as much as possible. Indeed, analysis of the text here indicates that no initial capital is needed at this point in the story. This *G* (for Gregory) does not mark a change of scene, action, or anything else related to a new section of narrative; rather, Scribe 1 mistakenly left a guiding initial here in the middle of a conversation between Gregory and his host when he arrives in a new land. While the artist was adding in this *G* where Scribe 1 indicated, Scribe 1 must have realized his mistake, which was that he should have left the guiding initial (as well as indent the lines for a *G*), 16 lines later when Gregory rises for a new day full of action.[63] Thus, this all-blue initial *G* indicates that Scribe 1 communicated to the artist that the artist should stop his work, not add the red flourish, and try to erase the initial; the fact that no red scrollwork or other flourish was added supports my analysis that there was an effort to erase this initial as much as possible. This initial therefore demonstrates that

Figure 46: All-blue *G* Auchinleck f.3v

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[61] See Table 13 in the appendix for a larger image and other information.

[62] See Table 14 in the appendix for a larger image and further analysis. While Scribe 1 could also be the artist here , this option still demonstrates that the copying and artwork seem to have been in the same space; also, this crossover role seems less likely for Scribe 1 because he was busy copying over 70% of the folios as well as handling some of the compiling work, such as adding catchwords and item numbers.

[63] The all-blue *G* was added in at line 522, in the middle of a conversation which begins on line 512 and ends on line 537. It seems likely that this initial capital *G* was originally meant to be inserted at line 538, near the top of f.4r, as the line begins a new day of action for Gregory: "Gregori was feir wiþall, / O bodi for to behold; / Schred he was in gode palle. When day com þat he go schold" (ll.538-41).

Scribe 1 was in contact with the artist while the artist was working, thus demonstrating their collaborative workspace and relationship.[64]

The all-red *h* on f.40r with the red dots, shown in Figure 47, demonstrates not only a proofreading process but Scribe 2's continual creative contributions to the Auchinleck project. Previous scholars have argued that this unusual red initial demonstrates that Scribe 2 began his item 10 prior to the official start of the Auchinleck project or that Scribe 1 proofread the manuscript.[65] Due to Scribe 2's frequent use of curling flourish, I would argue that Scribe 2 drew this *h* on f.40r with the dots; the width of the curls at edges of this *h* in Figure 47 match those present on Scribe 2's other letters and folios. For example, Scribe 2 will at times add an additional curl to his letter, such as the brown flourish shown on the *a* in the top left of Figure 48. And Figure 48 also shows curious red flourish added to the bottom margin of f.39r which match Scribe 2's flourish in his writing and which no other scholar has mentioned: the
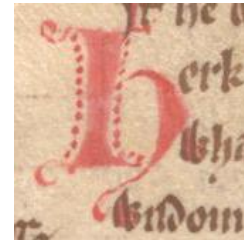
Figure 47: All-red *h*
Auchinleck f.40r
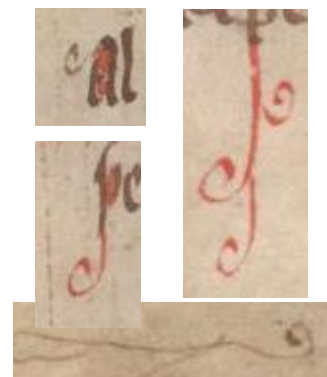
Figure 48: Decorative Curls
Scribe 2's texts (ff.39r, 105r)

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[64] Something similar can be seen on f.141v where an *O* had been decorated as usual and then the blue is smudged out. F.97r may show another decision made during the decorating process, or at least insertion of initials during two distinct stages, as the blue *Þ* in column b is markedly darker than the blue of the other two initials, which includes the other *Þ*. Also the *Þ* in column b has a fairly standard shape for the manuscript, with a straight stem angled to the left and a curved chamber connected to that, as seen in Figure 40. But the *Þ* in column a is unusually thin, small, and has two curvilinear lines forming its body, as if someone new added this initial in later and imitated the style as best he could. These changes indicate that the scribes and proofreaders were able to give fairly immediate feedback to the artist as the decorating happened or to were able to add the missing the initials themselves.

[65] For a larger image and further analysis, see Table 14 in the appendix. Mordkoff, Wiggins, and Helen Marshall use this initial as evidence of Scribe 2's early copying date (Mordkoff 106-07, 161, 224; Wiggins "*Guy of Warwick*" 119; Marshall 44). Shonk suggests that this is another red initial inserted by Scribe 1 during a proofreading stage at the end of production ("Investigations" 103).

red curl below the *þ* on the left and a branching swirl stems from the bottom of a *p* at the top right of Figure 48; similar red curls and decoration can be found on f.42r of the same text. No other scholar has also noted that Scribe 2 added curvilinear lines ending with a curl in brown ink to bracket various rhyming lines in his item 20, as shown at the bottom of Figure 48.[66] Such curling flourish can also be seen on this dotted all-red *h* in Figure 47, indicating that Scribe 2 added in this all-red *h*.

I would argue that the red-dotted initial *h* in Figure 47 was drawn at a time when Scribe 2 was collaborating with the Auchinleck team rather than before the start of the Auchinleck project. In this, I disagree with Mordkoff and Wiggins, both of whom argue that Scribe 2 copied the entirety of item 10 prior to joining the Auchinleck project and then drew in this one dotted initial capital. If Scribe 2 drew in the dotted initial capital *h* before his text was part of the Auchinleck project, why would he not draw in the rest of the initial capitals with the red dots? Quite likely he drew this initial capital in as part of a proofreading stage, adding flourish to the *h* in Figure 47 when he noticed that someone overlooked adding this initial in a work he copied. In addition, it seems likely that at some point he helped to proofread the rest of the booklets to make sure all the initial capitals were added because the *n* on f.139r is also lowercase with Scribe 2's signature curls at the ends, as shown in Figure 49.[67]

Figure 49 All-red *n*
Auchinleck f.139r

In addition to considering the texts without capitals, the four elaborate initial capitals heading booklets, and the five single-colored initial capitals, it is useful to consider what else can

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[66] Robinson did describe that "the rhymes are braced together" (130) but not the curvilinear nature of the lines.
[67] Possibly Scribe 2 also added the *A* on f.118v, which seems to have another of his curls, but this is a capital letter rather than lower case, and there are more rigid straight lines there than I typically associate with his painting style.

be learned about the production process via a consideration of the initial capitals. As is fairly

common in manuscripts of this era, the Auchinleck scribes often left small guiding initials

indicating where an initial capital should be painted in. However, these small brown (or

sometimes red) guiding initials are not always visible. Some guiding initials were likely painted

over, but other guiding initials may not have been left.[68]   This absence of guiding initials

indicates that the artists may have otherwise determined what initial was intended; for example,

although speculative, I have wondered if the artists could use context to determine when to add

in *N* for *Now* and *A* for *And.* If we consider *Now* specifically, the word *Now* seems to be a

typical choice for beginning a section with an initial capital, such as on ff.2r, 16r, 51r, 109r, 255r,

and 255v. Further, as not many other words begin with *ow* that begin major sections, perhaps the

artists used the context to determine the initial capital needed where the lines were indented and

no guiding mark was left.[69] If the artists were able to use word fragments such as *ow* and *nd* to

help them determine which initial should be added, then they must have communicated to the

scribes that the scribes did not need to leave a guiding initial while copying these words. If such

a hypothesis seems plausible, then we again find evidence of collaborative relationships in which

efficient indication systems were negotiated between the scribes and artists.

In addition, as was described earlier in the chapter, there is good historical precedent for

seeing the scribes as being capable of some level of decoration and quite possibly one or two of

the scribes were also adding standard initial capitals to the manuscript. In this scenario, the scribe

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[68] Cunningham and Shonk focus on where and how various scribes left small initials in the margins, typically
brown, for the artists to indicate where an initial capital should go, such as on ff.49r, 108r, 305v, and 313v (Pearsall
and Cunningham xv, Shonk "Bookmen" 78). However, neither Shonk nor Cunningham discuss folios where no
apparent brown initials are left to guide the artists, such as ff.1r, 72v , 82r, 105r, 167v, 176r, 255v, 324v, and 329v.
There is a good chance that some of these guiding initials are under the initial capitals, such as can partially be seen
on ff.50r, 54v, 70v, 174r, 304v, 317r, 320v, and 330v, but this does not account for all of the missing guide initials.
[69] Scribe 2 also began his sections and stanzas of *Þe Simonie* (item 44) with *And*, which means that every initial
capital, except for the first one, is a capital *A*, which again the artist could have determined via context, which
Embree and Urquhart also noted (*Parallel Text* 12).

may not need to have left guiding initials for himself. While on one hand the guiding initials

would serve as helpful reminders even for a scribe painting initials in his own work, theoretically

the scribe could also be so familiar with the text (or have his exemplar available) that he did not

need to leave guiding initials. Scribe 6 seems like a particularly good candidate for this

scribe/illustrator crossover role: he only copied one text in the extant Auchinleck, his text is

copied in a visually precise manner (as far as lines per folio and the space between the lines),[70]

there are only four initial capitals in his one work,[71] there are no visible guiding initials to

indicate where initial capitals should go in his text,[72] and his initial capital heading his item 32 is

unusually wide and visually balanced, as discussed above. In addition, Scribe 6 was the hand I

identified in Chapter 1 as being the only identifiable contemporary hand to edit Scribe 1's work

and thus was actively collaborating with other scribes on the manuscript's production.[73]

Therefore, it seems logical that, when he was not copying his item 32 or proofreading Scribe 1's

work, Scribe 6 was working with other scribes to draw in their initial capitals, which again

supports my thesis concerning the collaborative workspace that these men shared.

Due to their consistent use throughout the manuscript, the initial capitals thus provide

several interesting facets of information about the Auchinleck production process and the

scribes. Scribes 1 and 3 chose not to use these capitals for certain texts, indicating again their

agency and likely role in a kind of senior scribal team. There was an intentional effort to

distinguish the first folio of booklets rather than have them all look the same. Scribes 2 and 6

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[70] For a discussion of Scribe 6's precision, see Chapter 2, Section D, Part 2: "Lines of Text per Column" fn. 36.

[71] These are on ff.268r, 271v, 274r, and 277r.

[72] Cunningham claims that Scribe 6 left his brown initials in "the usual place" (Introduction xv), but I cannot see any trace in Scribe 6's item 32 of a small brown initial left for an artist, including under or near the initial capital. It is possible that each of these guiding initials were drawn over, but in this case Scribe 6 was very careful about his placement as no evidence of the guiding initials remain, unlike other initial capitals where partial guiding initials can be seen as was mentioned in fn. 68.

[73] See Chapter 1, Section B, Part 6: "Proofreading."

appear to have had a greater interest in an embellished decorative pattern, with Scribe 2 favoring

curvilinear strokes as a way of adding flourish whereas Scribe 6 carefully planned the parted

initial adjoining the incipit of his work (so that the design was symmetrical) and perhaps added

the other initial capitals in his text. Finally, the scribes and artists seemed to enjoy a

collaborative working relationship and workspace on the whole as changes to initial capitals and

systems for determining the necessary initial capitals were communicated as needed.
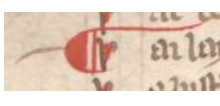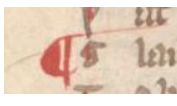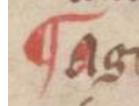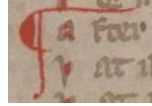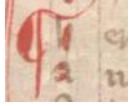
3. Alternating Red & Blue Paraphs

Another facet of the Auchinleck *mise-en-page* is the alternating blue and red paraphs in

different hands marking subsections or sometimes stanzas within the poems. These paraphs unify

the look of the Auchinleck as much as the initial capitals, and these paraphs demonstrate the

team effort required to decorate the Auchinleck. There are six different hands adding in paraphs,

as shown in Table 1 below.[74] In addition to the six paraph styles which occur repeatedly

throughout the Auchinleck, there are some anomalous paraph shapes, such as the red paraph on

f.38v, but those paraph styles do not show up often and may just be an exception from one of the

other established hands.[75]

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[74] I provide this table with images to contest the currently accepted theory, proposed by Shonk, that the paraphs are the "work of the three rubricators" ("Bookmen" 78), with Hanna building on Shonk's work again here with his assertion, "production required at least two paragraphers and a painter" ("Reconsidering" 93). The only way to see just three different paraph styles is to collapse distinct styles together; for example, Shonk describes the paraphs in the work of Scribe 1 as being "of a very regular shape; though they vary in length, the top horizontal lines extend through the column ruled for the initial letter and into the lines of poetry" ("Bookmen" 79). As you can see from Table 1 below, four different styles of paraph match this description (A, B, C, and E); in his dissertation, Shonk also collapses Hands D and F together based on their having a wavy top (80). As you can see, Hands D and F look nothing alike, and there is quite a range of distinction between Hands A, B, C, and E as well. In her article "What's in a Paraph" Marshall states that in a 2008 conference paper that Shonk updated his model to include four paraph styles, and Marshall herself argues for a fifth distinct hand (42, 51-53).

[75] A few examples of these possible additional hands should suffice. On f.18v it appears that a new hand (not one of the 6 identified below) added in a red paraph on the bottom of column a to correct one missed by Hand B, which caused there to be three red paraphs in a row; a similar looking paraph seems to have been added in by a different hand on f.104v causing there to be two red paraphs in a row. For Scribe 2's red paraphs in items 10 and 44, evidence can be found that even these all red paraphs were double-checked as the paraph on the bottom of f.46v of

Table 1: Six Different Paraph Hands

Hand A	Hand B	Hand C	Hand D	Hand E	Hand F
f.1v	f.6v	f.32v	f.39r	f.62r	f.79r

The number of different paraphs further substantiates my thesis of a collaborative workshop because the six different paraph styles indicate that the Auchinleck Manuscript was decorated in an environment with at least six different available professionals.[76] Hand B's style looks similar to the paraphs found on ff.18v, 42v and 62v of the Bangor Pontifical, with one example shown in Figure 50,[77] and occasionally within the Sherbrooke Missal. Thus, Hand B could be the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist, or his apprentice, as this *atelier* is responsible for all three manuscripts. However, neither the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist nor his apprentice was responsible for all of the different paraph styles identified in Table 1 nor for all of the decorative work in the Auchinleck. Instead, the diversity of the Auchinleck's paraphs requires the availability of at least four additional professionals working with the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist and his apprentice in

Figure 50: paraph Bangor f.18v

item 10 looks like Hand B or E came back with a more orange red ink and tried to replicate Hand D's paraphs on the folio.

[76] I have decided to use letters to designate the hands because numbers would be too confusing with the scribes, texts, gatherings, and booklets already being numbered. In her paper Marshall names the five different paraph styles she found, but I think that the names may often add further confusion based on their brief qualitative nature. Marshall's names correlate with my letter system as follows: Hand A is "Flat paraph," Hand C is "Upcurl paraph," Hand D is "Wavy Top (b) paraph," Hand E is "Long Descender paraph," and Hand F is "Wavy Top (a) paraph." While I appreciate her effort, I disagree with Marshall's classification for two reasons. First, she does not allow Hand B its own classification. Hand B is distinctive because of his slight curvilinear top stroke and the two vertical lines (without any lean) which typically terminate at the bottom of the bowl, one which encloses the bowl for shading and one which is a descender. Hand B is thus distinct from Hand C, who has a flat top stroke, a curvilinear line to enclose the bowl for shading, and a descender which typically extends below the bowl. Furthermore, her image for "Flat paraph" seems to conflate two different styles of paraphs as she is showing images of both Hand A and Hand C in her image.

[77] This image has been included by permission of the Dean and Chapter of Bangor Cathedral, and Bangor University.

order to account for the six different hands working on paraphs. The most logical solution is that the scribes helped with this level of decoration as we know that they were already present and working collaboratively on the manuscript; in addition, as discussed at the beginning of this chapter, there is a historical precedent for scribes to carry out this simpler decorative work.

While some scholars, and Shonk in particular, favor the idea that the manuscript was sent away to an *atelier* for all decorative work to be added at the end of the production process,[78] there is also historical evidence for decorating manuscripts in sections rather than all at once: "various aspects of rubrication were not usually done at the same time. Parts of a manuscript may have paraphs done, or perhaps paraphs and running titles or colophons, but not decorated initials. This is often because different colors were used for those aspects of decoration not completed" (Mordkoff 158-59). The evidence from the Auchinleck supports the view that the paraphs of the Auchinleck Manuscript were inserted in different stages rather than in one stage at the end: the six hands noted above in Table 1 were all found within the first 20% of the manuscript, and each distinct style can be found scattered throughout the manuscript thereafter, meaning that each paragrapher returns to repeat this work at intervals throughout the production of the manuscript. We thus continue to get a picture of a very collaborative environment where available professionals added in minor decoration as needed in an *ad hoc* production model; it is true that the scribes often left brown marks in the margin to indicate where paraphs could go, but

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[78] Shonk's theory that the Auchinleck was decorated after the manuscript was compiled has a logical fallacy in it because he emphasizes, "it appears safe to conclude that the volume was decorated as a whole, after the scribes finished copying and the codex was assembled" ("Bookmen" 80); yet he also asserts that, "these unusual paraphs extend through gatherings but not through poems, showing that the division of labor of the rubrication was by gatherings, not by copy scribes" ("Bookmen" 80). However, if the gatherings had been assembled into a codex before the artists began their work, the beginning of a new gathering would have been difficult for an artist to identify and somewhat meaningless to any artist working on the codex if he really were simply adding paraphs at the end of the production, as Shonk argues. Rather, Shonk's theory that those drawing in paraphs started a stint of adding paraphs at the beginning of a new gathering rather starting their work with a new text (and the evidence does not just support this theory) suggests rather that the decorations were added in sections while copying was still being done. This adds to the general sense of a "fits and starts" production process which I have proposed and substantiated throughout this dissertation.

these marks could be as much a reminder for the scribes themselves or for each other as for an artist.[79]

The lack of paraphs in two of Scribe 3's texts further demonstrates independent decision-making by Scribe 3.[80] Scribe 3's *Sir Degare* (item 17) only has paraphs on two out of seven folios (and these two folios are the item's first two folios), and his *Seven Sages* (item 18) only has one paraph in 15 folios of text (on f.88r). As with other incomplete folios found in the Auchinleck, on the first folio of Scribe 3's item 17, f.78r, there is a distinct sense that the artwork was interrupted and never finished, which supports the idea that manuscript was being worked on in fits and starts.[81] But even after accounting for this interruption of work, we still must acknowledge that there are no marks left by Scribe 3 to insert more paraphs in these two items after f.78r until we reach his final text of booklet 3B, *Floris and Blancheflour* (item 19, beginning on f.100r). The lack of guide marks for the two works indicates that Scribe 3 made an autonomous decision as far as not being inclined to use paraphs for these two texts. Once again, we see Scribe 3 as a figure who had agency in designing his *mise-en-page* which thus caused these two narratives to appear as distinctive items.

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[79] Specifically, Cunningham asserts the guide marks were, "a horizontal line by scribe 1, a sign resembling the letter *q* by Scribe 3, a short vertical mark by Scribe 5, and two horizontal lines by Scribe 6" (Introduction xv). Shonk and Cunningham agree for the most part (Shonk "Bookmen" 79). I would clarify that the *q* of Scribe 3 is actually a small paraph sign sometimes partially covered; where Scribe 2 leaves a mark, mostly in his item 20, rather than a small ɼ as Shonk indicates, it is actually another paraph sign partially covered; it can sometimes look like π as well.
[80] The following texts do not have any paraphs: items 8, 21, and 36. However, this situation makes sense for each item. Scribe 4's *Battle Abbey Roll* (item 2) literally has no decoration or ornament, and paraphs would not make particular sense for a list of names. Scribe 1's *Harrowing of Hell* (item 8) and *Dauid the King* (item 36) have frequent headings or dialogue indicators which break up the text instead.
[81] The interruption of the production process for f.78r can most clearly be seen in that f.78r only has blue paraphs although four guiding strokes call for red paraphs (as each is between a set of blue paraphs). As mentioned in the illustration section above, f.78r is also unusual because column a (the final one for item 16) is two lines longer than column b, and those two lines in column a are written in a darker ink. Thus, when a decision was made to squeeze a miniature in on f.78r to head item 17, there is a sense that decorating operations were disrupted; blue paraphs were added, but no one returned to add the indicated red ones. Perhaps the decision was made to halt all decoration to this folio until final decisions were made, and then they did not have time to go back later and fill in the red paraphs.

Scribe 2 also made an independent decision in relation to paraphs. Scribe 2's items 10 and 44 have just red paraphs, and these are represented by Hand D above. There is a scholarly tradition going back to Bliss and Cunningham, and supported by Mordkoff and most recently by Helen Marshall, which suggests that Scribe 2 was Hand D, or essentially that Scribe 2 drew in his own paraphs because "no guiding strokes are visible" (Bliss 658).[82] There are further reasons to suspect that Scribe 2 drew in his own paraphs; first, as Scribe 2 wrote his own Latin headings in red in item 10, we know he had access to red ink. Second, the curious detail not mentioned by other scholars and shown in the "Initial Capital" section above also applies here: the red curvilinear decorative patterns on ff.39r and 42r have red ink which matches the red of Hand D's paraphs, and the curling strokes of Scribe 2's flourish match the breadth and tendency to add a wavy top as shown in Hand D.[83] Further, as I stated earlier, it was fairly typical for scribes to partake in at least some of the minor decorative work of manuscripts. This evidence strongly suggests that Hand D is indeed Scribe 2.

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[82] For further information, see Cunningham (Introduction xv), Mordkoff (106, 161), and Marshall (42-45). Robinson and Wiggins merely note that the hand is distinct for Scribe 2's work (Robinson 133, Wiggins "*Guy of Warwick*" 119) although Wiggins mentions Cunningham in a footnote with the idea that Scribe 2 could have added these himself. Mordkoff and Wiggins also clarify that Scribe 2's item 20 does have red and blue paraphs in hands more similar to the rest of the manuscript (Mordkoff 106, Wiggins "*Guy of Warwick*" 119). As he claims that all decorations were added at the end of the production process, Shonk argues that Hand D is just another paragrapher and that Scribe 2 left guiding strokes for this paragrapher. However, Shonk's evidence is insubstantial; in his article, Shonk points to two paraphs on f.328v which have visible guiding strokes under them (79), whereas three paraphs on this folio do not; if we follow his reference in his dissertation to the bottom left corner on f.39r instead (100), we find a folio in which one paraph has a guiding stroke and six paraphs on that folio do not. Furthermore, and most importantly and which Marshall also found to be true (43), there are literally no other places in the combined 16 folios of Scribe 2's items 10 and 44 where Scribe 2 leaves such guiding strokes to indicate the need for a paraph. And for item 10, these paraphs are inserted at narrative breaks rather than stanza breaks, meaning the paragrapher needed some kind of help in knowing where to add the paraphs. Therefore, it seems likely that Scribe 2 added his own paraphs or worked very closely with his paragrapher to indicate where they should go.

[83] Marshall came to a similar conclusion about the strokes of Hand D matching Scribe 2's hand, stating: "The aspect of the paraphs in Booklets 2 and 12 corresponds to the aspect of text [of Scribe 2], particularly in terms of the width of the pen strokes and the length and shape of the descenders. The leftward curve of the descenders matches a similar curve in the descenders of capital "f" and the lowercase thorn" (44).

Robinson and Mordkoff have argued that Scribe 2's drawing in these paraphs all in red signifies that the decision to alternate red and blue paraphs was made after he finished items 10 and 44.[84] However, I think it is more likely that Scribe 2 made one more autonomous decision to make his works memorable. Indeed, the statute book from the 2nd quarter of the 14th century, manuscript HM 923 (Huntington Library MS. HM 923) – like the Auchinleck – typically has red and blue artwork, including red and blue alternating paraphs. However, within the 214 folio manuscript, ff.204v and 205r stand out (with a section shown in

Figure 51: All-red artwork
HM 923 f.205r

Figure 51) because only red paraphs, a red heading, and a red initial capital are used on these folios. The statutes and writ on these two folios are included towards the very end of the manuscript and yet are fairly easy to find due to the distinctive look.[85]   Put another way, illustrations adjoining the incipits were not the only strategy used by scribes as finding aids, and Scribe 2 chose a tactic of using just red artwork to help his two works stand out instead. And while the lack of blue paraphs on the folio could make it more difficult for the reader to find his place and visually move to the next line, Scribe 2 aided his reader by writing in a larger hand in items 10 and 44 than is used elsewhere in the manuscript. Thus Scribe 2's large hand can be
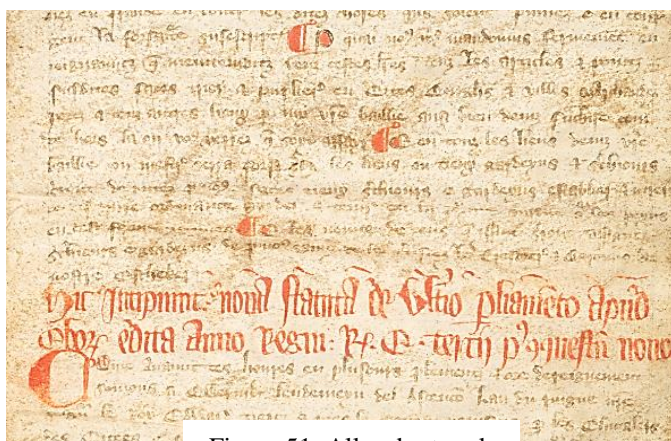
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[84] For further information, see Robinson (133-34) and Mordkoff (106, 160-61).

[85] This image has been included by permission of the Huntington Library. As with the Auchinleck's six scribes, there was a team of eight or nine scribes working on this codex. I also reference this manuscript in Chapter 4, specifically Section B: "The Senior Scribal Team" and Section D: "The Scribal Court Hands." For further information, see: http://bancroft.berkeley.edu/digitalscriptorium/huntington/HM923.html

seen as integral to his choice of using only red paraphs in items 10 and 44 and the red headings

in item 10 as well.[86]

Related to Scribe 2's decision to only use red decorative ink on two of his texts,

sometimes independent decisions were made by those drawing in paraphs in the Auchinleck to

not alternate the paraph color regularly. Instead, when initial capitals are also considered, the

paragraphers balanced the overall visual impact of the color on the folio. For example, there are

six red paraphs and one blue paraph of Scribe 1's *Thrush and the Nightingale* (item 34, f.279v),

just the two red paraphs on ff. 309v and 317r of *The Short Chronicle* (item 40), and only red

paraphs scattered throughout Scribe 1's *Alphabetical Praise of Women* (item 42). In these

poems, there is already a considerable amount of blue ink on the folio due to the initial capitals,

and so the red paraphs add visual contrast; this can particularly be seen on f.279v where the only

blue paraph was added between two red ones and not next to an initial capital. Typically the

alternating patterns work to visually move the eye to the next line.[87] The choices made by the

paragraphers on these folios to alternate the color of the paraphs with the color of the initial

capitals demonstrate the agency of the artist to balance the aesthetic impact of a folio and to help

keep the reader's eyes on the correct line. Of course, there are additional places where the

paraphs do not alternate regularly but not due to such careful planning; rather, these were likely

added while the manuscript was being proofread.[88] Typically those added during proofreading

were added in red, as we saw with the anomalous all-red initial capitals discussed above. Amy

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[86] I previously analyzed Scribe 2's large handwriting in Chapter 2, Section D, Part 2 "Lines of Text per Column."
[87] I am grateful for this insight from Dr. Heffernan via private correspondence. These decisions to visually balance the amount of red and blue ink on each folio may also indicate that paraphs (or at least some of them) were drawn in after or at the same time the initial capitals were painted in, which Mordkoff also suggests is possible (161).
[88] I discuss some examples of these in fn. 75 above.

Baker's historical and chemical analyses of the different medieval pigments indicate that this is likely due to the relative ease of making (and later perhaps buying) red pigments.[89]

All told, the paraphs in the Auchinleck Manuscript substantiate my thesis that the Auchinleck Manuscript was produced in a collaborative environment where the professionals were willing to take on different roles depending on the collective judgment about what needed to be done as the combined effort of the six different individuals would require coordination and communication; the paraphs also demonstrate that the manuscript was decorated in stages or essentially in an *ad hoc* fashion. This means that some gatherings demonstrate proofreading of initial capitals and paraphs even though other gatherings have incomplete text and artwork. As these six different professionals contributed to this decorative process, they at times made independent decisions as far as what colors should be used, indicating that their work was not entirely predetermined. Thus, as was also shown in Chapter 2, the entire collaborative effort demonstrates the negotiations of individuals who at times made autonomous decisions, with Scribes 2 and 3 particularly likely to demonstrate such agency as Scribe 2 added red paraphs to his own items 10 and 44 while Scribe 3 decided to curtail leaving guiding marks for paraphs in two narratives. As I also substantiated in Chapter 2 and earlier in this chapter, the Auchinleck Manuscript is often visually united via the *mise-en-page*, and yet implementing a standardized design layout was not the only or even the most important priority. Instead, the team of professionals had a flexible work environment where unique or independent decisions made by the scribes and artists were accommodated.

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[89] Baker explains the prevalence of a particular red pigment: "The orange red tetroxide of lead is produced by heating white lead until the heat expels water and carbon dioxide from the crystals in the form of gas. The pigment was called 'minium' and from its frequent use in the small independent illuminations found in manuscripts, these illuminations became known as 'miniatures.' Thinned down red paint was also used as a writing ink for rubrics (the headings on medieval pages)" (9). Baker also indicates that by the early 13th century, scribes could purchase ingredients for pigments from stationers rather than preparing their own from scratch (3). For further discussion of red ink, see Clemens and Graham (24-25).

4. *Litterae notabiliores*

Litterae notabiliores is a term indicating that the first letter of a line has been distinguished by separating it from the rest of the line (via a blank space) and then rubricating it. Outside of Scribe 4's item 21 and the occasional missed letters, *litterae notabiliores* is the most consistently applied design technique throughout the entire manuscript.[90] Rubricating the first initials is the only aesthetic aspect universally applied, except for Scribe 4's item 21, which I shall address momentarily. Separating out the first letter of each line is also applied very consistently throughout the manuscript, except for the works of Scribes 2 and 4. Thus, separating out the first letters of the lines with space was also one of the first decisions made for the Auchinleck as all of the scribes, except 2 and 4, for all of their works ruled their folios to add in the extra column of space.[91] However, flexibility was allowed for Scribe 4, because he copied the list of names, and for Scribe 2, who never separated out the first letter even though he copied item 20 in a booklet after Scribe 3 employed *litterae notabiliores*.[92] This flexibility in implementing the Auchinleck *mise-en-page* demonstrates again the respect given to individual scribes and their independent decisions, particularly for Scribes 1, 2, and 3.

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[90] For further information, see Pearsall and Cunningham (xv), Robinson (78), Mordkoff (106), Shonk ("Bookmen" 78), Wiggins ("*Guy of Warwick*" 118-19), and Clemens and Graham (25).

[91] For a detailed discussion of ruling and folio layouts, see Chapter IV "The Dimensions and the Rulings of the Leaves" of Shonk's dissertation. Notably, none of the other early 14th century manuscripts I looked at – including the Queen Mary Psalter, the Sherbrooke Missal, the Bangor Pontifical, or any of the legal manuscripts such as 'Liber Custumarum' – consistently separated out the first letter of each line let alone rubricated them. However, these manuscripts also typically had one column of text rather than poetic verses, and even 'Liber Custumarum's' two columns consist of prose text. In the many images of English manuscripts from this era in Kerby-Fulton's *Opening Up Middle English Manuscripts*, I found only a handful of manuscripts with rubricated line initials, and no other manuscripts with such a substantial column of space between these line initials and the rest of the line. Thus, there is a sense that the Auchinleck decision-makers were not merely following convention here.

[92] The evidence to support this claim is that Scribe 2's item 20 (f.105r) is copied in a gathering after Scribe 3 copied item 19 in booklet 3B (up through f.104v), and Scribe 3 separated out his first letter in this booklet. It could be that Scribe 2 did not want to waste any space he could use for his more elaborate handwriting, even when compressed in item 20. However, it could be an aesthetic decision as well.

As with the paraphs, the scribes would have been able to dab these first letters in red themselves. Scribes 1, 2, and 3 all had access to red ink, as Scribes 1 and 3 wrote titles in red ink and Scribes 1 and 2 wrote headings in red. As the manuscript was indeed made in a collaborative environment, as I have argued, and as the scribes collaborated with an artist and possibly his apprentices for the decorative work, all of the scribes therefore would have had access to red ink and could have helped with this level of decoration.[93] F.21r represents another folio where operations were halted while a decision was made and then never completed;[94] on f.21r, item 4 finishes with eight lines of unrubricated first letters (and an *Explicit*) directly preceding the excised miniature squeezed in for the next item, item 5.[95] The handful of unrubricated first line letters on ff.31v, 101r and 102v[96] further support this conclusion that numerous professionals were working on these folios at roughly the same time, and random mistakes are to be expected in an environment with multiple people helping to complete a job.

That said, I find it very curious that Scribe 4's first letters of the Norman names in item 21 were not rubricated. Perhaps this is because the Auchinleck's *litterae notabiliores* typically included rubrication *and* separating out the first initial, and separating out the first initials of the list of names would make them difficult to read. Collectively, though, item 21 stands out the

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[93] My one caveat is that Scribe 1 may not have contributed to this particular effort as he was busy copying over 70% of the text, writing titles, and likely writing item numbers.

[94] I have previously discussed this pattern of unfinished folios in relation to f.78r (with just the blue paraphs and the darker final two lines inserted at the bottom of column a), f.303v (without an *explicit* or *amen* and with a scraped ending), and f.69v (where the text stops mid-narrative).

[95] It seems possible that someone rubricated the first letters of item 4 before Scribe 1 finished copying this text and then Scribe 1 paused to adjust his revision of the text to be sure that a miniature could be squeezed in below. Scribe 1 then determined how to finish item 4, a miniature was added below, and there was never time or someone forgot to go back and rubricate these 8 initials on f.21r. However, in this hypothetical scenario, either space was so prized at this point in the Auchinleck project that every bit was maximized, a scenario not carried out for the rest of the Auchinleck Manuscript as a couple of folios were left mostly blank even if unintentionally, or Scribe 1 had started copying item 5 before he had finished item 4, which seems unlikely.

[96] Specifically lines 25-26 in column a of f.31v, two of the last three lines in column b of f.101r, and three of the final eight lines in column a of f.102v are not rubricated. For a couple of these lines, with a very enlarged image, it seems as if a red dot may have been added on the brown ink, however, which complicates the issue.

most from all other Auchinleck works as it has four columns and has not received a title,

illustration, any kind of elaborate initial or initial capital, paraphs, or rubrication for the first

letters. Adding a list of names to the end of a gathering when there was space is a fairly typical

aspect of a manuscript.[97] However, in a manuscript where we find evidence of careful planning,

intentional compilation in the order of texts, and a multitude of decisions about how to present

and decorate the other 43 extant poems of the manuscript, this item 21 presents a problem.

Interestingly, this list of Norman names is copied directly after the only text to use French, the

macaronic of Scribe 2's *The Sayings of the Four Philosophers* (item 20) which provides a

commentary on King Edward II's treachery against the 1311 Ordinances, which were part of the

continued negotiations between kings and nobles in relation to Magna Carta.[98] Thus, the list of

Norman names was inserted directly after this political polemic and likely suggests a connection

between the nobles (including the Ordainers[99]) listed here and those who opposed the corruption

of Edward II's reign, including his lavish attention on favorites Piers Gaveston and then, later,

the Despensers. As Turville-Petre has mentioned, it is also likely that the wealthy family who

commissioned the Auchinleck appears in this list of Norman names to highlight their station.[100]

E. Conclusion:

The work in this chapter has sought to establish the relationships of the decorative aspects

of the Auchinleck Manuscript within the greater context of the Queen Mary group of

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[97] I am grateful for this insight via private correspondence from Dr. J. Rubenstein.

[98] For further information, see Chapter 4, Section E: "Scribe 2," Chapter 5, Section C: "The Beauchamps in the Auchinleck Manuscript," Robinson (128), Scattergood ("Political"), Kendrick ("On Reading"), and Matthews (118-19). Bahr also notes that the "wall of names" for item 21 is "imposing" within the Auchinleck due to its simplistic *mise-en-page* (140).

[99] The Ordainers were 21 nobles appointed in 1310 to negotiate ways to keep Edward II's power in check, such as with their 1311 Ordinances. For further information, see Chapter 5, Section C: "The Beauchamps in the Auchinleck Manuscript," Wendy Childs' Introduction to *Vita Edwardi Secvndi*, and Burrows (101).

[100] For further information, see Chapter 4, Section F: "The Auchinleck Production Process," Chapter 5, Section C: "The Beauchamps in the Auchinleck Manuscript," Turville-Petre (136-37), and Wiggins ("*Guy of Warwick*" 121).

manuscripts. Robinson's early classification of the Auchinleck as part of the Queen Mary group was an important first step, but that identification needs to be updated based on all of the information available today. I believe the master artist was the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist who worked with a team of no less than five others for the artwork in the Auchinleck Manuscript. In large part due to Dennison's scholarship about other Queen Mary group manuscripts, I have demonstrated that a number of design factors connect the Auchinleck Manuscript to two other manuscripts, the Sherbrooke Missal and the Bangor Pontifical, where the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist was the master artist. However, the inferiority of the bodies and the draping in the illustrations in the Auchinleck suggests that the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist may have mostly indirectly influenced the Auchinleck artwork, just adding the faces, and possibly was training a protégé who did much of the more complicated illustrative work. The fact that the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist did not seem to have his own stationary workshop, particularly at the late date (for him) when the Auchinleck was being created, makes it seem likely that he and possibly an apprentice traveled to the Auchinleck base of operations, possibly I believe to the Chancery, or else to a place like the London Guildhall or the Cripplegate fraternity, for adding the artwork to the manuscript.

In the Auchinleck Manuscript, the illustrations, initial capitals, paraphs, and rubricated first line initials continue to add to the evidence that the Auchinleck was produced in a collaborative environment with at least six professionals working on the Auchinleck artwork. While decisions were made to unify the decorative *mise-en-page* of the Auchinleck -- such as the decision to add illustrations to head texts such as was done for the Queen Mary Psalter -- these decisions were always implemented with flexibility allowing for the specific needs of a given item or scribe. It also now appears very likely that the scribes took on multiple tasks, such as

adding in paraphs, rubricating *litterae notabiliores*, and proofreading for missed initial capitals and paraphs, in addition to copying their own works and leaving guiding marks for initial capitals and paraphs.

The Auchinleck team thus created a codex unified in its *mise-en-page* but with distinct folios and visuals throughout to help distinguish various poems and sections of the codex. In Chapter 4, we will now consider the scribes of the Auchinleck more carefully, including my division of the six scribes into two teams – the senior scribal team and the junior scribal team, my paleographical analysis of the six scribes demonstrating that most show traces of a court hand, and a discussion of the production process of these scribes and artists. After those important issues are discussed and conclusions are drawn, in Chapter 5 I will address the likelihood that the Beauchamp family commissioned the Auchinleck from the Chancery clerks.

Chapter 4: The Auchinleck Scribes and their Production Process

My research has now enabled me to identify that the six scribes involved in the production of the Auchinleck manuscript worked in close collaboration. In this chapter I will be able to show that the Auchinleck manuscript was written by six scribes who were divided into two teams, a senior scribal team and a junior scribal team. The senior scribal team – Scribes 1, 2, and 3 – had a supervisory role in the production, while the junior scribal team – Scribes 4, 5 and 6 – likely helped to work on the decoration of the manuscript. The fact that the senior scribal team was able to authorize a variety of decisions, including those which added expense, may indicate their relatively higher rank in their workplace.

My paleographical analysis also shows a significant presence of both bookhand and court hand techniques in five of the six scribes. English court hand at this time was used almost exclusively by the clerks in the Chancery and likely also in the London Guildhall, and it is seldom seen in early 14th century vernacular manuscripts. The presence of court hands in the scribes' writing of Auchinleck indicates that clerks employed in the administrative machinery of the London government were hired in its production. This is a significant finding as it points to a nascent book trade in London where scribes who were employed in governmental matters appear to have been able to take on additional work in the form of literary projects.

My analysis of a scribal hierarchy, my paleographical analysis and my methodology for developing scribal profiles are new; previous attempts to develop scribal profiles using paleography, dialect analysis and codicology of the Auchinleck were only able to demonstrate how many scribes were involved in the project and perhaps that Scribe 1 had seniority. My scholarship allows us to further understand scribal hierarchies and decision-making, and this can help us to construct more detailed scribal profiles, including their working relationships and their

habits in autonomous decision-making. Taking into account his seniority, his handwriting, his dialect, and the unique versions of the texts he copied, I constructed a more comprehensive scribal profile for Scribe 2, modeling how this could be done for the other Auchinleck scribes as well. I also believe that my finding that the scribes were mostly government clerks is borne out also by the "fits and starts" production process apparent in the manuscript, suggestive of work on the Auchinleck being done part time.

A. Scribal Collaboration

Like most Auchinleck scholars, I would assert that there were six different scribes working on the Auchinleck poems. Due to the work of dialect scholars such as M. L. Samuels, Angus McIntosh, Wiggins, and Emily Runde, five distinct dialect profiles have been identified for Scribe 1, 2, 3, 5, and 6.[1] The sixth scribe, Scribe 4, only wrote a list of names, and so dialectical analysis is not possible. Further, as I will address more fully in my paleographical analysis below (Section D), the writing habits of six distinct scribes can be identified in the Auchinleck.[2]

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[1] The dialects of the scribes will be addressed again in Chapters 4 and 5 as relevant to the discussion. As it stands, Samuels first analyzed Scribes 1 and 3 to be representative of the 1330-1340 manifestation of a London dialect, which he called Type II. Samuels' work with McIntosh on *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Middle English* (*LALME*) then classified the Auchinleck scribes as: Scribe 1 ("Hand A") as having a Middlesex dialect (LP 6510); Scribe 2 ("Hand B") as having "language of Glouc/Worcs border" (LP 6940); Scribe 3 ("Hand C") as having a London dialect (LP 6500); Scribe 5 ("Hand E") as having an Essex dialect (LP 6350); and Scribe 6 ("Hand F") as having a Worcestershire dialect (LP 7820). Wiggins later asserted that Scribe 1 belongs in London proper rather than Middlesex, and Runde has reassessed Samuels' work and argued that Scribes 1 and 3 are actually representative of Samuel's later dialect, Type III, prevalent in London closer to 1400. Embree and Urquhart also adjusted Scribe 2's profile to include London spellings. For further information, see Samuels (87-88), McIntosh (*LALME* 137-38), Karl Brunner (ix-x), Shonk ("Investigations" 74-76), Embree and Urquhart (*Parallel Text* 24-26), Hanna ("Reconsidering" 91-92, 95-96, 101; *London* 4-32), Wiggins ("*Guy of Warwick*" 121, 226-34, 246-47, 290; "Are Auchinleck" 20-21), Runde (265-75, 278-81), Marshall (46), Kerby-Fulton (66-68). The *LALME* material has been placed on-line as the *eLALME*, with the scholars acknowledging where updates have been or need to be made. The Auchinleck Scribe 1 (whom they call "Hand A") is one of the scribes they acknowledge needs to have his profile updated. Their site can be viewed here: http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/elalme/elalme_frames.html.

[2] While Kölbing originally identified five scribal hands (α-ε), Bliss established the modern classification of six scribal hands (1-6) still in use by most scholars. Robinson offered a third analysis with four scribal hands (A-D),

My assertion of a collaborative work environment where the scribes negotiated their decisions is a challenge to recent Auchinleck scholarship, particularly since Shonk, which tends to focus solely on Scribe 1's agency and decision-making. In Chapters 2 and 3, I have demonstrated the oversimplification involved in Shonk's streamlined piecework production model, which proposes that Scribe 1 made all of the decision and then distributed exemplars and instructions to a dispersed team of freelancers. Shonk, and therefore Hanna, Wiggins, and Bahr who use Shonk's codicology as their foundation, all underestimate the contributions of other scribes and therefore incorrectly theorize about the Auchinleck production process.

One example of the kind of problematic analysis that can emerge from an oversimplified codicological analysis should help demonstrate the importance of this issue. In his recent and influential book *London Literature, 1300-1380* (2005), Hanna asserts that Scribe 1 must have lacked access to exemplars because Scribe 1 only involved the other scribes when he was short-handed; based upon Shonk's codicological theory arguing that Scribe 1 was the sole decision-maker for the Auchinleck Manuscript,[3] essentially Hanna argues that occasionally Scribe 1 received a surplus of exemplars for a limited amount of time, and so the inclusion of Scribes 2-6 represents: "like Ringo, scribe I called in his friends when the going got tough" (77). According

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arguing that Bliss's Scribes 1 and 6 were really the same scribe, whom she called Scribe D, and that Bliss's Scribes 2 and 4 were really the same scribe, whom she called Scribe B; in Robinson's identification, Bliss's Scribe 3 is Scribe A, and Bliss's Scribe 5 is Scribe C. Shonk, Mordkoff, and Wiggins all disagreed with Robinson's four-scribe theory, reverting back to Bliss's identification of six hands. Hanna did support Robinson's four scribe theory in his chapter "Reconsidering the Auchinleck Manuscript," and so Wiggins refuted Hanna's revival of this theory with her article "Are Auchinleck Manuscript Scribes 1 and 6 the Same Scribe?" In this Wiggins focused on dialectical evidence to distinguish Scribes 1 and 6, but the same cannot be done for Scribes 2 and 4 because Scribe 4 only wrote a list of names. Hanna then rescinded his position a bit in his book, acknowledging the Auchinleck to be "the work of five or six scribes" without addressing this issue further (*London* 75). For further information, see Kölbing (178-91), Bliss (652-54), Pearsall and Cunningham (xv), Parkes (xvii), Robinson (128-31), Shonk ("Investigations" 72-82), Mordkoff (16-17, 174, 282-285), Mills (11, fn. 1), Wiggins ("*Guy of Warwick*" 103, 121-22; "Are Auchinleck" 10-19; *Auchinleck* "Physical Makeup"), and Hanna ("Reconsidering" 92, 95, 101).

[3] Hanna and Bahr both assert that Shonk's article has the best available codicology, and Wiggins uses that article as a basis for her own codicology though occasionally referring to Mordkoff's work. In Chapters 2 and 3 I have demonstrated that Shonk's article is greatly oversimplified. For further information, see Chapter 2, Chapter 3, Shonk ("Bookmen"), Hanna ("Reconsidering" 93-94, *London* 75), Bahr (107-08), Wiggins ("*Guy of Warwick*" 103-130, *Auchinleck* "Physical makeup"), and Appendix B for a diagram recreating the gatherings of the Auchinleck.

to Hanna's line of thought, Scribes 2-6 do not contribute anything of substance, and Scribe 1 uses "blatant filler" to complete booklets based on what he could access as a small stationer.[4]

Hanna's analysis therefore does not take into account the autonomous decisions made by the scribes (particularly Scribes 2 and 3), the expensive presentation of the "filler" items,[5] and – as I shall demonstrate in the final chapter – that the selection of poems in the Auchinleck were carefully tailored for their patron. Indeed, a poverty of exemplars does not seem to have been the problem for the Auchinleck team, and all of the scribes seemed to be present throughout the Auchinleck production process fulfilling numerous roles necessary to complete the manuscript.[6]

In some ways my assertion of the collaborative production environment represents a return to the scholarship of Loomis, Bliss, Robinson, Pearsall, Cunningham, and Mordkoff, all of

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[4] I understand the technical nature of the term filler, as undoubtedly shorter texts were sought which would help to fill out the end of a booklet. However, the technical nature of the term quickly slips into being a dismissive term in which the work at hand is deemed not worth much attention, such as Hanna's description of "blatant filler" and Bahr's of "anodyne filler." Rhiannon Purdie best embodies the dismissive nature with her comment about the Auchinleck that, "these shorter, older poems are clearly only of secondary interest to the compiler," and she considers booklet 3 as being "a ragbag booklet" (94). For further examples of Auchinleck scholars using the term "filler" to discuss short texts at the end of gatherings or booklets, see Robinson (123, 125), Mordkoff (13, 92, 105-106, 198, 200), Shonk ("Investigations" 50, "Bookmen" 74, 76), Wiggins ("*Guy of Warwick*" 114, 119), Hanna ("Reconsidering" 94), and Bahr (111).
[5] For example, consider the multiple initial capitals and headings, using significant quantities of red and blue ink, dominating the folios at the ends of booklets for short "filler" texts such as items 8, 34, 36, and 42.
[6] Bahr and Wiggins makes similar missteps by basing their own codicological analysis mostly on Shonk's article. For example, repeating Hanna's endorsement for Shonk's codicology in his chapter, Bahr simply accepts Hanna's strained codicological theory that the Auchinleck is fairly similar to Horn's legal books and that Scribe 1 is a kind of "editor in chief" like Horn; therefore Bahr also only considers a merchant as the only likely patron for the Auchinleck. I have addressed the codicological problems of comparing the Auchinleck to Horn's books in Chapters 2 and 3 and will address this issue again in Chapter 5, Section I: "The Chancery Production of the Auchinleck." Similarly, Wiggins positions herself in her dissertation as a manuscript historian and yet bases most of her codicological analysis on Shonk. While Wiggins does allow Scribe 1 a measure of intelligence and agency as he knits his diverse exemplars together, due to Shonk's analysis Wiggins only allows Scribe 1 this kind of ability. When Wiggins challenges other scholars who see ample evidence in the Auchinleck for more extensive scribal involvement, Wiggins relies only on Shonk's article for the physical evidence *proving* these literary scholars wrong. Wiggins goes as far as to posit that Turville-Petre's "romantic" analysis of the Auchinleck scribal adaptation of exemplars and careful craftsmanship "presents an oversimplified picture which fails to take full account of manuscript evidence" (128). What is ironic, of course, is that Shonk's, Hanna's, Wiggins' and Bahr's codicological analyses are oversimplified and do not take into account the full account of manuscript evidence. In fact, as I have demonstrated in Chapters 2 and 3, the actual codicological evidence points exactly to the kind of collaborative, dynamic environment in which the scribes were able to contribute independent decisions to the Auchinleck project. For further information, see Bahr (108-14), Wiggins ("*Guy of Warwick*" 122-38, 369; "Are Auchinleck" 20-21; *Auchinleck* "Physical makeup) and Chapters 2 and 3.

whom clearly saw the evidence, if sometimes casually asserted, of four or six different scribes having to work as a team.[7] It is only more recently that Auchinleck scholarship has taken a turn down a path which asserts that only Scribe 1 had control and that his contract workers simply erred on occasion. I find the scholarly support of the Auchinleck's piecework production model, with Scribe 1 solely at the helm, so damaging not only because it can perpetuate certain manuscript historians' disregard -- on a flawed codicological basis -- for other scholars who have long argued that the Auchinleck scribes were involved in the culling and tailoring of the Auchinleck's presentation of "the earliest extant text of all but a handful of items,"[8] but because it also obscures how carefully the Auchinleck booklets were themselves constructed for their patron. Though painstakingly detailed at times, my careful analysis in Chapters 2 and 3 of the variety of layouts, visual cues, and artistic contributions of the entire Auchinleck team allows me to refute the piecework production model now and to reconsider the complex relationships negotiated between the scribes, the artists, and their patron. In this chapter I will focus on the scribal relationships, scribal agency, textual adaptation, and the production process; in Chapter 5, I will discuss the tailoring of the manuscript as a whole for Thomas de Beauchamp.

B. The Senior Scribal Team

With the collaboration of the scribes now (re)established, I will focus on what is new in my analysis of the Auchinleck scribes, which is that it brings to the forefront both the agency of a subset of the scribes -- the senior scribal team of Scribes 1, 2, and 3 -- as well as their

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[7] For further information, see Chapter 2, Section A: "The Auchinleck *Mise-en-Page* and the Bookmaking Discourse," Loomis ("Auchinleck MS"), Bliss (656-58), Robinson (34-35, 134-35), Cunningham and Pearsall ("Introduction"), and Mordkoff's ("The Making"). Hanna also allows for collaboration, at some level, but he defines collaboration in the simplest terms, with Scribe 1 still making all of the decisions (*London* 75-77).

[8] The handful of items in the Auchinleck that are not new or unique are item "nos. 4, 7, 8, 13, 19, 29, 34, 35 and 40" (Pearsall and Cunningham vii-viii) although item 40 is greatly expanded compared to previous versions. For a sample of the lists and discussions about the unique or first versions of texts, see Loomis ("Auchinleck MS" 626-27), Perkins (11-12), Mordkoff (7-11), Wiggins (*Auchinleck* "Importance"), section E below, and Chapter 5.

leadership. While paleography and dialect analysis are important in helping to determine

distinctive scribal profiles, these fields do not allow for much insight into the relationships

between the scribes or any sense of how decisions were negotiated. Due to my detailed

codicological analysis in Chapters 2 and 3, I routinely found evidence that Scribes 1, 2, and 3

were the main decision-makers of the Auchinleck and the main negotiators of the collaborative

effort for the Auchinleck. Therefore, I have determined that they represent a kind of senior

scribal team.

When we consider this senior scribal team of Scribes 1, 2, and 3, their authority and rank

can be seen in the autonomous and potentially expensive decisions made by each. For example,

Scribe 1 demonstrates the authority to experiment with different layouts of his verses, including

his decision to discard his experimental single-column format for item 1, and to select formats

for dividing long lines which could require more lines of parchment to complete but would be

easier for the reader to follow.[9] And Scribe 1 is not the only scribe to make a decision to use

more parchment rather than try to squeeze his text into less space. Scribe 2 utilized a single

column for his long lines of item 44 so that he could write the bob of the stanza off to the right of

the column in order to allow the *painture* of the bob to visually emphasize the point of each

stanza. In addition, when we consider the number of lines ruled per folio, Scribes 2 and 3 copied

numerous folios (sixteen folios for both scribes)[10] with far fewer than 44 lines per folio, and so

their decision to rule these folios with fewer lines per folio indicates their ability to use more

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[9] Here I am referring to Pearsall's analysis for items 4 and 5 that Scribe 1 "divides genuine long line (usually seven-stress, without medial rhyme, the type of line used in the *South English Legendary*, presumably for pulpit delivery) into two short lines and rubricates the monorhymed quatrains in eights, so creating a stepping stone to the developed *abababab* stanza." In addition, Pearsall argues that Scribe 1's items 13, 29, 31, 37, and 39 demonstrate a variety of innovation with poetic structures, including often using short lines (Introduction viii).

[10] For items 10 and 44, Scribe 2 ruled between 24 and 31 lines per folio. For items 14-17, Scribe 3 ruled between 33 and 40 lines per folio. For further information, see Chapter 2, Section D, Part 2 "Lines of Text per Column."

parchment to complete their copying stints. As parchment was so valuable, we thus get the sense

that Scribes 1, 2 and 3 had the seniority to permit such additional expenses.

Similarly, Scribes 1, 2, and 3 all made independent decisions in relation to using the more

expensive colored ink in relation to titles and headings. Scribe 2 wrote his own, often long Latin

headings in large red letters for item 10. Scribe 3 wrote his two extant titles in red, and his title

for item 15, *þe Pater Noster undo on Englissch*, is again fairly long and descriptive rather than

using an economical alternative, like *Þe Paternoster*. Furthermore, in addition to writing a four

line rubricated colophon for his item 40 and long titles for many texts, Scribe 1 wrote his own

Latin headings in red and then left guide marks for blue initials to be painted in for the first

initial of each heading for item 36, therefore authorizing a further expensive. Thus, the ability of

these three scribes to use expensive parchment and colored ink at their discretion indicates their

seniority.[11]

That the senior scribal team was utilizing more resources naturally raises questions as to

how such additional expenses were passed on to the patron so that the senior scribes were

compensated for using these additional resources. It is, of course, difficult to know the exact

way that the financial agreements were composed, especially as so little is known about early

14th century manuscript production. The codicological evidence of the Auchinleck, however,

demonstrates that Scribes 1, 2, and 3 had freer rein with such resources as well as

communication with one another, suggesting that these expenses were additional decisions they

negotiated. I would also assert that the patron was involved in the authorization of Auchinleck

expenses, as indicated by the inclusion of illustrations to the Auchinleck after production had

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[11] For further information, see Chapter 2, Section D: "Components of the Scribal *Mise-en-Page*." For further
discussion about different inks and their relative costs, see Baker ("Common Medieval Pigments"), Clemens and
Graham (19-34), and Shonk ("Investigations" 84).

begun; it is estimated that adding illustrations to the Auchinleck would have more than doubled the cost of the manuscript, especially given the range of pigments necessary for the Auchinleck illustrations, which include gold. Thus, undoubtedly, the Auchinleck patron (or a representative for the patron) approved this decision to add illustrations, which indicates that the scribes had contact with the patron during the production process as well as with each other.[12]

Given this contact with the Auchinleck's patron, at least several alternatives exist for how the additional expenses of the senior scribal team were approved. For example, if there was fairly regular contact with the patron (or his representative), then any expenses could have been submitted at intervals to this figure for authorization. In another scenario, which I think more likely given the high cost of the Auchinleck and thus wealthy status of the patron,[13] a kind of ballpark figure for the price of the manuscript may have been negotiated up front; i.e. the patron did not want to pay the cost of a true luxury manuscript, such as the Queen Mary Psalter, but the patron wanted something more deluxe than an ordinary manuscript, most of which had just alternating blue and red initial capitals and paraphs for decorations. Once this ballpark figure had been negotiated (perhaps twice due to the inclusion of illustrations), small variations may not have been a consideration for such a wealthy patron; thus the trusted senior scribes may have been given a kind of budget to work within. In the latter scenario, the senior scribal team, as respected professionals, would then be given freedom to make their decisions so long as they

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[12] I would also argue that the tailoring of the manuscript for the patron indicates prolonged contact with the patron or his representative during the production process; see Chapter 5 for further information. Mordkoff estimates the cost of the Auchinleck to be about £15-25 based on the scribal work, and then notes that adding illustrations would have at least doubled the price, and the addition of illustrations represents a substantial cost. I discuss the late addition of illustrations to the Auchinleck in Chapter 3, Section D, Part 1: "Illustrated Initials & Miniatures" and the cost of the Auchinleck in Chapter 5, Section A: "The Auchinleck Patron" where I adjust Mordkoff's estimate a bit. Hanna and Bahr also theorize about how involved the patron was in the production process (Hanna *London* 77, Bahr 110).
[13] I will also address the wealth and likely status of the patron in Chapter 5. In any case, a manuscript the size of the Auchinleck with its illustrations would be expensive enough to be prohibitive for most Englishmen at this time. For further information on the cost and potential patrons, see Pearsall and Cunningham (viii), Mordkoff (168, 249-60), Shonk ("Investigations" 84), Hanna (*London* 79-82), Turville-Petre (134-38), Wiggins ("*Guy of Warwick*" 62-68, *Auchinleck* "History and owners"), Clemens and Graham (19-20, 24-34), and Olson (Kerby-Fulton 105-16).

stayed within their budget. These scenarios are hypothetical, but they are also sensible,

especially given the evident decision-making of Scribes 1, 2, and 3 in the Auchinleck.

In addition to utilizing valuable resources, the senior scribal team made decisions about

what kind of decorative work should be added to specific texts they copied; these choices

indicate their authority over the visual appearance of their poems and likely over the artists

working on the minor decorations as well. For example, Scribes 1 and 3 differentiated items 28

and 16 (respectively) from the rest of the manuscript by not leaving any room at all for initial

capitals, and indeed none were added. At another point, Scribe 3 left very few guide marks for

paraphs in his items 17 and 18, and wrote his headings for item 15 in brown ink rather than red.

While other Auchinleck scholars neglect mentioning these texts without initial capitals, paraphs,

or red headings in their haste to summarize the codicology, the senior scribes were making

intentional decisions about their layout, judging that certain items did not need obvious visual

indicators for subsections of the content. Indeed, these decisions would certainly affect the

readers who used devices such as capitals and red headings to navigate the narrative or quickly

locate a subsection, and so the choices made by Scribes 1 and 3 would affect their reader.[14] In

addition, although speculative, I also think that the medieval reader would be able to use the lack

of artwork – here specifically the lack of initial capitals or paraphs – to remember those texts

distinctly and to find them again later; after all, not seeing any initial capitals for a stretch of

folios is as distinctive as having a large initial capital.

Perhaps most compelling of all, in Chapter 3 I demonstrated that, although his texts

include the standard Auchinleck blue initial with red flourish, Scribe 2's items 10 and 44

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[14] Burrows also theorizes that initials and headings were one way to help a reader find a specific passage or section of text (20). For further information, see Chapter 3, Section D, Part 2 "Initial Capitals" and Part 3 "Alternating Red & Blue Paraphs."

otherwise utilize all-red decorations which are conspicuous in the manuscript.[15] Scribe 2's *mise-en-page* here reflects an all-red decorative *mise-en-page* option also seen in two folios at the end of a 200+ folio contemporary statute book HM 923. And, when these folios are considered in both codices of hundreds of folios, the all (or mostly) red artwork immediately causes Auchinleck Scribes 2's items 10 and 44 and the statute book's ff.204v and 205r to stand out. In order to accomplish this distinctive look, Scribe 2 decided to draw in only red paraphs for his items 10 and 44 as well as write his Latin headings in large red letters. For example, consider the difference between Figures 52 and 53. Figure 52 shows Auchinleck Scribe 2 laying out his folio according to the negotiated Auchinleck *mise-en-page*, including alternating red and blue paraphs and 44 lines of verse per folio; folios with these two attributes can be found on hundreds of folios in the Auchinleck. Figure 53, on the other hand, is quite distinct due to the prevalence of red (including a 3-line heading in an even larger hand) and there being

Figure 52: Scribe 2 using the normative *mise-en-page*
f.105r
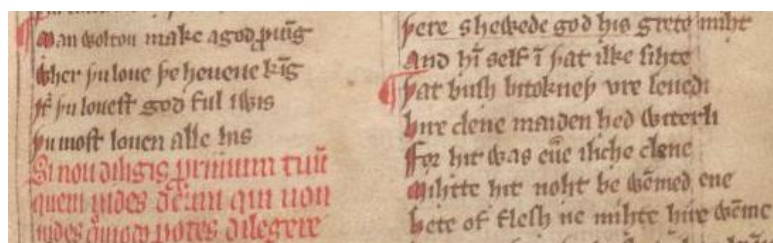
Figure 53: Scribe 2 using a red dominated *mise-en-page*
f.42r

fewer lines per folio (here just 29 lines) which allows for the larger letters, and the increased

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[15]There are two standard blue initials with red flourish in item 10 (on ff.40v and 41v), and otherwise the decorative work just employs red ink. Item 44 includes many more standard blue initials with red flourish, but then item 44 stands out due to using a single-column with a bob over to the right.

amount of space between the letters and lines. This very distinctive red *mise-en-page* would again be apparent and meaningful to a medieval reader navigating the large codex and looking for visual cues to help him remember where different texts were, and so we see that senior Scribe 2 catered to the readers' need for such cues.[16]

In addition to making such autonomous decisions about their *mise-en-page*, Scribes 1, 2, and 3 also demonstrate their careful collaboration in unifying the overall *mise-en-page* while still distinguishing individual texts in the manuscript. For example, they all indent slightly for an initial capital to be added in by illustrators, and these initials are only blue initials with red flourish, which is unusual in manuscripts for this era where alternating colors are frequently used for the initial capitals.[17] In addition to agreeing to include the blue initial with red flourish, the senior scribes also made decisions which demonstrate how aware of each other's decisions they were. This can be seen in the set of decisions that Scribes 1 and 3 made in relation to the 10+ line initial capital *I*'s heading two of their booklets (and the two texts which begin there) which help to unify the look of the Auchinleck but also to provide variation. Both Scribes 1 and 3 indented 10+ lines for an initial capital *I* (heading booklets 9 and 3A respectively),[18] and these are the only two initials larger than 6 lines in the extant manuscript. Thus, the scribes created a visual parallel between their respective booklet headings with their decision to indent 10+ lines for the initial capital *I*, and yet each heading was further distinguished from the other with additional planning. A similar visual parallel is seen with the distinctive parted initial *h*'s

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[16] For further information, see Chapter 3, Section D, Part 3 "Alternating Red & Blue Paraphs." In Chapter 2, Section C: "Challenging the Standardized Auchinleck *Mise-en-Page*," I introduced scholarship by Rouse and Rouse, Carruthers, and others who helped to explain the importance of orderly and distinct visual signals that could enter one of the gates of memory for the reader.

[17] For a discussion of initial capitals in other manuscripts as well as the five single-colored initial capitals in the Auchinleck, mostly added during proofreading, see Chapter 3, Section D, Part 2: "Initial Capitals."

[18] As discussed in Chapter 3, Section D, Part 2: "Initial Capitals," these 10+ line initial capital *I*'s heading booklets also head texts which begin there. Scribe 1's heads item 37, and Scribe 3's heads item 14.

heading Scribe 2's booklet 2 and Scribe 6's booklet 7.[19]   In this, we see that Scribes 1, 2, and 3 -- the senior scribal team -- demonstrate an awareness of each other's decisions as well as the agency to adapt those decisions to their own texts as they consider how to both unify the overall Auchinleck Manuscript as well as allow distinct poems and booklet incipits to stand out.[20]

It is true that my methodology for determining these senior scribes -- Scribes 1, 2, and 3 -- depends mostly on their autonomous layout decisions. In other words, had all of the Auchinleck scribes used the normative *mise-en-page*, my methodology proposed here would be much less effective in determining any kind of authority or seniority. However, in any kind of manuscript with evidence of more than one scribe working on it, I suspect that a careful analysis of the *mise-en-page* (scribal as well as decorative) could be utilized for considerations of a hierarchy among the scribes. For example, when I analyzed HM 923, a statute book from the second quarter of the 14th century which shows evidence of eight different scribes, I noted numerous slight variations in the *mise-en-page* throughout the 200+ folio statute book. I have already discussed one variation utilized by one of the scribes, the all-red artwork of ff.204v-205r mentioned above and shown in Figure 51 in Chapter 3; this layout would not necessarily have cost more – depending on the comparative cost of blue and red pigment at this time – but the effect is striking. Likely the scribe added all of the red artwork himself as the 2-line red heading in his hand, a hand larger than that used on the rest of the folio, matches the red ink used elsewhere on these two folios. Figure 54 further shows stray red decorative marks that this

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[19] As I argued in Chapter 3, the decorative plan for the folios heading Auchinleck booklets included distinguishing elements that echo each other, and so the tall initial *I* heading booklet 9 is curvilinear while the tall initial *I* heading booklet 3A is square. For further information, see Chapter 3, Section D, Part 2: "Initial Capitals."

[20] For further information, see Chapter 2, Section B: "The Problematic Auchinleck Standardized *Mise-en-Page*," Section C: "Challenging the Standardized Auchinleck *Mise-en-Page*," Section D: "Components of the Scribal *Mise-en-Page*," Chapter 3, Section B: "The Traveling Artist and the Auchinleck Workspace," Section C: "The Division of Labor in the Auchinleck Artwork," Section D: "The Components of the Decorative *Mise-en-Page*," Robinson (34-35, 134-35), Mordkoff (94-100), and Shonk ("Bookmen" 78, 82).

Figure 54: Red decorative marks
HM 923 f.205r

scribe added to his letters on the top line of the folio.[21]

The red decorative work and stray red decorative marks from the scribe copying f.205r are similar to the habits of Auchinleck Scribe 2[22] and quite different than those of another HM 923 scribe, shown in Figure 56 below. This other HM 923 scribe, copying f.24v-25r, highlights distinct parts of his folio by switching to a bookhand in the same color ink rather than switching to red ink.[23] Therefore, in a manuscript with more than one scribe, careful attention to such details should demonstrate how many autonomous decisions each scribe was able to make; then, as I have done here for the Auchinleck scribes, careful analysis of autonomy, negotiation, and expense should allow for a kind of hierarchy among the scribes to emerge.[24]

With Scribes 1, 2, and 3 established as professionals who can make expensive decisions and choices which distinguish their texts, we now can more fully consider their scribal roles, identities, and contributions to the Auchinleck production process. In the previous scholarship, all of these differences in the manuscript were dismissed as errors of one kind or another, and so the importance of these decisions were overlooked when scholars considered the contributions of these scribes – and particularly Scribes 2 and 3 – to the Auchinleck production process. But once we consider the compelling evidence about the authority, seniority, and careful

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[21] This image has been included by permission of the Huntington Library.

[22] For example, Figure 53 above shows Scribe 2's use of a red decorative *mise-en-page* with a large 3-line red heading in a larger hand, and Figure 48 in Chapter 3 shows some stray red decorative marks he added on f.39r, which is similar to stray decorative marks also made on f.42r.

[23] While both scribes use a court hand, these two scribes can be distinguished by the way they embellish the stems of letters on the first line of each folio. F.25r contains tall looping stems with half of the loop heavily darkened, while f.205r contains tall, split stems with curving tendrils. For further discussion on the importance of decorating the top line of administrative documents and works, see Elizabeth Danbury (163-67) and Kerby-Fulton (48-49).

[24] This aligns with Rouse and Rouse's recent observation that one of the important themes cutting through their recent book *Bound Fast with Letters* is "that manuscripts were written in specific places at specific times, by real people who have left their marks on the record; and that manuscripts, like people, are not anonymous and free-floating in time" (2).

collaboration of the senior scribal team, we can begin to build more cohesive, complex portraits of each figure, which I will model below for Scribe 2 in Section E. However, before I can begin constructing such a profile, I first need to address the junior scribal team and the evidence of court hand techniques in the handwriting of at least five of the scribes.

C. The Junior Scribal Team

Scribes 4, 5, and 6 -- whom I am referring to as the junior scribal team -- provide some interesting complexity to the idea of teams for the Auchinleck project, including their collaboration on artistic efforts. Due to his use of varied *ducti* (see my paleography discussion below), Scribe 4 seems to be a new scribe who has not assimilated any particular bookhand. Scribe 4 may in fact be the novice scribe on the project, and this may explain why he was only given a list of Norman names (item 21) to copy with no need to plan for any artistic work. H. M.
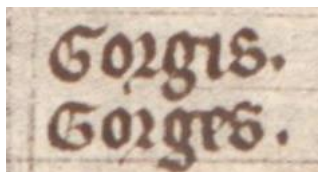
Figure 55: Scribe 4 rewriting names f.105v

Smyser also concluded that Scribe 4 was a novice scribe when he noted that Scribe 4: "occasionally writes a name twice, as if not content that he has the right form the first time. Curiously, he does not underpoint letters to indicate deletion or insert letters above the line; he simply tries again" (267). Figure 55 shows an example of this behavior with Gorgis and Gorges.[25]

Therefore, Scribe 4's list of Norman names seems to represent his training text where he practices copying and writing in a bookhand.

Meanwhile, when Scribes 5 and 6 copied their poetic texts, both adhere to the *mise-en-page* which eventually is dominant in the Auchinleck; this indicates that Scribes 5 and 6 were

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[25] These names can be found on lines 3-4 of column b on f.105v.

brought on to help copy texts after the Auchinleck senior scribal team negotiated the normative *mise-en-page*. Unlike Scribes 1, 2, and 3, Scribes 5 and 6 do not show the agency to authorize expensive changes, such as ruling fewer lines per folio, or otherwise to deviate from this layout; they both generally rule 44 lines per folio, leave guiding marks for paraphs, and indent several lines for each initial capital. Therefore we see that Scribes 4, 5, and 6 do not make autonomous decisions like Scribes 1, 2, and 3 and so likely represent a junior set of scribes.[26]

In addition to a distinct lack of agency, there are other indicators that the junior scribal team was actively supervised by those scribes demonstrating their authority, namely Scribes 1, 2, and 3. Burrows and Shonk both aptly noted in their dissertations that it is tempting to see Scribe 5 as an apprentice particularly to Scribe 1, a scribe everyone agrees is a senior scribe for the Auchinleck. Burrows noted the close collaboration involved when Scribe 5 copied the Reinbroun narratives extracted from Scribe 1's *Guy of Warwick* texts; Burrows's analysis suggests that Scribe 1 would have to carefully communicate to Scribe 5 where to find these Reinbroun passages in their shared exemplars when Scribe 1 handed booklet 4 and his *Guy* exemplars to Scribe 5 for him to copy the *Reinbroun* material.[27] Scribe 5 also handed booklet 5 to Scribe 1 to complete, and so Shonk observed that both of Scribe 5's texts (items 24 and 25) "share not only gatherings but also leaves with scribe I. Apparently on fol. 167r scribe V made use of I's ruling for his opening lines. The inference is that he worked in close cooperation with the major scribe" (67). Thus, the evidence demonstrates that Scribes 1 and 5 worked in close quarters, likely with the senior figure Scribe 1 directing Scribe 5.

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[26] For further information, see Chapter 2, Section D: "Components of the Scribal *Mise-en-Page*," Chapter 3, Section D: "Components of the Decorative *Mise-en-Page*," Pearsall and Cunningham (xv), Mordkoff (81-129), and Shonk ("Investigations" 50-71).
[27] For further information, see Burrows (166).

The layout of folios further indicates the junior status of Scribes 5 and 6. Shonk notes that Scribe 5's handwriting indicates that he was an inexperienced scribe[28] and that "a sketch of [Scribe 5's] ruling … demonstrates how closely the format of his page resembles that of scribe I" ("Investigations" 68), which include triple vertical lines to the left of columns and 44 lines per folio which are 5 mm apart. Thus, due to their sharing exemplars and folios, with Scribe 5 starting his work on lines ruled by Scribe 1, it seems that Scribe 1 instructed novice Scribe 5 on how to layout his folios. Scribe 6's rulings are also similar to Scribe 1 and 5, furthering this sense that Scribe 1 was training these two scribes.[29] I also present evidence below in the paleography section that a case could be made that Scribe 1 trained both Scribes 5 and 6 in writing a bookhand due to the fact that all three seemed to be trained in the same school of handwriting; a further case is made below that Scribe 2 was training Scribe 4 in writing a bookhand. Thus, in many ways, Scribes 4, 5, and 6 demonstrate that they were taking their instructions from Scribes 1, 2, and 3.

There is, however, one exception to the idea that Scribe 6 lacked agency, and that can be seen in his folio which heads booklet 7. As with the distinctive first folios for booklets 9 and 3A planned by Scribes 1 and 3 (discussed above), Scribes 6 was involved with the planning of a distinctive first folio heading his booklet. Because Scribe 6 left a wide space (nine letters wide or 29 mm) for his parted initial *h* heading his item 32 (and booklet 7), the two-color treatment of the initial is nearly symmetrical, as is found in other early 14th century parted initials. Therefore,

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[28] Shonk specifically says that Scribe 5 "wrote in the least attractive hand of the six … the fifth scribes was certainly not a skilled professional, and it is difficult to understand why he was selected to copy material for the work. Perhaps he was a beginning or apprentice scribe under the tutelage of our major scribe" ("Investigations" 67-68). As mentioned in Chapter 2, Section D, Part 2: "Lines of Text per Column," Shonk cut this idea of Scribe 5 being an apprentice out of the rest of his scholarship. Mordkoff and Shonk both also critique Scribe 5 as being very inexperienced (Mordkoff 104-05, Shonk "Investigations" 67-68), and Olson thus also references "the possibly less-experienced Scribe 5" (Kerby-Fulton 105-06). I will address this concern more in Section D: "The Scribal Court Hands" below.

[29] For further information, see Shonk ("Investigations" 67-70).

Scribes 6's folio heading his booklet demonstrates some evidence that he was involved in decorative decisions for this folio. And among those scribes on the junior scribal team, based on my analysis in Chapter 3, I think it likely that Scribe 6 may have primarily been an illustrator for the Auchinleck. Due to his careful planning for the parted initial and his precision in his ruling on every folio, it seems that Scribe 6 may have been trained in visual presentations and artwork.[30] In addition, Scribe 6 did not leave any visible guiding letters for the other initial capitals in his text, suggesting one of two possibilities; first, Scribe 6 may have been so skilled at his work that he was careful to add his guiding letters directly below where the initial capitals would be painted so no trace of his guiding letters remain visible. A second option is that Scribe 6 was familiar enough with his exemplar and his own copying habits that – as there are only four extant initial capitals – he did not leave himself guiding initials to remind himself where the initial capitals were needed; in the latter scenario, Scribe 6 would then have found his indented lines and used his exemplars in order to add the initial capitals himself. In either case, although particularly in the latter case, it seems likely that Scribe was thus trained as an illustrator who agreed to contribute to the copying, as a kind of junior scribe, for at least one text.[31]

It also seems likely that Scribes 4, 5, and 6 were also helping out with basic artwork when not copying. In Chapter 3 I demonstrated that at least four scribes added paraphs and other

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[30] Scribe 5 may also have contributed to illustrative decisions although it is more difficult to substantiate given his lack of precision in his layouts otherwise. Still, Scribe 5's item 25 (heading booklet 5) begins with the only extant historiated initial, meaning that Scribe 5 intentionally indented the first lines only partially for this historiated initial, rather than leave the entire column heading blank for a miniature. Therefore, Scribe 5 knew about the plan for the historiated initial when he began copying item 25, and based on the fact that most booklets have very distinctive first folios, perhaps Scribe 5 was allowed to help make the decision as to how this folio would stand out. While I have argued previously and do believe that there were likely other historiated initials in the Auchinleck, this historiated initial has a marginal bar extending down to the lower margin, making it particularly notable.

[31] For further discussion, see Chapter 3, Section C: "The Division of Labor in the Auchinleck Artwork" and Chapter 3, Section D, Part 2: "Initial Capitals." Because Scribe 6's work continued on to another gathering now missing, technically he may have copied further texts in that gathering. The medieval item numbers jump from *xxxvii* to *xliiii*, and so it seems we lost at least six texts. For now, we only have evidence of the one text, item 32. For a discussion of Parted Initials, see Chapter 3, Section D, Part 2: "Initial Capitals." For a discussion of Scribe 6's precision, see Chapter 2, Section D, Part 2: "Lines of Text per Column" fn. 36.

minor decorative touches to the manuscript, and I identified Scribe 2 as one of the paraph hands, Hand D. Therefore, we still need at least three more scribes to account for three more paraph styles, and it seems quite likely that Scribes 4, 5, and 6 represent three other paraph styles found in the Auchinleck. Scribes 4, 5, and 6 were then also likely responsible for rubricating initial letters for *litterae notabiliores* and perhaps for other simple decorative work. My analysis of the senior and junior scribal teams therefore allow further clarity as to how the work was divided in the Auchinleck workspace, and who was primarily working on the simpler decorative work that I proposed in Chapter 3.[32]

D. The Scribal Court Hands

Very good work has been contributed by previous scholars on the Auchinleck scribal hands, including that by the noted paleographer M. B. Parkes, but what no one has commented on for the Auchinleck scribes is the consistent evidence for court hand forms by at least five of the Auchinleck scribes. This suggests that the scribes were all working in administrative offices tied to governance in London, and – as shall be addressed in Chapter 5 – I think the Chancery to be the most likely location.   In addition, in Chapter 1, I noted the presence of a pure court hand editing Scribe 1's work, which furthers the sense that the Auchinleck was created and proofread in such an administrative environment.[33] The presence of court hand forms in the Auchinleck means that we are dealing with professionally trained scriveners and that they may have been taking on additional work as literary scribes in the emerging bespoke book trade of London.

Parkes (and others) have already asserted that early 14th century scribes could write in two different hands – a court hand and a bookhand – and that only later (in the late 14th century)

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[32] See Chapter 3, Section D, Part 3: "Alternating Red & Blue Paraphs" and Part 4: "*Litterae Notabiliores.*"
[33] For further information, see Chapter 1, Section B, Part 6: "Proofreading."

were these two different hands consistently merged in a hand which can be identified in both

legal documents and literary texts.[34] Indeed, Figure 56 shows the example I found in statute

book HM 923 of a scribe switching to a bookhand

briefly in the midst of his court hand writing; he did

this in several other places on the same folio.[35]

While it is possible for a skilled paleographer to

identify a distinct scribal profile for a scribe who

uses both a court hand and a bookhand, no scholar

previously has asserted that most of the Auchinleck

Figure 56: Scribe switching between
bookhand and court hand
HM 923 f.25r

scribes also could write in a court hand.[36] The fact that no one has considered a possible court

hand for these scribes could and likely does account for why no Auchinleck hand has been

identified in any other manuscript. Therefore, in addition to what can be determined by

comprehensive scribal profiles which include dialect analysis, seniority, and artistic

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[34] John H. Fisher offers a concise definition of the two hands: "the term 'court hand' meant merely the cursive script, characterized by much ligation of letters, used to write business transactions, in contrast to the formal book hand (textura) in which the strokes were executed separately" (*An Anthology* 3). Parkes decided upon the name anglicana for a court hand because "several varieties of this script are peculiar" to English 14th and 15th century manuscripts (xvi). Thus, broadly speaking, textura and bookhand can be used interchangeably, as can anglicana and court hand; as with most Auchinleck scholars, I will mostly use the terms bookhand and court hand. When considering late 14th century manuscripts, Mooney and Stubbs were able to demonstrate the identity of the hands of literary scribes of the late 14th and early 15th centuries as those within London Guildhall documents precisely because they wrote in fairly similar hands in both kinds of documents. For further information on 14th century hands, see Parkes (xiii-xix), John H. Fisher ("Chancery" 883), Clemens and Graham (153, 160), and Kerby-Fulton (2-19, 48-49).

[35] This image has been included by permission of the Huntington Library. Figure 56 shows a court hand, or a cursive script, along the top line, bottom line, and left and right sides. The word *Come*, however, is written so that each letter is drawn distinctly, as in a bookhand. This folio, f.25r, is an earlier folio of the same manuscript I mentioned in Section B: "The Senior Scribal Team" and Chapter 3, Section D, Part 3: "Alternating Red & Blue Paraphs." There, I focused on a later folio, f.205r, with all-red decorative work.

[36] Mordkoff has an interesting historical discussion related to this issue but does not conclude anything specifically about the Auchinleck scribes (240-45).The one scholar who asserted that the scribes may have had two hands, surprisingly, is Kölbing, one of the original and now widely ignored codicologists, in part perhaps due to Bliss's mistaken translation of Kölbing's German analysis. Bliss's table comparing Kölbing's scribal identification to his own has some important errors. In his analysis, Kölbing actually suggests that Scribes 1 and 3 are the hand α, Scribes 2 and 4 are the hand β, Scribe 5 is the hand δ, and Scribe 6 is the hand ε. The only real oddity in his analysis is that he believes Scribe 1's items 22 and 40 are in the hand of a fifth scribe, γ. What is intriguing about Kölbing's analysis is his combination of Scribes 1 and 3 as hand α, which means that he thought that Scribe 3's hand actually represents Scribe 1's more cursive hand. For further information, see Kölbing (183-91) and Bliss (652-53).

contributions, these profiles should consider whether the scribes employ a court hand as well as a

bookhand, which I will address here.

M. B. Parkes' identification of Scribe 3's hand as "an idiosyncratic variant" of early 14th

century scribal hands which were adapting a court hand "for use in books" (xvii) has garnered a

great amount of attention from Auchinleck scholars due to the obvious court hand influence in

Scribe 3's writing.[37] Scribe 3's

hand, shown in Figure 57,

shows many features of a court

hand[38] in his writing, such as

ligatures connecting some of his

letters (such as *un_dren* and

Figure 57: Sample of Scribe 3's writing
f.70r

h_ond_en in line 1 of Figure

57), his curving double chambered *a*'s which rise above the line (such as in *þat* in line 4), the *d*'s

which hook substantially to the right at the tip (such as in *and* in line 2), and letters such as *f*,

long *s* and *r* which run below the line.[39] Scribe 3 also uses abbreviations, such as *hi* with a line

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[37] Auchinleck scholars at times reference Parkes' identification of Scribe 3's hand as a form of *Anglicana Formata*, but that is not quite accurate; while Parkes referenced Scribe 3 as an example of a scribe combining court and book hands, *Anglicana Formata* represents a more stable hand based on "the smaller 'gothic' book hands of a type common in university books" (xvii). For further information, see Pearsall and Cunningham (xv), Shonk ("Investigations" 76-77), and Wiggins ("*Guy of Warwick*" 121-22; *Auchinleck* "Physical makeup").

[38] A quick list of court hand characteristics are: "a two-compartment *a* with an upper lobe rising above the line, a two-compartment *g*, long *r* with a stem descending below the line, and a short *s* in which the larger lower loop often descends slightly below the line. The duct of the script is vertical, with little contrast between broad and narrow strokes" (John H. Fisher *An Anthology* 3), which is similar to Parkes' original list (xiv-xv).

[39] Bliss first noted that Scribe 3's *f,* long *s,* and *r* "run well below the line" demonstrate "the influence of chancery hand" (653). Hanna adds that, "recently, in conversation, Parkes has generally offered the opinion that [Scribe 3's] hand displays an angularity in letter formation and a jabbing duct which one would associate with someone used to writing on wax tablets, rather than membrane; such habits might suggest a person accustomed to daily household writing tasks, such as taking dictation or writing memoranda" ("Reconsidering" 95).

above the *i* for *him* in line 1 and *Ihu* with a line above the *u* for *Ihesu* in line 4.[40] There are also

bookhand techniques evident, such as the letters of *þ_e* being drawn individually in line 3. In

fact, Parkes highlighted Auchinleck's Scribe 3 as a forerunner of the later clerks who utilized a

combined court hand/bookhand script in both legal documents and literary works, as would

become prevalent by the late 14th century. For good reason, then, Shonk, Wiggins, and Hanna all

see Scribe 3's hand as evidence that this scribe was a non-clerical scribe trained in a chancery

hand who worked in a legal or government office in London, such as the Chancery.[41]

However, I would caution against the related assertion that crops up in Auchinleck

scholarship that Scribe 3's "cursive bookhand" necessitates that Scribe 3 was a contract scribe

that was part of a piecework production economy for scribes. Before concluding that *only* Scribe

3 worked in a government office (and therefore copied his exemplars in a separate location from

any other scribe as part of the piecework production economy), I would suggest that we more

carefully consider if the hands of the other scribes show traces of a court hand or document hand.

And if most or indeed all of the scribes show evidence of court hand forms in their writing, then

the natural conclusion is not that just Scribe 3 was a government clerk and then a contract worker

independently but that all of the scribes were employed in some sort of professional (government

or legal) office, possibly together.

When we turn our attention to the other scribes, because Bliss described Scribe 2's hand

as "almost liturgical" (653), it may seem that Scribe 2's hand is the least likely to show traces of

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[40] Parkes notes that hands writing commentaries in margins which are "full of abbreviations" eventually led to the development of cursive hands (xiii-xiv), and Scribe 3's use of them here shows a kind of informality in his hand.
[41] Cunningham refers to Scribe 3's hand as a cursive bookhand ("Introduction" xv), which describes the combination well. In his *English Cursive Book Hands*, Parkes postulates that Scribe 3's script is part of an evolution through the early 14th century which: "settled down into the kind of handwriting which could be used not only for writing documents but also as a cheap book hand" (xvi). For further information, see Bliss (653), Parkes (xiii-xix), Shonk ("Investigations" 76-77), Mordkoff (244), Hanna ("Reconsidering" 95-98), Wiggins ("*Guy of Warwick*" 121-22, *Auchinleck* "Physical makeup"), Clemens and Graham (160), and Kerby-Fulton (48-49).

a court hand. However, Robinson identified Scribe 2's hand "an idiosyncratic mixture of textura and anglicana" (129), which means a bookhand and court hand. Figure 58 shows a sample of Scribe 2's hand; the court hand training is apparent in instances scattered throughout Scribe 2's writing, such as the use of a curving, double chambered *a* that can tend to rise above the line (such as *fa_d_er* in line 4 in Figure 58), slight hooks to the right at the tips of his *d*'s (seen in *w_en_d_e* in line 1), and his ligatures between letters (such

Figure 58: Sample of Scribe 2's writing
f.42v

as *fa_d_er* and *wi_d* in line 4). Like Scribe 3, Scribe 2 also frequently uses abbreviations (such as *þ* with two curved lines above in line 3 standing for *þer*, and *a* with a line above in line 4 standing for *and*), which would be absent in more formal manuscripts but here helped Scribe 2 to write quickly.[42] In retrospect, Bliss's attempt to describe this hand as liturgical, with a focus on the product and not the producer, may have hampered codicologists who tried to account for Scribe 2's liturgical context.[43] Instead, we can consider Scribe 2's hand among those scriveners who adjusted their usual court hand to this more elaborate bookhand on occasion.

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[42] I also found a hand in a late 13th/early 14th century Latin cartulary Huntington Library MS HM 45146 which is somewhat similar to Scribe 2's. The manuscript's provenance is English and dated s. XIII/XIV. For further information, see http://bancroft.berkeley.edu/digitalscriptorium/huntington/HM45146.html. I am not suggesting that the cartulary hand *is* the Auchinleck Scribe 2's hand. My purpose in highlighting this manuscript is to demonstrate that a hand with some similarities to Scribe 2 was found outside of a liturgical manuscript.

[43] For example, Mordkoff focused on Scribe 2's "liturgical hand" to support her monastic production theory. Clemens and Graham identify that wedge-shaped stems, prominent in Scribe 2's writing, were actually characteristic of English Protogothic writing, which began as early as the 10th century (146), and Parkes notes that "elaboration of forked ascenders" was an aspect of bookhand which fell out of use in the 14th century as court hands were combined with bookhands (xv). Thus, Scribe 2's use of these forked stems may account for why some scholars describe his hand as older or archaic and why Bliss considered the hand "almost liturgical" (Scott xiii, Bliss 653, and Mordkoff

The next important Auchinleck scribe to consider is Scribe 1, whose hand is shown in Figure 59. Scribe 1 writes in a bookhand but also employs elements of a court hand. For example, Scribe 1's curving, double chambered *a*'s are more typical of a court hand as
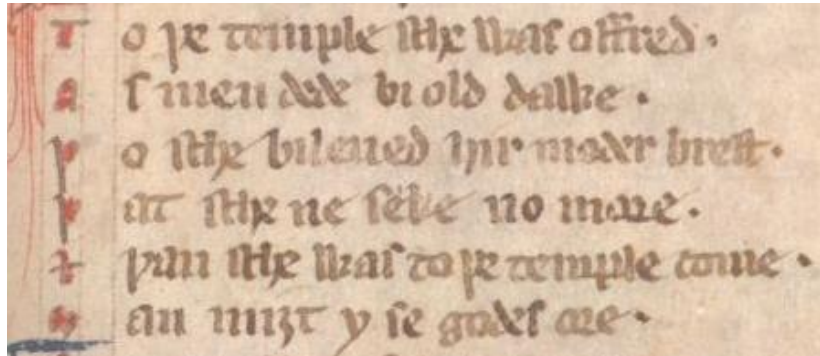

Figure 59: Sample of Scribe 1's writing
f.67r

are his double-looped *g*'s, shown in lines 2 and 6 in Figure 59, respectively. In addition, whereas a classic bookhand *d* has an ascender that is angled back to the left, the stem of Scribe 1's *d* often adds a hook to the right at the tip of the stem (e.g. the *d* as the final letter for line 1), which is suggestive of a hand accustomed to connecting letters, as we saw in Scribe 3's cursive bookhand (see Figure 57). We see this same tendency to connect letters in the stems of his *b*'s, which often hook to the left at the tip of the stem, such as in *bi* in line 2 and – most convincingly – the ligature connecting the words *sche* and *b_i_l_eu_ed* in line 3. While Scribe 1 does not add this hook to the tips of *d*'s in which he "bites the bows," or essentially joins two curved letters as is typical in a bookhand, his *dede* in line 2 also demonstrates his tendency to connect a string of letters. Likewise, the way Scribe 1 writes *sche*, in lines 1 and 3, also joins all four letters together, including his biting the long *s* and *c*, in addition to the two bowed letters *h* and *e*. Scribe 1's letters are also likely to touch even when not officially joined by ligatures. Thus Scribe 1's writing suggests a tendency to write in a hand that efficiently forms and connects

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16). For further discussion, see Robinson (129-30), Pearsall and Cunningham (xv), and Shonk ("Investigations" 75-76), Mordkoff (16, 187, 247-49) and Wiggins ("*Guy of Warwick*" 121, *Auchinleck* "Physical makeup").

letters, as in writing a cursive court hand, than to focus on forming each letter individually and distinctly, as with a bookhand. Indeed, the overall effect of Scribe 1's writing at times is that it can be difficult at first to separate out the individual letters of his hand, such as *dede* in line 4, which is more of a trait of a court hand than a bookhand.[44]

Incidentally, Scribe 6's hand – the only hand very similar to Scribe 1's and shown in Figure 60 – does a better job of forming distinct letters, such as his writing of *scho_l_de* in line 2 of Figure 60, where he does not bite the *sch.* Scribe 6's straight-sided, two-compartment *a*'s, seen in line 3, are also more typical of a bookhand. However,
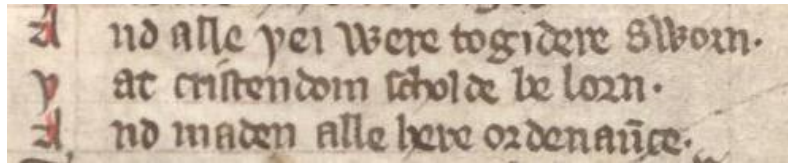
Figure 60: Sample of Scribe 6's writing
f.268r

Mordkoff and Robinson still argue that Scribe 6's hand show traces of a court hand, and occasionally he does have curving, double-chambered *a*'s which rise above the line, as in *þ_a_t* line 2. In addition, the overall look of his hand is not angular but rather more rounded (and therefore quicker to write) as we see in court hand. In addition, while Scribe 6's hand ultimately is probably the purest bookhand of the Auchinleck scribes, I find the similarity between Scribe 1 and Scribe 6's hands to be notable. The similarity of many of their forms, which Bliss originally noted and which caused Robinson to consider them the same scribe, seems to indicate that these two professionals were trained together. [45]

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[44] For further analysis of Scribe 1's hand, see Bliss (652-54), Pearsall and Cunningham (xv), Robinson (130-31), Shonk ("Investigations" 72-75), Mordkoff (16, 283-85), and Wiggins ("*Guy of Warwick*" 121-22, *Auchinleck* "Physical makeup").

[45] Robinson argues for the court hand traces in Scribe 6's hand by virtue of her insistence that Scribes 1 and 6 are the same scribe, and for this scribe, she asserts that he is "unused to writing textura [and] he tended to revert to a more

We come finally to Scribes 4 and 5, who both show their inexperience with writing

bookhands. Scribe 5 (whose hand is shown in Figure 61) is interesting because outside of his

tendency to write fairly distinct, separable letters – which is the definition of a bookhand – his

handwriting is

unidentifiable as any

kind of specific

bookhand.

Furthermore, like

Scribe 1, Scribe 5 has
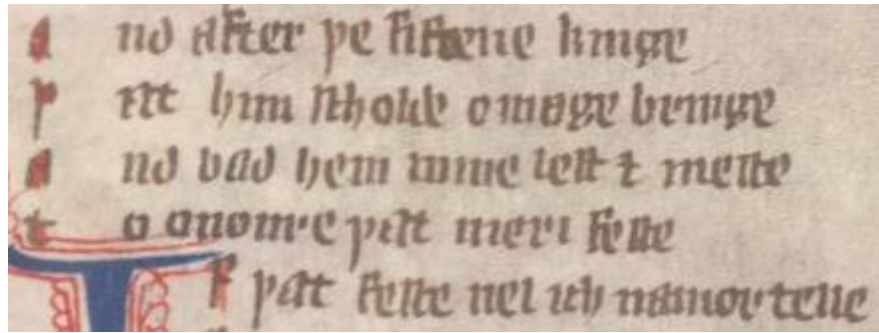
a tendency at times to

still join his letters.

Figure 61: Sample of Scribe 5's writing
f.184r

For example, his letters in *fter* (in *a_fter*) in line 1 of Figure 61 are all joined in a manner similar

to *fe_ste* in lines 4 and 5 where he "bites" the long *s* with the *t*. Likewise, his *sch* (in *sch_o_lde*)

in line 2 joins those letters in a way similar to Scribe 1 as discussed above and, given their close

working relationship, suggests that Scribe 1 trained Scribe 5 in writing a bookhand.[46]   Shonk

also noted that Scribe 5 was "making the fewest strokes necessary for his writing, and feeling no

need to decorate his scribbling with any loops, swirls, or other ornament" ("Investigations" 79).

In this, we can see that, as with Scribes 1 and 3, Scribe 5 was accustomed to writing in a quicker,

more efficient, more connected, less decorated hand which is how we often describe a court hand

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comfortable form of writing" and his *a* and *d* both "betray a cursive origin" (131). For further analysis of Scribe 6's hand, see Bliss (653-654), Parkes (xviii), Pearsall and Cunningham (xv), Robinson (130-31), Shonk ("Investigations" 72, 74), Mordkoff (16, 283-85), and Wiggins ("*Guy of Warwick*" 121-22, *Auchinleck* "Physical makeup").

[46] Scribe 5 also uses a double-looped *g*, as does Scribe 1, which indicates both were accustomed to writing in a court hand. Scribe 6's *g* is a slightly adjusted double-looped *g*. Given Scribe 1's status on the senior scribal team, it seems likely that Scribe 1 could have trained Scribes 5 and/or 6 in writing a bookhand.

rather than a bookhand. So although the overall appearance of Scribe 5's hand is as a bookhand, close examination of his hand reveals some court hand tendencies.[47]

Scribe 4 writes in a fairly formal bookhand, but what no other scholar has mentioned is that this bookhand demonstrates a varied *ductus* throughout the list of Norman names he is writing (item 21). For example, consider the variety of *a*'s shown in Table 2 below, all of which are taken from a single folio.

Table 2: Samples from f.105v of Scribe 4's Item 21

Samples of *a*'s with column(line)		Samples of two *y*'s with column(line)
a(1) a(4) a(10) a(17) a(18) a(40) b(30) b(36)		b(6) b(28)
c(16) c(28) c(40) d(1) d(5) d(8) d(22)		

These *a*'s show a range of forms which is far greater than any other Auchinleck scribe or most scribes within a single codex, though some of the *a*'s – such as column a (line 17) and column c (line 40) – are very similar to *a*'s we find in Scribe 2's writing. Furthermore, the *y*'s chosen for Table 2 highlight two completely different *ducti*. For the *y* from column b (line 6), the right stroke is carried below the line as a curling descender, which is how Scribe 2 forms his *y*; however, for the *y* from column b (line 28), just 22 lines further down the same column, the left stroke is carried down below the line as a straight descender. Furthermore, as with many of the other Auchinleck scribes, some of these styles of Scribe 4's *a*'s demonstrate a court hand, such

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[47] This analysis of Scribe 5's hand aligns with Parkes' description of court hand as lacking "those qualities, the finish as it were, which give to handwriting that element of dignity which is required in books" (xvi). For further analysis of Scribe 5's hand, see Bliss (653), Pearsall and Cunningham (xv), Mordkoff (16-17), Shonk ("Investigations" 78-79), and Wiggins ("*Guy of Warwick*" 121-22, *Auchinleck* "Physical makeup").

as the curled, double-chambered *a* from column b (line 30), while others utilize a more formal bookhand, such as the angular, upright single-chambered *a* from column a (line 1).

It seems possible, as with the school of handwriting found for Scribes 1, 5, and 6, due to the similarity of some forms that Scribe 2 and Scribe 4 also trained together in writing their bookhands. Indeed, as mentioned in my discussion of the junior scribal team above (Section C), item 21 seems to be Scribe 4's training text, and so Scribe 2 may have been training Scribe 4 while he was writing this list of names, especially as Scribe 2 copied the text directly prior to this one. In addition to their utilization of some similar *a* and *y* forms, Scribe 4 also at times shows forms of *v*, *g*, and forked stems of *h, l*, and *b,* which are all comparable to Scribe 2. Scribe 2's training of Scribe 4 could explain why Robinson thought these two hands were the same scribe; however, it is clear that these two hands represent two different scribes due to the fact that Scribe 4 demonstrates a wide range of forms of letters not present in Scribe 2's writing. As Scribe 4 shows this varied *ductus* and switches to a court hand for individual letters, it could be that he is the newest court hand writer among the scribes who was training to write a bookhand.[48]

What my paleographical analysis has demonstrated is that the Auchinleck scribes – except possibly Scribe 6 – employ court hand techniques as well as bookhand forms. In addition, it seems that senior Scribes 1 and 2 may have trained one or more of the junior scribal team, with Scribe 4 showing Scribe 2's influence, and Scribes 5 and possibly 6 showing Scribe 1's influence. My analysis indicates, then, that not just Scribe 3 was working in the Chancery or government office in London and then freelancing to work on the Auchinleck. Rather, it is much

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[48] To further support my thesis that Scribe 4 was training to learn a bookhand while working on the Auchinleck, Parkes notes that such bookhand writing was becoming rare in the 14th century: "it required a highly skilled scribe to write it well, and there is evidence to suggest that book Textura [bookhand] was getting beyond the competence of some professional scribes … by the second half of the fourteenth the scribes were using the script only for de luxe books and for 'display purposes'" (xvii). For further information, see Robinson (129-30), Pearsall and Cunningham (xv), Mordkoff (282-83), Shonk ("Investigations" 78), and Wiggins ("*Guy of Warwick*" 103).

more likely that most or all of the scribes worked in an office such as the Chancery together, with Scribe 6 perhaps also working as an illustrator. This hierarchy of the scribes, with the senior scribes directing and training the junior scribes, also fits with the way that government administration operated: "the junior official copies forms under direction, until he was skillful enough to write them on his own responsibility. Ultimately he became in his turn, the master, that is, the instructor and director, of his juniors" (T. F. Tout 368). Therefore, my assertion of senior and junior scribal teams dovetails quite well my paleographical analysis that the scribes were mostly government clerks.

As we consider the court hand forms found in the Auchinleck scribal hands, I would suggest that further surprising analogues are to be found in comparing the the Auchinleck to various early 14th century documents and legal manuscripts.[49] Above I have already discussed evidence from a statute book (HM 923) with similarities to the Auchinleck: one scribe employs an all-red decorative *mise-en-page*, and another

scribe switches briefly to a bookhand from his usual court hand. Furthermore, I found three different paraphs styles, shown in Figure 62, which are in an early 14th century manuscript of Bracton's "de Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliae" (Huntington Library MS HM 31911).[50]
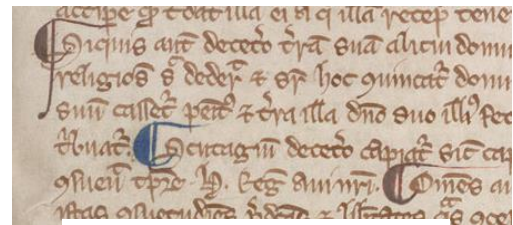
Figure 62: Three Paraph Styles
HM 31911 f.267r

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[49] My discussion here can be added to Hanna's suggested parallels between the Auchinleck and large London Guildhall legal books due to size and some of the artwork. However, in Chapters 2 and 3 I have noted some flaws with his comparisons and summarize these in Chapter 5, Section H: "The Chancery Production of the Auchinleck."
[50] This image has been included by the permission of the Huntington Library.

Not only do the multiple paraph styles suggest multiple figures were collaborating to add in the paraphs,[51] as with the Auchinleck, but these very three styles are very similar to three paraph styles I identified in the Auchinleck: when looked at from left to right, the paraphs in Figure 62 roughly match Hands E, B, and A from the Auchinleck Manuscript, respectively. The paraph in the upper left of Figure 62 is particularly similar to the hand I identified as Hand E in the Auchinleck.[52] Therefore, the evidence continues to suggest that all of the scribes, or almost all of them, worked in administration and then produced the Auchinleck in one of their offices after hours. Further, if one were to try to build a scribal profile for the Auchinleck scribes including both their bookhand and their court hand, given that four Auchinleck scribes were likely helping to add in paraphs for the Auchinleck, this copy of Bracton's "de Legibus…" (HM 31911) may be a good place to try to find samples of the Auchinleck scribes' court hands.

E. Scribe 2

With my analysis of the senior scribes and their authority, the junior scribes and their decorative contributions, the prevalence of court hand forms, and the possibility of the senior scribal team directing and training the junior scribal team, it is tempting to construct a more cohesive scribal profile now for each Auchinleck scribe and their interactions. However, such a project deserves prolonged and extensive attention in its own right. For now, I will focus on how my analysis thus far allows us to build such a profile for Scribe 2 because he has previously been so underestimated in the Auchinleck scholarship; in other words, developing Scribe 2's profile

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[51] It is unclear why three different hands added in these three paraphs so close together in this manuscript, but it seems likely that one professional was responsible for the purple paraphs, one was responsible for the blue paraphs, and – as with Auchinleck paraphs added during a proofreading stage – that a third figure, a proofreader, added in the additional purple paraph when he realized that it had been inadvertently skipped.

[52] See Table 1 for samples of each paraph hand and the related discussion in Chapter 3, Section D, Part 3 "Alternating Red & Blue Paraphs." As mentioned previously, in her "What's In a Paraph" Marshall considers at length how to identify paraphs across different manuscripts and if they can be used as a way of identifying scribes.

demonstrates what radically different conclusions my analysis allows for. Previous to my

assertion of scribal teams and the two schools of handwriting present in the Auchinleck, there

have only been two supportable assertions of relationships between the scribes: Shonk and

Burrows believed Scribe 5 to be a kind of apprentice to Scribe 1 (addressed in Section C above),

and Wiggins theorized that Scribes 2 and 6 likely had some kind of relationship due to their

similar dialects.[53] While these assertions are a good start, the consequence of previous

codicologists' overlooking the authority and seniority of Scribe 2 has generally caused

Auchinleck manuscript scholars to underestimate this scribe and his contributions. For example,

because previous codicological analyses of the Auchinleck have focused mostly on Scribe 1's

agency and authority, Scribe 2 has become widely viewed as incapable of following directions.[54]

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[53] There have been other theories, but they are flawed. For example, Wiggins considers Scribe 2 to be a kind of collaborator with Scribe 1, and Hanna suggests that Scribe 3 is a kind of collaborator with Scribe 1, but both assert this on little evidence and underestimate the actual independence of and the contribution made by Scribes 2 and 3. Wiggins' analysis is problematic for several reasons. First, based only on the fact that Scribe 2 changed the size of his handwriting for item 20, Wiggins asserts that he was hired at two different times. Second, based on the fact that Scribe 2 shared a gathering with Scribes 3 and 4, Wiggins asserts confusingly that Scribe 2 had definitive contact with Scribe 1 although Scribe 3 likely ruled the gathering due to his distinctive ruling style. I dealt with the flawed logic for both assertions in Chapter 2, Section D, Part 2: "Lines of Text per Column," particularly in fn. 39. In addition, Wiggins asserts that Scribe 6's item 32 is self-contained and so likely could have been introduced by Scribe 2 to the Auchinleck already completed, but Scribe 6's text is incomplete and so continued on to another gathering now lost, and so we have no idea how self-contained his work might have been. Based on her flawed evidence, Wiggins defines Scribe 2's collaborative role as being a kind of assistant in Scribe 1's professional network, which means that Scribe 2 provided exemplars for the project, added Scribe 6's booklet to the project, and was contracted for work several times. While I agree that Scribes 1 and 2 were professionally connected and possibly that Scribe 2 helped to connect Scribe 6 with the project, I believe that these relationships happened in a collaborative environment rather than a network of individual freelancers; in other words the scribes all knew each other through a central professional workplace. In this chapter, I challenge the idea that Scribe 2 was necessarily subordinate to Scribe 1, and I have also challenged previously the idea that Scribe 2 worked in separate stints rather than continuously contributing to the project. Hanna's comment about Scribe 3 is more of an off-hand remark, asserting, "As I've already noted, the closest thing Auchinleck scribe 1 has to a legitimate collaborator is scribe 3" ("Reconsidering" 95) rather than the conclusion of careful analysis about their relationship or related contributions to the manuscript. The basis of Hanna's argument is that Scribe 3 copied the second largest amount of texts in the Auchinleck, six, which is still a distant second to the 31 texts that Scribe 1 copied. Furthermore, Hanna's remark ignores the fact that Scribe 5 copied nearly 35 folios and Scribe 3 copied approximately 36 folios, which means that Scribe 5 should also be considered a collaborator according to Hanna's definition. For further information, see Wiggins ("Are Auchinleck" 20-21, *Auchinleck* "Physical makeup") and Hanna ("Reconsidering" 95).

[54] See my discussion in Chapter 2, Section B: "The Problematic Auchinleck Standardized *Mise-en-Page*." In that section, I discuss the tone of quotations from other Auchinleck scholars. For example, Mordkoff asserts, "A glance at a leaf copied by Scribe 2 and one with a miniature reveals the incompatibility of Scribe 2's style of writing as well as page-format with the illuminators' art. This may, in fact, account for Scribe 2 ceasing to work on the Auchinleck MS" (170). Elsewhere, Mordkoff makes a similar observation about Scribe' 2's unwillingness to conform to the

The dismissal of other scribes is so severe that when discussing the works of Scribes 2, 3, and 4 at the end of booklet 3B, Bahr asserts that "Scribe I thus hangs over the booklet like a ghostly not-quite-author whose presence can be inferred but not proved" (111). Thus, even when Scribe 1's contribution and agency are *not* present, to modern Auchinleck codicologists still *only* Scribe 1's agency is present, if unprovable. Unfortunately, the related consensus about Scribe 2 as inept and unimportant dovetails too easily with the incompetent scribe trope that Auchinleck scholar Matthew Fisher recently identified as still being too readily believed by scholars.[55]

My concern about these codicologists' dismissal of Scribe 2 extends beyond merely their negative tone; a scholar's evaluation of scribal contributions is foundational to much of the rest of her scholarship, including the production model, the value of the literature included, and theorizing about scribal adaptation of exemplars. For example, returning to Hanna's theory discussed at the beginning of the chapter, Hanna argues that Scribe 1 called on friends when he had a deadline. However, this theory overlooks the evidence I have discussed that Scribe 2 made autonomous decisions about his *mise-en-page*, added in paraphs, proofread the manuscript for missing initial capitals, possibly trained Scribe 4 in writing a bookhand, and the amount of time and collaborative effort that Scribe 2 contributed to the Auchinleck in completing these tasks. Hanna's streamlined production model, which depends mostly on Scribe 1 to find exemplars as a small stationer, therefore relies on Scribe 1 to utilize "blatant filler" and even relict texts that

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standard format (106). Shonk calls Scribe 2 "troublesome" and "rather inexperienced and undisciplined" ("Bookmen" 78, "Investigations" 64), Wiggins notes things like "[the work of] Scribe II is remarkable in its inconsistency from the rest" and "some irregularities have been tolerated" ("*Guy of Warwick*" 117-18), and Olson describes him as "the rather inconsistent Scribe 2" (Kerby-Fulton 105).

[55] Matthew Fisher considers the topics of scribal agency, scribal competence, and the realistic difficulties of distinguishing between scribes and authors in his *Scribal Authorship and the Writing of History in Medieval England.* He particularly focuses on the trope of the incompetent scribe all too easily accepted by scholars in his Introduction and first chapter "The Medieval Scribe," and he considers the Auchinleck in his fourth chapter. Auchinleck scholars such V.J. Scattergood in his 1974 article "Revision in Some Middle English Political Verses" and Barbara Miller Perkins in her dissertation "Þe Desputisoun Bitven Þe Bodi and Þe Soule" also challenged this trope of scribes as merely incompetent copiers.

were not of particular interest to the patron. In addition to overlooking Scribe 2's range of substantial contributions to the Auchinleck, Hanna's model thus also disregards Scribe 2's possible role and time required to tailor his exemplars to suit the manuscript and the political context.[56] I have addressed the efforts of the scribes in adding paraphs, proofreading, rubrication, and training in bookhands thus far in Chapters 3 and 4. Here I will turn my attention to the final, important issue: whether Scribe 2 edited or revised his exemplars.[57]

It is likely impossible to know for sure if Scribe 2 revised his exemplars or copied exemplars revised by another Auchinleck figure working in the same collaborative workspace, but – either way – there is an undeniable pattern of adaptation and revision in the texts that Scribe 2 contributed to the manuscript. As I shall detail in this section, scholars who have closely examined Scribe 2's items 10, 20, and 44 have independently concluded that Scribe 2 edited the versions of the poems found in the Auchinleck to reflect the specific context – textually or historically – within which Scribe 2 was working.[58] And, due to my analysis in this chapter, we now know that Scribe 2 was a senior scribe of some authority, likely in a government office, and other scholars have been asserting for some time that such administrative clerks were able and willing to adapt and compose literary works, chronicles, and other creative

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[56] Hanna and Wiggins do vaguely suggest that Scribe 2 may have helped acquire at least one exemplar for the Auchinleck. Hanna elusively asserts that "connections between these London book producers and the south-west Midlands may have been very direct indeed" when discussing Scribe 2 ("Reconsidering" 101). Wiggins likewise vaguely mentions that Scribe 2 may have acquired Scribe 6's gathering for the Auchinleck project ("Are Auchinleck" 20-21, *Auchinleck* "Physical makeup"), but this is due to her emphasis that 6's item 32 is self-contained in relation to the rest of the Auchinleck when, as mentioned in fn. 53, the copy of Scribe 6's narrative in the Auchinleck is incomplete.

[57] For further information, see Chapter 3, Section B: "The Traveling Artist and the Auchinleck Workspace," Section C: "The Division of Labor in the Auchinleck Artwork," Section D, Part 2: "Initial Capitals," Part 3: "Alternating Red & Blue Paraphs, Chapter 4, and Sections B, C, and D above in this chapter.

[58] I shall discuss each scholar in this section, but these scholars are Burrows, who analyzed item 10, Scattergood who analyzed item 20, and Embree and Urquhart who analyzed item 44. Other Auchinleck scholars have made similar claims about the Auchinleck scribes adapting their exemplars, such as Loomis ("Auchinleck MS"), Pearsall and Cunningham ("Introduction"), Robinson ("Study of Some Aspects"), and Matthew Fisher (*Scribal Authorship*). Olson offers an overview of a range of perspectives on this topic (Kerby-Fulton 101).

endeavors at some level.[59]   Therefore, it seems quite likely that Scribe 2 had the authority,

education, and ability necessary to adapt his exemplars, which represents another contribution to

the Auchinleck which required time and effort by Scribe 2.

Because the idea of intelligent scribal composition and revision is still so controversial,[60]

it is worth considering Scribe 2's three poems individually. Scribe 2's first text in the

manuscript, *Speculum Gy de Warewyke* (item 10), contains an exchange of letter between a well-

known historical figure, Alcuin, and a mythological figure, Guy of Warwick. In the main *Guy of*

Warwick and *Reinbroun* narratives (present in the Auchinleck in items 22-24), Guy is a humble

cup-bearer for Rohaud, Duke of Warwick, and falls in love with the noble's daughter, Felice.

Felice rejects his attention at first and finally gives Guy a series of knightly challenges to

complete in order to win her hand. At the end of couplet *Guy of Warwick* (item 22), Guy has

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[59] Of course Mooney and Stubbs' recent work points to such literary work by London Guildhall clerks in the late 14th century, but other scholars have suggested this kind of activity for scribes even in the early to mid-14th century. Back in the 1920's, in discussing the contribution that 14th century clerks made to literature, Tout also noted that, "However this may be, it is clear from his works that the mediaeval civil servant had somehow the opportunity of a good education. Like most mediaeval education, its tendency was technical rather than humanistic…subject to these limitations, the medieval civil servant had the training which enabled him, on occasion, to befriend literature and science and, in some cases, to make personal contributions to them" (369-70). When considering the author of *Vita Edwardi Secvndi*, covering 1307-25, Childs recently supported Denholm-Young's 1950's theory that the chronicle was written by a secular clerk because "someone so well informed could be one of the fairly small group of educated professional clerks working in royal, baronial, or ecclesiastical circles" (xxiv). And in the 1980's, when discussing Horn's legacy from the early 14th century, Catto makes an interesting observation about government clerks inserting themselves in the monastic chronicle tradition; he found the agency and tendency to write "livelier and more opinionated narratives, from men involved in the burgeoning business of the Crown and nobility" ("Andrew" 384). And while Olson returns back to the idea of a stationer for the Auchinleck production, her collaborator Kerby-Fulton is more on target when she asserts, "scribes trained in the legal profession or, increasingly throughout the fourteenth century, in the writing offices of government or administration formed the backbone of vernacular book production outside of the monasteries" as she discusses Harley 2253 (48-49, 100).

[60] Indeed, as early as 1894 after seventeen years of consideration of the Auchinleck's *Sir Beues of Hamtoun* (item 24) Kölbing theorized that the Auchinleck scribes could be adapting their texts, and Loomis drew much attention to this concept in the 1940's due her assertion that scribal revision accounts for why the Auchinleck had so many unique texts and unique versions of texts. In addition, scholars of single Auchinleck poems have made similar claims. Yet, even with this scholarly tradition, Matthew Fisher was still trying to assert a theoretical framework allowing scribes (including the Auchinleck scribes) to intelligently adapt their exemplars as recently as 2013. Given Kölbing's early suggestions of scribal involvement, Porcheddu makes the observation: "were Kölbing able to see the activities of students of medieval literature in the 1990's with instructors working into their syllabuses [sic] cutting-edge topics like scribal profiles and 'inscription as authorship' … he might wonder that it had taken a hundred years -- but he would not be surprised" ("Editing the Auchinleck" 150-51). For further information, see Loomis ("Auchinleck MS," "Auchinleck Roland"), Burrows ("Auchinleck MS"), Porcheddu ("Editing the Auchinleck" 143-52), and Matthew Fisher (Chapter 4: "Auchinleck MS").

become such an accomplished knight that he kills an Irish dragon to save England. At the beginning of stanzaic *Guy of Warwick* (item 23), Guy and Felice happily marry, but very quickly Guy becomes repentant about fighting for a woman's hand rather than to honor Christ; he then becomes a religious pilgrim, albeit one who still fights to save others.[61] When Burrows considers Scribe 2's *Speculum Gy de Warewyke* (item 10) in the Auchinleck, due to a lack of any identifiable source and the presence of these other Auchinleck *Guy* texts, she concludes that Scribe 2 adapted his item 10 to compliment the other *Guy* items in the Auchinleck:

> Having before him a copy of Alcuin's *De Virtutibus et Vitiis Liber*, either in Latin or already translated into English, [Scribe 2] recognized that simply by making the name change, he could supply the proper motivation for Guy's rejection [of pregnant Felice in the other *Guy* romances]. To make the sermon more appropriate for his audience, evidently he added basic Christian doctrine from other religious books which were available to him, and then cast the whole thing as an exchange of letters in order to make the lesson more enjoyable (23).[62]

Thus, it seems that Scribe 2 adapted his exemplar in order to make item 10 more appealing and relevant to the patron, who already obviously demonstrated an interested in the Guy of Warwick legend due to its prominence in the Auchinleck, as I will show conclusively in Chapter 5.

And while item 10 has not received much scholarly attention, it seems that Scribe 2 considered this text to be important. This is one of two items that Scribe 2 caused to stand out in

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[61] As will be discussed more thoroughly in Chapter 5, *Reinbroun* (item 24) represents the material extracted from items 22-23 about Guy's son.

[62] Burrows explains how this work may have come about: the "Auchinleck editor/compiler was familiar with the long romance of Guy of Warwick (which is presented in the Auchinleck manuscript in three separate shorter works, Items 22, 23, and 24), realized that the story gave a feeble explanation of Guy's sudden rejection of his admirable wife, Felice, just after she has become pregnant, and resolved to correct the inadequacy" (23). As Burrows is one of the few scholars to study item 10, Bahr also relies on her analysis (117-18).

the manuscript with his expensive decisions of ruling fewer lines per folio and writing in a large hand – thereby using expensive resources of parchment and ink. Scribe 2 also drew in only red paraphs and included large multiline red headings, which distinguish item 10 in the Auchinleck. With a dialectal profile showing that Scribe 2 originated from the Gloucestershire/ Worcestershire area, an area near the earldom of Warwick, it seems likely that Scribe 2 was familiar with the mythical Guy legend, and so Scribe 2 would be aware of how the addition of a new Guy of Warwick text to the manuscript would bring further honor to this region. Thus, given his attention to this item, we can begin to get a sense of how Scribe 2 utilized his *mise-en-page* decisions to highlight an item which he adapted to be important for his home region.[63]

When we consider Scribe 2's next text, *The Sayings of the Four Philosophers* (item 20), V.J. Scattergood – like Burrows – concludes that Scribe 2 revised his exemplar. Unlike item 10, there are two sources available for Auchinleck's item 20; one source is a poem called *De Provisione Oxonie,* which refers to the retraction of Edward I (1239-1307) c.1306 of earlier ordinances added in 1297 to Magna Carta. However, Scribe 2's version of this source contains carefully adjusted historical lines so that the Auchinleck version refers to the behavior of Edward II (1284-1327) in relation to the 1311 Ordinances instead.[64] After Scattergood carefully considered Scribe 2's revisions, he found similar changes in other political texts and concluded that scribes like Scribe 2 "made copying errors because they were human. But because they

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[63] Burrows discusses how important item 10 is to the Auchinleck, demonstrating how its religious teachings are utilized in the literary works; she also stresses the emphasis of Warwick material in the Auchinleck Manuscript. For further information, see Burrows (20-23, 57-92, 99-102, 181-84), Chapter 2, Section D, Part 2: "Lines of Text per Column," Chapter 3, Section D, Part 3: "Alternating Red & Blue Paraphs," Section B above, and Chapter 5.

[64] *De Provisione Oxonie* is found in Cambridge, St. John's College MS 112 on f.400r. Instead of a full retraction, like Edward I, Edward II violated clause 20 of the 1311 Ordinances by bringing Piers Gaveston back into England. For more information about the 1311 Ordinances and this poem, see *Vita* (31-57, 75), *Chronicon de Lanercost* (196-98), Scattergood ("Political" 159-61), Perkins (7-8), Burrows (101-02, 181), Mason (33-34), Prestwich (1-3, 13-14), Turville-Petre (131-32), Matthews (118-19), Oliver (22), and Bahr (137-40). Laura Kendrick makes a similar argument about how the Auchinleck's item 20 shows revisions for both of its sources (183-204). I analyze the text of Scribe 2's item 20, its relation to the 1311 Ordinances, and the additional source poem containing the Latin sayings of philosophers more fully in Chapter 5, Section C: "The Beauchamps in the Auchinleck Manuscript."

were human, and not copying machines, they were also capable of becoming involved with what they were writing, and capable of varying it intelligently" ("Revision" 288). Scattergood thus contributes to the scholars who challenge the trope of the incompetent scribe, and Auchinleck Scribe 2 is central to this argument due to his revisions for item 20.

Embree and Urquhart also find Scribe 2's version of *Þe Simonie* (item 44), a complaint about widespread corruption during Edward II's reign, to be edited to reflect his political era.[65] After carefully analyzing Scribe 2's item 44 in relation to two other extant versions, Embree and Urquhart reexamine the traditional roles of author and scribe, questioning:

> But what of a work in which the scribe seems to have participated on a footing nearly equal to that of the author? – a work which the scribe has assumed license to retitle, to abridge, to expand, to reorder, to reframe, to alter not just the words and phrases of, but the lines and stanzas of, to change the characters of, to redirect the satire of – in short, to rewrite according to his own tastes and biases?" ("Case" 53).

Thus, the independent analyses of Burrows, Scattergood, and Embree and Urquhart caused these scholars to see Scribe 2 as a capable editor of his exemplars in order to reflect his context and also caused Scattergood, Embree and Urquhart to reevaluate the role of scribes altogether.

Considering Scribe 2's works along with his senior position, dialect forms, and court hand forms, we can now develop a much more comprehensive scribal profile for Scribe 2 than has been previously asserted. That is, Scribe 2 seems to be an intelligent professional from the Gloucestershire/Worcestershire area who then took an administrative role in London, most likely in the Chancery, which would account for the London dialect forms in his writing. According to

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[65] Embree and Urquhart also studied Scribe 2's dialect and found London forms mixed in with Gloucestershire and Worcestershire, indicating that he was centrally located during many political crises (*Parallel Text* 24-26).

Elizabeth Danbury's survey of English Royal Charters, Chancery clerks in this era were also accustomed to decorating their own documents to some extent as well as working with illuminators, which further fits with Scribe 2's contributions to the Auchinleck.[66] Thus, when he became involved in the Auchinleck project, Scribe 2 contributed from a position of knowledge and authority: he made autonomous decisions about his *mise-en-page*, proofread for errors, trained junior scribes, and adapted his exemplars to fit other themes in the manuscript (and honor his home region) and to address recent political concerns. Scribe 2 thus emerges as an important and highly competent figure; I believe that further important revelations about the manuscript and its production could be found by developing such profiles for the other Auchinleck scribes.

F. The Auchinleck Production Process

There is no elegant way to explain the most likely Auchinleck production process, in large part because of the "fits and starts" model of production, which Hanna quite accurately observed in his scholarship. However, as Hanna's evidence is a bit vague as to why this is the likely production model,[67] I would like to record what we do know about the production process for the Auchinleck.

I will start with the unfinished folios as they most clearly indicate where work was interrupted when production stopped. Booklet 2 was left incomplete, with item 13 stopping mid-narrative, suggesting that this was the last poem that Scribe 1 was copying. However, I think a

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[66] Embree and Urquhart make a similar claim that Scribe 2 was responsible for helping to select item 44 for the Auchinleck due to the distinct persona he presents in his works (*Parallel Text* 32). For further information see Burrows (20-23), John H. Fisher ("Chancery" 872-77), Embree and Urquhart ("Case," *Parallel Text* 7-63), Turville-Petre (130-34), Danbury (163-73) and Matthews (119-25). For a discussion of educated men taking positions at the Chancery, see Tout (368-70). The Chancery is one place where ambitious clerks could rise through the ranks when they arrived in London either from administrative positions in the affinities of nobles or from universities.

[67] While I agree with Hanna's term for the production model in the big picture, in Chapter 5, Section H: "The Chancery Production of the Auchinleck," I summarize the flawed evidence Hanna employs in his more detailed analysis. For further information, see Hanna ("Reconsidering" 94-97, *London* 78-79).

case can be made that item 39 at the end of booklet 9 was also left incomplete, suggesting that Scribe 1 was working on two poems at once at the ends of booklets at two very different parts of the manuscript, suggesting how scattered the order of production really was.[68]   Scribe 1's work on two texts simultaneously also further supports the notion that other scribes, perhaps the senior scribal team members Scribes 2 and 3, were working on revising exemplars while Scribe 1 executed much of the copying.

Further adding to this sense of an *ad hoc* production process, various folios have incomplete decorative work. F.21r had *litterae notabiliores* left unrubricated, f.72r has a miniature with a blank scroll where typically words would appear, and f.78r never had its red paraphs added in, which indicate that some of the simple decorative work was left unfinished. These three folios actually represent folios where miniatures appear to have been squeezed in after the copying was completed: on f.21r a miniature was squeezed into the bottom of column a, on f.72r the miniature was squeezed in between columns a and b, and on f.78r a miniature was squeezed onto the top of column b. Thus, there is evident disruption tied to the decorating of these folios, and for whatever reason the professionals working on the simpler level of decorations were not able to complete their work. Most likely scribes were adding in this minor artistic work, and so again we see that the scribes were not able to complete their work, as with Scribe 1 and his copying. These incomplete folios therefore provide evidence of a production process in which the scribes worked on different parts of the Auchinleck Manuscript when they had the availability to do so and when the folios were available for such work.

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[68] See Chapter 2, Section D, Part 5: "*Explicit* and *Amen*" for further discussion of the ending of these texts. In Chapter 5 I present two theories which may explain why the manuscript was not completed; one idea is that the Auchinleck was presented at a ceremony and the other is that the scribes – as Chancery clerks – had to move with the Court when the king traveled around the country and so were interrupted before they could complete this work.

In addition to unfinished work, my analysis of the item numbers demonstrates that at least three booklets were started before the previous booklet was finished.[69] Specifically, poems at the beginning of booklets 3A, 4, and 10 had their medieval item numbers added before those items at the ends of booklets 2, 3B, and 9. For example, booklet 4 was started before booklet 3B was completed, forcing the last two texts of booklet 3B to share the item number *xxvii*. Most interesting among these three junctures is this end of booklet 3B, which after a romance contains Scribe 2's revised political polemic *The Sayings of the Four Philosophers* (item 20) and then Scribe 4's *The List of Norman Names* (or *The Battle Abbey Roll*, item 21). First, we see careful *ordinatio* in placing these two items, frequently considered "filler," next to each other at the end of booklet 3B as both texts relate to nobles in an era when nobles were notoriously in a power-struggle with the kings. Further, these two texts were placed directly before the *Guy of Warwick* texts at the middle of the manuscript, and thus this placement highlights the importance of the noble families in England at this time.[70] Therefore, even though numerous booklets were started before works at the end of booklets were added, likely towards the end of production, my analysis shows that such texts at the end of booklets, often disparagingly referred to as "filler" texts by codicologists, were still carefully selected and edited.[71]

When we consider the first Auchinleck items that were planned and copied, the general consensus is that the earliest texts copied are likely those in which the patron expressed the most interest. Thus, as the first works in booklets were decided upon early in the production process,

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[69] See Chapter 2, Section D, Part 3: "Item Numbers" for my analysis.

[70] This struggle began with the well-known composition of Magna Carta in 1215, and it lasted through Edward II's reign until Edward III's reign, when Edward III established a more stable dynamic with his nobles. The Auchinleck was created right at the beginning of Edward III's reign when bitterness about Edward II's actions was still fresh and the kingdom was unstable. I will consider the politics at this time and the Auchinleck connection with the earldom of Warwick more fully in Chapter 5.

[71] Bahr also sees these texts as relevant, but he is unsure as to how the "historical" list of names (item 21) relates to the political poem (item 20) (110-14, 137-51). For further information, see my discussion in Chapter 3, Section D, Part 4: "*Litterae Notabiliores,*" and Chapter 5, Section C: "The Beauchamps in the Auchinleck Manuscript."

the poems heading booklets were likely some of the first narratives the scribes knew were

desirable to the patron. Some of those items first chosen, then, were the large romances that

often start booklets, such as the *Guy* poems heading booklet 4, *King Alisaunder* heading booklet

8, and *Sir Tristrem* heading booklet 9, and scholars have theorized that these romances were of

the greatest interest to the patron.[72]

However, as has been true throughout my investigation of the Auchinleck and its

scholarship, this sweeping generalization about large romances heading booklets is not the

complete story because the Auchinleck presents counterexamples as well. Codicologically,

booklets 1, 2, and 3A were started before a decision was made to leave space for illustrations as

miniatures were squeezed into these booklets at a later point. Yet, these booklets are not front-

loaded with the kinds of long romances codicologists have theorized were most desirable for the

patron.[73] Rather, it appears that the patron was more interested in religious instruction early on

in the development of the Auchinleck as booklets 2 and 3A begin with religious texts, with the

religious instructional items at the beginning of booklet 3A being particularly short.[74] We could

argue that booklets 2 and 3A were started so early in the production process that these content

decisions were made before the patron conceived of a more ambitious vision for the manuscript.

However, in this scenario, it is more difficult to understand why booklet 6 begins with a short,

non-romance text as well; after all, Scribe 1 left space for a miniature at the top of column a, so

booklet 6 was not one of the earliest booklets copied, and yet he begins booklet 6 with the short

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[72] For further discussion, see Mordkoff (12-16), Shonk ("Bookmen" 75-77), Wiggins (*Auchinleck* "Physical makeup"), Hanna (*London* 76), and Olson (Kerby-Fulton 101-04).

[73] It is, of course, impossible to know what works were at the head of booklet 1 as we currently only have from medieval item *vi* on, but the extant booklet is categorized by religious items mostly 4-7 folios long.

[74] Bahr discusses the *ordinatio* of booklet 3 (3A and 3B) but focuses on *textual unconscious* type parallels found between the structure of that booklet and the Auchinleck Manuscript more broadly (109-23).

Breton *Lay le Freine* (item 30) rather than the longer romance which follows it, *Roland and Vernagu* (item 31).

Rather than asserting that romances were more desirable to the patron and thus head booklets, and so the rest of the manuscript was filled with whatever religious material was handy, it is more precise to say that the items that the patron originally requested were at the head of booklets. In this scenario, I would not assert that narratives such as *Seynt Katerine* (item 5) or *Horn Childe and Maiden Rimnild* (item 41) were of less interest to the patron because they do not head booklets or gatherings; rather, I would simply suggest that these were not necessarily the first items decided upon to be included in the Auchinleck.[75] Likewise, I would suggest that the essential Christian dogmatic pieces that head booklet 3A – the Paternoster (twice, once in item 14 and then explained in item 15), the Creed, 10 things that God hates, and the Hail Mary – were important to the patron as religious instruction for his household.[76] Thus the Auchinleck production process indicates not only an *ad hoc* method in which scribes worked on sections when they were available to do so (likely around their other government work) but also prolonged contact with the patron (or his representative) as the content was selected.

G. Conclusion:

My analysis considering the seniority and agency of Scribes 1, 2, and 3 has allowed me to begin to construct much more comprehensive scribal profiles for these Auchinleck scribes. They

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[75] Maidie Hilmo mentions an important example of how valuable smaller religious works may have been to patrons at this time: "The life of *Seinte Margarate* says that no deformed child will be born in a house with a copy of this work" (Kerby-Fulton 160, fn. 47). In addition, in Chapter 5, Section G: "Auchinleck Themes and the Beauchamps" I suggest that *Seynt Katerine* (item 5) was commissioned to honor Katherine de Beauchamp, the likely patron's wife.
[76] Burrows's dissertation comprises of a thematic analysis of six texts in the Auchinleck (items 10, 11, 22-24, and 40) which demonstrates, among other things, how certain Christian ideas were carried through numerous narratives and is well-worthy of attention. My historical, regional, and thematic analysis of the Auchinleck works in Chapter 5 demonstrate than all (or nearly all) of the Auchinleck items relate to interests of the patron, and so each poem's importance should ultimately be considered in relation to the patron before being dismissed as filler.

appear to have been clerks of some authority who worked in government administration, were accustomed to directing junior scribes, and were fully capable of editing their exemplars.   I demonstrated some of the important insights we can attain by building such a more complete profile by piecing together much of the scholarship available for Scribe 2. Due to his dialect profile showing features of Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, and London forms as well as his employment of court hand techniques, we can see that Scribe 2 traveled to London to work in an office like the Chancery. When he took on additional work for this literary manuscript, he exercised his agency as far as *mise-en-page* decisions, contributions to the whole production process (such as artwork, proofreading, and training), and revisions of his exemplar. Scribes 4, 5, and 6 provide less information, although it seems likely that they would be in the junior ranks of an office, that they helped with simpler artwork, and that Scribe 6 may have focused more on illustrations than copying.

All six scribes likely collaborated in an administrative office when producing the Auchinleck Manuscript; at least five of their hands demonstrate that the scribe also wrote in a court hand, and in Chapter 1 I identified a pure court hand proofreading Scribe 1's work as well. In addition, the *ad hoc* model of production supports the idea that the Auchinleck scribes were interrupted by other work. That they were interrupted, however, should not lead us to assume that they were working on multiple literary projects and so somewhat half-heartedly focused on the Auchinleck, stuffing it with fillers as needed. Rather, their attentive effort was necessarily interrupted due to their main work in administration. In Chapter 5 I will demonstrate the careful tailoring of the manuscript for the patron, Thomas de Beauchamp, and provide further evidence of the Chancery as the likely location for production.

Chapter 5: The Beauchamps and the Chancery

My research strongly suggests that the patron for this extraordinary manuscript was the powerful Beauchamp family, particularly Thomas de Beauchamp, who would have commissioned the Auchinleck Manuscript c. 1331 due to likely references in the Auchinleck to political events occurring in 1330. Scholars such as M. Dominica Legge, Jeanne Wathelet-Willem, Emma Mason, and John Finlayson have suggested that the Anglo-Norman poem *Gui de Warewic* was written in the early 13th century for the Newburghs (a branch of the Beaumont family), who then held the earldom of Warwick. When the Beauchamp family inherited the title of Warwick, they utilized the legend to bolster their family's reputation, including particularly Earls William (IV, 1238-1298) and Thomas (1313/14-1369), who named their first born sons "Guy." The couplet poem *Guy of Warwick* and three related works in the Auchinleck manuscript (stanzaic *Guy of Warwick*, *Reinbroun*, and *Speculum Gy de Warewyke*) comprise almost one quarter of the extant Auchinleck; surely this is an important fact in determining patronage. Evidence for the Beauchamp patronage is also evident in rhetorical, regional, and thematic analyses of the manuscript, as I will demonstrate in this chapter. Thomas de Beauchamp's patronage also makes it more likely that the Auchinleck was produced by scribes trained at the Chancery rather than the London Guildhall as the Chancery clerks would have interacted more frequently with Beauchamps and stood to gain more for these efforts.

A. The Auchinleck Patron

There has been a good bit of speculation about the intended Auchinleck patron as well as the scribes as neither is identified specifically by the current extant manuscript. Due to the relatively large size of the Auchinleck and the high costs associated with manuscript production

in this era, only a very wealthy family could have realistically commissioned the Auchinleck

Manuscript. With the content focused heavily on a national identity, crusading knights, and

religious instruction, some scholars, such as Bahr, see the potential patron as a wealthy merchant

family aspiring to be more like the nobles. Other scholars, such as Turville-Petre, see the focus

on nobles and the cost of the composition to be too prohibitive for anyone but a noble family.[1]

Indeed, the Auchinleck Manuscript would have been expensive. Certain features of the

physical manuscript indicate its high cost: there is a uniform and relatively high quality to the

vellum throughout the manuscript, the scribes used brown oak gall ink which was considered the

best ink suited for parchment, and the Auchinleck illustrations contain a fairly wide range of

colors: red, mauve, blue, green, white, brown, grey, and – most importantly – burnished gold.[2]

This range of colors, along with the prevalence of illustrations, separates the Auchinleck out

from many vernacular manuscripts being produced at this time, even if the artwork was not as

high quality as that of a true luxury book, such as the highly valued liturgical manuscript the

Queen Mary Psalter. Indeed, Mordkoff estimates the cost of the Auchinleck to have been at least

£30-£50.[3] To put this amount in perspective, in 1327-28 the properties Cherhill in Hertfordshire

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[1] For further information, see Pearsall and Cunningham (viii), Mordkoff (168, 249-60), Hanna (*London* 79-82), Turville-Petre (134-38), Wiggins ("*Guy of Warwick*" 62-68, *Auchinleck "*History and owners"), Bahr (108, 113-14), and Olson (Kerby-Fulton 105-16).

[2] Contrary to Shonk's evaluation that the Auchinleck scribes used a cheap ink in using oak gall, they used the brown oak gall ink which was best suited to parchment because its acidic nature worked its way into the parchment. For further information see Shonk ("Investigations" 84) and Clemens and Graham (19-20, 24-34).

[3] Mordkoff is quite specific in calculating the cost of the Auchinleck: "The part of the Auchinleck MS extant contains 565 colored and flourished letters (including the larger or more ornate ones heading items 10, 14, 32, and 37), 22 smaller ones in item 36 (the psalm) that are not flourished, and 3183 paraphs. The cost of these aspects of decoration (and probably the rubrication of line-initials as well) could, according to Bell's figures, have been a pound or more. The cost for copying should have been somewhere between the rates for liturgical works and university texts, or between seven and fifteen pounds for the approximately 750,000 words of the remains of the Auchinleck MS. Adding the cost of the probable ten lost quires to that for the 47 extant ones, one may estimate that the volume cost something on the order of 15 to 25 pounds, excluding painting of the 34 miniatures and two large illuminated letters with half-borders, which might have more than doubled the price" (250-51). Olson misses the key words at the end of Mordkoff's estimate which doubles the cost (Kerby-Fulton 105, fn. 43); however, I double-checked Mordkoff's estimate of the number of words and came up with approximately 336,000 though this does not factor in all of the lost folios. I do not know all of Mordkoff's formulas, but having about half of the words

and Potterspury in Northamptonshire (eventually inherited by the Beauchamps from the Fitz-Geoffreys) netted about £48 and £39 of profits per year, respectively, which seems to put the price of the Auchinleck out of reach of the baronial class.[4] It is no wonder that Mordkoff concluded: "The Auchinleck may not be a *de luxe* volume, but it was indeed an expensive one, far beyond the reach of all but the wealthy" (251).

If we consider wealthy patrons in a position to commission the Auchinleck c. 1331, the purpose, contents, and even the production of the Auchinleck Manuscript become quite clear when we consider the Beauchamp family, and Thomas de Beauchamp earl of Warwick in particular, as its patron. The strongest case for considering the Beauchamps of Warwick as the patron of the Auchinleck is the sheer number of texts and folios dedicated to the legendary Guy of Warwick and his relations: the Auchinleck contains *Speculum Gy de Warewyke* (item 10), couplet and stanzaic *Guy of Warwick* (items 22 and 23), and *Reinbroun* (item 24), and these folios account for nearly 25% of the extant Auchinleck.[5] Due to my codicological analysis of the date of the Auchinleck – including the involvement of the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist, which I

Mordkoff asserted could drop the price down £10-20, and with illustrations that amount doubles to an estimate of £20-40. Shonk estimates the cost to be significant, at least £10, based on analysis of a similar book ("Bookmen" 89-91).

[4] Olson considers a baronial family connected to the Beauchamps as one possible patron (Kerby-Fulton 106-09), but – in addition to the cost perhaps being too high for a baron – a key part of her analysis relates to the historiated initial of *Beues* and is flawed. First, there were likely other historiated initials and indeed there is a foliated initial, as I discuss in Chapter 3, Section D, Part 1: "Illustrated Initials & Miniatures." Further, in Section F below I provide a different possible rationale for Beues's unusual coat of arms, indicating that this topic requires further consideration before conclusions can be made. For further information on the profits of estates, see Sebastian Barfield (Chapter 2 "Land and Wealth"). Barfield's 1997 MPhil Thesis "The Beauchamp Earls of Warwick, 1268-1369" has proven to be a very helpful source. Unfortunately, after exhausting all efforts, I have not been able to acquire a hard copy of his thesis, although with the help of ILS (Interlibrary Services) I have been able to confirm its existence; for example, it is listed in the Copac database. Therefore, I have relied on the electronic version, which Barfield himself posted at http://users.powernet.co.uk/barfield/cont.htm, and citations will reference chapters only.

[5] Items 10 and 22-24 account for about 80 of the 334 extant folios, or just about 24%. The dominance of the Guy of Warwick material and likely Beauchamp connection has been noted by Loomis, Burrows, Turville-Petre, Wiggins, Ingrid Nelson, and Olson. However, as their analyses connecting the Beauchamps to the Auchinleck have typically been brief, in this chapter I set out to assess this possibility thoroughly. For further information, see Loomis (*Medieval Romance* 127-39), Burrows (37, 98-102, 181-84), Turville-Petre (134-38), Wiggins ("*Guy of Warwick*" 66-68, 142-43, 368; "*Guy of Warwick* in Warwick?" 219-20, 230), Nelson (59, 67-69), and Olson (Kerby-Fulton 99-116).

highlighted in Chapter 3 – c. 1331,[6] we know that Guy de Beauchamp (1272-1315) could not

have commissioned the manuscript; however, I will show in Section C below that his legacy

highly influences the manuscript. This leaves Guy's heir, Thomas de Beauchamp (1313/4-

1369), a toddler at his father's death, who paid homage for the title of Warwick in 1329.[7] The

evidence of the Auchinleck thus indicates that Thomas de Beauchamp likely commissioned the

Auchinleck c. 1331, when he was just eighteen years old.[8]

Given the importance of the Guy of Warwick legend to the Auchinleck Manuscript, it is

worth reviewing here the principle parts of the narrative and its historical associations. The

fictional Guy of Warwick is from Wallingford, and Auchinleck's couplet *Guy of Warwick* (item

22) begins with Guy serving as cup-bearer to Rohaud, the duke of Warwick. Guy falls in love

with Rohaud's daughter, Felice, and seeks to win her love. At first Felice disdains Guy due to

his humble position, but eventually she gives him a series of escalating challenges to prove his

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[6] Due to the reference in item 40 to Edward III as a young king, the Auchinleck could not have been finished earlier than 1327. In Section F below, I will address another reference in item 40 which seems to relate to a political event of 1330. We know that the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist worked on at least a couple of projects that could be dated to c. 1324 (Horn's "Liber Custumarum" and the Bangor Pontifical), and in private correspondence Dennison estimated that the latest possible date for his contribution would be 1335, with a date closer to 1330 being more likely. For further information, see Chapter 1, Section A: "Date," Chapter 3, Section A: "The Auchinleck Artist," Dennison ("Liber" 122-24), and Harper (67-68, 73-74).

[7] Due to Roger Mortimer's seizure of the leadership of England at this time with Queen Isabella, it is not entirely clear who allowed Thomas de Beauchamp to pay homage on 20 February 1329. Anthony Tuck asserts that it was Mortimer, but I agree with Barfield who suggests it seems more likely that Edward III, who was technically king, approved this decision. For further information, see Tuck ("Beauchamp, Thomas, eleventh"), W. M. Ormrod ("Edward III"), and Barfield (Chapter 1).

[8] I am grateful to Dr. Rubenstein for his suggestion that a member of Thomas's affinity may have commissioned the manuscript for Thomas, and that the presentation of the manuscript as a gift at a kind of ceremony could explain the deadline that the scribes and artists were working under which caused them to leave some work incomplete. (In Section I below I will suggest another reason why the work was left unfinished.) According to K. B. McFarlane's theory of bastard feudalism, a network of associates related to the Beauchamps could theoretically benefit from commissioning this manuscript to honor their noble. This network, also called an "affinity," could include "a vast but indefinite mass of councillors, retainers, and servants, tailing off into those who were believed to be well-wishers" ("Parliament" 70). It is probably impossible to know if Thomas himself commissioned the Auchinleck Manuscript or if someone in his affinity commissioned it for him, but the high cost of the manuscript would have been prohibitive to all but the wealthiest, and so Thomas probably financed it either way. And as Thomas is the likely intended audience, I will consider him as the patron in this chapter, but I think it is highly likely that an administrator probably initiated and oversaw the project although with input from Thomas as to the content given my thematic analysis in Section E below. For more on affinities, see fn. 29 below. Barfield considers the families in the Beauchamp affinity from 1268-1369 in his third chapter: "Bastard Feudalism and the Beauchamps' affinity."

worth: becoming a knight, winning tournaments, and fighting for those in need of a true chivalric knight. Guy succeeds in all of these quests and, along with his loyal steward Herhaud, is gone for eight years total. Item 22 ends with Guy returning home in time to save England by killing an Irish dragon for King Athelstan. Stanzaic *Guy of Warwick* (item 23) begins with the happy marriage of Guy and Felice, but soon after Guy feels remorse for the often violent efforts he made for his own glory (and Felice's) rather than to honor Christ. Thus, Guy heads off as a chivalric knight again, but this time in repentance and often disguised as a man of little worth, while Felice stays in England caring for beggars. After many chivalric battles, Guy returns to England at the very end of his life, is sought by Athelstan (due to an angel as Guy is still disguised) to fight the giant Colbrand, and sees his beloved wife briefly (still disguised as a beggar). Guy then retires to a hermitage and sends for Felice right before his death. Felice then dies shortly after, and both are buried in an abbey together. *Reinbroun* (item 24) then recounts how Herhaud remained behind as a faithful steward during Guy's pilgrimage and watched over Guy's son, Reinbroun, until Reinbroun is snatched away by Russian merchants. The rest of this story then focuses on the numerous adventurous years consumed by Herhaud's quest to find Reinbroun and to travel homeward with him; this includes a memorable encounter with Herhaud's own son, Haslok, now unknown to Herhaud because he has been gone for so long.[9]

The *Guy of Warwick* story is likely an ancestral romance composed to celebrate the union of two rival families: the Newburghs, the family which held the Warwick earldom until the mid-

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[9] Prior to the Auchinleck, the three narratives formed one long narrative, and the Reinbroun parts were interwoven with what is now stanzaic *Guy of Warwick* (item 23) in the Auchinleck. The breaking up of this narrative for the Auchinleck has received a good amount of attention, and in Section E below I offer one reason I think the Reinbroun narrative was separated out. For further information, see Loomis ("Auchinleck" 609-13, 622-27), Burrows (95, 99-102, 136-38, 155-61, 181-84), Evans (7-14), and Wiggins ("*Guy of Warwick*" 9-20, 130-38, 369).

13th century, with the d'Oillys of Wallingford.[10] This union resulted c. 1204[11] when Henry de

Newburgh (also known as Henry (II) de Beaumont, c.1192-1229) married Margery d'Oilly

(d.1205). The *Guy of Warwick* narrative is associated with this marriage because it is the

moment when the Warwick earldom was merged with the d'Oilly family, and fictional Guy of

Warwick echoes several d'Oilly ancestors. For example, Guy's origin in Wallingford, position

as a cup-bearer to the duke of Warwick, and marriage to the daughter of this duke recall the

historical situation of Wigod of Wallingford. Wigod (whose name became increasingly French,

such as Wido and then Gwido) was a cup-bearer for Edward the Confessor, and Wigod's

daughter, Ealdgyth, married Robert d'Oilly (d.c.1093), constable of Warwick. In addition to

Guy of Warwick's name, origin, position, and marriage reflecting Wigod's life, the mythical

Guy's military exploits and later religious devotion embodies another figure important to the

d'Oilly family: Brian Fitz Count (c.1090-c.1149), who married Robert d'Oilly's daughter

Matilda. Like Guy, Brian was an important defender of royal interests; early on he served Henry

I (1068/9-1135) and later "held the strategically important castle of Wallingford for the Empress

Matilda [1102-1167] at great personal cost… He subsequently entered a religious order late in

life, as did his wife" (Mason 31).[12] Guy's service and religious devotion thus mirror Brian's, and

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[10] When William II Rufus (c. 1056-1100) created the earldom of Warwick to reward Henry de Beaumont in 1088, Robert d'Oilly "held much of his land of an Englishman, Thurkill of Arden…When the earldom of Warwick was created for Henry de Beaumont, Thurkil's lands were taken to form its basis…thus antagonizing the d'Oillys" (Mason 31). Thus, to those under d'Oilly patronage, the marriage of Margery d'Oilly to the fifth earl of Warwick (Henry de Newburgh) represents the restoration of old lands and wealth.

[11] The marriage could be no later than 1204 because Margery d'Oilly died in 1205, leaving behind her two infant children, Thomas and Margery, and a fourteen year old husband, Henry. Mason explains that they were married at such a young age because Henry's father, Earl Waleran (1153-1204), had died recently and "heirs to great fiefs were often married at a tender age, to forestall the king's arranging their marriage to the highest bidder, often to their disparagement, if they were orphaned while still minors" (31). It would appear that Thomas de Beauchamp, born just a year or two before his father's death in 1315, ended up vulnerable to Edward II in precisely this way; see Section B below where I discuss Guy's attempts to forestall this vulnerability for his heirs before being betrayed.

[12] Edmund King summarizes Brian fitz Count's legacy as: "In his day he was a great man, but in his heart he remained always the household knight of Henry I. The love (*amor*) of which he wrote so frequently, and that he lavished on Henry's daughter, [Empress Matilda] was neither carnal nor platonic but rather the very essence of chivalric loyalty and integrity." King also addresses the hazy end of Brian's life: "The Abergavenny chronicle

Felice recalls Matilda of the d'Oilly family. Guy's feats further celebrate the exploits of other

d'Oilly figures, such as William Marshall (c.1146-1219), as well as popular myths.[13]

As we can see, then, the entire *Guy of Warwick* narrative highlights ancestral figures

important to the d'Oillys, and thus to the Newburghs after the union of the families c.1204.

However, when the Auchinleck was commissioned c. 1331, the Newburghs no longer held the

earldom of Warwick. Rather, the Beauchamps had inherited the title in 1268 and held onto the

title well in the 15th century. In the next section, I will therefore consider the Beauchamp's

decision to embrace the Guy of Warwick legend as their own ancestral tale, making the

Beauchamps the most likely patron for the Auchinleck.

B. The Guy of Warwick Legend as Propaganda

In order to understand the Beauchamp's embrace of the Guy of Warwick legend by the

time of the Auchinleck in the early 14th century, it is worth taking time to understand more about

the purpose of the legend's source, *Gui de Warewic*, which was composed in Anglo-Norman

(c.1205-c.1242).[14] As mentioned above, the *Guy of Warwick* narrative recalls the d'Oillys and

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stated that [Brian] had gone on crusade, but this is unlikely. The memory of the shire was that both he and his wife entered religion, and this is more probable. The quiet end became the man. Brian fitz Count was born illegitimate, and died childless." For further information, see King ("Brian fitz Count").

[13] In her dissertation, Wiggins notes an example of one of the popular myths: "The fight between Guy and the Danish giant Colebrand at Winchester is traditionally said to have been inspired by the Battle of Brunanburh of 937, recorded in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and sung as a great victory won by Athelstan over the Viking invader Anlaf." (22-23). For further information, see Legge (162-71), Wathelet-Willem (42-45), Mason (28-33), Wiggins ("*Guy of Warwick*" 20-23), Susan [Dannenbaum] Crane (*Insular* 16-17, 197), John Blair ("D'Oilly Robert"), Douglas Gray ("Guy of Warwick"), Martha Driver (147-48), and Olson (Kerby-Fulton 101-02).

[14] As the Osney Abbey held the d'Oilly records, Legge originally proposed that an Osney cleric produced *Gui de Warewic* to please their new Warwick patron, Thomas de Newburgh (or Beaumont) in 1232, when he inherited his mother's d'Oilly lands from Henry d'Oilly III, his maternal uncle. On the other hand, Wathelet-Willem and Mason support a date predating the Magna Carta. Wathelet-Willem specifically noted that in *Gui de Warewic* there is a claim that the castle of Wallingford (integrated into the family through Brian fitz Count) was physically in bad shape and had not been repaired; however, King John (1166-1216) sought to make extensive repairs to this castle after the Magna Carta's publication in 1215. Mason proposes an earlier date for *Gui de Warewic*, early in 1205, before Thomas de Newburgh's mother, Margery d'Oilly, died in 1205; Mason believes that the story's celebration of the marriage of two rival families when Margery d'Oilly married Henry de Newburgh would not have been condoned

Newburghs, who held the earldom of Warwick when it was composed. The Beauchamp family

was still fairly obscure when *Gui de Warewic* was written; in fact, little is written about the

Beauchamps until they inherited the Warwick title in 1268, which was decades after *Gui de*

Warewic was composed. Why, then, might Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick,

commission a manuscript c.1331 so dominated by the mythical Guy of Warwick? The key to

understanding the answer is to understand the use of such ancestral legends as propaganda.

The earldom of Warwick was originally created in 1088 by William II Rufus (c. 1056-

1100) to reward Henry de Beaumont (1045-1119) for his support. The Warwick branch of this

Beaumont family then adopted the name Newburgh and held the title until the mid-13th century.

As mentioned above, the *Guy* narrative specifically seems to celebrate the marriage of Henry de

Newburgh with Margery d'Oilly. The narrative appears to have been written by an anonymous

canon in the Osney Abbey, an Augustinian house founded by Robert d'Oilly (II) in 1129 and

under the d'Oilly patronage until 1232, when it was absorbed into the Warwick estate.[15]

Once the Guy of Warwick legend was composed, it was shrewdly employed to bolster

the reputation of those who held the title. As mentioned above, the motivation for a canon to

compose such a romance would likely be to celebrate the marriage between the rival d'Oilly and

Newburgh families (and related Beaumonts), but undoubtedly this author also sought to please

his new Warwick lords. Scholars such a M. Dominica Legge, Jeanne Wathelet-Willem, Emma

Mason, and John Finlayson theorize that *Gui de Warwic* is an ancestral romance specifically

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by Henry's second wife, Philippa Basset (d. 1265), and they were married soon after Margery's death. For further information, see Legge (162), Finlayson (302-04), Crane (*Insular* 16-17), Wathelet-Willem (44), Mason (31), and Wiggins ("*Guy of Warwick*" 21-22).

[15] As an Augustinian cleric, the author was likely a canon. However, there has been some debate about this, as Mason notes that "the nature of the poem renders it unlikely to have been the work of one of the canons" (38, fn. 19). For further information, see Mason (31), Finlayson ("Legendary" 303-04), Wiggins ("*Guy of Warwick*" 20-21), and Gray ("Guy of Warwick").

commissioned to propagate the noble reputation of the Newburghs. Regardless of the text's

exact origins, once the Anglo-Norman romance *Gui de Warewic* was written in the early 13th

century, the Newburghs of Warwick quickly utilized the legend in order to honor their family.[16]

In this, the Newburghs demonstrated that they were clever propagandists, understanding the

power in creating and maintaining *pretz*, "an aura of power, prestige, success and concomitant

attributes, which was essential to an ambitious magnate attempting to stabilize and enhance his

territorial gain" (Mason 26). This will not be the only time we shall see such a reliance on

propaganda in order to foster community and goodwill which would bolster aristocratic power.[17]

When the *Gui de Warewic* narrative was written for the Newburghs, the Beauchamps

were an obscure and not particularly well-liked Worcestershire family who relied on

administrative might rather than goodwill for their power. As mentioned above, there is some

controversy as to the exact date when *Gui de Warewic* was written, but it was at least two

decades before the Beauchamps inherited the Warwick earldom in 1268. Until they inherited

this title, the Beauchamps were the sheriffs of Worcestershire. Walter de Beauchamp (c.1065-

1130/31) gained this position of administrative power c. 1110 when he married the daughter of

Urse D'Abitot (d.1108). Urse and his brother, Robert Dispenser (d.c.1097), had been unpopular

figures in the region during the Conquest due to their excessive use of force, including seizing

lands from the Worcester Cathedral priory in order to build the castle of Elmley. Until 1268, this

Elmley Castle in southern Worcestershire was the Beauchamp center of power, and the family

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[16] Although Crane contends that the romance was not originally intended as an ancestral romance, even she admits that the families who held the title saw the merit in promoting the story once it was composed (*Insular* 16-17, 197).

[17] The importance of *pretz* is not to be underestimated; McFarlane notes: "A baron inherited rank and great possessions to do with what he could. They gave him vast opportunities had he the wits to use them. But he was dependent on the goodwill, the confidence, and the cooperation of his less rich but still substantial neighbors, many of whom were better educated, more experienced, and more prudent than he himself" ("Parliament" 73). For further information, see Legge (162-71), Finlayson ("Legendary" 300-07, "Richard" 160-61), Wathelet-Willem (42-45), Mason (25-26, 28-33), Wiggins ("*Guy of Warwick*" 21-23), and Gray ("Guy of Warwick.")

exercised almost complete control over their lands: "Beauchamp domination of Worcestershire was total, since the head of the family was entrenched as *de facto* hereditary sheriff; there was no effective competition from feudal rivals and therefore no need to enhance the family's image by commissioning literary propaganda" (Mason 35).[18]

The Beauchamp's concern about their family image began to change, however, when the earldom of Warwick fell to the Beauchamps because the previous three earls died without a male heir.[19] In 1268, William de Beauchamp IV (c.1238-1298) inherited the Warwick title from his maternal uncle, William Mauduit (1221x3-1268), when William's father (d. 1269) insisted that his son take the title instead of himself. At this juncture, Emma Mason suggests: "Prompted, most likely, by the clerks whom he had inherited at Warwick, William [de Beauchamp IV] used the romance to forge this link [with his predecessors]. His heir was born after he succeeded to the title, and was duly called Guy … a name which, together with Reinbrun, was also used in successive generations of the family" (33). And so, it was likely the clerks of Warwick who helped the Beauchamps, the new and somewhat unrefined lords of Warwick, to appropriate the Guy legend as a way of bolstering their *pretz* as nobles. The Beauchamps therefore claimed Guy of Warwick as their own ancestor in order to fill in the void of their relatively obscure and unpopular lineage. This tactic of lineage substitution was perpetuated well into the 15th century when John Rous (c.1420-92), the antiquary hired to write up the Beauchamp family history in

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[18] Urse's and the Beauchamp's unpopularity are attested to in various accounts, such as William of Malmesbury's *Gesta pontificum*, Gerald of Wales' *Speculum ecclesie*, and various 12th and 13th century chronicles from Evesham and Worcester. For further information, see Hilton (78-79), Mason (34-35), and Barfield (Chapter 1, Chapter 2). For information on the Beauchamp Worcestershire holdings prior to the Warwick title, see Barfield (Chapter 2).

[19] Barfield depicts the unlikeliness of this transition: "Thomas Beaumont was married to Ela, countess of Salisbury (who nearly lived on until the very end of the thirteenth century), and if their union failed to produce any issue, then it was likely that the marriage of his sister Margery to John de Plessis probably would. It was only on Margery's death in 1253 that it was clear the earldom was going to descend to the Mauduits, and even then any issue from the marriage of William Mauduit and Alice de Segrave would have prevented the earldom coming into William of Elmley's hands. In effect the earldom descended by chance and by default, for it was the failure of both the Beaumont and Mauduit lines to produce male heirs that allowed the earldom to pass into the hands of the Beauchamps in 1268, and not the result of a cunning marriage policy on the part of William of Elmley" (Chapter 1).

the "Rous Rolls," neglects all of the Beauchamps prior to William de Beauchamp IV, adding the

mythical Guy of Warwick into the family history as a real ancestor instead.[20]

After William de Beauchamp IV named his eldest son Guy, the Beauchamp family

embrace of the Guy legend was complete. Due to the manuscripts which Guy de Beauchamp

donated to the Bordesley Abbey in 1305, we know that the family had owned (and perhaps

inherited) a copy of either *Gui de Warewic* or *Guy of Warwick*.[21] However, while Guy de

Beauchamp's own reliance on the Guy legend seems relatively modest, the Beauchamp family

focus on the Guy of Warwick legend grew stronger after his death. Wiggins notes:

> A drinking bowl survives from the early-fourteenth century, carved with the image of a
>
> knight slaying a dragon bearing the contemporary coat of arms of the Beauchamps and
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> with the inscription 'Guy of Warwick is his name, who here slays the dragon' linking the
>
> legendary ancestor with the family of the day. There is a reference from 1397 to
>
> possession of an arras, dorsers and costers decorated with scenes from the story of Guy of
>
> Warwick. Another late-fourteenth-century reference records the alleged 'discovery' of
>
> Guy's sword and suit of armour, later put on display at Warwick castle. There are also
>
> various names with symbolic value which serve to reinforce the connection between the
>
> family and the legendary Guy. In the 1270s William Beauchamp named his son Guy
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> although it was not a traditional family name. Then, in the 1340s three Beauchamp sons

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[20] When Rous writes of the 14th century Beauchamps, he also minimized the difficult financial periods related to Guy and Thomas II Beauchamp's lives and instead made them into romantic figures. Two versions of Rous's text survive, also known as "Chronicle and Armorial of the Benefactors of Warwick and of the Earls of Warwick": British Library, Additional MS 48976 (in English) and London, College of Arms, MS Warwick Roll (in Latin). For further information, see Mason (33-37), Burrows (100), Finlayson ("Legendary" 302-03), Barfield (Chapter 1, Chapter 2), Wiggins ("*Guy of Warwick*" 66-71, "*Guy of Warwick*" in Warwick? 219-20, 230), Driver (134) and Nicholas Orme ("Rous, John").

[21] Madeleine Blaess's produced a list of the donated manuscripts, which include: "Un Volum del Romaunce de Gwy, e de la Reygne tut enterem*en*t" (513). For further information, see Blaess (513-14), Mason (33), Wiggins ("*Guy of Warwick*" 66, 94), and Olson (Kerby-Fulton 105).

were named Guy, Thomas and Reynborne: the use of both Guy and Reynborne (the name of Guy's son in the romance) confirms that the names had the romance as their source. In the fourteenth century 'Guy's Tower' was built at Warwick Castle. In the fifteenth century 'Guy's Cliff' became the established name for a local landmark and, with direct reference to the events of the romance, in the 1420s Richard Beauchamp purchased 'Guy's Cliff' and built there a chantry chapel and statue to honour his legendary ancestor Guy. These activities culminated in Guy of Warwick actually being written into the Beauchamp's family genealogy in the fifteenth century. ("*Guy of Warwick* in Warwick?" 219-20).

The Auchinleck, highlighting the exploits of the fictional Guy of Warwick, is thus fully within the character of other efforts and expenditures made by the Beauchamps to promote the family's interests. As we consider that nearly 25% of the Auchinleck is dedicated to Guy of Warwick and his son Reinbroun, the Beauchamp's interest in and benefit from the *Guy of Warwick* texts in the Auchinleck Manuscript becomes paramount when we consider the subject of patronage.

However, as the four poems related to Guy of Warwick have not proved to be enough evidence to reach a scholarly consensus as to the Beauchamp patronage of the Auchinleck, I want to revisit the evidence for the Beauchamps more carefully. As a starting point, except for Olson's passing remark, Auchinleck scholars have missed two additional references to Guy of Warwick, in *Sir Beues of Hamtoun* (item 25) and *The Short Chronicle* (item 40). The Guy of Warwick lines in *Sir Beues* (item 25) clearly interrupt the flow of the narrative, which asserts that Sir Beues's efforts to slay a dragon are without parallel except for Lancelot and Wade.[22] At

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[22] The narrative at this point is explicit that only two others had killed dragons: "Save sire Launcelet de Lake; / He He fauȝt wiþ a fur drake, / And Wade dede also, / & neuer kniȝtes boute þai to" (ll. 2427-30).

this point, the scribe then inserts, without any effort to link to the previous statement, that: "Gij a Warwik, ich vnderstonde, / Slouȝ a dragoun in Norþhomberlonde" (ll. 2431-32). Therefore, though the original narrative stresses that Sir Beues is a heroic ancestor due to his being one of three knights to slay a dragon, Scribe 5 makes sure that Guy of Warwick is not left out of this group, and so Guy is unceremoniously tacked on to the others. That Guy's dominion over a dragon is important to the Beauchamp family at this time can be seen in the early 14th century drinking bowl, mentioned above, which also shows and describes this feat along with the Beauchamp family coat of arms. Likewise, while *The Short Chronicle* (item 40) almost exclusively focuses on founders of Britain and then later kings, in the section on King Athelstan Scribe 1 tacks on eight lines summarizing Guy of Warwick's defeat of the giant Colbrand.[23] As with the reference in *Sir Beues* to Guy, this material in item 40 does not connect either to the previous narrative or to the final two lines summing up Athelstan's reign. Therefore, it is difficult to imagine any other noble family, besides the Beauchamps, encouraging such blatant insertions of Guy's accomplishments into texts not focused on his legend, which thus again supports Thomas de Beauchamp as the patron of the Auchinleck Manuscript.[24]

Furthermore, all six texts referencing Guy are in prime locations in the Auchinleck and so would be relatively easy to find. Two *Guy of Warwick* poems along with *Reinbroun*, items 22-24, are centrally located in the manuscript so that the codex could naturally fall open to one of these texts. In addition, Scribe 2's *Speculum Gy* (item 10) heads booklet 2, Scribe 1's item 22 heads booklet 4, Scribe 5's item 25 heads booklet 5, and Scribe 1's item 40 heads booklet 10, and -- as I argued in Chapters 3 and 4 -- the scribes assured that the texts heading booklets were

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[23] These lines are: "In Aþelstonis time, ich vnderstond, / Was Gij of Warwike in Jnglond / & for Aþelston he dede a bateyle / Wiþ a geaunt gret, saunfaile. / Þe geaunt hiȝt Colbro[n]d, / Gy him slouȝ wiþ his hond. / At Winchester þe bataile was don / & seþþe dede Gij neuer non" (ll. 1663-70).

[24] Olson mentions Guy's presence in items 25 and 40 in just a sentence. However, in the rest of her section "Guy of Warwick in the Auchinleck Manuscript" she comes to some similar conclusions (Kerby-Fulton 101-04).

easy to find via distinctive first folios. Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter 4, all of these texts

heading the booklets are likely the first texts that the patron decided that he wanted included in

the manuscript.[25] Thus, we see an immediate tailoring of the codex for the Beauchamp family.

The Auchinleck Manuscript may seem like an expensive project for a young noble, just

18 years old, but "in this loosely knit and shamelessly competitive society" (McFarlane

"Parliament" 70) propaganda for the family name was an important tool for Thomas de

Beauchamp to leverage. In 1331, Thomas specifically needed to reassert the Beauchamp name

and honor after bearing the malice of Edward II (1284-1327) against his deceased father since he

was young. Although in 1315 Guy de Beauchamp – sensing his own impending death – forced

Edward II to concede that Guy's executors would run his estates until Thomas was of age,[26]

Edward II broke this agreement and took control of the Warwick lands by 1317. Edward II then

allowed his favorites, the Despensers,[27] to reap maximum profits from these Beauchamp lands

without investing in their upkeep: "in 1327 it was found that 'the lands, houses, walls and

buildings of the castle, and in the mills, parks, woods and stews belonging thereto' had fallen

into disrepair through negligence" (Barfield Chapter 2). As the value of the Beauchamp estates

naturally fell, this blow to the Beauchamp family was calculated because, at that time, the value

of a noble's land could be a proxy for the influence of the noble himself.[28] Furthermore, Edward

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[25] See Chapter 3, Section D, Part 2: "Initial Capitals," Chapter 4, Section B: "The Senior Scribal Team," and Section F: "The Auchinleck Production Process."

[26] These executors of Guy's will included John Hamelyn, Adam de Harvington, Peter Le Blount, William de Wellesbourne, and Roger Caumpe. Wellesborne, from humble origins, particularly vowed to watch over young Thomas's moral upbringing (Barfield Chapter 3).

[27] Specifically Hugh Despenser the elder (1261-1326) was given wardship, but he and his son, Hugh Despenser the younger (d.1326), both profited.

[28] The importance of land for nobles at this time is stated by the *Vita Edwardi Secvndi* chronicler in relation to Thomas of Lancaster: "You may assess his power by the size of his patrimony." ["Per uires patrimonii potenciam eius attendere potes"] (*Vita* 50-51). Discussions of the "size of his patrimony" at this time focus on the monetary value of the lands and not just the acreage. For example, for a discussion of this statement in relation to Earl Thomas of Lancaster and other nobles, see Maddicott (8-39) and Barfield (Chapter 2). That Thomas de Beauchamp, likely with counsel from his late father's loyal affinity, was aware of the importance of his lands is apparent in that

II gave administrative power to those in Warwickshire and Worcestershire who had been at odds

with Guy de Beauchamp, which further eroded Thomas's influence and affinity.[29] After so many

years when the Beauchamp lands and local administration were out of their control, employing a

manuscript as propaganda c. 1331 would be a suitable tactic for Thomas at this crucial juncture.

By 1330 Thomas de Beauchamp would already have started receiving the £1000 or so per annum

that his properties were still worth, and thus he would have the wealth available to reclaim the

honor of his title by commissioning the Auchinleck promoting his legendary ancestor, Guy of

Warwick.[30]

     That Thomas de Beauchamp quickly sought to reassert the Beauchamp name can be seen

in another project of his begun in 1330, the restoration of Elmley Castle. While Elmley Castle

had been the Beauchamp stronghold up until the Beauchamps inherited the Warwick title in

1268, apparently earls William IV and Guy de Beauchamp had neglected the large structure; due

to much needed repair, in 1315 the castle was estimated to be worth only 6s 8d. However, when

the articles against the Despensers raised the issue of custody of the Warwick estates in 1321,[31]

while Thomas was still a child, only Elmley Castle was wrestled away from the Despensers,

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he purchased more lands in Warwick in 1325-26, when he was just 12 or 13 years old. It is not clear who provided
the money when Thomas de Beauchamp purchased the land, but the witnesses were Hamelyn (his father's executor),
William de Sutton, William de la Zouche (Thomas's stepfather), and Thomas de Brailes (his future steward). For
further information, see Barfield (Chapters 1-3) and Tuck ("Beauchamp, Thomas, eleventh").

[29] While the value of a noble's land was an important proxy for a noble's influence, another measure was the size of
his following. McFarlane explains: "A successful man, therefore, gathered about him what was sometimes called
his 'affinity'; those who staked their hopes on a share of his good fortune. And since *his* [a noble's] chances of
winning his desires increased as his following grew, he in his turn used all the arts at his command to attract useful
men to his service" ("Parliament" 70).

[30] While Thomas de Beauchamp commanded the scale of wealth necessary to afford the Auchinleck, it is worth
noting that at this juncture that Thomas's earldom was one of the poorest. Thus, I agree with one of Olson's theories
about the patron, which is that the poorer quality of the artwork may reflect "a slump in the Beauchamp fortunes"
after Guy's death (Kerby-Fulton 106). For a calculation of worth of the Beauchamp lands, see Barfield (Chapter 2).

[31] These articles were charges raised against both Despensers in parliament in August 1321. This hearing was the
result of an outbreak of violence against the Despensers and their lands by Marcher lords; Lancaster headed much of
the aristocratic opposition to them in court. On 14 August 1321, Edward II agreed to exile both Despensers, but on
1 December 1321 he annulled the exile. For further information, see J. S. Hamilton ("Despenser, Hugh, the elder").

confirming its symbolic value. As the earl of Warwick as of 1329, Thomas de Beauchamp began

repairs in 1330 on Elmley Castle, now a signifier of former Beauchamp power and glory, likely

to indicate that the use and abuse of his lands had come to an end and that a new era for the

Warwick title was dawning. And, with his father was born at Elmley Castle, likely Thomas also

wanted to honor Guy de Beauchamp with this project. We can view Thomas's commissioning of

the Auchinleck Manuscript in a similar manner; Thomas was using this expensive literary project

as propaganda to reassert the glory of his ancestry and to honor his father Guy.[32]

C. The Beauchamps in the Auchinleck Manuscript

There is yet another Auchinleck poem overlooked by previous scholars, Scribe 2's *The*

Sayings of the Four Philosophers (item 20), which I will show is crucial to the identification of

the Beauchamp family as the patron as well. In Chapters 2, 3, and 4, I have frequently addressed

this poem because it has often been misjudged by codicologists as "blatant filler."[33] As

discussed in Chapter 4, there are two sources for item 20 which Scribe 2 wove together in order

to form a complaint suggesting that due to Edward II's reign (1307-27) that England was going

"a deuel wey" (l. 8).[34] For item 20's opening macaronic Middle English and Anglo-Norman

lines, the source is the early 14th century poem *De Provisione Oxonie*, which reflects the

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[32] As with Guy de Beauchamp's birth in Elmley Castle, many old-fashioned texts in the Auchinleck originated in the 13th century, and thus were associated with a time of Beauchamp dominance and even with Guy himself, as shall be discussed below. It seems likely that around this time that Thomas de Beauchamp also commissioned the early 14th century drinking bowl or mazor with a knight slaying a dragon, with the inscription referring to Guy of Warwick, and with the Beauchamp family coat of arms.   After all, the only two earls who could have commissioned this in the early fourteenth century were Guy or Thomas, and Thomas seems to have embraced the Guy of Warwick legend much more fully than his father. For further information, see Section D below, Burrows (102), Mason (28), Hilton (78-81), Barfield (Chapters 1-2), Wiggins ("*Guy of Warwick*" 66, "*Guy of Warwick*" in Warwick? 219-20).

[33] For example of scholars dismissing this text as filler, see Mordkoff (14), Wiggins ("*Guy of Warwick*" 119, "Are Auchinleck" 20-21) and Purdie (94). For my previous analysis, see Chapter 2, Section D, Part 3: "Titles and Headings," Chapter 3, Section D, Part 4: "*Litterae notabiliores*," and Chapter 4, Part E: "Scribe 2" and Part F: "The Auchinleck Production Process."

[34] Here and below I will use line numbers based on how the poem is written in the Auchinleck Manuscript. These are slightly different than those found in the edited version on the Auchinleck website because the long-lines at the beginning of the poem in the Auchinleck Manuscript have been broken into rhyming couplets in the edited version on the website (based on R. H. Robbins's edition).

retraction of Edward I (1239-1307) c. 1306 of the clauses added to the Magna Carta in 1297.[35]

Auchinleck Scribe 2 carefully revised some of the opening lines of *De Provisione Oxonie* which

refer to Edward I in order to reflect Edward II's violation of the 1311 Ordinances instead, which

had included the exile of Edward II's favorite Piers Gaveston (d. 1312). For example, in the

opening strophe of the Auchinleck version, there is a reference to the king "At Westminster after

þe feire / maden a gret parlement" (l. 4). Scattergood traces this reference to the Parliament in

1311 called by the Ordainers, including Guy de Beauchamp, from August 16th to October 11th;

there was a fair held at St. Bartholomew of Smithfield on August 24th. [36]

The second source for Scribe 2's item 20 is the late 13th century Latin poem *Gesta*

Romanorum, which contains the moral sayings of four philosophers. Again, when comparing the

Auchinleck sayings to the Latin source, it is clear that the Auchinleck version does more than

simply translate the original, apolitical poem. Laura Kendrick notes that "for each wise man's

sayings, the English poet [of the Auchinleck version] invents a six-line introduction containing a

derogatory allusion to or pun on Edward II's unkingly character" (191). For example, the

Auchinleck poem posits: "Whoso roweþ aȝein þe flod, / Off sorwe he shal drinke" (ll. 24-25) and

"he is wod / þat dwelleþ to muchel in þe flod" (ll. 47-48), both which seem to refer to Edward

II's noted enjoyment of vulgar activities such as rowing and swimming. In addition to these

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[35] Laura Kendrick argues that *De Provisione Oxonie* refers to multiple events since the original Magna Carta, including the Provisions of Oxford in 1258 and hence the name *De Provisione Oxonie* (183-88). For a discussion of where the source *De Provisione Oxonie* can be found, see Chapter 4, Section E: "Scribe 2."

[36] For a discussion of Scribe 2 as an editor of his exemplars, see Chapter 4, Section E: "Scribe 2." Scattergood notes the slight conflict of dates, as the Parliament begins before the fair, but he explains that the "discussion of the Ordinances did not really start until the beginning of September, and what the author probably refers to here is not so much the official date on which the Parliament was convened, but rather the beginning of the discussion of the Ordinances with special reference to Edward II's part in it" (161). Kendrick also proposes a 1311 date for this parliament, but with a slightly different rationale. After the parliament that Scattergood mentioned, there was a Westminster fair for Edward the Confessor, which ran from October 13 to November 3, 1311. Edward II had ended the first Westminster parliament in early October, and then it resumed on November 5, 1311. For further information, see Chapter 3, Section D, Part 4: "*Litterae notabiliores*," Chapter 4, Section E: "Scribe 2," Scattergood ("Political" 159-61), Matthews (118-19), Kendrick (183-204), Turville-Petre (131-32), and Bahr (137-40).

allusions to the king, these lines clearly carry an ominous tone referencing sorrow ("sorwe") and insanity ("wod"). Indeed, the second philosopher claims that, "Nu on is two / anoþer is wo / and friend is fo" (ll. 29-31),[37] which "may echo contemporary criticism of Edward's favoritism to Gaveston, which often took the form of the complaint that, instead of one king, England had two (Gaveston and Edward)"[38] (Kendrick 192). The goal of the whole poem is to explain why "Engelond is shent" (l. 2) after the parliament of the 1311 Ordinances, and the narrator is indicating that Edward II and Gaveston are to be blamed.

I believe that Auchinleck's item 20 firmly establishes the Beauchamps as the patron for the Auchinleck because, after 1308, Guy de Beauchamp was the leading figure in the efforts to dispose of King Edward II's favorite, Piers Gaveston. When Edward I died in 1307, Gaveston was experiencing his first exile (of three) due to Edward I's concerns about Gaveston's influence over his son, Edward II. When Edward II was crowned, he immediately brought Gaveston back; but in April of 1308 the barons themselves insisted on Gaveston's second exile due to his unseemly influence over Edward II, and Gaveston was to be excommunicated if he returned. However, the *Vita Edwardi Secvndi* chronicler describes the failure of these barons' resolution when each fell susceptible to Edward II's favors in late 1308, except for Guy de Beauchamp:

> When the king saw that his barons stood against him like a wall, and that because of this
>
> he could not carry out his intentions, he tried to break up their alliance and draw the more
>
> powerful to his side. Therefore, relying on native and traditional trickery – for the

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[37] Robbins's edition, which is published on the Auchinleck website, changed line 30 to "Wel is wo," but the manuscript clearly says "anoþer is wo," and I think that is what Scribe 2 intended. If we take seriously the idea that "Now one is two" (l. 29) refers to two kings (Edward II and Gaveston) rather than the usual one, then "another [king] is woe" makes complete sense: Scribe 2 is asserting that having two kings is an undesirable state of affairs.

[38] Here Kendrick is referencing some of the first comments in *Vita Edwardi Secvndi*: "For great men of the land hated him [Gaveston], because he alone found favor in the king's eyes and lorded it over them like a second king, to whom all were subject and none were equal." ["Inuidebant enim ei magnates terre, quia ipse solus haberet graciam in oculis regis et quasi secundus rex dominaretur, cui subessent omnes et par nulles."] (*Vita* 4-5). My references to *Vita Edwardi Secvndi* refer to Childs' 2005 edition.

English flatter when they see their strength is insufficient for a task – he bent one after

another to his will, with gifts, promises, and blandishments, with such success that

scarcely a baron remained to defend what had previously been decided and agreed. Only

the earl of Warwick could not be swayed. He said that he could not with a clean

conscience go back upon what had been accepted, but when all practiced deceit he could

not stand alone. On the other hand he did not expressly give his consent. (*Vita* 15)[39]

Gaveston returned in the spring of 1309 because Guy "could not stand alone." Nevertheless, we

see that Guy de Beauchamp was exceptional in his resolution to exile Gaveston.[40]

Guy de Beauchamp's solitary and steadfast commitment in containing Gaveston's

influence is demonstrated from this point until Guy successfully led the effort to capture and kill

Gaveston. The enmity between the two men is recorded in several chronicles, such as *Vita*

Edwardi Secvndi and *Chronicon de Lanercost*, where Gaveston's nicknames for Guy as

"Warwick the Dog" or "Black Dog of Arden" are memorialized.[41] And the *Vita Edwardi*

Secvndi author only identifies the earl of Warwick specifically when recording that men were

chosen as Ordainers in 1310.[42] Guy de Beauchamp is also noted in other contemporary

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[39] The Latin is: "Videns itaque rex barones suos qui murum ex aduerso consistere, et propter hoc propositum suum non posse precedere, conatus est fedus eorum rumpere, et potenciores ad se inclinare. Igitur paterna et patria fretus cautela, blandiuntur enim Anglici cum uires onei sufficere non uident, unum post alium donis, promissis et blandiciis, ad suum nutum reduxit, in tantum ut uix unus ex baronibus remaneret qui prius decreta et concessa defenderet. Solus autem comes de Warewyke flecti non potuit. Dicebat enim sana consciencia se a placitis recedere non posse, set cum omnes dissimularent ipse solus stare non potuit. Nec tamen expresse consensit." (*Vita* 14). See also Childs' discussion on these events of 1308 (xl).

[40] The *Vita Edwardi Secvndi* chronicler either may not have known or have overlooked the three month period in 1308 when Edward II seems also to have successfully bribed Guy with the manor of Sherbourne and Templar properties; around this time Guy witnessed various charters for Edward II from August to November in 1308 (Barfield Chapter 2). For more information on Gaveston and his exiles, see Hamilton ("Gaveston").

[41] For further information, see *Vita* (16-17, 44-45), *Chronicon de Lanercost* (194), and Burrows (181).

[42] "Ordainers were therefore elected from amongst the more powerful and discreet men of the whole kingdom and a term was set by which their decrees and ordinances were to be made and published … the earl of Warwick and other barons, taken with the said ordinances, were prevented from being present." ["Electi sunt igitur ordinatores de potencioribus et discrecioribus tocius regni, et tempus iurisdiccionis siue ordinaciones faciende et publicande

chronicles for helping Thomas, Earl of Lancaster (1278-1322), to author the 1311 Ordinances,[43] including clause 20 about the need to exile Piers Gaveston a third time; this point about Gaveston upset Edward II the most, while the *Vita Edwardi Secvndi* chronicler claimed it excited the people so much that he copied that clause in its entirety in his text.[44] These 1311 Ordinances seem so characteristic of Guy de Beauchamp that, while historian Michael Prestwich is skeptical about the constructive public policy represented in the 1311 Ordinances on the whole and about Lancaster's true participation, even Prestwich cannot find anything of a private Beauchamp gain in them. Thus Prestwich supports the *Vita Edwardi Secvundi*'s assertion that Guy de Beauchamp (and his administration) was responsible for authoring most of the 1311 Ordinances.[45] And in 1312, "when the earls had heard and knew for certain that Piers had returned [from his third exile], realizing that the ordinance which they had made concerning him would not be enforced," Guy ("Guydo") is named as one of five earls who met to deal with the returned threat.[46] It was, of course, Guy de Beauchamp who then led the efforts to capture Gaveston, put him on trial at Warwick Castle and then kill him, although on Lancaster lands.[47]

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limitatum est … comes de Warewyk et alii barones, circa ordinaciones predictas occupati, quominus adessent fuerant impediti."] (*Vita* 20-21).

[43] Childs notes where the 1311 Ordinances can be found: "The supplementary ordinances survive in [*Annales Londonienses*], pp.198-202 and [*Liber Custumarum*], ii.2. 682-90, where they are said to be the work of the earls of Lancaster and Warwick" (38, fn. 70). The *Annales Londonienses* reference is to Stubbs's edition in *Chronicles*, i. The *Liber Custumarum* reference is to Riley's edition in *Munimenta Gildhallae Londonienis*.

[44] For the text of this clause, see *Vita* (34-37).

[45] The *Vita Edwardi Secvndi* notes in 1315: "But if the earl of Warwick had been alive, the whole country would have been behind him: the Ordinances came from his advice and skill, and other earls did many things only after listening to him." ["Set comes Warewykye <si> in uiuis <fuisset> fuisset, tota patria pro eo: consilio euis <et> ingenio ordinaciones prodierunt, et ceteri comites eo audito multa fecerunt" (108-09). Given Guy de Beauchamp's focus on eliminating Gaveston's influence and his likely authorship of the 1311 Ordinances, it is hardly surprising that the Durham draft of the 1311 Ordinances "makes much more of the treasonable character of Piers Gaveston's activities" than the final version does (Prestwich 13).

[46] "Audientes autem comites et pro certo iam scientes quod rediisset Petrus, uidentes autem quod non procederet ordinancio quam statuerant circa eum." The other earls recorded are: Thomas, earl of Lancaster, Aymer, earl of Pembroke, Humphrey, earl of Hereford, and Edmund, earl of Arundel (*Vita* 40-41).

[47] Barfield clarifies that "Whilst Gaveston was in prison at Warwick jail, the Bridlington Chronicle records that Gaveston was tried and found guilty by the justices William Inge and Henry Spigurnel. Spigurnel had served as under-sheriff of Worcestershire, a position nominated by the earl of Warwick, for several months in 1306, and the

If we turn back to the Auchinleck Manuscript, we can now see why Scribe 2's *The Sayings of the Four Philosophers* (item 20) would have been of vital importance to the Beauchamps, and particularly Thomas de Beauchamp. Through all of the contemporary evidence we can see that while the 1311 Ordinance exiling Piers Gaveston would have been of interest for many in the country at the time, there had been no one as invested in minimizing Gaveston's influence from 1308 until his death as Guy de Beauchamp, and item 20 memorializes Edward II's violation of Guy's clause about Gaveston. Because Guy de Beauchamp died in 1315, when Thomas was a toddler, Guy's efforts to contain Gaveston thus were Guy's latest, most dramatic accomplishments. Undoubtedly Guy's eventual successful disposal of Gaveston in 1312 was narrated to Thomas de Beauchamp and his siblings while they were growing up by those like John Hamelyn and William de Sutton who were also pardoned in 1313 for their involvement in the Gaveston proceedings and who remained loyal in the Beauchamp affinity.[48]

That Edward II's treachery about the 1311 Ordinances was still painful for the Beauchamps and their affinity is evident in the opening lines of *The Sayings* (item 20). These Auchinleck lines do not wax lyrical about the events but rather carry a rueful tone:

> *La chartre fet de cyre ieo l'enteink & bien le crey* –
> It was holde to neih þe fire and is molten al awey.

---

two men were both experienced justices of the king's bench. Gaveston's detention and trial were carried out under Warwickshire administration by men whose loyalty was primarily to Guy Beauchamp. However, because Beauchamp's position was more assailable than the earl of Lancaster's," the earl of Lancaster allowed Gaveston to be beheaded on his lands at Blacklow Hill, the part of his lands closest to the Warwick estates. For further information, see *Vita* (30-57, 74-75), *Chronicon de Lanercost* (196-98), Perkins (7-8), Burrows (101-02, 181), Mason (33-34), Prestwich (1-3, 13-14), Barfield (Chapters 1-3), Matthews (118-19), and Clementine Oliver (22).

[48] As discussed above, Guy earned the king's enmity through his actions against Gaveston, and though technically Guy was among the earls pardoned on 15 October 1313, Edward II later broke a deathbed agreement with Guy de Beauchamp, allowing the Warwick lands to be abused by the Despensers. However, this enmity from the king fostered loyalty from a core of Guy de Beauchamp's affinity; their loyalty to Thomas de Beauchamp as he grew up can be seen in their witnessing his purchase of property in 1325-26. The *Vita Edwardi Secvndi* chronicler briefly notes the existence of Thomas: "the earl of Warwick…left an heir, but very young." ["comes Warewykye … heredem reliquit set ualde iuunem"] (108-09).

> *Ore ne say mes que dire, tout i va a tripolay,*
>
> Hundred, chapitle, court & shire, Al hit goþ a deuel wey.
>
> *Des plu sages de la tere, ore escoteȝ vn sarmoun,*
>
> Of .iiij. wise men, þat þer were, Whi Engelond is brouht adoun. (ll. 5-10)[49]

The impermanence of the charter seal wax that melts in the fire reflects the impermanence of the

king's resolution, a trope also used in the earlier *De Provisione Oxonie* about Edward I's

retraction c.1306. In addition to continuing that poem's lament that the country is going "a deuel

wey," the Auchinleck version further stresses the reasons "Whi Engelond is brouht adoun" by

here adding the second poem, the Latin sayings "Of .iiij. wise men" as "*vn sarmoun*." These

sayings and the exposition tied to them further complain of corruption and evil influences on

power, with further references to Edward II, Gaveston, and a lack of good counsel.[50] Indeed,

weaving together a poem about wise men with a poem about the king's treachery to his 1311

parliamentary counselors seems to directly reference Guy de Beauchamp's ill-fated attempts to

add wise counsel to Edward II's reign.[51] What text could be more appropriate for the

Beauchamp family, who lost their lord and then their lands for almost 15 years due to Edward

II's treachery after agreeing to exile Gaveston according to Guy's 1311 Ordinances?

    While John Rous romanticized Guy de Beauchamp's campaign against Gaveston to

Arthurian levels in the 15th century,[52] the Auchinleck's *The Sayings of the Four Philosophers*

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[49] These lines correspond to lines 9-20 on the Auchinleck website. I have chosen to preserve the original long-line format of these lines, while the Auchinleck website breaks these long lines down into shorter rhyming couplets. For further information, see Bahr (137-38) and *Auchinleck Manuscript* ("The Sayings of the Four Philosophers").

[50] For further information, see Scattergood ("Political" 160-64), Turville-Petre (131-32), Kendrick (183-204), and Matthews (118-19).

[51] See the *Vita* text in fn. 45 above. In addition, in 1315 the *Vita Edwardi Secvndi* chronicler states about the earl of Warwick: "In wisdom and counsel he had no like." ["in prudencia et consilio non habuit similem"] (108-09).

[52] In the "Rous Rolls," Guy de Beauchamp's righteous involvement in the disposal of Gaveston was celebrated with a miniature, considered legendary and was even conflated with Arthurian lore, with Rous accusing Gaveston of selling King Arthur's silver round table. Rous also connected Guy with the legends of Robin Hood and Little John. For further information, see Mason (34-36).

(item 20) reveals that the Beauchamp anger at Edward II and Gaveston was still fresh. In a manuscript dominated by the almost effortless glory of the chivalric romances,[53] Scribe 2's item 20 – along with his item 44 – pierce through this hazy sheen with their acrimonious complaints:

> Each of these is bitter enough to preclude its written circulation while Edward [II] was alive; however, the amount of attention given to the period from 1307-1327 [Edward II's reign] would suggest that these troubled times were still relatively fresh in the memories of the scribes and that they had expected readers to be interested. (Perkins 7-8)

The suspicions that Guy was poisoned on the order of Edward II could further Thomas de Beauchamp and his affinity's spite and sorrow about Edward II's reign, believing that Guy ultimately died for his noble cause.[54] Thus, in addition to utilizing ancestral romances as propaganda in the Auchinleck Manuscript, Thomas de Beauchamp would have welcomed the use of literature as means to complain about Edward II's treachery.

Adding to the sense of bitter rage rather than triumph in the Auchinleck's recounting of the 1311 Ordinances, in Chapter 2 and 3 I discussed how this Auchinleck text, *The Sayings of the Four Philosophers* (item 20), is laid out so that it blends in to the rest of the manuscript. Indeed, item 20 had no title, and Scribe 2 follows the more normative *mise-en-page* of 44 lines per folio and alternating red and blue paraphs. This attempt to blend this work into the other folios suggests that item 20 was a controversial text that the scribes wanted to hide among the other

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[53] There are of course other exceptions, with items 7 (*Þe Desputisoun bitven þe bodi & þe soule*) and 39 (*The Four Foes of Mankind*) representing two particular sober meditations on death.

[54] That Thomas heard about and admired his father's crusade against the corrupting influence of Gaveston may be seen in the Beauchamps' future behavior and recollection. Thomas de Beauchamp's heir, Thomas II Beauchamp (1339-1401) similarly was a prominent figure in the Merciless Parliament in 1388, which sought to check the corruption and power of Richard II (1367-1400) during his reign and so Thomas II suffered exile and loss of title and lands for a time for his efforts. That John Rous celebrated Guy's feat so fully also demonstrates the family's pride. For further information, see Burrows (100), Oliver (13-28, 117-84), Wiggins ("*Guy of Warwick*" 66-67), Barfield (Chapter 1), Tuck ("Beauchamp, Thomas, twelfth"), and Hamilton ("Beauchamp, Guy de").

folios as much as possible. And, yet, the fact that senior scribal team member Scribe 2 copied

and likely adapted this poem indicates that it was an important text for the manuscript.[55]

The importance of item 20 is also indicated by its location in the manuscript, suggesting

the careful *ordinatio* of the Auchinleck even for texts at the end of booklets. Between item 20,

discussing Edward II's treachery of Guy de Beauchamp's 1311 Ordinances, and the three *Guy of*

Warwick texts (items 22-24), the Auchinleck senior scribal team decided to have Scribe 4 add the

Battle Abbey Roll (item 21). Therefore we see that the scribes carefully planned the middle of

the Auchinleck Manuscript to represent texts of great importance to the Beauchamps. Indeed,

the name "Beauchamp" does appear in this *List of Norman Names* (item 21) on f.106v, column a.

While it may seem odd that the Beauchamp name appears on the second folio of this list,

Auchinleck Scribe 4 seemed to be following an established list;[56] the lower position on the list

may indicate the Beauchamp family's relatively recent but still well-established rise to its current

noble status.[57] In addition, nearby in this item 21 are listed a range of noble names meaningful to

the Beauchamp family and Warwick title: "Mortimer," "Mauduit," "Newburk" (Newburgh),

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[55] For further information see Chapter 2, Section D, Part 2: "Lines of Text per Column," Part 4: "Titles and Headings," Chapter 3, Section D, Part 3: "Alternating Red & Blue Paraphs," and Chapter 4, Section E: "Scribe 2."

[56] The list in question is the alliterative pairs of Norman names which often rhyme with at least one pair directly above or below the given pair. This list is taken from Leland's *Battle Abbey Roll* in his *De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea*. With a handful of exceptions, the Auchinleck list essentially follows the first names of the pairs on Leland's later list, and then the Auchinleck scribe returned to the beginning and recorded the second names from the pairs. For further information, see H.M. Smyser (265-68), Bahr (140-47), and Olson (Kerby-Fulton 105). I find Bahr's connection of this list of names to a merchant patron at this end of his chapter (147-51) to be fairly strained, at best. Why see the list of names as a historical test for a merchant patron rather than a list of names important to a noble patron for establishing his position? And why see the catchword at the end of booklet 3B ("here ginneþ Sir Gij") as "narrative and literary promise" for a merchant reader rather than a solid connection between the Warwick nobles just named and the mythical Warwick legend which these families have proudly supported and utilized as propaganda?

[57] Smyser discusses the relationship of the order of the *Battle Abbey Roll* to the actual knights who actually helped William the Conqueror in 1066: "M. Leopold Delisle has drawn up a list of the knights who actually accompanied the Conqueror, using only contemporary deeds or other documents and paying no heed, we may be sure, to the Battle Abbey Roll. He offers 369 different surnames. Of these about a hundred are recognizable in Leland's Battle Abbey Roll, but over half of this hundred are found among the top third of Leland's names and only about a tenth are found in Leland's bottom fifth. Parliamentary lists and the like from the fourteenth century show an even more striking tendency toward the earlier names of Leland's list" (264-65).

"Touny," and "Longespee" can be found on f.106r and "Beaumont" on f.106v.[58]   Their

collective place on this list of nobles contrasts with another complaint in *Þe Simonie* (item 44)

about the "knihtes gadered of vnkinde blod" (267-8).[59]   There is, then, an eagerness on the part

of the Auchinleck patron to include his name in the manuscript and his established place, and the

scribes carefully placed the texts referring specifically to the Beauchamps and their relations

(item 20 and 21) directly before the three main *Guy of Warwick* poems (items 22-24).   Thus, the

scribes' *ordinatio* weds the Beauchamp name and legacy to the Guy of Warwick legend.

D. The Auchinleck Manuscript and the Warwick Region

As might be expected if Thomas de Beauchamp commissioned the Auchinleck

Manuscript, there are numerous ties between the Auchinleck Manuscript and the midlands

region. These regional ties are primarily demonstrated by the Auchinleck poems themselves but

also in the presence of Scribes 2 and 6. When we consider the texts, the *Guy of Warwick*

narratives particularly reference towns in the midlands area in a way which assumes familiarity

for the audience. For example, at the beginning of the stanzaic *Guy of Warwick* (item 23), while

the narrator describes where Norþhumberlond is ("Ful fer in þe norþ cuntre," l. 6940), similar

geographical descriptions are not given for parts of the Warwick region: "Wallingforþ" (l.6949),

"Warwike" (l. 6965), and Guy's tower in Warwick (l. 7143).[60] In *Reinbroun* (item 24)

Wallingford is similarly mentioned without geographical indicators (ll. 1391 and 1405).

In addition to the references to Guy of Warwick in *Sir Beues* (item 25) and *The Short*

Chronicle (item 40) discussed at the beginning of the chapter, item 40 highlights this region

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[58] The names on f.106r can be found in columns b and d, with many found in d, while Beaumont is in column b on f.106v. I will address the importance of the names Mortimer, Tony, and Longespée in Sections E-G below.

[59] For further information, see Turville-Petre (136-38), Nelson (58-59), and Burrows (117-21).

[60] These line numbers begin at l. 6924; I am using the same numbers as found on the *Auchinleck* on-line edition.

further. First, item 40 mentions a period in Anglo-Saxon England when England was divided

amongst five kings, with the fifth king – the one who ruled Gloucestershire, Worcestershire,

Warwickshire, and other counties in the region – being considered the greatest of all five kings.[61]

In addition, in this version of *The Short Chronicle*, Hengist (d.488?) is added as a prolific king

who establishes many towns in a particularly long and detailed section, spanning 221 lines,

which is longer than any other section for any other figure.[62] But, again, this makes sense for the

Beauchamps if we consider that, in the Auchinleck, Hengist is established as a kind of "'patron

saint' of Wallingford, an ancestor who preceded Herhaud and the Warwicks" (Burrows 203).[63]

Thus we see there is no shortage of references to the Warwick region in this particular chronicle

commissioned for the Auchinleck, which furthers the supposition that Thomas de Beauchamp

commissioned the manuscript and expected it to be read – at least partially – in that region.[64]

That the Auchinleck poems were read in the Beauchamp seat of power, which became

extensive, is argued by Finlayson after careful comparison of later versions of *King Richard* with

its Auchinleck source (item 43). Specifically, Finlayson proposes that minor figures, D'Oyly and

Multon, were added to expanded versions of *King Richard* because they represent two real

Lincolnshire knights who were later involved in the Warwick affinity. Finlayson therefore

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[61] The narrator claims: "Þe fift was, wiþouten feyle, / At Seyn Jermain in Cornewaile. / Þe king of Merken merche, / Þer nas non to him yliche. / He hadde Gloucesterschir & Pinokschire, / Worþcesterschire, Warwikeschire, / Staforþschire & Derbischire, / Chesterschire, Schropschire, / Al þe Marche Herforþschire, / Oxenforþschire, Bokinghamschire, / Norhamtonschire, Leycesterschire, / Lincolnschire [&] Notinghamschire. / & in his lond þat was so miche / He hadde four bischopes riche: / Þilke of Lincoln & of Chester / & of Herforþ & of Worcester" (ll.1369-84).

[62] The section on Hengist covers ll.655-876. Burrows notes the lines for each figure and compares these totals to the version of *The Short Chronicle* found in British Museum Royal MS. 12 C.XII, often considered the source for item 40 (194-95). It is worth noting that Burrows has two slight math errors: she indicates that the section on Brutus covers 349 lines when it is really125 lines (ll. 361-486), and she indicates that the section on Sebert covers 1115 lines rather than 115 lines (ll.1138-1253).

[63] Burrows argues for this kind of legendary ancestral role for Hengist based on his description in item 40: "Of Walingford he made þe ginning" (l. 670). For discussion of and comparisons of Auchinleck's expanded chronicle with other versions, including of this Hengist section, see Burrows (187-216), Turville-Petre (108-12), and Purdie (96-99).

[64] As Olson points out, the Beauchamps also spent a good amount of time in London and likely owned property there so it is possible that the Auchinleck poems were read in London circles as well (Kerby-Fulton 105).

suggests that the later, expanded versions of *Richard* reflect a network of families interested in

the original Auchinleck version and connected to the Beauchamps and the Warwick title.[65]

Martha Driver makes a similar claim for the adaption of later *Guy* narratives, and particularly the

female figures, in relation to the 15th century Beauchamps; for example, John Lydgate (1370-

1449/50) may have modeled his virtuous Felice in his version of the Guy legend (c.1442) to be

"particularly appropriate for (and flattering to) Lydgate's patron, Margaret, the eldest daughter of

Richard Beauchamp (1382-1439), Earl of Warwick" (Driver 133).[66]

In addition to connections between the midlands and content of the Auchinleck texts, a

number of the Auchinleck narratives originated in the Warwick region. First, as mentioned

above, the Anglo-Norman *Gui de Warewic* was likely composed in this region, and this single

narrative accounts for three Auchinleck poems, items 22-24. In addition, although Hanna argues

for both London production *and* a London audience for the Auchinleck, even he noted the

unusual connection between a number of Auchinleck texts and the south midlands. For example,

he notes that the Auchinleck's *Seynt Mergrete* (item 4), *The Harrowing of Hell* (item 8), *How

Our Lady's Psalter Was First Found* (item 29), *The Thrush and the Nightingale* (item 34), and

The Sayings of St. Bernard (item 35) are "not just fillers but relicts, remains from a regional

literary culture of the late thirteenth century" ("Reconsidering" 100). While Hanna sees such

"relicts" as more unaccountable for inclusion than regular "filler," representative of a lack of

exemplars he believes characterizes the Auchinleck production process, these relicts become

much more logical when we consider exactly where they are from: four of the poems are related

to Bodleian Library MS. Digby 86, associated with south Worcestershire, and one is from a

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[65] The name D'Oyly is, of course, related to the d'Oillys that married into the Warwick title at the beginning of the early 13th century. For further information, see Sections A and B above and Finlayson ("Legendary" 300-08).
[66] For further information, see Driver's "'In her owne persone semly and bewteus': Representing Women in Stories of Guy of Warwick."

Worcester Franciscan communal book of *praedicabilia*, meaning that these texts likely originated in the Beauchamp's seat of power in the south midlands.[67]

In addition to these five south midland poems, there are further texts that originate near the Beauchamp's midlands home. Hanna considers another possible source for the Auchinleck's *Short Chronicle* (item 40), citing a manuscript written in a dialect from northern Gloucester and southern Worcestershire. Turville-Petre also adds that *Þe Desputisoun* (item 7) and *The Sayings of St Bernard* (item 35) are to be found in Bodleian Library MS. Laud 108, which is from nearby Oxfordshire.[68] We could also add tales associated with the *South English Legendary*, such as *St. Katerine* (item 5), *St. Patrick's Purgatory* (item 6), *The Life of St Mary Magdalene* (item 12), *The Nativity and Early Life of Mary* (item 13), and *The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin* (item 16) to the list of Auchinleck texts associated with the midlands. Thus, these "relict" poems actually represent verses from the Beauchamp stronghold.[69]

The connection between these poems and the Beauchamp seat of power is important and deserves further scrutiny. For example, we know that Guy de Beauchamp donated numerous manuscripts to the Bordesley Abbey in 1305, and that these manuscripts represented fairly old-fashioned reading habits even then. However, the donation of these texts does not represent an off-loading of unwanted codices so much as a desire to keep this library safe and accessible.

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[67] More specifically for the first two manuscripts, Hanna describes Bodleian Library, MS. Digby 86 as, "a family miscellany associable with individuals from Oswaldslow Hundred, south Worcs., s.xiii$^{4/4}$. And the fifth, item 4, redacts a text in its original form a close congener of Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.14.39, inferentially a communal book of *praedicabilia* from the Worcester Franciscans, s. xiii$^{3/4}$" ("Reconsidering" 100). Nelson gives further evidence for the regional association of Digby 86 with southwestern Worcestershire, and for British Library MS. Harley 2253 (containing a third version of item 8) as being from Herefordshire (55-58). For Hanna's assertion of a London (likely merchant) patron. see Hanna (*London* 81-82, 102-42) and Nelson (58-59, 67).

[68] The manuscript Hanna considers as a source for item 40 is London, British Library, MS. Cotton Caligula A.xi. For manuscripts related to the Auchinleck, see http://faculty.washington.edu/miceal/auchinleck/relatedMSS.html.

[69] For further information, see Mordkoff (10), Turville-Petre (113-14), Nelson (55-58, 65), Hanna ("Reconsidering" 100), and Pickering's *SEL* edition of item 13. Of course numerous trilingual manuscripts also originate from this south midlands region, but I think it is worth considering a patron from this region for the Auchinleck before merely considering this a literary region which is naturally a source of texts for a London audience, as Hanna seems to.

After all, the Bordesley Abbey, a Cistercian monastery, is where the Beauchamps stored their

muniments for safe-keeping, and Guy and later chose to be buried there himself. In addition,

Guy de Beauchamp gave instructions to the monks that these codices were not to be disposed.

Looking over the list of Bordesley manuscripts immediately indicates some parallels between

those poems and the Auchinleck items: in addition to the *Guy of Warwick* narrative, Guy de

Beauchamp donated "les *Méditations* de S. Bernard sur la Vierge et sur la Passion," "un roman

d'*Alexandre*," and "Il ya a *La Mort le Roi Artu*," versions of which are also in the Auchinleck.

This raises the further question as to who – besides the Beauchamps and particularly Thomas de

Beauchamp, seeking to restore honor to his family name and to his lands – would desire to revive

these older midland texts. In a manner similar to his decision to seek out the old Beauchamp

power center and Guy's birthplace, Elmley Castle, for repairs and restoration, Thomas may have

sought out the old manuscripts that his father stored at the abbey for safekeeping.[70] While the

antiquated stories may represent old favorite tales from his region, Thomas's effort was no doubt

rhetorical as well: like Elmley Castle, these older poems conjure up an era of previous

Beauchamp wealth and power and also could directly honor his own heroic father's legacy.

Finally, Scribes 2 and 6 both hail from this area and are the only two scribes to write in a

non-London dialect in the Auchinleck.[71] As Scribes 2 and 6 are the only two scribes I identified

individually as helping to proofread the Auchinleck, their attention to the manuscript and their

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[70] For further information, see Blaess (512-18), Mason (33-36), and Barfield (Chapter 1). Interestingly, Mordkoff took this Bordesley Abbey list of Beauchamp manuscripts as evidence that both a wealthy noble or a monastery *could* have commissioned a manuscript such as the Auchinleck, but never considered the connection more directly between this Beauchamps and the Auchinleck; for further information, see Mordkoff (251-59) and Embree and Urquhart (*Parallel Text* 31-33).

[71] According to the *LALME*, Scribe 2 is from the Gloucester/Worcester border (LP 6940). Scribe 6 is from Worcestershire (LP 7820). More specifically, Marshall adjusts Scribe 2's dialect profile to be from the Hereford/Gloucester border (46), and Hanna asserts that: "the linguistic atlas would place [Scribe 2's] language very near the point where Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, and Warwickshire meet … [while Scribe 6] writes the language of extreme south central Worcestershire" ("Reconsidering" 101). Scribe 6 seems like he may be from an area close to Elmley Castle. For further information, see Hanna ("Reconsidering" 101), Wiggins ("Are Auchinleck" 20-1), Marshall (46), and Chapter 4, Section A: "Scribal Collaboration" and Section E: "Scribe 2."

origins in the south midlands strengthens the connection of the Auchinleck to the Beauchamp

family. In other words, these two scribes may have been connected more closely to the patron,

the Beauchamps, and so were involved in the final process of refining the manuscript.[72] It is true

that Scribe 6's single text on the French hero Otuel is difficult to connect particularly to the

Beauchamps, although the Crusading tale may have been a favorite for an old Crusading family

(see Section G below) and Scribe 6 may have copied more items in the gatherings now lost.

Scribe 2's involvement with the Auchinleck senior scribal team, on the other hand, seems

very significant. As discussed in Chapter 4, Scribe 2 apparently edited his exemplars for all

three texts he contributed to the Auchinleck, and these include the two politically charged poems

in the Auchinleck: the somewhat cryptic *The Sayings of the Four Philosophers* (item 20)

discussed above and the more direct complaint about widespread corruption during Edward II's

reign in *Þe Simonie* (item 44). Item 44 includes the belief that God punished England with

famine and the death of cattle c.1315 because of pervasive vice, which may reflect the *Vita

Edwardi Secvndi* chronicler's firm belief that Guy's death at that time was also part of God's

judgment.[73] These poems, copied by Scribe 2, thus reflect bitter frustration about Edward II's

reign. Given Scribe 2's south midlands' dialectical profile, it is therefore likely that Scribe 2 was

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[72] In Chapter 1, Section B, Part 6: "Proofreading," I identified Scribe 6's straight-line, two compartment *a* as a correction to Scribe 1's text, likely indicating that Scribe 6 helped to proofread at least some of Scribe 1's work. In Chapter 3, Section D, Part 2: "Initial Capitals," I identified Scribe 2 as adding at least one all-red initial capital during the proofreading phase.

[73] For example, item 44 begins with the sober questions: "Whij werre and wrake in londe and manslauht is icome, / Whij hungger and derþe on eorþe þe pore haþ vndernome, / Whij bestes ben þus storue, whij corn haþ ben so dere" (ll. 1-3). The *Vita Edwardi Secvndi* chronicler notes that Guy's death in 1315 was part of the "judgment of God, this change of the right hand of the Most High, carries off our leaders for our sins and crimes, and leaves the people of the land defenceless." ["uindicta Dei, hec mutacio dextere Excelsi, propter peccata et scelera nostra duces nostros preripiat, et populus terre indefensus intereat"] (108-09). For further information, see Thomas W. Ross (173-75), Embree and Urquhart (*Parallel* 36-41) and Dean ("Introduction"). Olson sees item 44 as a way to prepare Thomas de Beauchamp with "an understanding of even the harshest political realities and the ways in which they were perceived and expressed by the people of England" as he readies himself to serve Edward III (Kerby-Fulton 115-16). However, this interpretation overlooks how immediate those harsh realities were to Thomas and his region.

aware of how welcome his adapted works reflecting the 1311 Ordinances and God's judgment of the woeful reign of Edward II would be to the Beauchamps and others in the midlands.[74]

In Chapter 4, I began to build a more comprehensive scribal profile for Scribe 2, and that can be further constructed here. Given his regional connection to the Beauchamps and the London forms that also appear in his dialect profile, Scribe 2 could represent the kind of regional scholar/clerk employed at some point in an administration in or near Warwickshire who then moved to a similar position in London and yet remained loyal to the Beauchamps. This seems likely given that:

> It was a characteristic of Earl Guy that many of his most trusted associates were clerks, of whom de Harvington was one. This might simply have been the preference of a well-educated man wishing to surround himself with his intellectual peers, but it is more likely to show an increasing need for literate men in what was essentially a bureaucratic position. (Barfield Chapter 3)

Indeed, Barfield lists several fairly prominent Beauchamp administrators who found positions in London administration, including at the Exchequer, as the Beauchamps inherited the position of the chamberlain of the Exchequer from the Mauduits. And with Guy's preference for educated clerks, we can begin to see a pattern in the Beauchamp's reliance on such clerks. An Osney Abbey canon likely composed the tale *Gui de Warewic*. Mason proposes that a similar regional clerk/scholar inspired Earl William de Warwick IV to embrace the Guy of Warwick legend when he inherited the Warwick title. Prestwich also associated Guy de Beauchamp's likely authorship of the 1311 Ordinances with his receiving input from his steward and other educated men in his

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[74] For further information, see Mason (33), Chapter 4, Section E: "Scribe 2," Scattergood ("Political" 159-61), Perkins (7-8), Embree and Urquhart ("Case," *Parallel Text* 7-63), Turville-Petre (130-34), Kendrick (183-204), and Matthews (118-25).

employment who understood public affairs and the inner-workings of the royal administration.

Scribe 2 therefore seems like another of these critical, educated men, though perhaps lower in the

hierarchy, who looked after the interests of the Beauchamps.[75]

E. Auchinleck Themes and Thomas de Beauchamp

While the case so far for the Beauchamp patronage is fairly compelling, a thematic

analysis of the poems also demonstrates an alignment between concerns of the Auchinleck texts

and experiences in Thomas's life. I have already mentioned Thomas and his siblings' loss of

their father, Guy, as young children as well as King Edward II's treachery in not allowing Guy's

executors to run his estates until Thomas came of age; in addition Queen Isabella (1295-1358)

continued this abuse of the Warwick lands when she gave them to her lover Roger Mortimer

(1287-1330).[76] Adding to this trauma, within a year of Guy de Beauchamp's death Thomas's

mother, originally Alice de Tony, married William de la Zouche, had more children with him,

and then died in 1324 when Thomas was just about 10 or 11 years old.[77] Due to his mother's

remarriage, Thomas also lost access to his mother's substantial Tony inheritance, as the lands did

not revert back to the Beauchamps until 1337 when Thomas's stepfather died. And before he

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[75] McFarlane summarizes the importance of an administration with: "I believe it to be true that the directing brain behind the activities of a baronial household and its extensive connections was not always that of its nominal head" ("Parliament" 72). The names of some who worked in the Beauchamp administration before serving the crown in the 14th century are: Gilbert de Chasteleyn, Sir Robert de Herle, Richard de Pirton, Richard de Chesterfield, and William de Wenlock, (Barfield Chapter 3). For further information, see Mason (33, 36), Embree and Urquhart (*Parallel Text* 24-26), Prestwich (13-14), Barfield (Chapter 3), Chapter 4, Section D: "The Scribal Court Hands," and Section E: "Scribe 2."

[76] This situation becomes further complicated, however, because Thomas de Beauchamp fulfilled his arranged marriage to Roger Mortimer's daughter, Katherine (c.1327). However, given Thomas's loyalty to Edward III and given Edward III's disposal of Roger Mortimer, Thomas de Beauchamp does not seem particularly loyal to Mortimer, as I will discuss below.

[77] Olson suggests Alice de Tony as a possible patron of the Auchinleck (Kerby-Fulton 114), but Alice died too early to be a possibility. She died in 1324, and the Auchinleck's earliest possible date is 1327. With the Auchinleck date actually likely being closer to 1331, Thomas de Beauchamp was also too old at that point to be considered a child reader. However, I do agree that Thomas de Beauchamp was mindful of the "training and future success" of his household when he commissioned the manuscript, including younger siblings and future children, as I shall address further in Section G below.

was sixteen, Thomas's future marriage had also been decided three different times by those in power, with him ending up with Katherine Mortimer (d.1369), his father's original choice.[78]

Therefore, Thomas de Beauchamp grew up without his parents, without control of his lands and title, and without the other nobles necessarily looking after his best interests. While modern scholars tend to write less about Thomas de Beauchamp than either his father or his successors, I would suggest that some of the impact of this difficult childhood manifested in interesting ways. Specifically, as I will demonstrate in this section, I believe that Thomas conflated his father, Guy de Beauchamp, with the mythical Guy de Warwick as a way of making sense of his losses at an early age. In this, Thomas demonstrates a third way that literature is employed in the Auchinleck: in addition to propagandist ancestral romances and political complaints venting frustration, the use of literature to induce *catharsis* pervades the Auchinleck. Thomas's desire for emotional release via literature is demonstrated by the young characters undergoing similar losses of parents and treachery by adults, which could help him to make sense of his own trauma, and – as these figures eventually overcome their disadvantages – the protagonists could help Thomas hope for a better future.

That Thomas de Beauchamp relied on fictional narratives to make sense of the absence of his father seems most clear in his conflation of Guy de Beauchamp with Guy of Warwick. What would be simpler than for a small child, raised with stories of both his heroic father Guy of Warwick and the heroic legendary Guy of Warwick, to combine these two figures into one, whether intentional or not. Thomas's elision of the two legends manifests in interesting ways in

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[78] When Mortimer was exiled, it appears that the earl of Arundel sought a papal dispensation to marry his daughter to Thomas de Beauchamp instead. When the earl of Arundel was executed in 1326 by Isabella and Mortimer, the marriage arrangement reverted back to Mortimer's daughter, Katherine, marrying Thomas. For further information, see Mason (28), Barfield (Chapters 1-2), and Tuck ("Beauchamp, Thomas, eleventh").

his life. While Guy de Beauchamp willed his armor to Thomas, Thomas willed this same armor

to his son as if from the mythical Guy de Warwick:

> By the time of Thomas I's death in 1369, the legend of Guy of Warwick was so
>
> interwoven into the Beauchamps' psyche that he [Thomas I] bequeathed his son 'the coat
>
> of mail sometime belonging to that famous Guy of Warwick' as the most highly treasured
>
> of his possessions; in his will, this mythical relic took precedence over other caskets of
>
> gold, and ornate crosses containing pieces of Christ's cross. (Barfield Chapter 1).

Thomas de Beauchamp's reverence for the armor which his father had willed to him and which

he had grown up with – now considered that of the mythical Guy – demonstrates how early

Thomas's conflation of these two Guys must have taken hold. And while Guy de Beauchamp

named his son Thomas, likely after his very real peer and co-conspirator Thomas de Lancaster,

Thomas revived William de Beauchamp IV's decision to name sons after characters in the *Guy*

narrative; specifically, Thomas named two of his three oldest sons Guy and Reynborne.[79]

Thomas's conflation of the two Guys of Warwick can be seen in the Auchinleck

Manuscript as well. Not only is the manuscript structured so that Guy de Beauchamp's legacy

and the family name are placed next to the *Guy of Warwick* poems, as discussed above, but for

the first time in the Auchinleck Manuscript, the Reinbroun material is pulled out from the rest of

the *Guy* narrative and made into its own story (item 24). While scholars have puzzled over this

decision and Burrows's analysis suggests that this decision reflects the presence of Thomas's

two sons, Guy and Reinbroun (or Reynborne), Thomas's sons were not born until at least 1337,

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[79] Rous claimed in the 15th century that Guy named Thomas de Beauchamp after Thomas of Lancaster ; of course, by this point the Beauchamps considered Thomas of Lancaster to be a saint who granted miracles. For further information, see Maddicott (318, 329-330), Burrows (101-02), Mason (33-34), Barfield (Chapter 1), Wiggins ("*Guy of Warwick*" 66-67), Tuck ("Beauchamp, Thomas, eleventh"), and Hamilton ("Beauchamp, Guy de").

which is too late for them to be a consideration in the Auchinleck.[80] I think it is much more likely that c. 1331 Thomas de Beauchamp thought of himself as Reinbroun. After all, he was Guy's son, never really knew his father and also was separated from his mother as a child. Furthermore, his father's absence caused him to be vulnerable as a child to the treachery of adults: Reinbroun was kidnapped and given away while Thomas's father was perhaps poisoned and his lands were abused. Therefore, I think that Thomas de Beauchamp may have requested to have the Reinbroun material separated out as a narrative in which he saw his own life reflected, thus using this literary antecedent to soothe his losses and restore hope in his own future.

The importance of *Reinbroun* (item 24) to Thomas de Beauchamp is demonstrated in a couple of interesting ways. First, the square miniature (70 mm x 70 mm) heading the Auchinleck's *Reinbroun* on f.167r is the largest extant miniature (including the patches where miniatures were excised), and it is paired with a slightly larger than normal 6-line initial capital, which supports the importance of the Reinbroun story to the patron.[81] In addition, the Beauchamp's enemies are critiqued in item 24. While neither the couplet nor the stanzaic *Guy of Warwick* narratives (items 22-23) are particularly political, in *Reinbroun* the earl of Cornwall is an outspoken, rude, slandering character, not unlike Guy de Beauchamp's name-calling foe, Pier Gaveston, the earl of Cornwall. The reference to Gaveston was made even more explicit in Auchinleck's *Reinbroun* because the narrator, "calls him alternatively the 'Duk of Medyok,' or 'Medoc,' a district in Gaveston's home region, Gascony" (Burrows 181). Later in *Reinbroun*, it is revealed that Herhaud's son, Haslok, was neglected while being raised in the court of the earl of

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[80] While scholars such as Loomis and Burrows have argued that the separation of the *Guy* story into three stories, including a separate *Reinbroun* text, supports the notion that the Auchinleck scribes were actively reworking their exemplars, even Wiggins (highly resistant to this notion) admits that at least Scribe 1 wove together the three *Guy* narratives intentionally. For further information see Loomis ("Auchinleck" 609-13, 622-27), Burrows (95, 99-102, 136-38, 155-61, 181-84), Julie Burton ("Narrative Patterning and 'Guy of Warwick'"), Evans (7-14), Wiggins ("*Guy of Warwick*" 9-20, 130-38, 369), Nicole Clifton (11-12), and Tuck ("Beauchamp, Thomas, eleventh").

[81] See Table 10 for an image and discussion of the miniature. Mordkoff also notes the initial capital (93, 104-05).

Winchester, none other than Hugh Despenser in Thomas's youth, who had neglected the

Beauchamp lands and responsibilities. This neglect is seen in Haslok because he is also quite

rude to strangers and awkwardly dubs himself a knight alone before questing for his father.

Therefore, the Auchinleck scribes knew the importance of the *Reinbroun* story to the patron and

that they could adapt this poem for their patron's specific political and even personal concerns.[82]

As in *Reinbroun*, thematically the rest of the Auchinleck's overall take on the parental

generation is as a double-edged sword: many other of the Auchinleck texts mirror Thomas's

need for *catharsis* about lost parents as well as about treacherous adults. *The Legend of Pope

Gregory* (item 1), *Sir Degare* (item 17), *Reinbroun* (item 24), and *Lay le Freine* (item 30) all

focus on narratives in which children were born without one or both of their parents present. In

items 1, 17, and 30, the protagonist's revelation about his missing parent is the turning point of

the story, and in items 1 and 17 the male child's quest for his missing parent is central to the

character's own identity, suggesting that Thomas's yearning for lost parents is present in the

Auchinleck narratives as well as his desire for successful literary quests for these lost parents.

However, in addition to these texts highlighting at least one good parent, some of these

very same poems as well as others highlight a parental generation which is particularly

treacherous. For example, in the first extant narrative, *Pope Gregory* (item 1), Gregory's father

insisted on having an incestuous relationship with his sister, Gregory's mother, which caused her

to abandon her baby. Things do not go better in *Degare* (item 17), where Degare's fairy knight

father stalks and rapes his pure mother, which again causes her to abandon her son. In *Beues*

(item 25) Beues's mother tricks her husband to his death so she can marry her old lover, tries to

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[82] The end of *Reinbroun* is missing due to a lost folio, but one imagines that Reinbroun's triumphant return to England, including overcoming the earls of Cornwall and Winchester, would be cathartic for Thomas. For further information, see (ll. 229-52, 1198-1416), Burrows (102, 181-84) and Tuck ("Beauchamp, Thomas, eleventh"). Hugh Despenser is also named and criticized more directly in item 40, as shall be discussed in Section F below.

kill her son Beues when he wants to avenge his father, and eventually sells Beues to merchants. A similar kind of homicidal rage is seen in the ancient text *Seven Sage of Rome* (item 18), where Florentine's stepmother is bent on having Florentine killed so her children will inherit the kingdom. In two more tales, while the parental violence is less overt, the parents still abandon vulnerable children for selfish reasons: in *Floris and Blancheflour* (item 19), Floris's parents sell his love, Blancheflour, into slavery as a young child so he cannot marry her, and in *Lay le Freine* (item 30) Freine's mother savages another woman who had twins with nasty rumors and then abandons Freine, one of her twin daughters born later, in order to avoid embarrassment. These tales seem very relevant to Thomas's life, as well as the lives of his siblings, in the wake of the selfish, destructive generation of nobles who were their parents' peers. It seems very likely that such tales were chosen with the Beauchamp children's childhood in mind, and this may give further insight into how Thomas, and his siblings, utilized such tales for *catharsis* as the protagonists in these stories eventually emerge in a kind of triumph.

F. Thomas de Beauchamp, Edward III, and Auchinleck Nationalism

There is a final, important dimension to Thomas's childhood that also seems to be reflected in the Auchinleck Manuscript, which is that Thomas seemed to form a very loyal bond with Edward III (1312-1377) at a young age. In 1318, due to the arrangement of Thomas's future marriage to Roger Mortimer's daughter, Katherine, Thomas was under Mortimer's guardianship. However, as Mortimer was imprisoned and exiled from 1322-26, he did not prove to be a stable guardian. It is not always clear where Thomas Beauchamp and his siblings grew up, but it seems likely he was raised at some point with Edward II's own son, Edward III, just two years older than Thomas. The strongest textual evidence we have that they were close is:

…in, January 1328, Joan du Boys, a nurse to Princess Eleanor, was curiously described

as 'keeper of the land and heir of Guy de Beauchamp'. There is a reasonable chance that

Thomas may well have spent some of his youth in the royal household, and the chances

of a friendship existing at the time of his minority are reasonable, given that the new king

did 'a special favour' for Thomas by receiving his homage on 20 February 1329, despite

the fact that Beauchamp was then still a minor. (Barfield Chapter 1)

Thus Thomas's childhood seemed to provide the opportunity for him to develop a loyal bond

with Edward III, and scholars have posited that they empathized with one another's vulnerability

to the likes of the Despensers and Mortimer. It would also appear that Edward III and Thomas

understood the need for antagonistic actions towards each other's families through the beginning

of Edward III's reign: Edward III never held Guy de Beauchamp's killing of Gaveston or

composition of the 1311 Ordinances against Thomas de Beauchamp. Likewise, when Edward III

disposed of his mother's lover, Roger Mortimer, Thomas never challenged Edward III about this

killing of his father-in-law; Edward III also did not hold Mortimer's actions against his son-in-

law, Thomas, but rather he aided Thomas de Beauchamp's reclamation of his family title and

lands when he allowed Thomas to pay homage at a young age.[83]

The closeness of the bond that developed between Thomas de Beauchamp and Edward

III can be seen throughout the many decades that followed this desperate start for both men.

Thomas de Beauchamp was undyingly loyal throughout his life, following Edward III into every

campaign, and even was one of the nobles imprisoned from September 1340 to May 1341 in

Mechelen as a surety for Edward III's debts, for which sacrifice Edward III eventually paid

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[83] It appears that Katherine Mortimer and Thomas de Beauchamp married c.1327, and thus Roger Mortimer was Thomas's father-in-law in 1330 when Edward III executed him. For further information, see fn. 7 above, Tuck ("Beauchamp, Thomas, eleventh"), Barfield (Chapter 1), and Nelson (67-68).

Thomas £610. And Thomas grew to be a ferocious and feared warrior who helped Edward III to succeed in many campaigns. In turn Edward III rewarded Thomas de Beauchamp's loyalty and service with positions – such as the sheriff of Warwickshire and Leicestershire for life, and with lavish gifts – such as £1366 11s. 8d in 1347 for his service during the wars and thereafter 1000 marks per annum for his readiness to serve. Edward III even raised Thomas to the status of a Marcher lord in Wales in 1360 in order to win a power struggle against his own son, Edward the Black Prince (1330-1376).[84]

Edward III's loyalty seemed to extend to the Beauchamps as a family as well. Thomas, and his brother John (c.1316-1360), helped Edward III to found the Order of the Garter (c. 1348), with Thomas ranking behind just the Prince of Wales and the duke of Lancaster in precedence.[85] John particularly thrived in Edward III's administration, becoming the Constable of the Tower of London, and has been more widely studied than Thomas. Thomas's sister, Maud de Say (d.1369), was also close to Edward III, his wife Queen Philippa (1310x15?-1369), and their daughter Isabella (1332-1379); in 1368 Maud received from Edward III an annuity of 100 marks due to her loyal service. Thus, we have evidence of two families who are very close, despite the fact that the Beauchamps' father, Guy, killed Edward III's father's favorite, Gaveston, and wrote the 1311 Ordinances to constrain the king's power, and later that Edward III killed Thomas's father-in-law. This new generation seemed to be united due their similar ages, their being raised

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[84] The two new sheriff positions were in addition to the position of sheriff of Worcestershire, a hereditary position. Mason, apparently following McFarlane's impulse in looking at this era through a lens of bastard feudalism, interprets this loyalty on the part of the Beauchamps generally as a calculated move to gain power, especially as the Beauchamps were originally more of an administrative family (36). But, while the Beauchamps could certainly also be calculating, the outpouring of loyalty from both the Beauchamps and Edward III seems to supersede pure calculation. After all, neither Guy de Beauchamp of the previous generation nor Thomas II Beauchamp of the next generation felt compelled to such undying loyalty, with Guy disposing of Gaveston and Thomas II joining the king's opposition in the Merciless Parliament, as has been mentioned previously. Gerald Harriss contests that bastard feudalism after 1350 began to be replaced with a more centralized government (53-56), and Oliver also contests bastard feudalism's position that only personal gain drove behavior (7-28). For further information, see *Chronicon de Lanercost* (302, 305-06), Tuck ("Beauchamp, Thomas, eleventh"), Barfield (Chapters 1-2), and Nelson (67-68).
[85] Thomas's fourth son, William (V) Beauchamp, was also inducted in 1375 (Carpenter ("Beauchamp, William")).

together, their dislike of those in power while they were children, and their mutual self-interests.[86]

The Auchinleck, naturally, reflects the close relationship between the Beauchamps and Edward III. The Auchinleck directly asserts its loyalty to Edward III by extending an older chronicle to c. 1330 with its *Short Chronicle* (item 40).[87] The narrator mentions Edward II (also known as Edward of Caernarfon) by name, "Edward his sone of Carnervan" (l. 2339), and then criticizes him with:

> He les his lond, saun faile,
> Þurth his wicked conseyle,
> Þurth sir Howe þe Spenser,
> Þat was his wicked conseyller. (ll. 2340-43)

These four lines are the only ones which actually describe Edward II's reign, and you can see that they are direct: Edward II was a failure, in large part due to his preferring the wicked counsel of Hugh Despener.[88] Given Edward II's permitting Hugh Despenser to abuse the Warwick lands, we can understand the glee in stating "[Edward II] les his lond" and then also why three of the four lines express outrage at Despenser specifically; perhaps there is also angry disbelief that Edward II preferred such counselors to the more widely admired Guy de Beauchamp when he was alive.[89] On the other hand, *The Short Chronicle* indulges in a longer prayer for "þe ȝong king Edward" (l. 2349). In addition to a general Christian sentiment asking God to grant Edward III grace, the text ends this with the more interesting request:

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[86] For further information, see *Chronicon de Lanercost* (302, 305-06), Tuck ("Beauchamp, Thomas, eleventh"), Barber ("Founding Knights"), Barfield (Chapters 1-2), and Nelson (67-68).

[87] For further information, see Perkins (6-7), Burrows (98-99), and Finlayson ("Richard" 162-63).

[88] Likely this refers to the elder Hugh Despener, but it could also refer to his son, the younger Hugh Despenser as the actions of both were so similarly unpopular.

[89] As discussed in Sections C and D above, scholars such as Scattergood, Turville-Petre Embree, and Urquhart have also argued that Scribes 2's items 20 and 44, political complaints, lash out at Edward II, his favorites, and the widespread corruption during his reign. See also Sections C and G for discussion of Guy as a wise counselor.

& ȝif him miȝt & grace

Him to venge in eueriche place

Oȝaines his enemis wiche þat it be.

God it him graunt par charite

Þurth his hates þat be ten. (ll. 2356-60)

Thus, while Edward III had been effectively king for a year or less when this chronicle was penned, half of the prayer is focused on giving Edward III grace to get revenge on his enemies "in eueriche place," suggesting sympathy for Edward III as he picks up the pieces from Edward II's disastrous reign. Indeed, the Auchinleck has been dated to c.1331 due to another reference in item 40, in which Lancelot holds Guinevere in Nottingham Castle (ll. 1079-98), recalling "a much more recent memory of Roger Mortimer and Queen Isabella in 1330 barricading themselves into Nottingham Castle, from which Mortimer was ignomiously dragged and sent to London to be hanged" by Edward III (Turville-Petre 111). Thus, the Auchinleck creators and audience highlight and sympathize with young Edward III's desire to set old wrongs right.

In addition to these blatant condemnations of Edward II's reign and support for Edward III, I would suggest that the Auchinleck also reflects Thomas's individual friendship with Edward III in at least a handful of texts. Immediately, of course, *Amis and Amiloun* (item 11) comes to mind as particularly relevant to these two men – Thomas de Beauchamp and Edward III – as the two close friends were raised in a house where they had no power. Amis and Amiloun's loyalty and pledged truth was unending, and the central crisis of the text is precipitated by a selfish decision of the duke presiding over them to not allow Amis to accompany Amiloun when Amiloun inherited his kingdom. The self-centered desires of those in power thus once again trigger untold pain and difficulty. *Reinbroun* (item 24), a text I have already mentioned was important to Thomas de Beauchamp, also highlights a close bond that

develops between two young knights: Reinbroun and Haslok, Herhaud's son.[90] Ingrid Nelson

also argues that loyalty was the prime focus in the Auchinleck's version of *The Harrowing of*

Hell (item 8), which she believes reflects Thomas de Beauchamp's loyalty to Edward III.[91]

I suspect that *Beues of Hamtoun* (item 25) may have been included specifically to

recognize Edward III's story as well. That Beues's mother gleefully sees her husband killed so

that she can rule his lands with her lover has seemed to me hauntingly similar to the situation

with Queen Isabella, Edward II, Roger Mortimer, and Edward III. Sir Beues eventually has to

confront and even exact revenge on his mother and her lover in a manner similar to Edward III's

own political beginnings.[92] There are three further details that indicate a closeness between item

25 and the *Guy of Warwick* narratives, and therefore to the Auchinleck patron. First, *Sir Beues*

directly follows the three main *Guy of Warwick* texts (items 22-24) and specifically comes after

Reinbroun, Thomas de Beauchamp's poem, and so *Sir Beues* would be easy to find after the Guy

narratives. Second, in *Sir Beues*, his lost father is also called Guy, creating unmistakable

parallels with the *Reinbroun* story as well as Thomas de Beauchamp's life. Finally, as

mentioned above, the narrator of *Sir Beues* quite suddenly references the Guy of Warwick legend

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[90] Burrows makes the interesting observation that Reinbroun's journey to regain his lands and title would grant him the maturity to help stabilize England, which "would seem to have been an appropriate lesson for fourteenth century Englishmen who had experienced the chaos of the reign of Edward II, had seen the return of his young son from France and were looking forward to his leadership as Edward III" (98).

[91] For further information, see Nelson (48-49, 55, 58-59, 67-69). Olson also gives an overview of the theme of loyalty along with stewardship in the Auchinleck (Kerby-Fulton 106).

[92] Barnes notes that the end of *Sir Beues* (item 25), when the protagonist avenges the wrongful death of his father on his mother and her lover, is focused on "the arena of public affairs," and explains that, "tyranny is shown to be an insidious thing: some despots may be instantly recognizable, like [his mother's lover], but they may also be less immediately obvious, like the apparently worthy King Edgar … [whose] abuse of legitimate authority" causes Beues to once again lose his lands and birthright (84). Bahr also notes parallels between the characters of *Seven Sages* (item 19) and Edward II, Queen Isabella, and Edward III although Bahr acknowledges that the parallel is strained as Queen Isabella supported her son rather than try to kill a stepson (135). That concern is true here as well as, again, Queen Isabella did not attack Edward III. It is also worth noting, although only speculative, that in the *Sir Beues* historiated initial (f.176r), Beues's coat-of-arms is covered with the *fleur-de-lis*, a French symbol which Edward III eventually quartered with his inherited coat of arms. This is the only coat of arms to be decorated in the extant Auchinleck, and it seems to foreshadow this later deed by Edward III.

in the middle of his story (ll.2430-31). Thus, *Reinbroun* and *Sir Beues* are physically close to

one another and even interwoven in a manner that could mirror the friendship of these two men.

Thomas's friendship with Edward III could explain another feature of the Auchinleck that

has garnered much attention from modern scholars, which is its focus on nationalism. Turville-

Petre captures the moment of 1330 so well: "What the teenage king faced, in the eyes of some of

his contemporaries, was nothing less than the task of rebuilding a nation that had collapsed into

anarchy and shame" (131). In the face of such chaos, loss, and failure, we find that Thomas de

Beauchamp was not alone in his generation in indulging a habit of relying on legends for

catharsis and hope; Finlayson notes Edward III's own recourse to such stories:

> The importance of tournaments in the reign of Edward III is well documented and its
>
> connection with the founding of the Round Table Order at Windsor crystallizes this
>
> medieval mingling of history and fiction which, given the warrior achievements of
>
> Edward and the Black Prince, cannot be dismissed as mere nostalgia, idealizing
>
> escapism, or reduced to mere hegemonic propaganda. ("Legendary" 303)

Thus, after the perceived failure of Edward II and his kingdom, Edward III made an intentional

decision to revive and even create a chivalric era for his kingdom, and so a celebration of past

heroes as well as a conflation of fiction and reality represent the context in which Thomas

matured. We see Edward III's, Thomas de Beauchamp's, and John de Beauchamp's

commitment to such tales of chivalry in their creation of the Arthurian type Order of the Garter.[93]

As with the Auchinleck texts which reflect Thomas's likely interest in *catharsis*, the

Auchinleck reflects this coping mechanism for this new generation as they picked up the pieces

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[93] For further information, see Finlayson (302-03), Barfield (Chapters 1-2), Tuck ("Beauchamp, Thomas, eleventh"), and Barber ("Founding Knights").

after Edward II's reign. *The King of Tars* (item 2), *The Life of Adam and Eve* (item 3), *Seynt Mergrete* (item 4), *Seynt Katerine* (item 5), *The Seven Sages of Rome* (item 18), *Floris and Blancheflour* (item 19), *Reinbroun* (item 24), *Of Arthour & of Merlin* (item 26), and *Horn Childe and Maiden Rimnild* (item 41) all deal with the fraught narratives of a younger generation of leaders navigating their way into the established but corrupt political and religious world of adults. After the blood bath at the end of Edward II's reign, these texts express well both the determination and the desperate need for things to go better for the new generation of leaders.[94]

The reliance of Edward III and the Beauchamps on chivalric romances and other literature to make sense of the world is then seen to progress seamlessly into Edward's campaign for an English national identity and the imminent wars with France. It is true that long before the 14th century Henry of Huntingdon (c.1088-c.1157) "gave English history an enduring shape and unity" (D. E. Greenway) with his *Historia Anglorum* (c.1154).[95] This sense of a distinctive English identity is echoed by the early 14th century *Vita Edwardi Secvndi* chronicler, if pejoratively, when he referenced Edward II as "English," specifically "for the English flatter when they see their strength is insufficient for a task."[96] Finding more value in a sense of a national English identity, Andrew Horn willed a copy of Henry of Huntingdon's work to the

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[94] This "blood bath" includes Lancaster's rebellion in 1322, which was crushed by Edward II at the battle of Boroughbridge; Humphrey (VII) de Bohun, earl of Hereford (c.1276-1322) was killed in the battle, Lancaster was captured and executed, and others were imprisoned in places like the Tower of London. In turn, in 1326, Queen Isabella and Roger Mortimer invaded England from France, imprisoned both Despensers, King Edward II, and Edmund Fitzalan, earl of Arundel (1285-1326), and executed all four figures. Barfield posits that Thomas's youth actually helped preserve him and likely Edward III through "the blood bath that engulfed a large proportion of the higher nobility in the later years of Edward II's reign" (Chapter 2). However, this continued into Edward III's reign, because in 1330 Edward III also imprisoned his mother, Queen Isabella, and then executed her lover, Mortimer. For further information, see Perkins (8-9), Nigel Saul (1-3), and Hamilton ("Despenser, Hugh, the elder.")

[95] Contemporaries Henry of Huntingdon and Geoffrey of Monmouth (d.1154/5) did much to establish English and British histories, including kings, regions, imaginative speeches, battles, and heroes. Their works circulated widely and influenced British and Continental thought for many centuries. For more information, see Greenway ("Henry") and J.C. Crick ("Monmouth"). For a discussion of the appropriateness of applying national identity to the late Middle Ages, see Calkin (*Saracens* 7-10), where she discusses recent scholarship by Geraldine Heng, Jon Gillingham, Lesley Johnson, Turville-Petre, Felicity Riddy, and Diane Speed.

[96] See Section C above for the context of this comment, and fn. 39 above for the original Latin.

Guildhall.[97]   In addition, c.1320 Horn and his London Guildhall clerks were very invested in

finding all of the old Anglo-Saxon laws so they could leverage them in political and legal

situations. Thus, the references in the Auchinleck to the "Inglisch" and the Auchinleck desire for

a proper English history are not without precedent. However, the Auchinleck's focus on an

English national identity supersedes merely its unusual choice to copy the poems in English and

to refer to the people as English. There is a clear campaign of inspiring a national identity which

pervades the manuscript; for example, when considering how *Of Arthour & of Merlin* (item 26)

calls attention to its own writing in English, Turville-Petre contends that the poem begins "on an

appropriately patriotic note: 'Riȝt is þat Inglische vnderstond / þat was born in Inglond." (126).

With his attention to the nationalism in the Auchinleck, Turville-Petre has helped to inflame

many scholars' interests in this theme in the Auchinleck.[98]

   The Auchinleck focus on a nascent sense of English national identity can be

demonstrated by categorizing the romances according to an established medieval system of

national literature which considers not only the heroes but the imaginative landscapes within a

romance. A number of the Auchinleck texts clearly fit within the national categories of narrative

poetry codified by the 12th century writer Jean Bodel: Matter of France, Matter of Britain, and

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[97] For further information, see Chapter 1, Section B, Part 2: "Provenance" and specifically fn. 28.

[98] For further information, see *Vita* (14-15), Catto ("Andrew" 370-87, "Horn"), and Turville-Petre ("Englishness in the Auchinleck Manuscript") The following is a list of scholars interested in the English national identity in the Auchinleck manuscript: In John Finlayson's "'Richard, Coer de Lyon': Romance, History of Something in Between?" he claims that *King Richard* (item 43) attempts to garner acclaim for England's status by comparing the English Richard's deeds to the heroes renowned on the continent: Roland, Oliver, Alexander, Charlemagne, Arthur, Gawain, Turpin, Ogier le Danois, Hector, and Achilles. He further notes that the action in the Auchinleck's *Horn Child* is heroic rather than romantic (161-62). In his introductory material for his *Three Purgatory Poems*, Edward Foster notes how, "Sir Owain is changed from an Irish knight into an Englishman, a Northumbrian who has been in the service of King Stephen," which can be found in lines 165-175 of *St Patrick's Purgatory* (item 6). Additionally, Dominique Battles, in her "*Sir Orfeo* and English Identity," determines that the lexicography of *Sir Orfeo* (item 38) demonstrates that Sir Orfeo and his kingdom have Anglo-Saxon cultural markers. In considering *The Short Chronicle* (item 4), both Turville-Petre and Purdie have noted how Anglo-Saxon Hengist is made to be a model English king (Turville-Petre 109-10) who also founds 12 towns and lays claim to England, Wales, and Scotland (Purdie 96-99). Bahr notes allusions to "the recent politics of Edward III's accession" (114) in his study of booklet 3 (3A and 3B), and Olson also addresses some of these themes (Kerby-Fulton 99-105).

Matter of Rome.[99] These Auchinleck scribes also helped establish two related categories that scholars now recognize: Matter of England and Breton Lays. The Auchinleck narratives align in this manner:

- o Matter of France: *Roland and Vernagu* (item 31) and *Otuel a Knight* (item 32)

- o Matter of Britain: *Sir Tristrem* (item 37) and *Of Arthour & of Merlin* (item 26)

- o Matter of Rome: *King Alisaunder* (item 33)*, The Seven Sages of Rome* (item 18)*, Floris and Blauncheflour* (item 19)*, Þe King of Tars* (item 2)*,* and *Amis and Amiloun* (item 11)

- o Matter of England: *Guy of Warwick* (couplets, item 22), *Guy of Warwick* (stanzas, item 23)*, Reinbroun* (item 24)*, Sir Beues of Hamtoun* (item 25)*, Horn Childe and Maiden Rimnild* (item 41), and *King Richard* (item 43)

- o Breton Lays: *Sir Degare* (item 17)*, Lay le Freine* (item 30), and *Sir Orfeo* (item 38)

The number of titles (and the lines therein) for poems in the Matter of England category dominate this list, suggesting a desire to construct an imaginative landscape of English romances with English heroes. In addition, both titles here attributed to the Matter of Britain category should further be added to the Matter of England category as the Auchinleck scribes adapted the Arthurian British tales to be English. Two Breton Lays, *Lay le Freine* (item 30) and *Sir Orfeo* (item 38) receive a similar treatment as they are moved from Brittany and set at least partially in England.[100] Thus, while typically Arthurian stories define the Matter of Britain category and the

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[99] Bodel's well-known quote is from his *Chanson de Saisnes*, the most often quoted part being: *"N'en sont que trois materes a nul home entendant / De France, et de Bretaigne, et de Rome la grant."* Perkins also breaks these texts into these categories (1-2).

[100] Indeed, in her MA thesis "'God Help Tristrem The Knight!/ He Faught for Ingland,' Lydia Yaitsky assesses how a figure typically associated with Arthur's Britain is transformed into an English knight, and in her study of *Of Arthour & of Merlin*, Siobhain Bly Calkin also notes how this work "directly addresses the question of how this tale of Arthour, a Briton king, relates to an English audience. This poem describes the inhabitants of 'Inglond,' as Þe Bretouns þat beþ Inglisse nov'" (*Saracens* 176). Purdie notes the new locations of the Breton lays (96-99).

Breton lays acknowledge a distinct British culture, the Auchinleck follows Edward III's decision to absorb the British identity (and related legends) into the new English identity.

My assertion of the Beauchamp patronage therefore provides us with a reason for the prevalent national pride in the Auchinleck. While scholars such as Wiggins have noted that, "Produced during the 1330s [the Auchinleck] has been described as a manuscript which, as a whole, reflects patriotic themes indicative of the pervasive political atmosphere on the eve of Edward III's first attacks on France" ("*Guy of Warwick*" 62), no Auchinleck scholar has tried to account for why the Auchinleck texts reflect the interests of Edward III so fully. My analysis has thus offered a solution to this intriguing question: the close friendship of Thomas de Beauchamp and Edward III meant that Thomas was aware and supportive of Edward III's plans for his nation. Just as Thomas de Beauchamp sought to restore honor to his title via the ambitious Elmley Castle restoration and commissioning the Auchinleck c. 1331, Edward III had his own ambitions to restore honor to his family name and kingdom, understanding perhaps already that:

> while war itself was necessarily brutalizing and disruptive, the chivalric code sought to discipline the knightly class by its emphasis on service, honor and loyalty. War also removed troublemakers, while its cessation frequently brought crimes waves or feudal disorder. (Gerald Harriss 32)

Within a half decade, Edward III would declare war on France (1337), and he prepared the way with administrative changes being made just as the Auchinleck was being created, and no doubt Thomas de Beauchamp knew and supported Edward III's decisions at that time.[101]

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[101] For further information, see Finlayson ("Legendary" 302-03), Turville-Petre (114-20), Harriss (30-32, 42, 47-48), Barfield (Chapters1-3), and Oliver (3-7, 29). It is worth noting that Thomas's loyal service to his king was unlike his father's in that he was particularly unquestioning: Thomas's "interests were limited, and seem to have been merely confined to the battlefield, the life to which he was particularly suited. He did not take part in the internal politics of Edward III's reign" (Barfield Chapter 3).

G. Auchinleck Themes and the Beauchamps

Although my analysis cannot prove absolutely that Thomas de Beauchamp commissioned

the Auchinleck, he does appear as the most likely candidate. Considering Thomas carefully as

the patron allows us to see that the Auchinleck contents are not a random assortment of what was

popular and/or available; rather it was a carefully planned and compiled volume with strong

dynastic and political overtones. Between items which specifically mention Guy of Warwick

and other narratives which highlight themes likely important to Thomas de Beauchamp, we have

accounted for half of the current number of items of the Auchinleck and about 250 folios in the

extant manuscript, or about 75% of the Auchinleck. The other poems deal with the Crusades or

are often religious, or both, and these themes are important when we consider how the

Auchinleck Manuscript may reflect concerns of the Beauchamp family more broadly.

Other scholars have mentioned an important Beauchamp legacy, which is that the

Beauchamps were one of the oldest Crusading families. The Crusades and concerns about

Saracens run throughout the Auchinleck, including: *The King of Tars* (item 2)*, Seynt Mergrete*

(item 4)*, Seynt Katherine* (item 5)*, On the Seven Deadly Sins* (item 14), the *Guy of Warwick* texts

(items 22-24), *Sir Beues* (item 25), *Of Arthour & of Merlin* (item 26)*, Roland and Vernagu* (item

31), *Otuel* (item 32), *The Short Chronicle* (item 40)*,* and *King Richard* (item 43). For example,

the crusading narrative *King Richard* contains a "militant Christian glorification of the defeat and

slaughter of Saracens" (Finlayson "Legendary" 299) which thus celebrates the achievements of

crusaders related to the Warwick title, such as Sir William II Longespée (c.1209-1250).[102]

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[102] In Auchinleck's *King Richard*, Longespée is named ("Sir William Þe long spay," l. 232) as fighting
anachronistically with King Richard I (1157-1199). Longespée's father, William (I), was the illegitimate child of
King Henry II (1133-1189). Sir William II Longespée was considered a crusading hero and "is celebrated in
English and French chronicles and is praised in Guillaume de Machaut's *Dit d'Alerion* (composed 1342-57) as
'chevaliers moult parfais'" (Finlayson "Legendary" 304). Longespée went on two crusades, one to Acre in 1240
and one to Egypt to join Louis IX at Damietta in 1249 on Louis's first crusade, and there Longespée died in 1250.

Siobhain Bly Calkin picks up on this theme, discussing how England's identity as a Western

Christian nation participating in a "wider, pan-Christian medieval community" very much

depended on its participation in the Crusades (*Saracens* 134-5). Thomas de Beauchamp's

commitment to the Crusades can be seen in his own petition to and crusade in the 1365 when he

joined the Teutonic knights in Lithuania before returning and serving Edward III in a more

administrative role.[103] Thus, the strong Crusading theme present within the Auchinleck

Manuscript once again fits Thomas de Beauchamp and the Beauchamp family as the intended

audience.[104]

In addition to the older Beauchamp crusading legacy, Guy de Beauchamp helped begin a

newer family legacy of literacy, wisdom, and good counsel. As mentioned above, Guy de

Beauchamp gave numerous books of all kinds to Bordesley Abbey in 1305 for safekeeping. Guy

was also highly educated, especially for a noble. For example, he was described in the *Annales*

Londonienses as "*bene literatus*"; other chronicles also stress Guy's education, wisdom, and

good counsel.[105] It seems that he managed to pass this value on to his children through his

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The Beauchamps were related to Longespée due to the marriage of Longespée's sister, Ela, countess of Salisbury (c.1207x19-1298), to Thomas de Newburgh (or Beaumont), Sixth Earl of Warwick (1201-1242). For further information, see Gilbert White (360), Finlayson ("Legendary" 304), Emilie Amt (1-25) and Simon Lloyd ("Longespée"). For a discussion of the relation of the Newburghs to the Beauchamps, see Sections A and B above. In addition this famous crusader, there were other crusaders in the Beauchamp family. For example, in his will, William de Beauchamp of Elmley (1215-1268) referred to his son Walter (1243-1303, uncle to Guy de Beauchamp) as a crusader and bequeathed to Walter "a debt of 200 marks in aid 'of his pilgrimage to the Holy Land for me and his mother'" (Barfield Chapter 1). And Thomas's sons Thomas (II) and William (V) Beauchamp followed their father's footsteps on a Crusade to Prussia in 1367, and William further crusaded in 1367 with the Black Prince in Spain, in 1370 with John of Gaunt (1340-1399) to Limoges and Montpaon, in 1373 with Gaunt's *chevauchée*, and in 1381 with the earl of Cambridge in Portugal (Catto "William" 39-40, Carpenter "Beauchamp, William (V)", and Tuck "Beauchamp, Thomas, twelfth"); for more information on William and his Oxford education prior to his military service, see below.

[103] Tuck notes that Thomas's administrative duties included, "going on a mission to Flanders in 1366 and serving as a keeper of the truce on the Scottish border" ("Beauchamps, Thomas, eleventh").

[104] For further information, see Finlayson ("Legendary" 299-301, 304-05), Turville-Petre (113-14, 120-30, 136-37), Calkin (*Saracens* 133-205, 170-72, 177, 197), Wilcox (220-22), G. R. Riggs (6-36), Barfield (Chapter 1), Tuck ("Beauchamp, Thomas, eleventh"), and Olson and Hilmo (Kerby-Fulton 115-16, 162-65).

[105] Barfield also adds that, "Earl Guy is perhaps the best example of a cultured and cerebral member of the higher nobility in the early fourteenth century. This was not lost on his contemporaries: the author of the *Vita Edwardi*

affinity or through their active quest to maintain his literate legacy. In any case, his daughter,

Maud de Say, was a book-owner as was Thomas's wife, Katherine, and Thomas's son William

(V, c.1343-1411) "became the first peer known to have a university education" when he was sent

to Oxford (Barfield Chapter 1). This family interest in literacy therefore can also explain why

Thomas de Beauchamp sought to reestablish his family honor via a manuscript dedicated to his

family interests.[106]

This Auchinleck interest in learning further celebrates Guy's legacy of "rede" or counsel.

Geraldine Barnes has noted the strong Auchinleck theme of sage advice in stories such as *Guy of*

Warwick (items 22-23), *Beues of Hamtoun* (item 25), and *Of Arthour & of Merlin* (item 26). All

four of these narratives also thematically relate to Thomas de Beauchamp, Edward III, and their

new age of chivalry (see Sections E-F). Indeed it hardly seems a coincidence that the

Auchinleck demonstrates a concern with "good counsel," given that "good counsel" is the exact

issue that Prestwich picked up as most pressing in Guy's 1311 Ordinances and given that "good

counsel" dominated the last six months of Guy's life as he moved to London to act as a senior

member of Edward II's council and possibly as chief councillor.[107] If *The Sayings of the Four*

Philosophers (item 20) laments Edward II's disastrous reign and lack of wise counsel, a good

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Secvndi claims that 'in wisdom and council he had no peer', and that 'other earls did many things only after taking his opinion'; the author of the *Lanercost* chronicle credits him with 'equal wisdom and integrity', whilst the *Annales Londonienses* describes Beauchamp as 'homo discretus et bene literatus per quem totum regnum Angliae sapienta praefulgebat'" (Chapter 1). See also Blaess (511-12, 517-18), Prestwich (13-14) and fns. 45 and 51 above for the Latin of the *Vita* excerpts.

[106] William started at Oxford in 1358 but left in 1361 when two of his older brothers (Guy and Reinbroun) died. Before he left Oxford, "in minor orders [he] was promoted to a canonry at Salisbury" (Catto "William" 40). In his "William Beauchamp: between Chivalry and Lollardy," Catto further explores how William's education and related patronage of Lollards may have caused him to question the ideals of the crusaders, a level of intellectual engagement not present in the actions of his father, Thomas, but part of the legacy of his grandfather, Guy. Like Guy, it is also suspected that William had a library, now mostly lost, but which included a missal (Trinity College Oxford MS 8, c. 1383-1397) likely commissioned by William himself due to its recording of the births of his children, which echoes what I propose to be his father's decision to commission the Auchinleck. William later became the first Baron Bergavenny by 1390. For further information, see Barfield (Chapters 1 and 3), Catto ("William"), and Carpenter ("Beauchamp, William (V)").

[107] For further information, see Barnes (60-90), Turville-Petre (134-38), Prestwich (10-14), and Barfield (Chapter 3).

many other Auchinleck poems represent a concern to remember Guy's legacy of "working by counsel" as Thomas and Edward III headed into their new chivalric age.

That at least two women in the Beauchamp family – Maud and Katherine – were interested enough in reading to own books further aligns with the Auchinleck's acknowledgement of a female audience along with that of their children. Two items – *Seven Deadly Sins* (item 14) and *Of Arthour & of Merlin* (item 26) – specifically identify their concern that men, women, and children over 12 years old be familiar with the text, and Nicole Clifton proposes that the extremely long, repetitive, and violent Auchinleck Arthurian tale *Of Arthour & of Merlin* (item 26) was intended as children's literature. *Seynt Katerine* (item 5) also references having a female audience, and it may be that Thomas de Beauchamp particularly selected this narrative to honor his wife Katherine. This Auchinleck concern for a female audience, such as Thomas's sister and wife, is also found in the works *The Thrush and the Nightingale* (item 34) and *Alphabetical Praise of Women* (item 42) as well as the female saints' lives. Indeed religious instruction was another important concern for the Auchinleck patron given the number of instructional religious texts. In addition, the poems *The Life of Mary Magdalene* (item 12) and *King Richard* (item 43) explicitly state that not everyone knows Latin and French, respectively, and so refer to English as the language everyone (in a household) could understand.[108] Thus, Thomas commissioned the Auchinleck with the intent that not only he but his siblings, wife, children, and others of the household could enjoy and be instructed by its contents. The content

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[108] In *The Life of Mary Magdalene*, there is concern with understanding Latin: "Ich biseche ȝou alle þat han yherd / Of þe Maudelain hou it ferd / Þat ȝe biseche al for him / Þat þis stori in Jnglisse rim / Out of Latin haþ ywrouȝt, / For alle men Latin no conne nouȝt (ll. 666-71). In *King Richard*, there is concern with understanding French: "As þis romaunce of Freyns wrouȝt, / Þat mani lewed no knowe nouȝt, / In gest as-so we seyn; / Þis lewed no can Freyns non; / Among an hundred vnneþe on, / In lede is nouȝt to leyn (ll. 19-24). For further information, see Burrows (102), Turville-Petre (134-38), Barfield (Chapter 1), Driver (150-53), and Olson (Kerby-Fulton 109-16).

of the Auchinleck Manuscript therefore fits the Beauchamp family – past, present, and future –
as well as it fits the bespoke patronage by Thomas de Beauchamp.

H. The Young Patron of the Bespoke Model

After my physical, historical, regional, and thematic analyses of the Auchinleck, Thomas de Beauchamp fits with all of the evidence relevant to a patron and answers many questions associated with the manuscript, such as how to explain the selection of poems which were included. Not surprisingly, then, Thomas de Beauchamp's patronage at roughly age 18 years old could answer a couple of further questions about the production of the Auchinleck. First of all, if Thomas de Beauchamp did commission the manuscript, then it is quite possible that an older figure, perhaps one from his father's affinity who knew Guy's struggles with Edward II first hand, such as John Hamelyn and William de Sutton, would have helped to guide Thomas in the process. In this scenario, we might suspect that others are helping to shape the patron's thoughts about the form and contents of the Auchinleck Manuscript.

In addition to an educated mentor from the administrative ranks potentially helping Thomas, Thomas's age presents an interesting issue in relation to the bespoke production model. The bespoke production model often assumes that a knowledgeable and wealthy patron is in charge of the process and dictates his desires to the scribes who then aim to please this client. However, what happens when the patron is young and inexperienced, not only with books but with wielding his own power and money? It is possible that having a young patron opened up an unusual window for the Auchinleck production, which is that it allowed the scribes to have more agency than they might be accorded otherwise. I have already suggested that Scribe 2 may have been in a consulting role for the family, and the youth of Thomas could further explain Scribe 2's

willingness to edit his exemplars to best suit his patron. But, in general, the freedom of the

Auchinleck scribes to adapt their exemplars has been well-recorded by scholars, and Thomas's

youth may have assisted this process.

I. The Chancery Production of the Auchinleck

85 years ago, after spending much of his life studying the administrative offices and

history of England, Thomas Frederick Tout declared that "my chief thesis to-day is that an

appreciable proportion of fourteenth-century literature came from the civil servants of the state"

(368). It seems that only recently, with pioneering efforts by scholars such as Mooney, Stubbs,

Hanna, and Clementine Oliver for the late 14th century that we are beginning to realize Tout's

understanding of the intelligence and imagination of the civil servants of 14th century and the

resultant development of English literature. With all of the evidence provided thus far in my

own analysis of the Auchinleck, I would now argue that the Auchinleck Manuscript was

produced collaboratively in London by professional scriveners like those Tout had in mind.

Most, if not all, of these scribes seemed to be able to write both a court hand and bookhand,

suggesting that they were trained in the Chancery.[109] These scribes then also collaborated with

the artists in a common workspace, suggesting that one of their offices (or their combined

professional office) was made available for such a venture, and perhaps the Auchinleck was left

unfinished when these clerks had to leave to travel with the court.[110] Interestingly, according to

John H. Fisher, the Chancery clerks had started residing in *domus conversorum* in (what is now

termed) Chancery Lane in the 1290's when the court was at Westminster; while the exact use of

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[109] Due to the Beauchamp hereditary position at the Exchequer, this may seem like an option too, but the use of court hand was fairly limited to clerks who wrote official documents for public records.

[110] See Chapter 4, Section D: "The Scribal Court Hands," Chapter 5, Section C: "The Auchinleck Manuscript and the Warwick Region," Tout's "Literature and Learning in the English Civil Service in the Fourteenth Century," and Oliver's *Parliament and Political Pamphleteering in Fourteenth-Century England*.

domus conversorum is debated, a residence like this could represent another location which would allow the clerks and artists to collaborate together on the Auchinleck Manuscript.[111]

While Hanna points out some layout similarities between the Auchinleck and several of Andrew Horn's large legal books, such as 'Liber Horn' and 'Liber Custumarum,' in Chapters 2 and 3 I have demonstrated the weaknesses of his attempts to more formally connect the Auchinleck with the London Guildhall codices.[112] Thus, while Hanna originally noted some interesting visual parallels between the Auchinleck Manuscript and some of the early 14th century legal books, the Auchinleck's actual place among these legal books requires further scrutiny. While I have not identified definitive proof as to where the Auchinleck Manuscript was produced, I think it is more likely that the Auchinleck was produced in the Chancery than the London Guildhall. While Andrew Horn and the London Guildhall were as focused on checking the power of Edward II as Guy de Beauchamp had been, in general the London Guildhall was more parochially concerned than the Chancery. As Hanna documents so clearly himself, Horn and the London Guildhall were concerned with preserving the interests of the London wealthy. The Chancery, on the other hand, attracted the best and brightest from around England as the

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[111] John H. Fisher notes that the *domus conversorum* was created in 1232 by King Henry III (1207-1272) for converted Jews, but it was abandoned when the Jews were exiled from England in 1290, and so the Chancery clerks moved in ("Chancery" 874). In 1899, Michael Adler published a book on the *domus conversorum* which suggests that Jews were still living there. If the Chancery clerks did not live there, Fisher's analysis points to the likelihood of their shared residence. See also Chapter 3, Section B: "The Traveling Artist and the Auchinleck Workspace."

[112] While I have addressed relevant points in previous chapters, here is a quick summary of the problems with Hanna's analysis, and thus also with Bahr who relies on Hanna's theory. First, Scribe 1 experimented with a single-column layout, which indicates that Scribe 1 did not merely replicate a layout from the Guildhall double-column folios. Second, there is no evidence for a poverty of exemplars as the Auchinleck Manuscript has clearly been carefully tailored for the Beauchamps, which counters the idea that the scribes had a lack of exemplars. And because the Auchinleck project was highly collaborative, we cannot see Scribe 1 as merely a central Horn type compiler and editor. Third, there is no evidence that the Auchinleck was stitched together in process like one of Horn's books, or that the Auchinleck creators opportunistically gathered filler material as it became available, as Horn did at one point, given again that the Auchinleck is so personalized for the Beauchamps. Finally, the artwork at incipits of texts is not limited to just Horn's legal books and the Auchinleck but is found in the Queen Mary Psalter itself. For further information, see Hanna (*London* 74-82), Bahr (112-14), Chapter 2, Section D, Part 1: "Columns of Text per Folio," Part 2: "Lines of Text per Column," Chapter 3, Section A: "The Auchinleck Artist," Section D, Part 1: "Illustrated Initials & Miniatures," Chapter 4, Section B: "The Senior Scribal Team," and Section F: "The Auchinleck Production Process."

royal administrative ranks kept growing, and these educated men would have been more

concerned than London clerks about helping to foster a national identity. As mentioned in

Chapter 4, these Chancery clerks were also skilled at decorating their documents and working

with illuminators for the more prized charters. It is also very likely that some of the Chancery

clerks were aware of Edward III's desire to also inflame nationalism in his people, and they

would have embraced the opportunity to promote Edward III's new vision for his nation as it

would have aided their own careers in his administrative ranks, if nothing else.[113]

In addition, the Beauchamps were more likely to have intersected with the Chancery

clerks rather than the London Guildhall clerks. In the early to mid-14th century, the Chancery

clerks still at times traveled about the country with the court, allowing them to form relationships

with fellow clerks around the country. In fact, only as Edward III was engaged in The Hundred

Year's War with France (1337-1453) were the Chancery clerks settled permanently in

Westminster.[114] In addition, the Beauchamps would have interacted with Chancery clerks at

Westminster for parliament and any legal petitions and charters, and so it would seem much

more natural for the Beauchamps to trust the Chancery clerks with such a task.[115] Furthermore,

the Chancery clerks' involvement with the Auchinleck could explain the legal references found

in the manuscript that previous scholars have noted.[116] Finally, as addressed in Section D above,

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[113] Such a mutually beneficial arrangement fits this time period; as with an affinity, "it was a partnership to their mutual advantage, a contract from which both sides expected to benefit" (McFarlane "Parliament" 70). For further information, see Tout (366-71), John H. Fisher ("Chancery" 872-77, 889-96), Catto ("Andrew" 370-87, "Horn"), Danbury (163-73), Harriss (33-39), Hanna (*London* 15-39), and Kerby-Fulton (48-49). Bliss and Shonk mention that Scribe 3 may have trained in a chancery hand, and Wiggins mentions the Chancery as a possible employer for just Scribe 3 (Bliss 653, Shonk "Investigations" 77, Wiggins *Guy of Warwick* 121-22).

[114] Slightly later than the Auchinleck's production c. 1331, "when Edward III was absent from the realm [due to The Hundred Years War], Chancery came to be localized at Westminster" (John H. Fisher "Chancery" 873-75).

[115] Undoubtedly, though, the Chancery clerks were familiar with the London Guildhall clerks as *The Short Chronicle* (item 40) contains a nod to Andrew Horn and perhaps his legacy for squaring off with Edward II on London matters. For further information, see Chapter 1, Section B, Part 2: "Provenance" and Catto ("Andrew" 370-87).

[116] Burrows notes that Earl Florentine's son's behavior in couplet *Guy* (item 21) violates two articles, Articles 11 and 16, of the Charter of the Forest: "Article 11: Every archbishop, earl, or baron travelling through the forest may

at least two of the scribes (2 and 6) originated near the Beauchamp lands, and so it is unlikely that they were employed in the London Guildhall.

Dialect analysis of the Auchinleck London scribes also supports the Chancery as a likely location. While early dialect analysis placed Scribes 1, 3, and 5 around London, Runde's most recent analysis suggests that Scribes 1 and 3 actually manifest very early signs of Samuel's Type III dialect, a dialect he posits was common in London closer to the end of the 14th century. With John H. Fisher documenting the centrality of Chancery English to the development of a London dialect, it seems that Scribes 1 and 3 – forerunners of Type III English – would be employed in the Chancery and not the London Guildhall. Further, I would be curious to know the results of a similar reanalysis of Scribe 5's dialect; Scribe 5 is the most neglected scribe on the Auchinleck project, but he copied almost as many folios as Scribe 3 and is an important piece of the puzzle. If Scribes 1, 3, and 5 all did manifest a Type III dialect profile, indicating that they were in fact Chancery scribes, it seems that Scribes 2 and 6 also likely *could* write in this standardized administrative dialect and yet chose to revert to their original dialect in deference to the Beauchamp patron.[117]

J. Conclusion:

In this chapter I have explored the possible Auchinleck Manuscript connection with the Beauchamp family rhetorically, historically, regionally, and thematically. The result of my

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take one or two beasts by view of the foresters or he may blow a horn to give notice if they are not present… Article 16: No warden of a castle or anyone else may hold forest pleas (inquests). A forester in fee who makes attachments must present them to the verderers, who will enroll them and present them to the chief forester when he comes to hold and terminate pleas" (Burrows 120). Thus, the earl's son did not respect Guy's rights as a noble and superseded his own rights when he tried Guy impromptu in the forest. Bruce Moore also notes the presence of legal jargon in *The Harrowing of Hell* (item 8). For further information, see Tout (366-71), John F. Fisher ("Chancery" 872-77, 889-96), Moore (31-33), Burrows (117-21), and Harriss (33-39).

[117] For further information, see Runde's "Reexamining Orthographic Practice in the Auchinleck Manuscript through the Study of Complete Scribal Corpora," John H. Fisher ("Chancery" 870-72, 880-87, 896-99, *An Anthology* 26-51), Kerby-Fulton (66-67), and Chapter 4, Section A: "Scribal Collaboration," especially fn. 1.

analyses is that Thomas de Beauchamp now seems by far the most likely candidate to have commissioned the Auchinleck Manuscript in order to help reestablish his family name and honor after the traumatic final years of Edward II's reign. The Auchinleck honors the deeds of Guy de Beauchamp in *The Sayings of the Four Philosophers* (item 20) as well as their legendary ancestor, Guy of Warwick. The Auchinleck Manuscript also demonstrates Thomas de Beauchamp's complex relationship with story: he seems to have relied on legend as propaganda in order to bolster his family *pretz*, as a way to vent bitterness about his family's experiences, and to experience *catharsis* for his haunting losses. Thomas de Beauchamp was not alone in this reliance on story and legend, however, as his embrace of chivalric romances mirrors that found in Edward III's leadership; indeed, chivalric stories were pivotal for both men as they sought to (re)establish a national identity. Finally, the poems celebrate the broader Beauchamp interests of the Crusades, wisdom and counsel, and literature which contains content and instruction for an entire household. This range of purposes for the Auchinleck Manuscript fits with Rouse and Rouse's summary of the many manuscripts they have studied:

> The eighteen articles presented here deal with aspects of this medieval passion for binding ideas permanently with the written word: as a way of ordering one's thoughts and of preserving the past; as a means of instructing the learned and the simple; as a vehicle for persuading one's contemporaries and as a monument to one's own importance. (*Bound* 1).

Thomas de Beauchamp seemingly sought to do all of this with this Auchinleck Manuscript, and his patronage makes the Chancery the most likely site of production for the manuscript.

Conclusion

Due to its lack of a clear record about its patron, provenance, date, scribes, or master artist, the Auchinleck Manuscript has represented a tantalizing set of mysteries for scholars for at least several centuries. In 1804 Sir Walter Scott helped to identify an important factor for the date when he noted the prayer for "þe ȝong king Edward" III at the end of *The Short Chronicle* (item 40) as well as apparent references to Edward II and his reign. Since that time, numerous scholars have contributed important observations about the physical manuscript as well its literary content in order to determine the proper historical context for the manuscript, including that of its scribes and patron. The 334 folios contain important clues, and so a number of scholars have previously been able to forge interesting connections, particularly in relation to the Auchinleck's provenance and date.

After decades of studying numerous medieval manuscripts, recently Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse so eloquently expressed the importance of this kind of manuscript study:

> Two themes cut vertically through this threefold horizontal division [of manuscript study]: that manuscripts were written in specific places at specific times, by real people who have left their marks on the record; and that manuscripts, like people, are not anonymous and free-floating in time. They too leave traces, most obviously in their texts, their script and decoration and illumination, ex libris marks, and binding stamps, but also in other types of evidence, in accounts, in inventories, in last wills, in narrative records, and elsewhere. These attributes, pertinent to manuscripts of any place, time, and subject, make of them important witnesses to the wheres and wherefores of human change over time and space. (*Bound* 2)

My analysis of the Auchinleck Manuscript followed a similar intellectual methodology. The Auchinleck is a complex codex that records the decisions of scribes, artists, and their patron who lived nearly seven centuries ago. It is paradoxically also made complex by all of those who have studied it and who have posited various theories, some helpful, but some misleading. Scholarship has come a long way from Scott's dismissive comment that item 13 was incomplete because "the author or transcriber had tired of his task" (xviii), a remark which demonstrates Scott's lack of real interest in the text. In my dissertation, I have tried to avoid such unselfconscious judgments. Through careful analysis of each folio, I tried to determine the individual habits and traits of the different professional scribes and artists who helped to create the manuscript as well as the individual who commissioned it because I believe that the more that we know about the Auchinleck's specific context, the better we can understand its contents. Studying the physical make-up of the Auchinleck along with its content and their unique *ordinatio* has thus led me to discover what can be determined about those individuals responsible for the Auchinleck as scribes, artists, and the patron as well.

My work has benefited enormously from the massive advances in digital technology now available to those who work in manuscript study. As digital access allows one to review previous scholars' assertions relatively easily, I have stressed the importance of reviewing all evidence systematically and not assuming that various scribes were incompetent when there were anomalies in the presentation of a text. My thorough analysis of variations in the manuscript was vital as it is all too easy to pick and choose the evidence which might suit one's bias. In Chapters 1-4, I carefully studied the physical evidence of the Auchinleck, painstakingly at times, in order to allow the evidence to guide and direct my judgment. Two themes emerged consistently in these chapters: that the Auchinleck production process is best characterized by a

fits-and-starts (or *ad hoc*) collaborative model and that Scribes 1, 2, and 3 demonstrated the agency one would expect of senior scribes in a position of authority concerning the production of this manuscript.

In Chapter 1, I discussed the most basic aspects of the physical manuscript and analyzed particularly interesting traces of proofreading hands and signatures (the letters and other marks found in the lower margins of folios that here seem to relate to the production process). My analysis of the proofreading hands turned up some unexpected finds, such as the presence of a court hand seemingly unrelated to one of the six scribes on ff.136r, 258r, and 259r (and possibly f.211v); it appears that this court hand represents one of several contemporaries proofreading the Auchinleck in addition to the six scribes themselves. In addition, I detected the presence of Scribe 6 checking Scribe 1's work for its accuracy on f.233r. Both of these proofreading hands as well as the other contemporary proofreading hands (not identifiable as one of the scribes) established the production environment to be a collaborative workspace where various individuals contributed to a range of roles. The signatures strengthened my surmise that this was a collaborative environment, with a flurry of activity at the bottom of the folios indicating that the Auchinleck team communicated with one another; indeed their communications evidently go well beyond the typical folio or gathering signatures and may include any range of topics, such as marking intertextual passages to be copied in other Auchinleck works or noting artwork that needs to be resumed.

In Chapter 2, I discussed not only the scribal *mise-en-page* in the Auchinleck but also scholarship that could help put this *mise-en-page* in context. While previous Auchinleck scholars have been too quick to dismiss anomalous folios and, relatedly, Scribe 2 as "troublesome," more careful analysis of Scribe 2's work along with the others painted a different

picture. I found that when the scribal work is viewed through the lens of a folio's purposeful distinctiveness acting as an aid in finding and recalling texts, Scribe 2 suddenly emerged from the folios as an important figure – one who had the seniority to authorize such expenses as writing in a larger, more elaborate hand and ruling fewer lines per folio (than the normative 44 lines) in order to allow his items 10 and 44 to stand out. Likewise, Scribe 3 emerged as another senior figure with the agency to add his own titles for items 14 and 15 and also to rule fewer lines per folio for items 14-17. Indeed, I found that even Scribe 1 deviated from the normative *mise-en-page* at times as he experimented with a single-column format for item 1 and added blue initials to red headings for item 36. In addition, my analysis of a handful of shared medieval item numbers (for the last two texts of booklets 1, 3B, and 9) as well as of the varying rubrication of the titles strongly indicates that the scribes were deciding which poems and how many were to be included during the production process. Furthermore, several poems (item 13, and possibly items 26 and 39) without the normative endings – such as *Explicit, Amen*, or even a closing prayer – suggest that these poems in different booklets were being copied by Scribe 1 in this collaborative environment when production stopped, adding to the sense of an *ad hoc* production environment.

In Chapter 3, my identification of the hand of the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist on several figural faces and his influence on the overall conceptual design of the artwork situated the remaining Auchinleck illustrations within the context of the Queen Mary group and Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist corpora. I explained some Auchinleck illustrations according to conventions in the Queen Mary group by comparing the Auchinleck's remaining illustrations to the Queen Mary Psalter and the Breviary of Chertsey Abbey. These two manuscripts helped me to understand that the use of historiated initials was likely an integral part of the Auchinleck's

mise-en-page, despite contrary suggestions by some Auchinleck scholars. In addition, various signifiers such as a red border on the Auchinleck miniature on f.7r and the frontal facing seated figure on f.72r can now be understood in light of similar signifiers in the Queen Mary group of manuscripts: the red border splits the scene while the frontal posture represents God, Christ, or a ruling saint. Furthermore, I was able to analyze the Auchinleck artwork in light of two other manuscripts known to be illustrated by the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist: the Bangor Pontifical and the Sherbrooke Missal. An understanding of this master artist, his known tendency to travel to commissions, and his use of distinct foliated initials revealed the limitations of both Timothy Shonk's theory that the Auchinleck was sent to a separate *atelier* towards the end of production as well as Judith Mordkoff's theory that the foliated initial heading item 40 represents part of the haphazard decorative plan in place before miniatures were added. And, yet, the addition of illustrations after the project had begun does confirm my argument that the Auchinleck scribes were making collaborative decisions, some of which resulted in considerable expense and thus likely included the patron, throughout the production process.

Analysis of the artwork also revealed more about the scribes and the selection of the content in the Auchinleck. The distinctive folios which head booklets indicate that the scribes were consciously distinguishing these booklet headings as finding aids throughout the manuscript; interestingly, the four folios heading booklets which include elaborate initial capitals (parted *h*'s on ff.39r and 268r, and 10+ line tall *I*'s on ff.70r and 281r) also demonstrate that the scribes made an effort to echo each other's booklet headings while still making each unique. Close analysis of other initial capitals also demonstrated that various small poems at the ends of booklets often dismissed as "filler" by previous codicologists were likely valuable to the patron; indeed, these shorter works often received much more expensive decorative attention than the

longer romances modern scholars tend to focus on. Furthermore, my analysis indicated compelling evidence that the scribes were helping with the decorative work: Scribe 2 drew in decorative swirls, red paraphs, and even initial capitals during a proofreading stage, while at least three other scribes helped with adding paraphs to the manuscript. Scribe 6 also emerges as an ideal candidate to consider for the crossover role of scribe and illustrator that scholars have posited is likely in this era. And in their decisions about their decorative *mise-en-page*, Scribes 1, 2, and 3 continued to demonstrate that they negotiated a series of decisions, employing norms in a flexible approach to the layout of the manuscript when other needs were being considered.

In Chapter 4, based on much of my analysis in Chapters 2 and 3, I was able to show for the first time that there was a senior scribal team -- Scribes 1, 2, and 3 -- as well as a junior scribal team -- Scribes 4, 5, and 6. Breaking the Auchinleck scribes into these two teams brought a new perspective to the evidence found in the Auchinleck. Previously, most scholars (and especially those since the 1980's) have assumed that Scribe 1 was the sole authority and so variations meant that the other scribes were living up to the popular trope of the scribe as mere incompetent copyist. Recently this assumption about Scribe 1's central decision-making has led scholars like Ralph Hanna to assert that, as a small stationer, Scribe 1 utilized in the Auchinleck whatever resources he could access for the Auchinleck, as far as exemplars to be copied and arranging contracts with other scribes. But with Scribes 1, 2, and 3 making expensive -- as I have shown -- autonomous decisions which lend distinctiveness to their texts, the variations in the Auchinleck become meaningful signifiers as aids to help the patron find individual poems and also as evidence of how different professionals approached their work. Scribes 4, 5, and 6 were then shown to be a junior scribal team in a supportive role, likely helping with basic decorative work in addition to copying poems. Scribes 2 and 6 stood out from their respective

teams a bit, however; Scribe 2 seemed to also participate in decorative work, and Scribe 6 –

already noted as a proofreader in Chapter 1 – seemed to have a particularly trained eye for

balance and artwork and may have been capable of more complex illustrations as well.

With this competent team of professionals contributing to the Auchinleck project, there

was no longer a need to accept Hanna's view that one small stationer struggled to find resources

as he compiled the manuscript. Indeed, my paleographic analysis revealed that the scribes all

had likely been trained in the Chancery or a similar administrative office because their scribal

hands revealed evidence of both bookhands and court hands, the latter being a type of writing

principally limited to formal government documents at this time. This administrative context for

the Auchinleck scribes and production helped to make sense of a number of points of evidence

found thus far: the court hand proofreading the document, how these scribes came to work in a

collaborative environment together, the presence of a hierarchy between the senior and junior

scribes, the combined network of connections they could have utilized to access exemplars and

other resources, why the scribes might demonstrate a willingness to adapt their exemplars, and

finally the reason for the *ad hoc* production process as they added this additional bespoke work

to their daily routine. Paleographic analysis also demonstrated a different way to divide the

scribes into groups: Scribe 1 seemed to work closely with Scribe 5 and possibly Scribe 6 as all

three show signs of belonging to the same school of handwriting, and all three ruled their folios

in a similar manner. Scribes 2 and 4 also seem to belong to a school of handwriting together,

and it seems likely that Scribe 2 was training Scribe 4 as Scribe 4 seemed to be practicing his

handwriting while copying item 21 and his hand shows similarities to Scribe 2. These

hierarchical teams make sense in an administrative context where we might expect that Scribes 1

and 2 were directing the lower level clerks in a manner which mirrored their regular work in the government offices.

In Chapter 4 I also modeled a more complete scribal profile using the information from my discussions in Chapters 1-4 by developing a profile for Scribe 2. Rather than the inexperienced, "troublesome" scribe he had appeared to be to previous codicologists, my profile for Scribe 2 highlighted him as a confident, capable, senior figure who edited his exemplars to suit his time period. Born in the south midlands, this man likely came to London for scribal employment in an administrative office. However, as he adapted his exemplars for his items 10, 20, and 44, it is likely that he was mindful of their social and political impact on his south midlands homeland. Therefore, I found that an analysis of the production process needs to take into account not only the copying of exemplars, but should produce a model which allows the manuscript creators flexibility and agency to adapt their exemplars while being mindful of their patron's desires. Indeed, the flurry of signatures discovered in Chapter 1 makes complete sense in light of the number of individuals who were working on different sections of the manuscript with a wide range of duties: editing exemplars, copying poems, adding various kinds of decorative work, proofreading both the texts and the artwork, training younger scribes, and negotiating decisions. This fits-and-starts model where poems were being adapted, with this editing work being squeezed in around administrative duties, can also explain why at least one and possibly a few poems were not finished as well as the incomplete artwork.

In many ways the reward of this painstaking analysis came in Chapter 5, when I was able to propose both a patron and a production environment that fit the physical and literary evidence of the Auchinleck. Building on previous scholars' suggestions that the Beauchamps may be connected to the Auchinleck due to the prevalence of the Guy of Warwick legend, I was able to

provide rhetorical, historical, regional, and thematic analyses that connect Thomas de

Beauchamp, the Earl of Warwick, to the Auchinleck Manuscript c.1331. For example, *The*

Sayings of the Four Philosophers (item 20) is a poem which other codicologists have all too

often dismissed as "filler" due to its occupying just one leaf. Yet, after my reevaluations of both

Scribe 2 and "filler" works, item 20 took on tremendous significance when we realize that Scribe

2 wove together and adapted two source poems: one is a poem reflecting Edward II's treachery

to the 1311 Ordinances and the other is about woeful philosophers futilely pointing out problems

to an autocratic and misguided king. Indeed, the blending of these two sources, *De Provisione*

Oxonie and *Gesta Romanorum*, respectively, is very reminiscent of Guy de Beauchamp's futile

attempts to counsel Edward II, particularly with the 1311 parliament and the related 1311

Ordinances, and it seems that Thomas de Beauchamp was eager to honor his father's legacy with

the inclusion of this poem. Directly following item 20, the scribes placed a *List of Norman*

Names (item 21), which includes the Beauchamps and many related families, establishing their

honorable aristocratic station. My analysis thus also highlights the careful attention to *ordinatio*

by the scribes when they wed these two texts related to the Beauchamps to the subsequent *Guy of*

Warwick narratives (items 22-24) which honor the Beauchamp's legendary ancestor.

As would be expected if Thomas de Beauchamp commissioned the Auchinleck

Manuscript, as I believe, there are numerous connections between the manuscript and the south

midlands region. The Warwick region and Guy of Warwick are celebrated throughout the

Auchinleck, including insertions of Guy's legendary achievements into unrelated passages in

items 25 and 40, and the celebration in item 40 of Anglo-Saxon kings who were focal to the

development of the midlands. The "relict" texts in the Auchinleck, already old-fashioned for

early 14th century literary tastes, also become prominent signifiers of the importance of the

Auchinleck to the Warwick seat of power, once we realize that many of these poems originate in this south midlands region. Furthermore, Scribes 2 and 6's involvement in proofreading the Auchinleck – Scribe 6 as a textual proofreader for Scribe 1 and Scribe 2 as a proofreader for missing initial capitals – takes on a more substantial meaning in light of their dialect profiles demonstrating that they were from the south midlands along with the Beauchamps. No wonder both scribes seemed to take on numerous roles in the Auchinleck production process as both may have been particularly interested in refining the final product for a patron who could amply benefit them and their family with favors, connections, and positions.

My literary analysis of the Auchinleck poems also demonstrates that Thomas de Beauchamp fits the evidence as the likely patron. While the Auchinleck adds to the Beauchamp family's continued expenditures on items relating to the *Guy of Warwick* narratives in order to bolster their *pretz*, the Auchinleck also demonstrates how story was used to make sense of a faltering kingdom at the end of Edward II's tumultuous reign. I believe that there is substantial evidence to assert that Thomas de Beauchamp conflated the legendary Guy of Warwick with his own father, Guy de Beauchamp of Warwick, after Guy died when Thomas was a toddler. Thomas willed his father's armor to his son but noted it as belonging to the mythical Guy of Warwick, and he reverentially sought out the castle of his father's birth (Elmley Castle) for repairs and likely the manuscripts Guy donated in 1305 for the creation of the Auchinleck.

Thomas de Beauchamp's interest in the *Guy of Warwick* narratives may also have allowed him and his siblings an experience of *catharsis* about their losses and also served as a source of inspiration. Along with his brother John, Thomas helped to create Edward III's new chivalric *zeitgeist*, celebrating the prowess of the heroic knights all three aristocrats grew up reading and hearing about. These three men -- Thomas, John, and Edward III -- solemnly

created and committed themselves to the Order of the Garter -- a chivalric society filled with

Arthurian overtones -- and they frequently took their fighting prowess to the Continent in order

to earn valor on par with legendary figures like King Richard I, Sir William II Longespée, and

Guy of Warwick; indeed, it seems that the fictional narratives held equal weight in their minds

with any verifiable historical narratives. Various other codicological factors helped to support

my thematic analysis, such as the fact that the largest extant miniature heads *Reinbroun* (item

24), a story in which I believe that Thomas de Beauchamp saw his own life reflected. Thus, in

Chapter 5 I tried to demonstrate how to employ codicological analyses thematically, using the

physical evidence to support my arguments *after* taking the time to understand each element

systematically first.

I believe we can now reread many of the Auchinleck poems in light of their relevance to

Thomas de Beauchamp and his family. These stories were not merely courtly entertainment to

pass the time in a noble's household. Rather, these fictional heroes and their perseverance

through challenges and persecution were models for correct behavior for the aristocratic men

during the last corrosive political decade of Edward II's reign. In effect, the young teens

substituted fictional heroic nobles to be their role models instead of the treacherous parental

generation of nobles engaged in a blood bath around them. The use of literature in this manner

to "fill in the gaps" during their traumatic childhood experiences is fascinating. If we reconsider

Rouse and Rouse's remark that "these [traces left by manuscripts in the historical records],

pertinent to manuscripts of any place, time, and subject, make of them important witnesses to the

wheres and wherefores of human change over time and space" (*Bound* 2), we see that the

Auchinleck is a witness to the coping mechanisms of a generation who came of age during the

tumultuous 1320's. Indeed, Thomas de Beauchamp left behind a manuscript that one might be

tempted to read like a record of his own internal state c.1331. He was concerned about his family's reputation and honor, was angry about Edward II's reign, wanted to honor his father Guy (whom he seems to have conflated with the mythical Guy), was inspired by chivalric romances, was mindful that women in his household may have different reading interests, and wanted to be sure that impressionable souls in his household were instructed in basic religious doctrine. All of this was done in English, of course, because not every member of the elite could understand French or Latin, but also because the Auchinleck contents in English supported Edward III's plans to bolster England's nascent sense of nationalism as they prepared for the Hundred Years War.

Due to all of the historical, regional, rhetorical, and thematic evidence supporting Thomas de Beauchamp as the patron of the Auchinleck, I then needed to consider which government office was the most likely location for production. With what I was able to consider historically, thematically, and dialectically, the Chancery seemed the most likely location for our Auchinleck scribal team. The Chancery clerks would have worked with the Beauchamp family for parliament, charters, and petitions, and these clerks still traveled about the country at times with the royal court, suggesting that they may have established relationships with the Beauchamp household and administration in Warwick. Further, recent analysis of Scribe 1 and 3's dialects has suggested that these scribes were two forerunners of the Type III London dialect more regularly seen in the late 14th century, and I believe that at least Scribe 5's dialect should be reconsidered to see if he also shows tendencies towards a Type III dialect. As it is, due to the centrality of the Chancery in developing any kind of standardized dialect, I am able to assert some real identification for our six Auchinleck scribes: Scribes 1, 2, and 3 were likely more senior administrators in the Chancery, and Scribes 4, 5, and 6 could represent junior clerks.

This is an important finding both for the Auchinleck Manuscript, as we strive more to know about the professionals responsible for the many first and unique versions of items present therein, and for 14th century literary scholarship more broadly. Late 14th century scholars are beginning to understand how important Chaucer's position in the London Guildhall was in helping him to develop his literary prowess in a creative, collaborative environment, and my scholarship on the Auchinleck demonstrates that such an innovative literary environment in an administrative setting was already established to some degree by 1331, perhaps at the Chancery.

Therefore, in response to the mysteries of the Auchinleck's provenance, date, scribes, master artist, and patron, I suggest that the Chancery clerks created the Auchinleck Manuscript likely while in London (or at Westminster) c.1331 for Thomas de Beauchamp with the help of the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist to direct the decorative work after the project had begun. Studying the physical traces of the Auchinleck in order to connect this manuscript to real identities in this manner allows for some of the old mysteries to be solved. But, importantly, linking the Auchinleck Manuscript solidly to the Beauchamp family, and Thomas de Beauchamp in particular, also allows Thomas himself to be better understood. Thomas de Beauchamp, his brother John, their friend King Edward III, and the Beauchamp descendants created national and international history, particularly in relation to the Hundred Years War. The desire of Edward III, Thomas de Beauchamp, and John de Beauchamp to demonstrate their chivalric prowess and to earn their heroic reputations in the war with the French demonstrates the power and hold the contents of the Auchinleck Manuscript had on at least one generation of aristocrats who looked to story to help them make sense of the world.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Details about Items in the Auchinleck Manuscript[1]

Book-let	Scribe	Modern Item Number	Modern Name	Medieval Item Number	Alternate Name (when present)	Folios included	Total Folios[2]
1	1	1	*The Legend of Pope Gregory*	vi		1r-6v	6
		2	*The King of Tars*	vii		7r-13v	7
		3	*The Life of Adam and Eve*	viii	*Adam and Eve*	E ff.1r-2v,[3] ff.14r-16r	4.5
		4	*Seynt Mergrete*	ix		16r-21r	5.5
		5	*Seynt Katerine*	x		21r-24v	4
		6	*St Patrick's Purgatory*	xi	*Owayne Miles*	25r-31v	6.5
		7	*Þe Desputisoun bitven þe bodi & þe soule*	xii		31v-35r	3.5
		8	*Harrowing of Hell*	xiii		35v stub-37r stub	1
		9	*The Clerk who would see the Virgin*	xiii	*A Miracle of the Virgin*	37v stub-38v	1
2	2	10	*Speculum Gy de Warewyke*	xv	*Epistola Alcuini*	39r-48r stub	9.5
	1	11	*Amis and Amiloun*	xvi		48v-61v (& 61r(a) stub)	13
		12	*The Life of St. Mary Magdalene*	xvii	*Marie Maudelayne*	(61v(a) stub & 62r-65v	4
		13	*The Nativity and Early Life of Mary*	xvii	*Anna, our leuedis moder*	65v-69v	4.5
3A[4]	3	14	*On the Seven Deadly Sins*		*On the seuen dedly sinnes* <u>or</u> *Sinnes*	70r-72r	2.5
		15	*The Paternoster*	xxii	*The pater noster vndo englissch*	72r-72v (& 72r(a) stub)	1
		16	*The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin*	xxiii	*The Assumption of the Virgin*	(72v(a) stub & 73r-78r	5.5
		17	*Sir Degare*	xxiv	*Sir Degarre*	78r-84v (& 84r(a) stub)	7
		18	*The Seven Sages of Rome*		*The seuen wise masters*	(84v(a) stub & 85r-99v	15
3B		19	*Floris and Blancheflour*	xxvi (xvi)	*Florice and Blauncheflour*	100r-104v	5
	2	20	*The Sayings of the Four Philosophers*	xxvi or xxvii	*A satirical poem*	105r	.5
	4	21	*The Battle Abbey Roll*	xxvii	*A list of Norman names*	105v-107r	2

---

[1] This table presents information about each item, including the booklet number, scribe, modern name, modern item number, alternate name (either an original title or that given to it by Kölbing), medieval item number (when available), folios included, and an approximate number of folios included in the work (not including stubs).

[2] The number of folios included is only an approximation, but it is useful in getting a quick sense of the length of the texts in question.

[3] Folios beginning with E, S, or L indicate that those folios are parts of fragments preserved at the Edinburgh, Saint Andrews, and London University Libraries, respectively.

[4] While Robinson identified 12 booklets, Booklet 3 may be divided further into two separate booklets.

Appendix A: continued

Book-let	Scribe	Modern Item Number	Modern Name	Medieval Item Number	Alternate Name (when present)	Folios included	Total Folios
4	1	22	*Guy of Warwick (couplets)*	xxviii	*Sir Gij of Warwicke*	108r-145v	39.5
		23	*Guy of Warwick (stanzas)*	xxviii	*Continuation of Gij of Warwicke*	145v-167r	21.5
	5	24	*Reinbroun*	xxix	*Reinbrun, Gij sone of Warwicke*	167r-175v	8.5
5		25	*Sir Beues of Hamtoun*	xxx		176r-201r	26.5
	1	26	*Of Arthour & of Merlin*	xxxi		201r-256v	56
		27	*Þe Wenche þat loved þe King*		*The wenche that [lov]ed [a k]ing*	256v-256r(a) stub	.5
		28	*A Peniworthe of Wiit*	xxxiii	*[A penni]worth [of wi]tte*	256v(a) stub-259r	2.5
		29	*How Our Lady's Sauter was First Found*	xxxiiii	*Hou our leuedi sauté was ferst founde*	259r-260v	1.5
6		30	*Lay le Freine*	xxxv		261r-262v (& 262r(a) stub)	2
		31	*Roland and Vernagu*	xxxvi	*Rouland and Vernagu*	(262v(a) stub &) 263r-267v	5
7	6	32	*Otuel a Knight*	xxxvii		268r-277v	10
8	1	33	*King Alisaunder*	xliiii	*Alexander the great*	L ff.1r-2v, S A.15 ff.1r-2v, ff.278r-279r	5.5
		34	*The Thrush and the Nightingale*		*The throstlecock and the nightingale*	279v	.5
		35	*The Sayings of St Bernard*		*Les diz de Seint Bernard*	280r	.5
		36	*Dauid the King*			280r-280v	.5
9		37	*Sir Tristrem*	li		281r-299v	19
		38	*Sir Orfeo*			300r-303r	3.5
		39	*The Four Foes of Mankind*	lii	*A moral poem*	303r-303v	.5
10		40	*The Anonymous Short English Metrical Chronicle*	liii	*Liber regum Angliae*	304r-317r	13.5
		41	*Horn Childe & Maiden Rimnild*	liv		317v-323v	6.5
		42	*Alphabetical Praise of Women*	lv	*Praise of Women*	324r-325v	2
11		43	*King Richard*	lvi		f.326r-327v, E ff.3r-4v, S R.4 ff.1r-2v	8
12	2	44	*þe Simonie*			328r-334v	7

Appendix B: Recreation of the Gatherings[1]

Booklet 1

1^8 — 4 leaves missing
1 **Scribe 1**/Item 1
2
3
4

2^8
5
6
6a (stub)
7 Item 2
8
9
10
11

3^8
12
13
missing
E f.1 Item 3
E f.2 missing
14
15

4^8
16 Item 4
17
18
19
20
21 Item 5
22
23

5^8
24
24a (stub)
25 Item 6
26
27
28
29
30

6^8
31 (v) Item 7
32
33
34
35 (stub)
36 Item 8
37 (stub)
38 Item 9

Booklet 2

7^8
39 **Scribe 2**/Item 10
40
41
42
43
44
45
46

8^8
47
48 (stub)
49 **Scribe 1**/Item 11
50
51
52
53
54

9^8
55
56
57
58
59
60
61
61a (stub)

10^8
62 Item 12
63
64
65 (v) Item 13
66
67
68
69

Booklet 3A

11^8
70 **Scribe 3**/Item 14
71
72 Item 15
72a (stub)
73 Item 16
74
75
76

12^8
77
78 Item 17
79
80
81
82
83
84

---

[1] This appendix is adapted from the diagram in Pearsall and Cunningham's Introduction to the facsimile edition (xii-xiii). 1^8 refers to gathering 1 with 8 folios, and so on. Only gathering 38 definitively has more folios (with 10). Each diagonal line refers to a leaf of the manuscript, with its folio number next to it. Small stubs, which were not identified until the MS. was unbound in 1971, are followed by an "a". Folios which are entirely missing have a dotted line. I have added in breaks for booklets as well as information about the scribes and item numbers. A (v) before an item number indicates that the text begins on the verso side of the leaf.

Appendix B: Continued

13^8
- 84a (stub)
- 85 Item 18
- 86
- 87
- 88
- 89
- 90
- 91

14^8
- 92
- 93
- 94
- 95
- 96
- 97
- 98
- 99

15   missing

Booklet 3B

16^8
- 100 Item 19
- 101
- 102
- 103
- 104
- 105 **Scribe 2/**Item 20
- 106 **Scribe 4**/Item 21
- 107

Booklet 4

17^8
- 107a (stub)
- 108 **Scribe 1**/Item 22
- 109
- 110
- 111
- 112
- 113
- 114

18^8
- 115
- 116
- 117
- 118
- 118a (stub)
- 119
- 120
- 120a (stub)

19^8
- 121
- 122
- 123
- 124
- 125
- 126
- 127
- 128

20^8
- 129
- 130
- 131
- 132
- 133
- 134
- 135
- 136

21^8
- 137
- 138
- 139
- 140
- 141
- 142
- 143
- 144

22^8
- 145 (v)Item 23
- 146
- 147
- 148
- 149
- 150
- 151
- 152

23^8
- 153
- 154
- 155
- 156
- 157
- 158
- 159
- 160

24^8
- 161
- 162
- 163
- 164
- 165
- 166
- 167 **Scribe 5**/Item 24
- 168

25^8
- 169
- 170
- 171
- 172
- 173
- 174
- 175
- missing

Appendix B: Continued

Booklet 5

26^8

176 <u>Item 25</u>
177
178
179

180
181
182
183

27^8

184
185
186
187

188 missing
189
190

28^8

191
192
193
194

195
196
197
198

29^8

199
200
201 **Scribe 1**/<u>Item 26</u>
202

203
204
205
206

30^8

207
208
209
210

211
212
213
214

31^8

215
216
217
218

219
220
221
222

32^8

223
224
225
226

227
228
229
230

33^8

231
232
233
234

235
236
237
238

34^8

239
240
241
242

243
244
245
246

35^8

247
248
249
250

251
252
253
254

36^8

missing
255
256 <u>(v) Item 27</u>
256a (stub)

257 <u>Item 28</u>
258
259 <u>Item 29</u>
260

Booklet 6

37^8

261 <u>Item 30</u>
262
262a (stub)
263 <u>Item 31</u>

264
265
266
267

Appendix B: Continued

Booklet 7

38^{10}

268 **Scribe 6/** Item 32
269
270
271
272

273
274
275
276
277

39 (& others) missing

Booklet 8

$40^{?8}$

2 leaves missing
L f.1 **Scribe 1**/Item 33
S A.15 f.1

S A.15 f.2
L f.2
2 leaves missing

41^8

278
279 (v) Item 34

5 leaves missing

280 Items 35/36

Booklet 9

42^8

281 Item 37
282
283
284

285
286
287
288

43^8

289
290
291
292

293
294
295
296

44^8

297
298
299
299a (stub)

300 Item 38
301
302
303 Item 39

Booklet 10

45^8

304 Item 40
305
306
307

308
309
310
311

46^8

312
313
314
315

316
317 (v) Item 41
318
319

47^8

320
321
missing
322

323
missing
324 Item 42
325

Booklet 11

48^8

326 Item 43
E f.3
missing
S R.4 f.1

S R.4 f.2
missing
E f.4
327

49-51 (& others?) missing

Booklet 12

52^8

328 **Scribe 2**/Item 44
329
330
331

332
333
334
missing

Appendix C: Glossary[1]

acephalous: a technical term indicating that the beginning of a text has been lost.

affinity: the network of counselors, retainers, servants, neighbors and others of a noble which helped to establish his political power. According to the theory of bastard feudalism, this network is characterized by individuals seeking mutual benefit from this relationship.

anglicana: see court hand.

atelier: an artist's or illustrator's workshop.

bifolium: see folio.

bookhand (*textura*): a type of formal handwriting which can be identified by each letter being drawn separately, often with an elaborate ductus for each letter.

booklet (**fascicle**): a gathering or set of gatherings which is self-contained within a manuscript; e.g. the first text begins in that booklet, and the last text ends in that booklet without spilling into another booklet.

catchword: the first word or words of the first text of the next gathering which are typically written on the last folio of the current gathering (typically in the bottom margin) which indicates what text (and gathering) should come next.

codicology: a physical study of the manuscript which includes details such as the make-up of the gatherings, the *mise-en-page* of the folios, artwork, any identifying marks of the scribes, and any identifying marks for the patron.

compilatio: the process of compiling a manuscript which includes the editorial practice of deciding what texts should be incorporated in a manuscript.

court hand (*anglicana*): a type of handwriting for formal administrative documents identified by thin strokes, ligatures, and rounded letter shapes which are efficient to write.

ductus (or *duct*): the order of the strokes necessary to create a letter of a certain shape; a different order of the strokes will lead to a different shape for the letter, which means that a scribe's duct leads to a distinctive set of letters that can be used to identify the scribe.

fascicle: see booklet.

foliated initial: an illustrated initial which is comprised of foliage and related decorative themes.

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[1] See also the helpful "Glossary of Key Manuscript Terminology" at the beginning of Kerby-Fulton's *Opening Up Middle English Manuscripts* (xxiii-xxx).

folio: a sheet of parchment or vellum which is the writing surface for a manuscript; typically a longer sheet of parchment or vellum is folded in two to form a bifolium. See gathering for more details.

gathering (**quire**): folios which are combined to form a base unit of manuscript production; in the Auchinleck 4 bifolia were folded together to form gatherings of 8 folios, except for one gathering which contains 5 bifolia or 10 folios.

historiated initial: an illustrated initial which contains an illustration within the shape of the letter.

initial capital: a capital letter in a manuscript which is decorated in some manner to call attention to it; in the Auchinleck, there are blue initials capitals with red flourish which head sections of text.

litterae notabiliores: as defined here, a term referring to a practice of rubricating line initials and then (typically) separating the line initials from the rest of the line with a space.

marginal bar: an extension of an illustrated initial (foliated and historiated) which spreads the illustration into the margin of the folio, and sometimes this decoration encircles the text.

miniature: an illustration, often a painted scene, of any size in a manuscript.

mise-en-page: the layout of a folio, which includes decisions about the number of columns of text for the folio, the number of lines of text for the folio, any space (and possibly guiding marks) that needs to be left for titles, decorations, initial capitals, and paraphs, and any kind of other information that may be helpful for the reader, such as an item number.

ordinatio: the ordering of the texts in a manuscript once chosen via *compilatio.*

painture: the letters, punctuation, paraphs, initial capitals, illustrations, and other marks on a folio which represent the "voice" and "ideas" of the text for the reader.

paraph: a paragraph sign marking a subsection of text, painted either red or blue in the Auchinleck.

parole: the auditory nature of a text in a manuscript, particularly when read aloud, either to oneself or to others.

parted initial (**puzzle initial**): an initial capital which is painted with two different colors, forming a kind of pattern; typically the pattern is symmetrical on both sides of the letter, and the colors for the Auchinleck's parted initials are red and blue.

pretz: a reputation of heroism and grandeur cultivated by noble families.

*punctus***:** a type of punctuation mark like a period found, for example, at the end of a line of verse.

puzzle initial: see parted initial.

quire: see gathering.
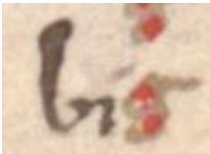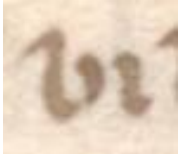
rubrication: the use of red ink in a manuscript, typically to highlight an important part of a text, such as a title, heading, or the first initials of each line.

signature: letters, numbers, or other marks on the bottom margins of folios which are indicative to those creating the manuscript of steps in the production process.

textura: see bookhand.

trefoil leaf: a leaf with 3 points; this leaf shape is frequently found in early 14th century manuscript illustrations.

Table 3: A Later Hand Editing Scribe 1's Couplet *Guy of Warwick* (Item 22)[1]

Proofreading Mark & Folio, Column (line)	Comparative Image of Scribe 1's Hand	Description
Later hand writing *bi* f.136r, b (43)	Scribe 1 writing *b_i* f.136r, b (22)	I agree with both Shonk and Wiggins who identify the *bi* on line 43 as a "later hand." The tapering stem of the *b* and connected *i* on line 43 do not resemble any particular book or court hand contemporary with the Auchinleck. This insertion is also unusual because the person decided to obviously insert the *bi* to the left of the rubricated first initial rather than using a caret or adding it to the end of the line.

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[1] I have broken the proofreading hands into three tables. Table 3 covers a hand which looks distinctly like a later hand, that possibly of a later owner of the manuscript. Table 4 focuses on contemporary court hands proofreading the manuscript. Table 5 focuses on contemporary bookhands proofreading the manuscript. This analysis is based on Shonk's notes about mysterious additional hands editing Scribe 1's work ("Investigations 88-89"). Comments about Wiggins's analysis refer to the editorial notes added for a given line next to a transcription of that line on *The Auchinleck* website.

Table 4: Contemporary Court Hands Editing Scribe 1's Items 13, 26, and 28
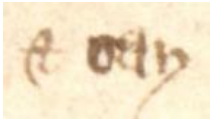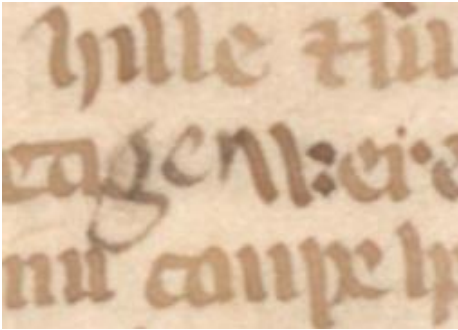
Proofreading Mark & Folio, Column (line) & Title (Item Number)	Description
  f.67v, b (44) *The Nativity and Early Life of Mary* (item 13)	This *& sa_y* is written in a court hand which can be identified by the thinner strokes (as Shonk notes) as well as the ligatures between the letters *sa*, the looping double-chambered *a* rising above the line, and the sharp *v*-shape of the *y* with the looping descender. These words are added to the end of the last line on the folio.
  f.258r, a (20) f.259r, a (10) f.259r, a (19) *A Peniworþ of Witt* (item 28)	As with the editing mark on f.67v, Shonk says "a finer hand" wrote the insertion on f.258r and the *y* on f.259r. This finer hand with a similar *y* to that on f.67v can be identified as a court hand due to this *y*, the thin strokes, the curved stem of the *h* (on line 20), and the ligatures connecting the *im* in *h_im* and the *tt* on line 10. Neither Shonk nor Wiggins note the apparent double *t* on line 10 of f.259r, possibly because it is believed to be a mistake.
  f.211v, b (29) *Of Arthour & of Merlin* (item 26)	This *g_e_r* squeezed between *Forti* and *w_er_e* is written with individually formed letters (as in the definition of a bookhand) but also shows court hand touches due to its thinner, curving strokes as thinner curving strokes allow a scribe to write more quickly. In addition, I think it is a contemporary insertion because the gap between the words is extraordinarily large, but possibly the area under the "g" was erased. If so, then perhaps a contemporary hand added this during the production process. If this is a later hand, then perhaps the vellum was scrubbed, but the contemporary scribes forgot to complete the word. (Wiggins only identifies this as another hand while Shonk says it is a later hand.)

Table 5: Contemporary Bookhands Editing Scribe 1's Items 2, 7, and 26
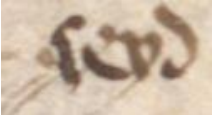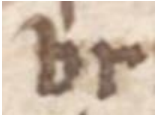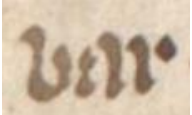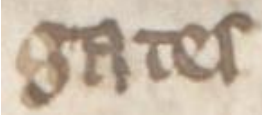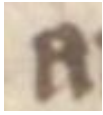
Folio, Column (line) of Proofreading Mark & Title (Item Number)	Sample of an Auchinleck scribal hand with its Folio, Column (line)	Description
 f.11r, a (24) *The King of Tars* (item 2)	 Scribe 1 writing *s_eyd* f.11r, a (27)	I agree with Shonk's assertion that the "backward slant of the long *s* and the narrower body of the *d*" indicate that Scribe 1 did not write the *s_ey_d* on line 24. It also does not match Scribe 6's somewhat similar hand. In addition, this *seyd* on line 24 is copied at the end of the line, indicating that someone else could have added it at a later point. (The // lines to the left of it match the // lines midway through the line where the word belongs.)
 f.34v, a (28) *þe Desputisoun* (item 7)	 Scribe 1 writing *b_a_r* f.32v, b (5)	This stout, bumpy *b_r* looks like it may have been written over a patch which was erased. The hook to the left at the tip of the stem for the *b* is a remnant of Scribe 1's hand, and the similar brown ink indicates that this was a contemporary edit but by an unidentified hand (Shonk simply identifies the *br* as "another hand.")
 f.222v, a (1) *Of Arthour* (item 26)	 Scribe 2 writing *b* f.40v, b (16)	Superficially the *b* on f.222v looks like Scribe 2's hand because Scribe 2 tends to have a tall script and often splits the stems of letters. However, as the sample of his *b* shows, Scribe 2's *b*'s are typically shorter than other letters with a stem, and the oval of his *b*'s are not as round as the one on f.222v.
 f.233r, b (4) *Of Arthour* (item 26)	 Scribe 6 writing *a* f.268r, a (7)	The *a* in *ga_tes* on f.233r is similar to Scribe 6's two-compartment, straight-line *a*. Scribe 1's curving, double-chambered *a* can be seen in the word *b_a_r* in row 2 of this table. The brown of the ink here is also similar to the one that Scribe 1 was using, suggesting a contemporary editing process.

Table 6: The Auchinleck Signatures[1]

Gather-ing	Folio	Description of the Signature	Text Title (Item #)	Notes
3	E 1[2]	Red ink **c**	*The Life of Adam and Eve* (3)	Scribe 1 copied Item 3.
6	34	Brown ink **g** with **s.f.n.**[3] below	*Þe desputisoun bitven þe bodi & þe soule* (7)	Scribe 1 copied Item 7.
7	41	Dull brown crayon **a** with broad **f.n.s.** below	*Speculum Gy de Warewyke* (10)	Scribe 2 copied Item 10.
	42	Cropped slanting crayon stroke w/broad **f.n.s.** below		
8	47	Brown ink **b** with brown ink **f.n.s.**		
	49	**f.n.s.** as on f.41	*Amis and Amiloun* (11)	Scribe 1 copied Item 11. *Amis and Amiloun* (11) **intxtl** with *Guy* (23) & *Reinbrun* (24)
9	55-58	Brown ink **h** with **s.f.n.** number below		
10	63	Brown crayon **k**	*The Life of St. Mary Magdelene* (12)	Scribe 1 copied Item 12.
12	77-80	Grey lead circular symbol drawn over & enclosing **f.n.s.** on ff.77-80; possible **s.f.n.** on f.80.	*The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin* (16) & *Sir Degare* (17)	Scribe 3 copied Items 16-17.
	84v	Dark brown ink sawtooth *iii* (**s.f.n.**)	*Sir Degare* (17)	*Degare* (17) **intxtl** with *Beues* (25) & *Freine* (30); also *Orfeo* (38)
13	86	Dull brown crayon **f.n.s.**	*The Seven Sages of Rome* (18)	Scribe 3 copied Item 19. *Seven Sages* (18) **intxtl** with *Arthour* (26), *Alisaunder* (33) & *Richard* (43)
14	94-5	Grey lead symbol as on f.94 enclosing **s.f.n.**; trace of symbol on f.95		
16	100	Cropped brown crayon stroke	*Floris and Blancheflour* (19)	Scribe 3 copied Item 19.

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[1] The data in the first four columns is based on Cunningham and Mordkoff's longer, very precise table (283-85). Table 6 summarizes the system of letters, numbers, and symbols found through the Auchinleck manuscript. These marks are usually in the lower margin of the folio, and some are only visible in natural light. I have added the title and item number to each folio discussed in the table and have noted the scribes, but I disagree with the assumption that the scribe of a text wrote the signature on the given folio (Cunningham and Mordkoff 286-90). In addition I have added notes indicating which texts are believed to have intertextual borrowings as noted by other scholars in hopes of this additional information helping new meanings to be determined for some of the systems of signatures.

[2] Folio numbers beginning with E, S, or L indicate that those folios are parts of fragments preserved at the Edinburgh, Saint Andrews, and London University Libraries, respectively.

[3] **f.n.s.** = folio-numbering strokes; **s.f.n.** = sawtooth folio number; **intxtl** = intertextual borrowings.
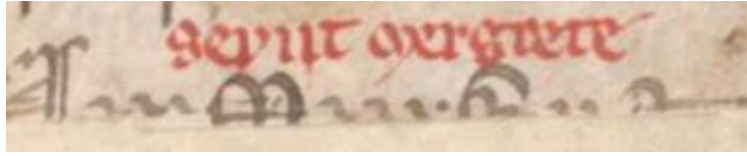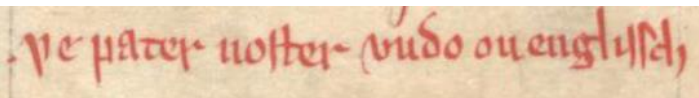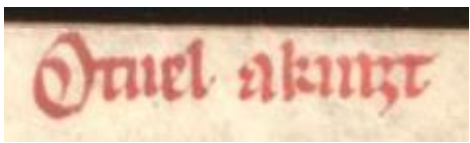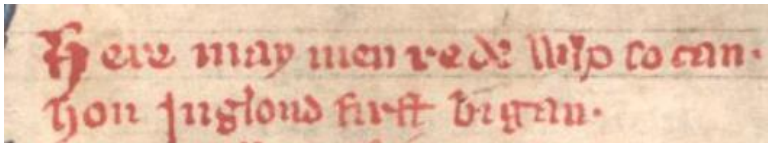
Table 6: Continued

Gather-ing	Folio	Description of the Signature	Text Title (Item #)	Notes
	102	Cropped dull brown crayon stroke		
17	109-10	Cropped impressed mark with a grey lead vertical stroke with some curving strokes	*Guy of Warwick* (22)	Scribe 1 copied Item 22. Possible *Guy* (22, 23) **intxtl** with *Orfeo* (38); **intxtl** with *Chronicle* (40) and *Beues* (25) & *Arthour* (26).
18	115	Brown ink mark		
19	121-24	Red ink **h**		
20	129-32	Cropped impressed mark similar to ff.109-10		
22	145-48	Red ink **d**	*Guy of Warwick couplets & stanzas* (22 & 23)	Scribe 1 copied Item 23. Possible *Guy* (22, 23) **intxtl** with *Orfeo* (38); **intxtl** with *Chronicle* (40) and so *Beues* (25) & *Arthour* (26)
23	153, 155-56	Cropped red ink mark with curves towards right	*Guy of Warwick stanzas* (23)	*Guy* (23) **intxtl** with *Amis* (11) & *Reinbrun* (24)
24	161-64	Brown ink **f.n.s.**		
25	169-71	Brown crayon c with cropped broad **f.n.s.** below	*Reinbroun* (24)	Scribe 5 copied Item 24. *Reinbrun* (24) **intxtl** with *Amis* (11) & *Guy* (23)
26	176-77, 179	X-shaped marks with lines crossing; grey lead for f.176, 179 & brown ink for f.177. Cropped **f.n.s.** on f.176.	*Sir Beues of Hamtoun* (25)	Scribe 5 copied Item 25. *Beues* (25) **intxtl** with *Degare* (17) & *Freine* (30); **intxtl** with *Chronicle* (40) and so *Guy* (22, 23) & *Arthour* (26)
27	184-87	Similar to gathering 26		
28	193	Broad brown crayon **f.n.s.** with possible s.f.n.		
29	199-201	Brown crayon **v**	*Sir Beues* (25); *Of Arthour & of Merlin* (26)	Scribe 1 copied Item 26.
31	215, 217	Brown crayon **f.n.s.**	*Of Arthour & of Merlin* (26)	*Arthour* (26) **intxtl** with *Seven Sages* (18), *Alisaunder* (33) & *Richard* (43); **intxtl** with *Chronicle* (40) and so *Guy* (22, 23) & *Beues* (25)
	216	Heavily inked brown mark like "flaring **v**", likely **f.n.s.**		
	218	Accidental red ink traces		
32	223, 225	Brown crayon **f**		

Table 6: Continued

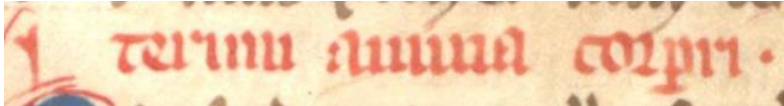| Gather-ing	Folio	Description of the Signature	Text Title (Item #)	Notes
34	241-42	Brown crayon marks with very specific shapes		
35	247, 249-50	Cropped brown crayon vertical curved stroke		
36	255	Cropped dark brown crayon mark similar to f.249		
37	262, 263	Brown crayon **f**	*Lay le Freine* (30) & *Roland and Vernagu* (31)	Scribe 1 copied Items 30-31. *Freine* (30) **intxtl** with *Orfeo* (38); **intxtl** with *Degare* (17) & *Beues* (25); *Roland* (31) intxtl with *Chronicle* (40)
42	282	Cropped brown crayon **f.n.s.**	*Sir Tristrem* (37)	Scribe 1 copied Item 37.
43	289	Brown ink diagonal stroke, likely insignificant		
	290-92	Two bowed brown crayon strokes		
44	299	Brown crayon **k**		
47	320-22	Brown ink **f.n.s.**	*Horn Childe & Maiden Rimnild* (41)	Scribe 1 copied Item 41. *Horne Childe* (41) **intxtl** with *Amis* (11) & *Tristrem* (37)
48	E 3	Cropped red ink **f.n.s.**	*King Richard* (43)	Scribe 1 copied Item 43. *Richard* (43) **intxtl** with the *Chronicle* (40)
52	329	Cropped brown ink **f.n.s.**		*Richard* (43) **intxtl** with *Seven Sages* (18), *Arthour* (26) & *Alisaunder* (33)
	331	Cropped green ink **f.n.s.**	*The Simonie* (44)	Scribe 2 copied Item 44.

Table 7: Titles & Colophon

Scribe (for the text) & Folio	Scribe (for title)	Title (Item Number)		Description
Scribe 1 on 16r	1	*Seynt Mergrete* (item 4)		The title *Seynt Mergrete*, which is squeezed above the AMEN for the previous work, is in Scribe 1's hand. Mordkoff notes that Scribe 1 switches his handwriting as he writes the AMEN (98), which is excised midway for a miniature which had been below.
Scribe 3 on 70r	3	*On the Seven Deadly Sins* (item 14)		The title *Sinnes* for Scribe 3's first work, which is above the left column. Shonk indicates it could be Scribe 3;[1] Mordkoff thinks it is Scribe 1. The n's of both scribes are fairly similar; the only real letter which seems useful here is the short *s*. The right leaning angular *s* is frequent in Scribe 3's work.
		Scribe 1	Scribe 3	
Scribe 3 on 72r	3	*The Paternoster* (item 15)		The title *þe Pater Noster undo Englissch* for Scribe 3's second work which Mordkoff , Shonk, and I agree is in Scribe 3's hand. His handwriting is identifiable because of his long, thin letters indicative of his Chancery training.
Scribe 6 on 268r	1	*Otuel a kniʒt* (item 32)		The title *Otuel a kniʒt* for Scribe 6's work. Mordkoff thinks it could be in Scribe 6's hand (75, 166), which is notoriously difficult to distinguish from Scribe 1's hand. Due to the *a* and *t* primarily, I think it is Scribe 1. The dark red here seems to match some of the other dark red titles as well.
			Scribe 1 · Scribe 6	
Scribe 1 on 304r	1	*The Short Chronicle* (item 40)		The first two lines of the four-line colophon which begins Scribe 1's item 40 (his title is in brown as part of the *explicit*). Though Wiggins suggests it could be a rubricator, Shonk, Mordkoff, and I agree that Scribe 1 wrote the title. The dark red ink here matches the dark red found in various other titles.

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[1] Shonk asserts that Scribe 1 wrote all the titles except the first two items (14 and 15) of Scribe 3's works ("Investigations" 84) and then seems to change this assertion to just one item (item 15) ("Investigations" 93).

Table 7: Continued
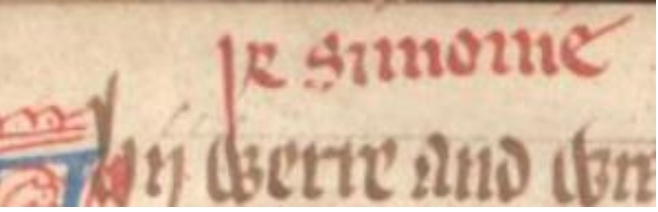
Scribe (for the text) & Folio	Scribe (for title)	Title (Item Number)	Description
Scribe 1 on 326r	1	*King Richard* (item 43)	The title *King Richard* for Scribe 1's work which Mordkoff, Shonk, and I agree is in Scribe 1's hand. I have included a couple of rubricated letters which are the first of each line of text. The red of the title is definitely more orange than some other titles and possibly the rubricated letters even on the same folio, indicating that not all of the rubrication was done in one stage.
Scribe 2 on 328r	1	*þe Simonie* (item 44)	The title *þe Simonie* for Scribe 2's only titled work which Mordkoff, Shonk, and I agree is in Scribe 1's hand. I have included a line of Scribe 2's writing to compare the two hands. The ink for the title definitely seems darker and more purple than other titles and even the red ink of the decoration on the left on the same folio. Thus, as with the images for f.326r, there is a sense that not all of the rubrication was added in one stage

Table 8: Headings & Dialogue Markers
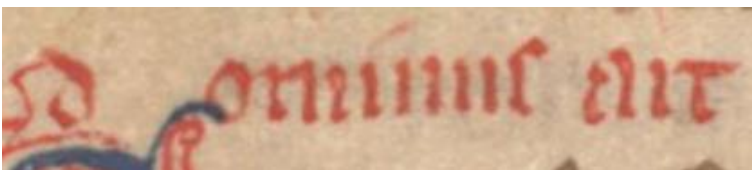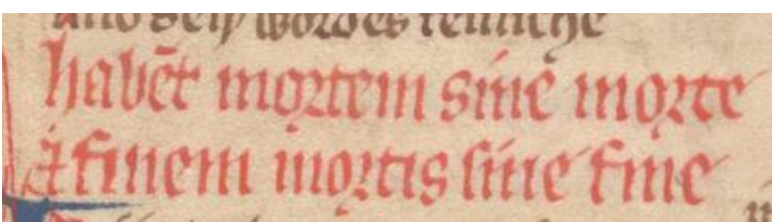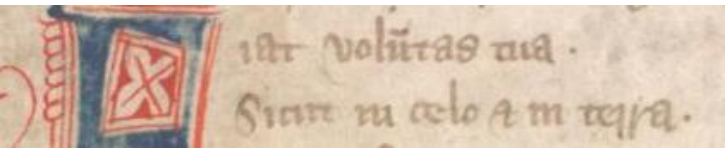
Scribe (for the text) & Folio	Scribe (for heading)	Title (Item Number)	Description
Scribe 1 on 34r	1	*þe Desputisoun* (item 7)	The *t*, *a*, and *r*, of this heading all are Scribe 1's. There are just 0-3 headings per folio in this item,
			each having an initial capital below. As you can see, Scribe 1 left both the space for the separated line initial and space between his brow lines of text to write the entire line. It has been suggested that 2 dialogue markers were forgotten on f.33v, and neither place has an initial capital either.
Scribe 1 on 36r	1	*Harrowing of Hell* (item 8)	The *t*, *a*, and *d*, of this heading all are Scribe 1's. There are 6-8 headings per folio in this item,
			each having an initial capital below. As with item 7, Scribe 1 left the space for the line initial and this entire line to be added in later in red by himself.
Scribe 2 on 41v	2	*Speculum Gy* (item 10)	The splitting of the stem of the *h*, the curling strokes below the letters, and the short slanted jot above the *i* are all features of Scribe 2's writing. There are 0-3 headings per folio in this item, but
			only two total are paired with initial capitals. Scribe 2 also left space for this heading, and often allowed himself two lines as he enlarged his already large hand. On f.42r he left himself 3 lines for the long heading.
Scribe 3 on 72v	3	*The Paternoster* (item 15)	The s, *l*, and *a* are Scribe 3's. These headings are done in brown ink and are paired with initial
			capitals, although the initial capital on the bottom right of f.72v highlights the line before the Latin heading. There are 2-4 headings per folio for this item.

Table 8: Continued
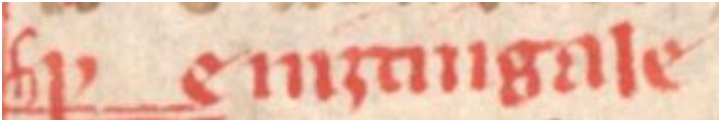
Scribe (for the text) & Folio	Scribe (for heading)	Title (Item Number)	Description
Scribe 1 on 279v	1	*The Thrush and the Nightingale* (34)	The *a*, *t*, and *þ* are Scribe 1's. Again, he separates out the first initial for the heading and left space for this line as he copied. Each dialogue marker is paired with an initial capital. There are 5 dialogue markers on this one extant folio for the item.
Scribe 1 on 280v	1	*Dauid the King* (item 36)	The *a*, *&*, and *r* are Scribe 1's. The headings are paired with initial capitals. There are 6 headings in one column on the first folio, and 14 total headings on the second folio. As you can see, Scribe 1 left brown initials in the margin not just for the initial capitals but for the blue line initial for these headings as well. Therefore, not only did he leave space for the headings, he left guiding initials for further decorative work.

Table 9: Illustrated Initials

Scribe	Folio	Title (Item Number)	Size	Description
5	176r	*Sir Beues of Hamtoun* (item 25)	35 x 30 mm	This is a historiated initial, with its blue left pendant border (with white patterns) forming the stem of a capital *L* for the first word. The brown ground below the man rises up to a cusped corner which forms the bottom of the *L.* The background is gold diapered. Inside the large *L* is a man in chainmail with a blue coat of arms with red *fleur-de-lis*. He is holding a thin white spear and has a sword (perhaps in the scabbard) hanging down behind him. This *fleur-de-lis* symbol seems repeated in the trefoil green foliage which extends to the upper right and the red foliage with white veins below the man. A brown marginal bar runs down the folio, switches to blue, encircles another rust leaf in the corner, and then extends right and braches into 10 leaves, alternating red and green with the branch once again being brown.

Scribe	Folio	Title (Item Number)	Size	Description
1	304r	*The Short Chronicle* (item 40)	35 x 30 mm	This is a foliated initial; its blue outline with white geometric patterns forms an *h* for the first word after the four line red colophon. There is no figure within this initial nor a diapered gold background. Instead there are 2 stylized leaves within which are most like 2 red maple leaves with light stripes on a white vine which wraps around the inside of the initial. The trefoil leaves are found here as well, with the red leaves with white veins encircled in blue found above and below the initial. A blue marginal bar extends up and branches into 4 leaves, alternating green and red. Another blue marginal bar extends below and braches into 6 leaves, alternating red and green with the branch once again being brown.

Table 10: Miniatures

Scribe	Folio	Title (Item Number)	Size	Description
1	7r	*The King of Tars* (item 2)	30 x 63 mm	A thick, faded red border (with very faded geometric lines) with gold squares in the corners surrounds the gold diapered background and splits the scene in two; on the left, a man with a crown and blue robe and feet kneels with hands in supplication before an unknown animal on a white altar. On the right, the same man (with crown and robe) kneels before an empty altar with part of a crucifix above it along with a woman with a similar blue robe and feet with a while veil on her head. The faces seem intentionally rubbed off. This miniature seems to reflect when the Sultan prayed before his idols for his gods to heal his son (ll.622-639), and then when the Sultan converted after his Christian wife's prayers healed their son (ll.913-939).
3	72r	*The Paternoster* (item 15)	31 x 25 mm	A faded red top and left border with a geometric design in it and gold squares at the corners meets a worn blue right and bottom border. The border surrounds a gold diapered background. In the middle, a figure representing Christ[1] in a red robe sits facing forward with his right hand raised above his shoulder, and his left hand held out with a scroll extending beyond the border and into the upper margin. There is also white and blue cloth towards the bottom of his robes which may represent an undergarment with blue trim. The miniature is quite smudged and worn and possibly incomplete due to there being no words written on the scroll.

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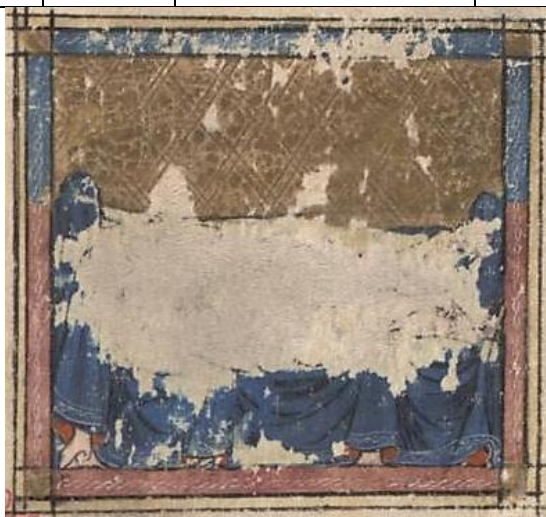
[1] This is likely Christ praying due to the text being *The Paternoster*. Technically this could be either God or Christ; according to Lynda Dennison, there are three possible angles for a human face in the miniatures of this era, and those figures facing forward are typically God, Christ, or a ruling saint ("An Illuminator" 286, 291); in addition, illustrations of this divine figure include having his right hand raised up (or, more specifically, three fingers on his right hand) and his left hand holding a scepter, orb, or here a scroll. In Chapter 3 I include a similar full body figure of St. Peter in similar colored robes, with his right hand raised up and a scepter in his left hand, from f.28 of Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Lat. Liturgy.d.42 (Chertsey Breviary). This Chertsey Breviary image, along with others, is also available in Dennison's article ("An Illuminator" Plate XLII).

Table 10: Continued

Scribe	Folio	Title (Item Number)	Size	Description
5	167r	*Reinbroun* (item 24)	70 x 70 mm	A faded red top and left border with a faded geometric design meets the vibrant blue bottom border with white geometric designs; there are gold squares in three corners. The right border is covered by a grey building with a pointed top which extends above the top right border. There is a gold background (perhaps diapered), with two knights in chainmail, a red coat of arms over one and a blue coat of arms over the other; the blue knight (likely Reinbroun, as he has the advantage) appears to attack the red one who is heading into the building on the right. They are standing on a kind of bridge or wall with a tower with a brown door on the left side. Alongside Reinbroun is a white horse; Reinbroun has a white scabbard for his sword, and the red knight has a sword and a shield hanging from his wrist. Both of their faces are scratched off. This could represent the scene where Reinbroun and Haslok (Herhaud's son) fight at the entrance to the duke of Marce's castle before they know each other's identity (ll.1246-1344),[2] but it seems unlikely because the text is clear that neither could get an advantage over the other, and here Reinbroun seems to have one. I think it is more likely this shows the scene where Reinbroun (in blue) fights and defeats Gayer (in red), the fairy knight, and forces Gayer to release 300 captive knights (ll.1093-1137).

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[2] Wiggins suggests this interpretation in her dissertation (115).

Table 10: Continued

Scribe	Folio	Title (Item Number)	Size	Description
1	256v	*þe Wenche þat Loved a King* (item 27)	52 x 56 mm	A blue border surrounds the top half and a faded red border surrounds the bottom half of the scene with gold squares at the corners and a white geometric design within. The top part just has a gold diapered background, somewhat scratched off. The bottom part has blue draped cloth with white trim (which are white parallel lines with a curvilinear white line in between). The blue cloth appears to be lined with red, as can be seen where the hand hangs down in the bottom left corner and another possible partial hand near the middle of the bottom.[3] The middle part of the miniature has all been scratched off, and the text is highly damaged as well so we cannot use that for clues. However, the draped cloth and various limbs suggest recumbent figures.

| 1 | 326r | *King Richard* (item 43) | 43 x 68 mm | A green border surrounds the red faded border with a geometric pattern within although the green border is not painted in along the bottom. There is a diapered gold background. A man in chain mail with a red coat of arms (King Richard I) heaves a large axe towards a grey tower which appears to have a number of men on top though they are a faded grey now. Richard stands in a brown galley boat (though part of it is not painted in) with white oars in the water and a number of heads, most of which perhaps are supposed to be men who are rowing. There appears to be a flag raised up on the boat, and what appears to be an elaborate R in blue and red which was covered over by the miniature. The miniature and folio are quite worn. While King Richard uses his galley ships and great axe in several battles, this likely depicts the final battle against the Saracens and Saladin because there appears to be a chain across the bottom of the tower in the miniature. King Richard stands in the front of his ship and uses his axe to cut this chain in three at a key point in that battle (ll.740-744). |

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[3] The white trim on the blue robes is similar to that found on Bishop Anian in the Bangor Pontifical (f.8v).

Table 11: Standard Initial Capital

Scribe	Folio	Title (Item Number)	Description
1	261v	*Lay le Freine* (item 30)	This *h* represents what I have considered a standard initial capital for the Auchinleck. The blue of the letters, the red of the flourishes, and the overall shaping of the letters have a remarkable consistency throughout the manuscript. The nature of the red scrollwork and other flourish vary from letter to letter, but in general at least one ascender trails off above and typically 3 descenders trail down below.

Table 12: Four Elaborate Initial Capitals
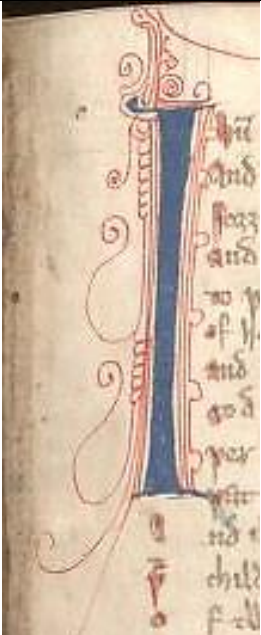
Scribe 3	F.70r	Scribe 1	F.281r	Description
Sinnes (item 14)		*Sir Tristrem* (item 37)		Neither of these two initials has been described in the scholarship as exceptions to the standard initials of the manuscript, and yet both stand out. Both initials are *I*'s heading texts (items 14 and 37 respectively) as well as booklets (3A and 9 respectively). Item 14 has the title *Sinnes* above it in column a. Only two letters are visible for *Sir Tristrem's* original title in column a due to a patch being placed over an excised miniature. Both initials have the standard blue letter and red flourishes although the ascenders and descdenders are on the short side. Both initials stand out for being large, with the one on f.70r being 10 lines long on a folio where Scribe 3 has wide spacing between his lines. The one on f.281r is 11 lines long and has only a thin red line running along its right side rather than any scrollwork; further, its body is curvilinear with the edges finishing in circular shapes rather than the usual sharp edges of other initial capitals. As discussed in Chapter 3, the curvilinear *I* on f.281r has parallels in other manuscripts decorated by the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist.

Table 12: Continued

Scribe	Folio	Title (Item Number)	Description
2	39r	*Speculum Gy* (item 10)	This parted four-line initial heads Scribe 2's item 10 (and booklet 2), which lacks both a miniature and a title. This initial capital is similar to the standard in the scrollwork of the red flourishes, including the three lines trailing down. However, you can also see the faded blue scrollwork, the two-color treatment of the initial (classifying it as a parted initial), and the slightly more elaborate design within the hollow space of the *h*. The lines are indented three letters in anticipation of this initial. You can also clearly see the red guiding *h* in the left margin (written by Scribe 2) to indicate what initial should go here.
Scribe 6	268r	*Otuel a Knight*(item 32)	This parted six-line initial heads Scribe 6's item 32 (and booklet 7), which has a title and an excised miniature. Like the standard initial, there are red but no blue flourishes. Like the initial on f.39r, there is the two-color treatment of the initial and a slightly more elaborate design within the hollow space of the *h*. However, the red ascenders and descenders are fairly short (similar to the other initials in Scribe 6's booklet). Also, Scribe 6 indented the lines nine letters in anticipation of this initial, indicating careful planning with the artist in order to achieve the near symmetrical pattern with the blue and red ink forming the initial. Also, a somewhat elaborate red and blue tail runs down the left side of the column; as is discussed in Chapter 3, this red and blue tail has precedents in the Bangor Pontifical, another manuscript by the Subsidiary Queen Mary Artist.

Table 13: Three All-Red Initial Capitals

Scribe	Folio			Title (Item Number)
1	*Guy of Warwick* (couplet 22, stanza 23)			Three dark all-red initials appear in the *Guy* romances, and none of them have dots like the one shown in Table 14. One all-red initial appears on f.118v; you can clearly see the brown *a* left in the margin below the ink. Another all-red initial appears on f.139r, which is similar to the one on f.118v, including the ability to see the brown *n* below the ink, except that the curls at each corner seem similar to the red, dotted initial on f.40r shown in Table 14. An even more simply drawn initial can be found on f.157r where a paraph has been smudged off and the initial *S* drawn in in its place.
	f.118v	f.139r	f.157r	

Table 14: Two Unusual Single Color Initial Capitals

Scribe	Folio	Title (Item Number)	Description
1	3v	*Legend of Pope* (item 1)	The all-blue *G* appears to have been started and left unfinished, with no red flourish added, which is odd because the brown guiding initial indicating its placement can be seen to the left of it. Not only is this initial unfinished, but it appears that the blue ink was intentionally rubbed off as is someone – likely Scribe 1 – changed his mind. As discussed in Chapter 3, I believe this initial was unfinished because Scribe 1 mistakenly left the brown guiding initial here (in the middle of a conversation) rather than 16 lines lower, at the beginning of a new scene.
2	40r	*Speculum Gy* (item 10)	This red initial is the first of Scribe 2's item 10 although on f.40v standard initials start to be used for the poem (though only twice). As you can see, the all-red nature of the initial, the red dots used as flourish, and the very small ascenders and descenders make this markedly different from either the standard initials or the parted initials which head Scribe 2's first text and Scribe 6's text. As with many other initials, the lines are indented in anticipation of this initial. As I argue in Chapter 3, this all-red initial was likely added by Scribe 2 himself during a proofreading stage due to his tendency to use curling flourish.

Vita

Tricia K. George was born and raised in Watertown, CT. After receiving a very good public school education through eighth grade, Tricia had the privilege of attending an excellent local all-girls boarding school, Westover School in Middlebury, CT, as a day student. There she was introduced to relatively high level literary discussions in small classrooms with remarkable instructors. Her life-long love of literature was inflamed in that school. Tricia earned her Bachelor of Science in Industrial Engineering (per her familial obligation) magna cum laude from Northwestern University in 2002. She also earned a certificate at Northwestern in comparative literature, once again enjoying literary analysis via classes offered by the Russian, Italian, and Classics departments. After a brief hiatus from school spent in a non-profit environment, Tricia decided to pursue her dream of majoring in English literature when she was accepted into the English MA program at the University of Illinois-Chicago. Inspired by early modern professors such as Dr. Michael Lieb and Dr. Thomas Hall as well as her Newberry Consortium class, Tricia graduated with her Masters of Arts in 2007 with a focus in medieval literature. She was excited to be accepted into the English department at the University of Tennessee as an early modern Ph.D. student and graduate teaching assistant. Tricia enjoyed partaking in UT's MARCO programs with professors such as Dr. Mary Dzon and Dr. Jay Rubenstein, and she was honored to receive two teaching awards at UT. Due to classes with Dr. Thomas Heffernan and Dr. Elizabeth Jane Bellamy, she also became interested in the power of stories (myths and narratives) and in their origins. This study of the Auchinleck is the result of tracing the power of one family's (the Beauchamps of Warwick) interest in and reliance on story in the early 14th century. Tricia is hoping to graduate with her Ph.D. in August of 2014 and looks forward to continuing the rewarding experience of teaching in California.