To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Timothy Allen Shonk entitled "A Study of the Auchinleck Manuscript: Investigations Into the Processes of Book Making in the Fourteenth Century." I have examined the final 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.

John H. Fisher, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation
and recommend its acceptance:

Accepted for the Council:

Vice Chancellor
Graduate Studies and Research

A STUDY OF THE AUCHINLECK MANUSCRIPT: INVESTIGATIONS INTO THE PROCESSES OF BOOK MAKING IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

A Dissertation

Presented for the

Doctor of Philosophy

Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Timothy Allen Shonk

August 1981

3053689

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation would be much the poorer without the support of my wife, Patty, whose typing and proofreading were immeasurable contributions. I would also like to thank Professor John H. Fisher for his invaluable advice and criticism. I am grateful to the English Department of The University of Tennessee for providing funds for my travel to study the manuscript. Finally, I would like to acknowledge my parents for their support during my work.

ABSTRACT

Our knowledge of book production in the fourteenth century is sketchy. Historical evidence provides us with some general information about a few men involved in the dissemination of literature, but there still remains a gap in our knowledge about the business aspects of pre-Chaucerian book production. In an effort to provide some information to fill this gap, I have investigated one of the first volumes of miscellaneous material produced in the fourteenth century, the Auchinleck manuscript, to see what could be learned about the production methods behind this book and, by inference, what could be learned about the production of books in general in this century. Since the Auchinleck is a relatively plain manuscript and since it is written almost exclusively in English, this volume serves as an example of what the bourgeois readers were commissioning in the later Middle Ages.

Most of the scholarly work on the Auchinleck has focused on sources for the poems contained in the manuscript or the common authorship of some of the items. Only recently, in an Oxford dissertation by Pamela R. Robinson and in the introduction to the Facsimile by Derek Pearsall and I. C. Cunningham, have scholars begun to focus on the physical aspects of the manuscript. Most of the information which gives us insights into the production methods behind this book lies in these physical aspects. My study is devoted largely to a detailed physical description of the manuscript which supplements and corrects the earlier work and offers the evidence that the Auchinleck was produced by independent scribes working to fulfill a contract to produce this codex.

This theory contrasts with both Laura Loomis's theory that the Auchinleck was written in a London bookshop in the 1330's and Robinson's theory that the Auchinleck was originally composed of 12 "booklets" copied on speculation.

An analysis of the hands of the scribes shows that six scribes were engaged in the production of the volume. The format of the pages suggests that all six were aware of a general design for the manuscript, and the decoration demonstrates that the codex was designed as a unit. The stints of the six scribes show little evidence of close collaboration among them. Instead, the positions of the scribes' stints and the instances of shared gatherings point to piece-work composition.

Any conjecture about the plan for the Auchinleck must be based upon the work of the primary scribe, the only one who copied extensively throughout the manuscript. He appears to be in a much different category from a mere copyist. That he inserted all the catchwords in the codex suggests he was the person who put the manuscript into final form. That he inserted the numbers and wrote the titles for nearly all the pieces whose titles still exist argues that he was the only person to handle all the quires of the manuscript and was the last person to work on the codex before it reached its buyer. In short, this scribe may have been involved both as a book producer and bookseller, foreshadowing the activities of such later bookmen as John Shirley and William Caxton.

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INTRODUCTION

The Auchinleck manuscript has for many years been considered one of the most significant collections of Middle English poetry that has come down to us. Most frequently noted are the interest of its contents (its curious mixture of secular and religious poetry), its early date, its virtually exclusive use of English, and its display of popular verse forms. But for the twentieth-century medievalist, the Auchinleck "book" also presents a rare opportunity to investigate other equally important aspects of medieval culture. As both Laura Hibbard Loomis and Derek Pearsall have pointed out, the manuscript offers evidence that there was commercial book production in London in the early fourteenth century.[1]

At first glance, the manuscript appears to be an admirable example of methodical, professional work. Aside from the changes in scribal hands, the book seems to march forward leaf after leaf with few noticeable changes in format and even fewer interruptions or shifts in the style of rubrication and illumination. As one examines the folios more closely, however, many curious details and inconsistencies in the work tantalize the imagination. It is these subtleties that suggest that the manuscript is a product of an organized system of book production in early fourteenth-century London.

The manuscript does not yield its secrets readily. Many of its important parts are either damaged or missing. The pages have been

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[1] Laura H. Loomis, "The Auchinleck Manuscript and a Possible London Bookshop of 1330-1340," PMLA, 57 (1942), 595-627; D. Pearsall's and I. C. Cunningham's introduction to The Auchinleck Manuscript, Facsimile (London: The Scolar Press, 1977), pp. vii-xvi.

cropped several times. No stationer would have cut his margins so closely as to nearly obliterate the item numbers written at the tops of the leaves. It is possible that these croppings have destroyed other markings, perhaps even the initials of the scribes. It is likewise possible that the croppings are responsible for the absence of catch-words at the ends of gatherings in any hand except that of the principal scribe (I) and perhaps one of the other scribes (III).

Frequently, damaged pages appear at the end of a gathering, at the beginning of the next, or both. These pages and others were apparently vandalized by cutting out the miniatures which appeared before nearly every poem. Since poems may begin anywhere within a gathering, a gathering may lack either a first, middle, or last folio. The damage is so extensive that of the 44 items presently in the manuscript, only 5 are now preceded by miniatures. The work of the vandals has sometimes resulted in the destruction of an entire folio. Sadly, there are other losses in the manuscript. In some places several sheets of gatherings and even whole gatherings are missing. As will be discussed later, Pamela Robinson has suggested that the method of production of the book is in part responsible for some of the missing gatherings.[2]

Any surmise about the method of production requires an understanding of scribal methods. Three steps must be investigated: the "plan" behind the scribal efforts, the methods by which each scribe was allotted his material, and the nature of the cooperation and collaboration among the six scribes. As Loomis has pointed out, the evidence supporting any

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[2]Pamela Rosemary Robinson, A Study of Some Aspects of the Transmission of English Verse Texts in Late Medieval Manuscripts, Diss. Oxford University, 1972, p. 28.

theory about bookshop production lies in the manuscript itself, in the writing of the scribes, the arrangement of the gatherings, and the rubrication and illumination of the text. The importance of this seemingly simple guideline for analysis cannot be overestimated; this manuscript, the result of six scribes evidently working simultaneously on different pieces under the direction of some type of compiler, provides an extraordinary opportunity for a better understanding of the methods of one of the earliest English booksellers.

A theory of organized production raises other interesting questions. Who was able to purchase such a massive volume? Was it made to order all at one time, or was it composed of a series of independent pieces later bound into a codex by a collector? The answers to these questions offer evidence, or at least theories, about the place of literature in the medieval society, the tastes of the literate class of the era, and the way in which these tastes were satisfied.

The intrinsic value of this kind of investigation is obvious to the factual scholar, yet there are rewards for the imaginative, too. Loomis has suggested that the manuscript may have found its way into the hands of Chaucer himself.[3] Chaucer's possible familiarity with this text tells us something about the importance, transmission, and acceptance of the volume's contents.

Probably the best way to begin a study of the interesting problems in such a large manuscript is by describing carefully its physical characteristics and construction. Such complete description provides

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[3]Laura H. Loomis, "Chaucer and the Auchinleck MS: 'Thopas' and 'Guy of Warwick,'" in Essays and Studies in Honor of Carleton Brown (New York: New York Univ. Press, 1940), pp. 111-28.

more than factual information. Like any important manuscript, the Auchinleck has "a personality of its own and does invest itself with a special colour and (one may say) complexion, derived partly from the place where it was written, partly from its date and circumstances, and not least from the [persons] who wrote it."[4] The original description of the manuscript is that of Kölbing.[5] It is now dated, sometimes insufficient, and occasionally incorrect. His description has since been updated, and in many instances corrected, by A. J. Bliss and I. C. Cunningham,[6] and most recently by D. Pearsall and I. C. Cunningham in the facsimile of the Auchinleck manuscript. Even these careful descriptions are not always accurate or complete, however. I shall begin with a description of the manuscript, combining my personal observations with points taken from the preceding commentaries. In the course of this description I will analyze the physical aspects of the manuscript, the organization of its contents, the major theories about its composition, the format of the leaves, the decoration of the volume, and finally the work of the scribes. I shall indicate where my observations differ from those of previous scholars.

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[4]Falconer Madan, "The Localization of Manuscripts," in Essays in History, ed. H. W. C. Davis (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 6.

[5]Eugen Kölbing, "Vier Romanzen-Handschriften," Englische Studien, 7 (1884), 177-91.

[6]A. J. Bliss, "Notes on the Auchinleck Manuscript," Speculum, 26 (1951), 652-58; I. C. Cunningham, "Notes on the Auchinleck Manuscript," Speculum, 48 (1972), 96-98.

I. PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

The Auchinleck manuscript, Advocates MS. 19. 2. 1., now rests in the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh. Bound in red leather, the manuscript is in remarkably good condition. The folios are very clean and, for the most part, show little sign of wear. A bulky text now, it must have been a massive volume when all of its pieces were intact. Judging from the item number of the first poem (vi), we know that five items are now lost from the beginning of the manuscript. Between the folios now numbered 99 and 100, a full gathering is missing. Pearsall points out that after fol. 277 at least 5 gatherings are missing and that after fol. 327 at least 3 more have been lost.[7] As an upcoming summary will show, several single folios are also absent. Today, we have in the volume 334 folios (the foliation is not medieval) plus some recently discovered fragments. In the Facsimile, Pearsall reproduced these fragments which once served as the covering of notebooks or in bindings. The Edinburgh fragments (Edinburgh University Library MS. 218) provide the third and fourth folios for gathering 3 (the fragment of Adam and Eve) and the second and seventh folios of gathering 48 (the fragment of King Richard). The St. Andrews fragments (St. Andrews University Library MS. PR. 2065 A.15 and R.4) provide the fourth and fifth folios of gathering 40 (the fragment of Kyng Alisaunder) and the fourth and fifth folios of gathering 48 (the fragment of King Richard). Finally, the London fragment (London University Library MS. 593) provides

[7] Facsimile, pp. xxiii-xxiv.

the third and sixth folios of gathering 40 (the fragment of Kyng Alisaunder).[8] Although we cannot estimate the number of gatherings missing from the beginning of the manuscript, we can assume that in its original state, when the 9 gatherings and various single sheets now absent were included, the Auchinleck contained some 420 folios.

According to Cunningham, the Auchinleck is now in at least its third binding, and little evidence remains of its original construction. Originally, the book was sewn together by six raised cords, as is evidenced by the sewing holes visible on the margins of the leaves. As Cunningham observes, pencil notes in an eighteenth-century hand show that the folios within gathering 47 were at some time not in proper order[9] and that one folio is missing; the logical deduction is that these mistakes were made in a later binder's shop since the notes refer to incorrect folio numbers and numbering of folios was not done at the time the manuscript was compiled. In the introduction to the facsimile, Cunningham describes the nineteenth-century binding:

> The vellum was repaired where necessary and the volume was sewn on five single recessed cords, the first four and the last six leaves being oversewn. (The seventh leaf, although belonging with those following, was pasted to ff. 326-7.) Six endpapers and a pastedown of vellum were used at both front and back, and at front an older paper endpaper with inscription was included. The boards were of very thick millboard, bevelled at the edges. The headbands were of green, white and red thread on two flat strips of vellum, tied down at five points. The back was hollow, with five double bands made from strips of leather. The cover was full red morocco,

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[8] Ibid., p. vii.

[9] Fol. 320^{v} bears a pencil note reading "Go back to 321"; fol. 321^{v} bears another reading "Go to 322" (though a leaf, at least, is missing); fol. 322^{r} bears still another reading "turn over 3 leaves." The leaves now are bound in their proper order.

> and the mitring covered with strips of the same leather. The title was stamped on the spine in gilt, but there was no other decoration.[10]

The last binding (1971) was made by HMSO Bindery, Edinburgh, to repair the now aging nineteenth-century work. The boards, cover, and headbands were retained, and the endpapers reused, as Cunningham notes.

The opening leaf of the bound volume provides the only certain evidence of previous ownership, an ink autograph: Alexander Boswell Auchinleck 1740. Names and some scholarly annotations by other owners of the manuscript occur in the margins of the text, for the most part between fols. 183 and 308. Cunningham provides a concise, accurate list of those names and assigns a provisional date to each:

> William Barnes, fourteenth or fifteenth century, f. 183; Mr Thomas and Mrs Isabell Browne and Katherin, Eistre, Elizabeth, William, Walter, Thomas and Agnes Browne, fifteenth century, f. 107; Richard Drow (?) and William Dro . . , fourteenth or fifteenth century, f. 183; Anthony Elcocke and John Ellcocke, fourteenth or fifteenth century, f. 183; William Gisslort (?), sixteenth century, f. 107^{v}; Christian Gunter, eighteenth century, f. 205; John Harreis, eighteenth century, f. 247; John, seventeenth century, f. 300.[11]

The names appearing on fol. 107 obviously are those of a family. Since these names occur below a list of Norman barons, it is possible that the owner of the codex believed that these Brownes were in some way related to one of the barons. However, I could find no "Browne" in the list. The names on fol. 183 appear in random order in the margins. I could find no connection between them and the text of the poem (Sir beues of hamtoun). The names on fols. 205 and 247 were written very close to the bottom of the right column of the text; they are certainly not the names

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[10] Facsimile, p. xvi.

[11] Ibid., pp. xv-xvi.

of the scribes since both fols. 205 and 247 were copied by the same scribe. The name "John" on fol. 300 was written 6 times in the right margin and is in a darker ink than that used by the scribes. These names remain a curiosity. To date no one has been able to show that these are previous owners of the manuscript.

The vellum is of good quality, marred only occasionally by a scuff mark or small patch which the scribes circumvented when necessary. 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. The vellum was folded into quires of eight folios and then cropped. 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. Judging the original size of the folios is made difficult by the fact that the numbering of the poems has been completely cut away on some folios and is left intact on others (see, for example, fols. 50 and 188, respectively). The fact that some numbers have been cut off shows that the original size of the sheets was larger than required by the text. As Cunningham notes, one of the St. Andrews fragment folios measures 264 x 203 mm, which may indicate the original size of the Auchinleck leaves.[12] The size of the leaves suggests that although the manuscript was certainly not a deluxe edition, it was a rather luxurious book. The contents of the Auchinleck suggest that it

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[12]Ibid., p. xi.

is one of the first of "those 'libraries' of miscellaneous reading . . . which bulk large in the popular book-production of the late Middle Ages in England."[13]

[13]Ibid., p. vii.

II. ORGANIZATION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

Any conclusions about the compilation of the Auchinleck must come from a close investigation of the gatherings which compose the volume. It is useful to go farther than most describers of this text and in one summary list not only the folios of each individual gathering but also the work(s) which they contain and the scribes who copied in them. Such a study will suggest the plan that lies behind the physical evidence. The listing below cites (1) the gathering number, (2) the folios present and absent (denoted by an x), (3) the work or works contained therein,[14] and (4) the scribe or scribes who wrote the leaves. The individual scribes will be designated by a Roman numeral (I, II, III, IV, V, VI).

Summary I

GATHERING 1[15]	x		
	x		
	x		
	x		
	1	The Legend of Pope Gregory is already in progress on 1^{r}.	I
	2		
	3		
	4		

[14] For consistency, I will use the titles given by Pearsall in the Facsimile.

[15] The Legend of Pope Gregory lacks its beginning 134 lines (see Pearsall, Facsimile, p. xix). Since all but one gathering are comprised of eight folios and since a catchword lies in the bottom margin on fol. 4^{v}, we can assume that four folios are missing.

GATHERING 2^{16}	5		
	6		
	6a (stub)	Pope Gregory ends on $6a^{v}$.	I
	7	Þe King of Tars begins on 7^{ra}.	I
	8		
	9		
	10		
	11		
GATHERING 3^{17}	12		
	13	Þe King of Tars ends incomplete on 13^{vb}.	I
	x		
	E.F.1		
	E.F.2		
	x		
	14	The Life of Adam and Eve is in progress on 14^{r}.	I
	15		

[16]Folios designated "stubs" are those portions of folios left behind when a leaf was excised. Many of the stubs still have some legible writing on them, which allows us to more accurately determine the points at which some of the damaged items begin and end. I have used the numbers for the stubs suggested by Pearsall in the Facsimile.

[17]Gathering 3 is heavily damaged. The third and sixth folios of the gathering are still missing; the fourth and fifth folios (E.F.1 and E.F.2) represent recently discovered fragments now resting in the Edinburgh University Library, MS. 218. (See Physical Description, p. 5 above, and Facsimile, p. xix.)

GATHERING 4[18]	16	Adam and Eve ends and	I
		Seynt Mergrete begins on 16^{rb}.	I
	17		
	18		
	19		
	20		
		Seynt Mergrete ends on 21^{ra}.	I
	21	Seynt Katerine begins on 21^{rb}.	I
	22		
	23		
GATHERING 5	24		
		Seynt Katerine ends probably on $24a^{va}$ where	I
	24a (stub)	St. Patrick's Purgatory and the Knight, Sir Owen begins.	I
	25		
	26		
	27		
	28		
	29		
	30		

[18] On fol. 16^{r} only a patch covering the excised miniature's position remains below the title Seynt Mergrete. The text of this poem begins on fol. 16^{v}.

GATHERING 6[19]	31	St. Patrick's Purgatory ends on 31^{vb}.	I
	32	Þe desputisoun bitven þe bodi & þe soule begins on 31^{vb}.	I
	33		
	34	Þe desputisoun ends on bottom of 35^{ra}.	I
	35 (stub)	Presumably The Harrowing of Hell began on 35^{rb}.	I
	36	Where The Harrowing of Hell ended	I
	37 (stub)	on this folio and The Clerk Who Would See the Virgin began cannot be determined. 37^{vb} is a stub column of the latter.	I
	38	The Clerk ends.	I
GATHERING 7	39	Speculum Gy de Warewyke begins.	II
	40		
	41		
	42		
	43		
	44		
	45		
	46		

[19] On the final leaf of this gathering, fol. 38^{v}, some 18 lines of space remain; perhaps the space was intended to provide room for a miniature to precede Speculum Gy de Warewyke. Evidence for the inclusion on a separate leaf of the miniature accompanied by no text has been noted in footnote 18. Strangely, a title appears on neither fol. 38^{v} nor fol. 39^{r}.

GATHERING 8^{20}	47		
	48 (stub)	Speculum Gy ends on 48^{rb} (?)	II
		Amis and Amiloun begins on 48^{rb} (?)	I
	49		
	50		
	51		
	52		
	53		
	54		
GATHERING 9^{21}	55		
	56		
	57		
	58		
	59		
	60		
	61	Amis and Amiloun ends on 61a.	I
	61a (stub)	Life of St. Mary Magdalene began on 61a.	I

[20] Speculum Gy ends probably on 48^{rb} since the concluding prayer has begun in the first column. Leach's edition of Amis and Amiloun (EETS 203) suggests 97 lines are missing, more than could be included on fol. 48^{r}. Therefore, some lines might occur on fol. 48^{v}, a leaf shared perhaps by scribes I and II.

[21] Presumably Life of St. Mary began somewhere on fol. 61a. Where it began, certainly not $61a^{ra}$, is impossible to determine. No catchword remains here since three-fourths of the folio's right side has been lost to a vandal's knife.

GATHERING 10[22]	62		
	63		
	64		
	65	Life of St. Mary ends on 65^{vb}.	I
	66	Anna our leuedis moder begins on 66^{r}.	I
	67		
	68		
	69	Anna our leuedis moder ends on 69va.	I
GATHERING 11	70	On ye seuen dedly sinnes begins on 70ra.	III
	71	On ye seuen dedly sinnes ends on 72ra.	III
	72	ye pater noster vndo on englissch begins on 72ra.	III
	72a (stub)	ye pater noster ended on 72a^{rb} or 72a^{va}.	III
		The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin began on 72a^{rb} or 72a^{va}.	III
	73		
	74		
	75		
	76		

[22] Life of St. Mary and Anna our leuedis moder share fol. 65^{v} only in the sense that a square patch, where the miniature used to be, is at the end of the leaf. Curiously, the title lies below the space for the miniature. The latter poem ends on fol. 69^{v}, which contains only 6 lines; the appropriate catchword is in place.

GATHERING 12[23]	77		
		The Assumption of the Blessed	III
	78	Virgin ends on 78ra.	
		Sir Degare begins on 78^{rb}.	III
	79		
	80		
	81		
	82		
	83		
	84		
GATHERING 13[24]	84a (stub)	Sir Degare ended on 84a^{rb} (?)	III
		The Seven Sages of Rome began	III
	85	on 84a.	
	86		
	87		
	88		
	89		
	90		
	91		

[23]Scribe III extended column a of fol. 78^{r} 2 lines to conclude The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin. Sir Degare begins 8 lines down on fol. 78^{rb} below the patch covering an excised miniature's place.

[24]Where The Seven Sages of Rome began is impossible to determine since most of the leaf was lost when the miniature was cut out. In the critical edition (EETS, OS 191), K. Brunner suggests that about 120 lines are missing; thus, the poem probably began on fol. 84a^{rb}.

GATHERING 14	92		
	93		
	94		
	95		
	96	(Seven Sages of Rome continued)	III
	97		
	98		
	99		
GATHERING 15[25]	Missing		III (probably alone)
GATHERING 16[26]	100	Floris and Blauncheflur in progress at this point.	III
	101		
	102		
	103		
	104	Floris and Blauncheflur ends on 104^{vb}.	III
	105	The Sayings of the Four Philosophers begins on 105ra, ends on 105^{rb}.	II
	106	List of names of Norman barons begins on 105^{v}.	IV
	107	List of barons ends on 107^{r}.	IV

[25]This missing gathering is indicated by both Pearsall, in his chart of gatherings (Facsimile, p. xxi), and Bliss, p. 655. The catchword on fol. 99^{v} points to missing leaves, and the next gathering (fols. 100^{r}-107^{v}) is complete. In the critical text of The Seven Sages of Rome, Brunner demonstrates that some 1204 additional lines are missing; some lines at the beginning of Floris and Blauncheflur are also wanting. According to E. Hausknecht's edition of the latter (Sammlung Englischer Denkmäler, 5, 1885), about 384 lines may be absent.

[26]Scribe III ended Floris and Blauncheflur on fol. 104^{vb}, leaving a third of a column blank, perhaps intended for a miniature for the ensuing poem. II wrote his entire poem on fol. 105^{r}. IV left three-fourths of fol. 107^{r} and all of fol. 107^{v} blank. On fol. 107^{v} scribe I wrote his peculiar catchword linking the writing of IV to his own Guy of Warwick.

GATHERING 17[27]	107a (stub)		
	108	Guy of Warwick begins incomplete on 108ra.	I
	109		
	110		
	111		
	112		
	113		
	114		
GATHERING 18[28]	115		
	116		
	117		
	118	(Guy of Warwick continued)	I
	118a (stub)		
	119		
	120		
	120a (stub)		
GATHERING 19	121		
	122		
	123		
	124	(Guy of Warwick continued)	I
	125		
	126		
	127		
	128		

[27]Only a blank stub remains to begin this gathering, probably as a result of the vandal's taking a miniature. Julius Zupitza's edition (EETS, ES 42, 49, 59) substitutes for the missing leaf 122 lines from the French version, MS. Corpus Coll., Cambridge. Either the Auchinleck version expanded the text, or the missing miniature is the largest of the volume; 2 sides of a full folio would supply 176 lines of verse.

[28]The two stubs here are unusual. Normally such stubs result from someone's having removed a miniature. Since there is no evidence in the rest of the manuscript for miniatures or other significant decorations occurring in places other than a poem's beginning, the reasons for these damaged leaves are unclear.

GATHERING 20	129		
	130		
	131		
	132		
	133	(Guy of Warwick continued)	I
	134		
	135		
	136		
GATHERING 21	137		
	138		
	139		
	140		
	141	(Guy of Warwick continued)	I
	142		
	143		
	144		
GATHERING 22[29]	145		
	146	Guy of Warwick (couplets) ends on 146^{vb}.	I
	147	Guy of Warwick, stanzaic continuation, begins on 146^{vb}.	I
	148		
	149		
	150		
	151		
	152		

[29] Fol. 146^{v} marks the extraordinary change in verse form and hand size at a key point in the lengthy Guy of Warwick. The shift in verse form begins 28 lines into column b; there is no title or miniature present.

GATHERING 23	153		
	154		
	155		
	156		
	157	(Guy of Warwick, stanzaic continuation)	I
	158		
	159		
	160		
GATHERING 24	161		
	162		
	163		
	164		
	165		
	166		
	167	Guy of Warwick, stanzaic continuation, ends on 167^{rb}.	I
		Reinbrun gij sone of warwike begins on 167^{rb}.	V
	168		
GATHERING 25[30]	169		
	170		
	171		
	172	(Reinbrun continued)	V
	173		
	174		
	175		
	x		

[30]The missing leaf at the end of this gathering is affirmed by the abrupt ending of Reinbrun. Pearsall points out (Facsimile, p. xxii) that the material missing is equivalent to the last 34 lines of the French source. It should be noted, however, that this would leave 1-1/2 blank folios since Sir beues of hamtoun begins on fol. 176^{r}.

GATHERING 26	176	Sir beues of hamtoun begins on 176ra.	V
	177		
	178		
	179		
	180		
	181		
	182		
	183		
GATHERING 27[31]	184		
	185		
	186		
	187		
	188	(Sir beues continued)	V
	x		
	189		
	190		
GATHERING 28	191		
	192		
	193		
	194		
	195	(Sir beues continued)	V
	196		
	197		
	198		

[31]The missing leaf is evidenced by a break in the narrative. E. Kölbing provides the missing lines from the Manuscript of the Duke of Sutherland in his edition of the poem (EETS, ES 46, 48, 65).

GATHERING 29	199		
	200		
	201	Sir beues ends on 201ra.	V
		Of arthour & of merlin begins on 201^{rb}.	I
	202		
	203		
	204		
	205		
	206		
GATHERING 30	207		
	208		
	209		
	210	(Of arthour continued)	I
	211		
	212		
	213		
	214		
GATHERING 31	215		
	216		
	217		
	218	(Of arthour continued)	I
	219		
	220		
	221		
	222		

GATHERING 32	223		
	224		
	225		
	226	(Of arthour continued)	I
	227		
	228		
	229		
	230		
GATHERING 33	231		
	232		
	233		
	234	(Of arthour continued)	I
	235		
	236		
	237		
	238		
GATHERING 34	239		
	240		
	241		
	242	(Of arthour continued)	I
	243		
	244		
	245		
	246		

GATHERING 35	247		
	248		
	249		
	250	(Of arthour continued)	I
	251		
	252		
	253		
	254		
GATHERING 36[32]	x		
	255	Of arthour ends on 256^{vb}.	I
	256	Þe wenche þat loued a king begins and ends on 256^{vb}; probably continued on stub leaf.	I
	256a (stub)	A penni worþ of witte begins on 256a^{v}.	I
	257		
	258		
	259	A penni worþ ends on 259^{rb}.	I
		Hou our leuedi saute was ferst founde begins on 259^{rb}.	I
	260	Hou our leuedi ends on 260^{vb}.	I

[32]One of the more unusual gatherings, number 36 contains at least parts of 4 different poems copied by the same scribe. Þe wenche þat loued a king is comprised of a very few lines; apparently an attempt was made to erase it. On fol. 256a^{v}, the 2 surviving lines of red letters in the right margin (worþ / tte) must be part of the title for A penni worþ of witte. The gathering ends on fol. 260^{vb} with 36 blank lines in the right column.

GATHERING 37	261	Lay le freine begins on 261^{ra}.	I
	262	Lay le freine ended on either $262a^{rb}$ or $262a^{va}$.	I
	262a (stub)	Roland and Vernagu began somewhere on $262a^{v}$.	I
	263		
	264		
	265		
	266		
	267	Roland and Vernagu ends on 267^{vb}.	I
GATHERING 38[33]	268	Otuel a knigt begins on 268^{ra}.	VI
	269		
	270		
	271		
	272		
	273		
	274		
	275		
	276		
	277	Otuel ends on 277^{vb}.	VI
GATHERINGS 39+[34]	Missing		

[33]This gathering represents the only variant from the normal eight-folio gathering. While Bliss depicts it as an 8-folio gathering, Robinson and Pearsall have confirmed that it is indeed comprised of 10 folios. Several gatherings are missing after Otuel a knigt, and the poem ends abruptly, as Pearsall and Robinson have noted. Thus it is possible that scribe VI shared a gathering with scribe I.

[34]Pearsall points out that five gatherings at least would be needed to fill the missing portions of Kyng Alisaunder alone. Moreover, the numbering indicates that six other items are absent. Otuel is numbered xxxvii, Alisaunder xliiii.

GATHERING 40[35]	x		
	x		
	L.F.1		
	S.A.15		
		Kyng Alisaunder	I
	S.A.15		
	L.F.2		
	x		
	x		
GATHERING 41[36]	278		
		Kyng Alisaunder ends on 279^{rb}.	I
	279	The Thrush and the Nightingale begins on 279^{Va} and ends incomplete on 279^{vb}.	I
	x		
	x		
	x		
	x		
	x	The Sayings of St. Bernard begins and ends on 280^{ra}.	I
	280	Dauid þe king begins on 280^{rb} and ends on 280^{vb}.	I

[35]The chart of this gathering is heavily indebted to Pearsall's account on p. xxiii of his introduction. The abbreviations L.F. and S.A. refer to recovered fragments of Alisaunder now found in London University Library MS. 593 and St. Andrews University Library MS. PR. 2065, respectively.

[36]The Sayings of St. Bernard here covers but a single column of text; it is difficult to determine how much is missing from the beginning of the poem. The Thrush and the Nightingale must be numbered xlv. The next readable number is that for Sir Tristrem, li, three poems later. Thus, the missing leaves represent a loss of items xlvi, xlvii, and xlviii, as Pearsall has observed.

GATHERING 42	281	Sir Tristrem begins on 281^{ra}.	I
	282		
	283		
	284		
	285		
	286		
	287		
	288		
GATHERING 43	289		
	290		
	291		
	292	(Sir Tristrem continued)	I
	293		
	294		
	295		
	296		
GATHERING 44[37]	297		
	298		
	299	Sir Tristrem ended somewhere on 299a, a blank stub.	I
	299a (stub)	Sir Orfeo began somewhere on 299a.	I
	300		
	301		
	302	Sir Orfeo ends on 303^{ra}.	I
	303	The Four Foes of Mankind begins on 303^{rb} and ends on 303^{vb}.	I

[37] An interesting aberration occurs within this gathering. The Four Foes of Mankind is preceded by no miniature or title. On fol. 303^{v}, at the end of this poem, there is a box-shaped scuff mark which is just about the right size for a miniature. Whether this scuffing represents a place once considered for a miniature or not is uncertain. But if it does, it would probably be linked to the preceding poem since the following poem in the next gathering, Liber Regum Anglie, begins with an unusually large decorated initial, what Valentine (Ornament in Medieval Manuscripts, London: Faber and Faber, 1965) would probably call a "foliate" initial. The reason for beginning with a foliate initial instead of a miniature cannot be explained.

GATHERING 45	304	Liber Regum Anglie begins on 304^{ra}.	I
	305		
	306		
	307		
	308		
	309		
	310		
	311		
GATHERING 46[38]	312		
	313		
	314		
	315		
	316	Liber Regum Anglie ends on 317^{rb}.	I
	317	Horn childe & maiden rimnild	I
	318	begins on 317^{va}.	
	319		
GATHERING 47[39]	320		
	321		
	x		
	322	Horn childe ends incomplete on	I
	323	323^{rb}.	
	x	Alphabetical Praise of Women	I
	324	begins incomplete on 324^{ra}.	
	325	Alphabetical Praise ends on 325^{vb}.	I

[38]Liber Regum Anglie ends on fol. 317, l. 38, column b; 6 blank lines remain. The placing of the miniature for Horn childe & maiden rimnild at the top of fol. 317^{v} shows the preference for the placement of the artwork for a major poem on a new leaf. Some earlier minor poems of scribe I, as noted above, did allot space for the miniature at the end of the second column.

[39]The two missing folios account for the shortness of the gathering and the two breaks in the narrative. The folios were conjunct pages of the same folded sheet of vellum. Also, Alphabetical Praise of Women concludes on fol. 325^{v} after 16 lines in column b. The miniature for King Richard is reserved for the top of fol. 326^{r}.

GATHERING 48[40]	326	King Richard begins on 326[ra].	I
	E.F.3		
	x		
	S.R.4		
	S.R.4		
	x		
	E.F.4		
	327		
GATHERINGS 49, 50, 51+[41]	Missing		I
GATHERING 52[42]	328	Þe Simonie begins on 328[r].	II
	329		
	330		
	331		
	332		
	333		
	334	Þe Simonie ends imperfect on 334[v].	II
	x		

[40] My construction of this gathering is taken from Pearsall, Facsimile, p. xxiv. S.R.4 refers to another of the St. Andrews fragments.

[41] Pearsall points out that the "remainder of Richard, c. 4200 lines, would just fill three gatherings" (Facsimile, p. xxiv).

[42] This poem ends the manuscript, but while it was given its title by the scribe who penned the titles for the others (I), there is no remaining evidence of a number. Thus, as Bliss points out (p. 656), this poem may have originally been elsewhere in the manuscript and placed at the end in rebinding.

Some observations must be made here. As Summary I demonstrates, no two scribes shared a work. Pearsall has noted that the most efficient method of copying, the assigning to scribes of gatherings rather than poems, was not followed here. Instead, scribes did share gatherings but did not collaborate in the copying of a poem. There seems to have been an effort to retain a sense of unity for the poems in appearance as well as in content. It is appropriate now to look at the major theories about the composition of the manuscript.

III. THEORIES ABOUT THE COMPOSITION

The three most recent scholarly studies which deal directly with the Auchinleck manuscript, by Laura Loomis, Derek Pearsall, and Pamela Robinson,[43] all argue that the manuscript is a product of a secular, commercial bookshop. They disagree about the nature of the bookshop and about the production plan of the book itself. In contrast to this argument for the existence of a shop in which a group of scribes copied manuscripts, a recent article by A. I. Doyle and M. B. Parkes argues that medieval books were contracted for by a stationer who farmed the work out to various professional scribes.[44] According to this theory, there was no centralized workshop. I should like to summarize these theories before proceeding to my own analysis and conclusions.

Laura Hibbard Loomis's "The Auchinleck Manuscript and a Possible London Bookshop of 1330-1340" is the best known and perhaps the most widely accepted study of the manuscript. She was among the first to point out the necessity for studying "medieval English books as wholes, rather than as parts" in order to arrive at any understanding of medieval English book production. Her analysis of the major romances of the volume, in particular the close parallels between the stanzaic Guy of Warwick and Reinbrun and between the stanzaic Guy of Warwick and Amis

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[43] Loomis, "Auchinleck and a Possible London Bookshop"; Pearsall, introduction to the Facsimile; Robinson, pp. 17-35.

[44] A. I. Doyle and M. B. Parkes, "The Production of Copies of the Canterbury Tales and the Confessio Amantis in the Early Fifteenth Century," in Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays Presented to N. R. Ker, ed. M. B. Parkes and Andrew G. Watson (London: The Scolar Press, 1978), pp. 163-210.

and Amiloun, leads her to conclude that these romances were "composed and copied almost contemporaneously, although it is certain that Guy . . . preceded both Reinbrun and Amis and Amiloun."[45] Loomis argues that the verbal indebtedness of the opening stanza of Reinbrun (to the stanzaic Guy) and the "unique manipulation of source material" to form the two separate poems point to "a planned relation" in the manuscript determined by its director. In Amis and Amiloun and the stanzaic Guy, Loomis observes many "successive groups of parallel passages." She suggests that Amis and Amiloun employs direct textual borrowings from the stanzaic Guy.[46] She goes on to assert that if a single author did not create these unique versions of the poems, then, like the six scribes copying the text of the manuscript,[47] "the English authors . . . evidently worked in group association. And that association, since the volume itself was so largely written by London scribes, would most naturally have been in a London bookshop."[48] Such men, she continues, "labored in their shops, shops in which might be found some small working collections of texts not only for sale, but for copying purposes. . . . We see such men . . . here united with each other in the entirely realistic business of manufacturing popular romance for sale, of creating some newe thinges, some new tales, from old."[49] Reserving her most startling proposal for last, Loomis supposes that "there must have been in England, and probably in

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[45]Loomis, "Auchinleck and a Possible London Bookshop," p. 621.

[46]Ibid., pp. 165-82.

[47]Basing her assumption on Kölbing's early description of the manuscript, Loomis erroneously states that five scribes copied the Auchinleck.

[48]Loomis, "Auchinleck and a Possible London Bookshop," p. 624.

[49]Ibid., p. 626.

medieval London itself, a bookshop where, for English laymen, texts of many kinds were newly copied, and some newly translated into English."[50]

But one must not misinterpret Loomis's definition of a bookshop. She carefully qualifies her hypothesis by refusing to state firmly whether the work was done "under one roof or not."[51] While her argument underscores "the necessarily unified and directed work of compiling, copying, illuminating and binding any book,"[52] her definition of a bookshop does not deny the possibility that the work was being directed by a single man who contracted out the copying, illuminating, and binding chores to individual scribes and artisans outside the confines of his own shop. Late in her article she does refer to a "Master of the bookshop" and to "the translators, the scribes, and the illuminator" who produced the Auchinleck,[53] but again, she never places this group together in one location.

Moreover, while her investigation argues convincingly that there was cooperation among the authors of these texts, she is not able to place those authors in the bookshop. Although Loomis suggests that the texts were written specifically for the Auchinleck, it is still quite possible that these unique versions of Guy of Warwick, Reinbrun, and Amis and Amiloun were copied from an exemplar which antedates the Auchinleck. It might also be the case that scribe I, who copied most of the manuscript and who alone copied these three romances, was also

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[50] Ibid., p. 627.

[51] Ibid., p. 597.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Ibid., p. 627.

the translator. Finally, it might be that the organizer of the volume, again perhaps scribe I, had previously hired someone to translate those romances for his own collection. Surely, the first of these three possibilities is the most credible. As I will demonstrate, there is little reason to believe that the authorship of new works necessarily took place in this bookshop.

Other students of the manuscript have offered support for Loomis's theories. A. J. Bliss, in an article intended to correct and supplement Kölbing's description of the manuscript, tacitly accepts the bookshop theory. He affirms that the sharing of gatherings by the scribes, the catchwords written by one scribe anticipating the work of a second, and the similarities among the rulings of the pages and the use of paragraph signs offer strong evidence of "close collaboration between the scribes of the Auchinleck manuscript."[54] I shall offer a full analysis of these points of "collaboration," but one amendment to Bliss's description needs to be made here. Bliss suggests that "if all the 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."[55] He goes on to eliminate this possibility by observing that scribe IV wrote a catchword to link his stint with that of scribe I. But this is not the case. That single catchword on fol. 107^{v} is in the hand of scribe I, not IV.[56] In fact, of all the catchwords in the Auchinleck, only one, that on fol.

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[54]Bliss, pp. 656-58.

[55]Ibid., p. 657.

[56]I. C. Cunningham agrees. See Facsimile, p. xi.

99^{v}, may be in a hand other than that of scribe I, yet even that identification is uncertain. Nevertheless, Bliss's study remains important for two reasons: (1) it looks to the physical aspects of the manuscript for proof of collaboration among the scribes, and (2) it suggests, although unwittingly, that scribe I was more than a simple copyist; he may have been the organizing force behind the creation of the volume.

Derek Pearsall, in the introduction to the Facsimile, aligns himself more closely with Loomis's theory. Pearsall's opening remarks about the creation of the book allude to Loomis's essay. He notes the evidence of close collaboration among the scribes (the work of two or more scribes appearing within a gathering, catchwords written by one scribe preceding a gathering written by another, and scribe II's use of a sheet ruled by III) and argues that the "Auchinleck is a product of collaborative activity within a lay scriptorium or 'bookshop.'"[57] Pearsall accepts most of the points of cooperation cited by Bliss, but he also calls attention to the fact that the work was not allocated to the scribes by gatherings. Instead, as I mentioned above, the scribes were assigned poems to copy. These poems sometimes spanned several gatherings, sometimes fell short of filling an entire gathering. In the case of an unfilled leaf or leaves in a gathering, filler poems were usually copied onto the remaining space, occasionally by a scribe other than the one who began the gathering.

Perhaps the most important part of Loomis's theory that Pearsall accepts is the possibility of common authorship for several of the poems in the Auchinleck. He calls attention to the borrowings in Amis and

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[57] Facsimile, p. viii.

Amiloun from Guy of Warwick and the parallels in phrascology between them which Loomis discovered. He also refers to Kölbing's theory, later accepted by Smithers, that "Arthour and Merlin, Kyng Alisaunder, Richard and perhaps The Seven Sages are by the same London author."[58] But Pearsall goes beyond this theory of common authorship. He asserts that in the case of the borrowings from Guy preserved in Amis and Amiloun,

> The distinction of translator and versifier, or of translator/versifier and scribe, is clearly evident here, since other manuscripts of Amis preserve borrowings from Guy that are not present in the Auchinleck: this suggests that the other manuscripts derive independently, ultimately, from the bookshop translation or the bookshop copy that lies behind the Auchinleck copy.[59]

This final reference to a bookshop copy lying behind the Auchinleck copy should be stressed. It raises the possibility that the Auchinleck poems were copied from an exemplar, now lost.

In the paragraphs preceding this discussion of Loomis's theory, Pearsall cites other studies which argue for common authorship of poems and offers some new points.[60] He notes in Reinbrun the "striking verbal reminiscences" of the stanzaic Guy, the borrowings from Richard appearing in the Short English Metrical Chronicle, the idiomatic similarities among The King of Tars, Kyng Alisaunder and Richard, and the borrowings from Lay le freine preserved in Sir Degare. He also cites the studies of Walpole and Smyser which argue that behind Roland and Vernagu and Otuel

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[58] Ibid., p. xi.

[59] Ibid., p. x.

[60] Ibid., see pp. ix-xi.

"lies a lost 'Charlemagne and Roland' English romance."[61] Pearsall suggests that "this romance would have been one of the 'working translations' provided by the bookshop translators for the scribes, or as an intermediate stage, for the bookshop versifiers."[62] In short, Pearsall, like Loomis, sees the bookshop as one which produced new texts based upon old materials. These new texts originated in the bookshop and were the results of translators and/or versifiers working ahead of the scribes who later copied them. Pearsall, then, proposes that "translation and versifying were as much the activities of the place as scribing, illuminating, binding, and selling."[63] He offers no evidence, however, for his points about illumination and binding being done in the shop.

In addition, Pearsall presents a new theory about the production methods of this bookshop. Loomis argues that the Auchinleck volume was planned in fairly specific detail from the outset. She suggests that the "separation of Guy of Warwick into three separate romances indicates, as clearly as anything could, a deliberate intention and purpose which can only be ascribed to the man responsible for making the manuscript, its supervising director, or, as we should say, its editor."[64] Pearsall, on the other hand, calls attention to the many instances in which a new

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[61] Ibid., p. x. See R. N. Walpole, "The Source MS of Charlemagne and Roland and the Auchinleck Bookshop," Modern Language Notes, 60 (1945), 22-26; H. M. Smyser, "Charlemagne and Roland and the Auchinleck MS," Speculum, 21 (1946), 275-88.

[62] Facsimile, p. x.

[63] Ibid., p. ix.

[64] Loomis, "Auchinleck and a Possible London Bookshop," p. 624.

item begins a new gathering (see gatherings 1, 7, 11, 17, 26, 37, 38, 39, 42, 45, 48, and 52 in Summary I, pp. 10-29 above) and observes that "it does seem that there was an attempt to keep groups of gatherings intact."[65] Since the beginning item of a group of gatherings is not always the work of a new scribe (for example, scribe I copied gatherings 42-44, which form one group, and gatherings 45-47, which form another group), "the motive for the method of production seems clear: the book-shop produced a series of booklets or fascicles, consisting of groups of gatherings with some integrity of contents . . . which were then bound up to the taste of a particular customer, at which point catchwords would be supplied."[66] Implicit in Pearsall's theory, then, is that these groups of gatherings were not originally intended to be part of a larger volume but were produced on speculation. When a customer presented himself and made his wants known, several of these groups of gatherings could be bound together relatively quickly since the most time-consuming processes, the copying and illuminating, were already finished.

The theory of fascicular production had been proposed earlier in a study by Pamela Robinson. Robinson believes that many manuscripts containing randomly mixed pieces of Middle English literature, the Auchinleck included, were created when a medieval compiler or a later collector bound together independent booklets to form a single volume. According to her view, such volumes do not represent a preconceived, unified plan. The Auchinleck, she argues, is made up of 12 separate

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[65] Facsimile, p. ix.

[66] Ibid.

booklets, copied by 4 scribes,[67] which were bound together not long after they were copied. These individual booklets run longer than a gathering and may be composed of one or several different items; thus the length of the booklets is determined by the number and length of the poems the producer of the booklet decided to include. Implicit in the idea of booklet production is the notion that such booklets could circulate independently.

Robinson identifies a booklet by one or more of the following criteria:[68] (1) The last gathering of a booklet is often smaller than other gatherings since the scribe did not need a full gathering to complete his text. (2) Conversely, a scribe may have been forced to add a leaf to the last gathering to complete his text. (3) The final leaf or leaves of a final gathering were left blank when a scribe's text did not fill up an entire booklet. (4) In contrast, occasionally items were added on to the final leaves by a scribe, compiler, or later owner to fill up a booklet. (5) A difference in scribal hands and the dates of the handwriting suggests that independent booklets were later compiled into a volume. (6) When the hands of the scribes are contemporary, there may be differences in the formats of the pages copied by the various scribes. (7) Sometimes the dimensions of one booklet in a volume are different than those of another. (8) In some compilations catchwords run within an individual booklet and the last gathering has no catchword.

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[67] Loomis suggests five scribes were at work; Pearsall, Cunningham, Bliss, and I see six.

[68] Robinson, pp. 17-26.

Of these eight criteria, Robinson applies the third, fourth, and sixth to the Auchinleck manuscript. She calls attention to those instances in which one gathering ended, left final lines or whole leaves blank, and was followed by a new gathering which was begun by a new poem; and she notes those gatherings in which short filler poems were copied onto the final leaves to complete them. Basing her conclusions upon these observations, she argues that the Auchinleck was originally composed of 12 independent booklets, 9 of which now remain complete. Summary II below reflects the contents of and the boundaries of these 12 booklets. It should be noted that Robinson's "booklets" parallel those groups of items that Pearsall identified (see pp. 37-38 above). Moreover, I have noted these same awkward transitions in the manuscript and arrived at the same 12 groups of poems independently.

Summary II

GROUP I--comprised of 6 gatherings, totalling 48 folios:[69]

The Legend of Pope Gregory

Þe King of Tars

The Life of Adam and Eve

Seynt Mergrete

Seynt Katerine

St. Patrick's Purgatory and the Knight

Þe desputisoun bitven þe bodi & þe soule

The Harrowing of Hell

The Clerk Who Would See the Virgin

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[69]The total number of folios includes fragments, stubs, and leaves now missing.

(The final two poems here may be "filler" poems included to complete the gathering. The Clerk ends on fol. 38^{v} and leaves 18 blank lines in the right column.)

GROUP II--comprised of 4 gatherings, totalling 32 folios:

Speculum Gy de Warewyke

Amis and Amiloun

Life of St. Mary Magdalene

Anna our leuedis moder

(Anna ends on line 6 of fol. 69^{v}; 82 blank lines remain on this leaf.)

GROUP III--comprised of 5 gatherings (6 if the missing gathering 15 is included here), totalling 40 folios:

On þe seuen dedly sinnes

Þe pater noster vndo on englissch

The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin

Sir Degare

The Seven Sages of Rome

Floris and Blauncheflur

The Sayings of the Four Philosophers

List of names of Norman barons

(Again, the final two poems in this group may be filler poems; there remains room, however, for another one or two in the final gathering. The List ends on fol. 107^{r} and leaves 1-3/4 folios blank.)

GROUP IV--comprised of 9 gatherings, totalling 72 folios:

Guy of Warwick (including the stanzaic continuation)

Reinbrun gij sone of warwike

(Reinbrun ended somewhere on the final leaf, now missing, of gathering 25. It is impossible to tell how many blank lines, if any, remained since Reinbrun is unique to this manuscript.)

GROUP V--comprised of 11 gatherings, totalling 88 folios:

Sir beues of hamtoun

Of arthour & of merlin

Þe wenche þat loued a king

A penni worþ of witte

Hou our leuedi saute was ferst founde

(The final three here may be filler poems. Hou our leuedi ends on fol. 260^{v}; 34 lines of the right column remain blank.)

GROUP VI--comprised of one gathering, totalling eight folios:

Lay le freine

Roland and Vernagu

(Roland ends on fol. 267^{v} and leaves but 1 blank line in the right column.)

GROUP VII--comprised of 1 gathering, totalling 10 folios:

Otuel a knigt

(Robinson identifies this as a fragment of a booklet. Otuel ends on fol. 277^{v} and leaves no blank lines.)

GROUP VIII--presently comprised of only two gatherings, but, as noted above, five gatherings at least are missing. Only portions of Alisaunder and The Sayings of St. Bernard remain.

Kyng Alisaunder

The Thrush and the Nightingale

The Sayings of St. Bernard

Dauid þe king

(The final two may be filler poems. Dauid ends on 280^{v} and leaves 2 blank lines. Robinson identifies this as a fragment of a booklet.)

GROUP IX--comprised of 3 gatherings, totalling 24 folios:

Sir Tristrem

Sir Orfeo

The Four Foes of Mankind

(The last poem is included possibly as a filler. The Four Foes ends on fol. 303^{v} and leaves 20 blank lines.)

GROUP X--comprised of 3 gatherings, totalling 24 folios:

Liber Regum Anglie

Horn childe & maiden rimnild

Alphabetical Praise of Women

(Alphabetical Praise ends on fol. 325^{v} and leaves 28 blank lines.)

GROUP XI--in its original form probably comprised of 4 gatherings, totalling 32 folios (see Summary I, pp. 10-29 above):

King Richard (fragments)

(Robinson identifies this as a fragment of a booklet.)

GROUP XII--comprised of one gathering, totalling eight folios:

þe Simonie

(þe Simonie lacks its last leaf and concludes the manuscript.)

From these observations of unfilled final leaves in a gathering and of gatherings which appear to have been "made up" by the copying of short filler poems, Robinson concludes that the Auchinleck was originally

composed of independent booklets. She adds as further evidence the facts that the main copyist's hand (I) appears in neither the third nor the ninth booklet and that "changes in style and format suggest that the book was not planned as a compilation from the start."[70] She does observe, however, that "the compilations were put together at more or less the same time as the booklets were written"[71] and that the main copyist connected the booklets by supplying catchwords. Up to this point, she is in close agreement with Pearsall's theory of fascicular production. Like Bliss and Pearsall, Robinson sees evidence of scribal cooperation in the manuscript, and she suggests that it was scribe I who assumed the responsibility of putting the booklets together in one volume. She further asserts that "the collaboration of the scribes within individual booklets and [the fact that] three of them leave space in the text for illustrations [suggest] that this compilation is the work of a bookshop."[72]

Robinson's theory about the unique versions of the romances found in the Auchinleck (e.g., Guy of Warwick, Reinbrun, Amis and Amiloun, Sir Orfeo, Floris and Blauncheflur) does not coincide with Pearsall's hypothesis that the scribes functioned also as translators. Robinson does not see versifiers and translators working alongside the scribes in the bookshop. She suggests that "in the Auchinleck manuscript we can see how scribes in a commercial atelier felt free to enter into

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[70]Robinson, p. 35.

[71]Ibid., p. 34.

[72]Ibid., p. 70.

the life of the texts they copied and adapt them."[73] Moreover, "the treatment of individual stories was influenced by the desire to make bestsellers of them."[74] She supposes that it was the scribes who recognized the taste of the "bourgeois reader" and "worker over" the stories accordingly.[75] The differences, then, between her theory and those of Loomis and Pearsall are as follows: there were fewer people at work in this shop; the scribes themselves determined, to a degree, the nature of the poetry that was to be included in these booklets; and (in agreement with Pearsall but in contrast to Loomis) the volume was not a planned whole from the beginning. Finally, a key difference between the theory of Loomis and those of Pearsall and Robinson is that while all three argue for the existence of a bookshop, Loomis refuses to state whether the Auchinleck was produced on speculation or whether it was a "bespoke" book. Pearsall and Robinson both imply that the book was produced on speculation.

A. I. Doyle and M. B. Parkes present an alternate theory for the composition of a medieval book. In their view, books were produced after a book dealer entered into a contract with a buyer. This arrangement, called the "bespoke" trade, was a common business agreement of the Middle Ages. In contrast to the general concurrence among Loomis, Pearsall, and Robinson that a workshop of scribes did indeed exist, Doyle and Parkes argue that books resulted from exemplars which "had been distributed in portions among the scribes for simultaneous

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[73] Ibid.

[74] Ibid.

[75] Ibid., p. 71.

copying."[76] Doyle and Parkes accept Pollard's theory that in the fourteenth century, books were ordered by a patron from a book dealer, the stationarius, who appears to have been important "as a dealer rather than a craftsman, as an intermediary between the producer and the public rather than an actual maker of the goods he [sold]."[77] In contrast to Pearsall's notion that the Auchinleck was produced in a bookshop where translating, versifying, scrivening, illuminating, and binding were all done under one roof, Doyle and Parkes again argue, in accordance with Pollard, that we can find evidence only for the existence of professional parchmeners, scribes, illuminators, and bookbinders "who sold their own work in their own stores."[78] They conclude that there is

> no evidence for centralized, highly organized scriptoria in the metropolis and its environs at this time [c. 1408] other than the various departments of the central administration of government, and no evidence that these scriptoria played any part--as organizations--in the copying of literary works. We believe that it is wrong to assume the existence of scriptoria or workshops without evidence of persistent collaboration.[79]

The "persistent collaboration" they seek is the evidence of "two or more scribes collaborating in two or more manuscripts."[80] Interestingly enough, they have found just such a case. Doyle and Parkes identify two scribes (B and D) who collaborated on various copies of the Canterbury Tales. D also worked to produce copies of the Confessio Amantis.

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[76]Doyle and Parkes, p. 164.

[77]Graham Pollard, "The Company of Stationers Before 1557," The Library, 4th series, Vol. 18 (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1938), p. 5.

[78]Ibid., pp. 4-5.

[79]Doyle and Parkes, p. 199.

[80]Ibid., p. 200.

They conclude, though, that "the ad hoc nature of their collaboration in the Trinity manuscript, and the shifting character of D's association with other scribes and limners, suggest that B and D practised their skill as independent craftsmen."[81] But they suggest it is quite likely that someone like Gower would have known the professional scriveners of the city and after once contracting with scribes and limners, as other patrons and stationers did, was likely to secure again the services of two competent ones for another work.[82]

Doyle and Parkes arrive at their conclusions about the book trade from their study of Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. R.3.2. (581). Although they do not deal with the Auchinleck manuscript itself, their study is significant here because, like the Auchinleck, the Trinity College manuscript is a lengthy text (it contains the second recension of Gower's Confessio Amantis); it was copied by a number of scribes (five), and it was copied in the London area. Doyle and Parkes base their conclusion about the copying of the Trinity College manuscript by independent scriveners on "the frequency with which [the scribes'] stints correspond with the beginnings and ends of quires"[83] and an occasional "awkward transition"[84] from one stint to another. A few examples of these awkward transitions are: (1) a scribe's having failed to copy enough lines of the poem for his stint's concluding lines to mesh smoothly with the beginning lines of the stint of the

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[81] Ibid.

[82] Ibid.

[83] Ibid.

[84] Ibid., p. 165.

following scribe; the second scribe then inserted an additional leaf, which left blank most of the verso but which supplied the needed lines of poetry;[85] (2) a scribe's leaving a blank column (omitting 46 lines of the exemplar) on the recto of a leaf whose verso was copied by another scribe; and (3) a change of scribes within a single line of poetry. These awkward transitions indicate "the absence of the kind of intimate association between the scribes which we would expect if they had worked together under constant supervision in one place where adjacent portions of the exemplar were kept together."[86] Moreover, they find no evidence for a supervising hand in the Trinity College manuscript: "Each scribe seems to have dropped out of the operation after playing his limited part in the production of his copy, leaving the final coordination to somebody else."[87]

A brief summary is necessary here. Doyle and Parkes find no evidence for the existence of a highly organized shop which retained the services of full-time professional scribes, let alone a shop in which translating, versifying, illuminating, and binding were done. Instead they assert that books were produced when a contract was agreed upon between a buyer and a contractor (i.e., a "bespoke" trade). The prime contractor, who subcontracted the copying chores, would have needed little more than a small office from which he would have done his business. After the exemplar to be copied was selected, independent scribes were given pieces of the exemplar in the form of quires, which they took

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[85] Ibid., pp. 164-65.

[86] Ibid., p. 166.

[87] Ibid., p. 167.

out of the shop and copied at their own residences. The only function of the scribes was to copy those quires of the exemplars given them by the prime contractor. Thus, the contents of the volume to be produced were predetermined and were probably not done on speculation.

The theory I propose in the following pages does not agree entirely with the hypotheses of Loomis, Pearsall, Robinson, or Doyle and Parkes. Instead I offer a theory of the production of the Auchinleck manuscript which accepts parts from each of these theories.

IV. THE DIMENSIONS AND THE RULINGS OF THE LEAVES

To arrive at any conclusions about the planned design of the volume and the collaboration among the scribes, one must look closely at the pages of the text. Although the format of the pages seems uniform as a whole (double columns of verse for each folio except for scribe I's first piece, IV's list of Norman barons, and II's De Simonie), the measurements of the margins vary too much to make any extrapolation about the original folio size. For example, scribe I's bottom margin (from bottom line to vellum's edge) varies from 30 mm to 46 mm; scribe II's from 45 to 48 mm; scribe III's from 35 to 47 mm; scribe V's from 31 to 40 mm; and scribe VI's from 34 to 42 mm. (Scribe IV has written too few folios for measurements to be of any help.) Thus it seems that while the scribes took care in trying to keep a superficial uniformity in the dimensions of their leaves, they were not precise. One could argue here the obvious point that it is the cropper who is responsible for such variations in margins. A look at the top margins and the height of the numbers, however, suggests he is not solely to blame.

Of particular interest here is the numbering of the poems. Each item was numbered in black lowercase Roman numerals, centered in the top margin of the recto of each folio. These item numbers were probably written by scribe I, though certainly not with the same brown ink used in his text. They are preceded by a blue marking which resembles the rubricator's paragraph marker. Although many of these numbers have been cropped off or cut through, enough remain for one to see that there

is little consistency in the spacing between the numbers and the first line of the text. In scribe I's work, for example, we find no evidence of any number on fol. 49^{r}, where there is a 15-mm top margin. No other numbers appear until 6 pages later, on fol. 55^{r}, which also has a 15-mm top margin. There we see a nearly complete number xvi, which itself stands at least 4 mm high. This number is 10 mm above the top line of the text. The same sorts of variations hold for other scribes. Scribe III, for instance, began the text on fol. 70^{r}, 13 mm below the edge of the sheet, and there is no sign of a Roman numeral. On fol. 72^{r}, though, the text begins 14 mm from the top of the page and has a complete number xxii 8 mm above. Other measurements show that the numbers vary from 8 to 15 mm above the top line (fols. 156 and 135, respectively). The side margins vary also. Because of the tightness of the present binding, it is impossible to determine with accuracy the width of the left margin of the leaves, but the right margins are quite inconsistent. The margins of scribe I usually vary from 23 mm (fol. 315) to 31 mm (fol. 29); II's vary from 24 mm (fol. 44) to 29 mm (fol. 46); III's from 21 mm (fol. 82) to 29 mm (fol. 90); IV's from 26 mm (fol. 106) to 28 mm (fol. 107); V's from 25 mm (fol. 169) to 30 mm (fol. 174); and VI's from 20 mm (fol. 272) to 24 mm (fol. 268). The point here is that while there is a degree of uniformity, there are no precise standards in the lay-out of the folios. Such variations run throughout the text. No standards for margins appear either within the gatherings or among the gatherings.

In rare instances, the numbers have been written off center to accommodate an inserted miniature. Such a case appears on fol. 72^{r}. This folio gives us hard evidence about the order of composition; the numbering of the poems had to have been done after the miniatures were

inserted. Furthermore, since a capital Q has been squeezed in at the top of the right column, it seems likely that the colorful capital letters were placed in the text after the miniatures. Another example to support this claim is on fol. 290, where the adornment of the capital runs to the top of the page and the later insertion of the numeral covers part of the red embellishment. Apparently, then, the numbers were inserted after the copying, illuminating, and illustrating were finished. Thus it seems that all of the gatherings of the manuscript returned to the bookshop after the work in the atelier was completed. The hand which wrote the numbers closely resembles that of the major scribe (I). If he was indeed the one responsible for these numbers,[88] we must conclude that he handled every gathering, and served as more than a scribe in the production of the book. He was, to a great degree, responsible for the compilation.

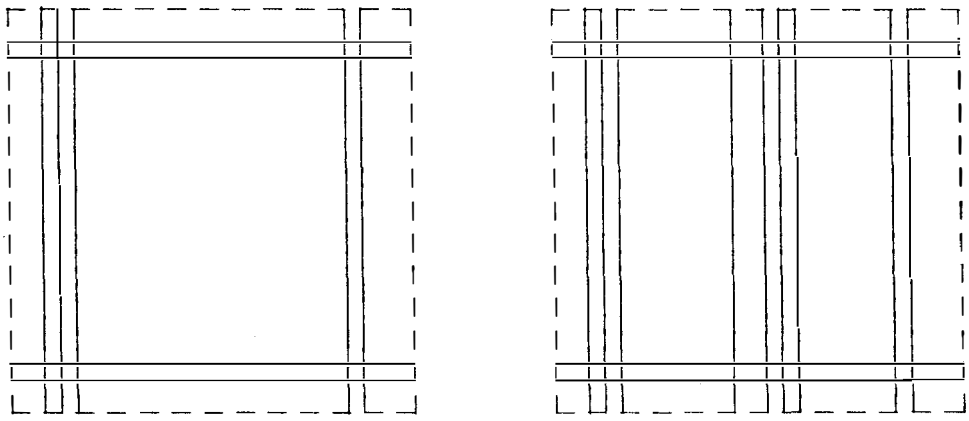
The ruling of the leaves is more consistent and more valuable in determining the collaboration among the scribes. It shows, moreover, evidence of a plan, sometimes loosely followed, for the format of all the leaves of the manuscript. Each scribe, apparently, ruled his own sheets in the same ink he used in copying the text, a common brownish ink made from gall. Scribe I ruled his pages in one of the two patterns shown in Figure 1.[89] In Figure 1-A, the entire ruled rectangle measures approximately 195 x 148 mm from the extreme outside margin lines. The first column, which encloses the initial letter of each line, is

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[88]Cunningham agrees; see Facsimile, p. xiv.

[89]See also Cunningham's diagrams of the rulings of the six scribes (Facsimile, p. xiv). My diagrams offer some slight variations.

approximately 3 mm wide; the second column, which separates the first letter from the rest of the line, is 3 mm also, or sometimes less than half a millimeter narrower. The right column, which served as a margin



A. Single-Column B. Double-Column

Figure 1. Scribe I's rulings.

marker even though no line even closely approaches it, is a bit wider at 4 mm. Pearsall theorizes that the scribe began the book with this ruling, realized the difficulties presented to the reader by such a lay-out, and never returned to it.[90] But one wonders how quickly this realization struck him. He apparently fused together two short lines into one long one in this first poem, as can be seen by his use of a dot in the middle of nearly every line to separate the verses. But while this poem is the first extant item of the Auchinleck manuscript, the contemporary numbering, apparently by this same scribe, shows that it was originally the sixth item of the book. The gathering also lacks its initial 4 folios,

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[90] Facsimile, p. viii. I assume that Pearsall means by this that the single-column ruling, one long line across the leaf, is more difficult to read than the shorter lines of the double column.

and the Vernon text of the poem suggests that some 134 lines are missing from the beginning of the poem.[91] Since the Auchinleck folios contain 44 lines per page, the missing 4 folios would more than make up for the first 134 missing lines. In fact, there would have been more than a single folio remaining blank at the start of the gathering. While it is true that throughout the manuscript different scribal hands are found on the same leaf and in the same gathering, there is no leaf with more than one kind of column division. Judging from these facts, one can safely say that more than one poem and probably more than one gathering were copied in this single-column ruling. The lost item (v) once preceding that which now begins the manuscript (vi), probably shared a leaf with item vi and thus must have been ruled in the same single-column format. The King of Tars (beginning on fol. 7), which shares a gathering with The Legend of Pope Gregory (the first poem), is the first to employ scribe I's normal two-column ruling. Pearsall notes that in The King of Tars the scribe broke a long seven-stress line into two short lines to suit his double-column format. Obviously, then, the scribe was greatly concerned with the work's appeal to the eye. Hence it appears, as Pearsall suggests, that the format of the pages has, on occasion, affected the meter of the poems.[92]

Figure 1-B represents the usual ruling of scribe I, which is the ruling most used throughout the manuscript. Interestingly enough, this double-column ruling appears at least once in the opening poem (item vi), which was ruled in the single-column format depicted in Figure 1-A.

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[91] Ibid., p. xix.

[92] Ibid., p. viii.

Fol. 4^{v} shows evidence, at the top, of this double-column ruling. The significance of this is not easy to discern. Since that folio ends a gathering and since the poem continues into the next gathering in the same single-column ruling, it is possible that the scribe rewrote a lost sheet, using a preruled page meant for the later poems. This page, which other scholars have overlooked, remains something of a mystery.

The scribe's double-column format is more appealing to the eye and undoubtedly more convenient to the reader. The first column of the ruling is 3 mm wide; the second column, which separates the first letter from the remainder of the line, is slightly narrower but still close to 3 mm. The two columns of script lie within columns approximately 70 mm wide, although the columns can vary 3 to 4 mm on either side of this average. The single-line right margin for the left column and the initial letter ruling for the right column form a divisional column of about 10 mm. Except for the paragraph markers and capitals and their embellishments, nothing lies in this dividing space. The ruled column preceding the second column of verse, like its counterpart on the left, was designed to isolate the initial letter from the line. Both columns again measure approximately 3 mm. The right margin of the right column is designated by a double ruling, which forms still another column of 5 mm.

The horizontal ruling of scribe I is very methodical. Leaving spaces of 5 mm for his script, the scribe moves through hundreds of leaves, laying out 88-line leaves, 2 columns of 44 lines each. Only rarely does he deviate from this pattern. For example, fol. 9^{r}, left column, contains 45 lines because the scribe omitted a line and later squeezed it in. Normally the scribe would have used a marking process

to designate where a misplaced line should go and then placed that line at column's end. This unusual method suggests that this scribe proofread his work. Whether he proofread at the end of each column, end of each folio, end of each gathering, or end of each poem is impossible to tell. Fol. 15^{v}, left column, again has 45 lines. Here the last four lines were squeezed together to make room for the forty-fifth line. Neither the poem nor the gathering ends at this point, and the reason the scribe broke his pattern is uncertain. Perhaps his exemplar had 45 lines in this column. Fol. 69^{v} presents another mystery. The entire folio contains only six lines of verse in the upper left column. While the leaf does end both a poem and a gathering (the next gathering begins in a different hand), 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. The cost of labor to copy a short poem was certainly not as great as the cost of wasted vellum. And yet this empty space seems planned, for the scribe ruled only the left column for the initial letter and subsequent spacing column. Such an awkward transition strongly suggests piece-work copying. Fol. 122^{v} presents a different deviation. Here there are the typical 44-line columns, but the scribe mistakenly began the left column on the second line of the ruling. The result is an unbalanced page; the left column begins and ends one line below the right column. A final irregularity occurs on fol. 311^{r}. On this sheet the scribe has ruled 45 lines, the final line being the characteristic concluding line which, like the first one, crosses the entire leaf and extends beyond both margins. The scribe, however, did not use this line. Undoubtedly, he left the line blank in order to maintain his 44-line format.

A final point of interest has been overlooked in the most recent descriptions by Bliss and Pearsall. Like most manuscripts of the period, this one contains prick marks made by the scribes as a guide for straight ruling. The failure of previous scholars to detect these markings is easy to understand; they are preserved on only fols. 217-229, 247-250, 252, 254, and 255. With rare exceptions these occur only at the very tops of the folios to mark the ruling for the initial letter of the left column, and the medial column which separates the left and right columns of script. The reason for the absence of many of the prick marks for the right margin marker is that tops of the leaves were cropped at a slant; the top edges of the folios taper downward toward the right edges. No prick marks are found at the bottoms of folios. The only extant prickings for horizontal rulings in the entire volume are found on fol. 276, which was written by scribe VI. On this folio, 36 prick marks descend along the extreme right margin before the line runs off the page. They exactly match the first 36 rulings.

The reason for the survival of prick marks on only these leaves is perhaps that the upper margins after cropping are 2 to 3 mm larger than average. While most prick marks occur on leaves with an upper margin of 16 mm or more, fol. 226a contains prick marks a mere 11 mm above the first line. Fol. 251, on the other hand, has an upper margin of 17 mm but no sign of prickings. It is noteworthy that, aside from fol. 276, the prickings occur only when the top Roman numerals are 90 percent or more complete. None, for example, are left on fol. 226 where the cropper's knife has destroyed the numerals. Conversely, some leaves with a complete number contain no prick marks--fol. 230, for example. The presence of prickings and the preservation of the numerals have no

connection anyway, since the pricking was made before the leaves were ruled and the numbers added after the scribes' copying and the illuminator's decorating. That the prickings occur only within Of arthour & of merlin and Sir Orfeo, end within the final gathering which concludes the latter poem, and are not present in any other gatherings written by scribe I leaves much to be explained.

Prick marks in medieval manuscripts were made either by punching through the vellum with a stylus or by running a spiked wheel down the edge of a folio. The latter method greatly expedited production, and one would assume that a scribe employed in the business of copying books would have owned such a wheel. The prick marks on fol. 276^{r} come at such regular intervals that they probably were made with a spiked wheel. Such a tool would, of course, account for the methodical horizontal rulings of scribe I. However, as the following descriptions of the rulings of the other five scribes will show, the scribes certainly did not employ the same spiked wheel. The spaces between horizontal rulings of the scribes differ. If the manuscript is a product of a single bookshop which had such a wheel, it is very strange that the other scribes did not use that tool. On the other hand, if the scribes were copying in different locations, it is not difficult to see why they did not use the same wheel.

Bliss suggests that all the leaves were ruled prior to the copying of the numerous poems.[93] This possibility is interesting in that it

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[93]Bliss, p. 657. Bliss suggests that since there are no major variances "between the spacing of the lines, either vertical or horizontal, at the beginning and at the end of the book," the sheets were ruled in advance.

would provide a basis for the speculation that the format was predetermined. Some leaves are indeed ruled in such a manner that successive leaves must have been ruled before the copying was done. For example, the bottoms of fols. 312^{v} and 313^{r} have highly uncharacteristic triple rulings. Since this error in ruling stretches across two facing leaves which do not appear in the middle of the gathering, and thus do not comprise a single sheet, it indicates that the scribe must have been ruling ahead. Perhaps, then, the sheets were ruled after being folded into their respective quires. More convincing evidence of the simultaneous ruling of two leaves lies on fols. 29^{v} and 30^{r}. Here the top line of fol. 29^{v} splits into 2 separate lines as the result of an error by the scribe. The split line carries over onto fol. 30^{r}, where this split ruling meshes exactly. This is evidence of advance ruling for more than one sheet, but it is impossible to determine just how many leaves were ruled in advance. The curious case of the six-line folio (fol. 69^{v}, discussed above) suggests that the ruling was not done as far ahead as Bliss proposes. If the scribe ruled the vellum only a gathering at a time, the lining of fol. 69^{v} becomes understandable since he could have estimated the number of lines remaining to be copied and ruled only as many lines as he needed.

Scribe II's ruling differs from that of scribe I. Although his work is also ruled into both double-column and single-column leaves, which the text follows, for most of his copying he used the double-column ruling, shown in Figure 2, which gives the sense of unity to the volume. The four vertical columns vary somewhat. The width of each thinner ruled column vacillates between 2 and 3 mm. The space allotted for the columns of script ranges from 60 to 64 mm, and the two medial

columns comprise a separating space of approximately 10 mm. The columns of verse run very close to 190 mm in length, but some are as long as 202 mm. Scribe II appears to have crossed the entire page with his top and

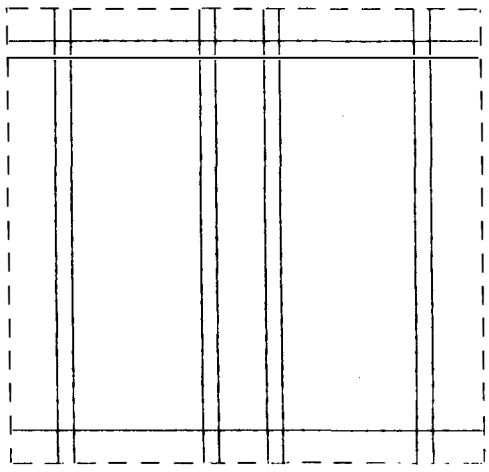


Figure 2. Scribe II's double-columned leaf.

bottom horizontal lines, but his ruling is so light that it is at times difficult to tell. In ruling for this double-column format, the scribe did not follow the practice of scribe I. He neither separated the initial letter from each line nor set the paragraph markers outside the columns. Instead, he placed the markers inside the column which borders the written line. The size of his hand, furthermore, frequently caused him to violate the margin markers, sometimes to the point of running a line from the left column into the right or placing letters above a line in an effort to squeeze in his material (see fol. 44^{r}). Even more interesting is his being forced to reduce the size of his script to fit a page preruled by III. In The Sayings of the Four Philosophers (fol. 105^{r}), he had to adapt his writing to the 44-line format established by III. Those who subscribe to the bookshop theory point to this instance

as proof positive of scribal collaboration which must have taken place while the copiers were in close proximity to one another. The evidence here seems to be in their favor. I do wish to point out, though, that if scribe III had observed that his stint would not have required all the folios of this gathering for its completion, he probably would not have ruled all of it. We know that he did not rule the leaves which follow The Sayings (fols. 103^{v} to 107^{v}); IV copied his list of Norman barons in a unique four-column format. I also wish to recall the observations I made above (p. 60) in which scribes appear to have ruled facing leaves simultaneously. It does not seem unreasonable, then, to suppose that III knew he was about to finish his stint, ruled ahead enough leaves of the gathering to make certain he would be able to finish his chores, and then returned his finished work to scribe I, who in turn passed on the unfilled gathering to II, who was compelled to use those lines ruled by III. Scribe II would have had no choice since the ruling was done in brown ink.

The horizontal rulings indicate inconsistencies of II which are in direct contrast to the methodical work of the major scribe, I. Except for fol. 105^{r}, the number of lines per column varies from 24 to 31. The number of lines on facing leaves does not always coincide, however, which means that unlike scribe I he did not rule more than a single sheet at a time. For example, fol. 46^{v} contains 24 lines per column, and 47^{r} contains 25. Since the ruled space allotted for each line of text is nearly always 7 mm in width, the number of lines per leaf determines the length of the columns of text. No reason for these inconsistencies comes to mind, unless the scribe was following the arrangement of an unknown exemplar. It should be noted, though, that since his

horizontal rules are consistently 7 mm in width and scribe I's consistently 5 mm in width, both may have been using a spiked wheel to mark their rules. But the difference in the width of these rulings makes it clear that they were not using the same wheel.

Scribe II's final work, Þe Simonie (fols. 328-334^{v}), was copied in still another format (Figure 3). Here we see the only other single-column pages in the manuscript aside from those for the opening poem of

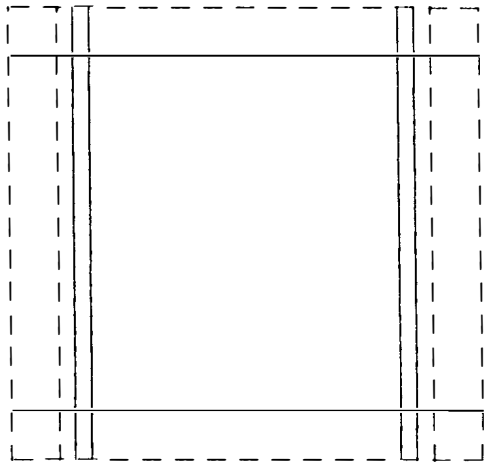


Figure 3. Scribe II's single-column format.

scribe I. Both the first and the last extant poems of the codex, then, were copied in single columns. It could be that these two instances of single-column ruling may have been an attempt at providing a frame for the book, but since the missing first five poems of the original volume probably were also copied in this same format, as noted above, this does not seem likely. Perhaps this piece was commissioned before scribe I decided on the two-column format. From the outsides of both the vertical and horizontal boundaries, the ruled pages by scribe II measure anywhere from 190-192 mm x 140-150 mm. The first leaf of the work has triple

vertical lines which form two columns in both margins (Cunningham noted only the instances in the left margin). Afterwards the two columns in the left margin appear occasionally, in the right margin never. Why the scribe began with this system and changed after a single page remains a mystery. Why the scribe employed the double vertical columns preceding the text is even more uncertain since he did not write the initial letters in a separate column. The only satisfactory explanation is that the ruling of an initial letter column provided unity within the book, a unity the organizer of the volume outlined for the individual scribes. The paragraph markers are also randomly set, sometimes in the first left column, sometimes in the second. As in scribe II's first piece, Speculum Gy, the number of lines per page is not regular, but ranges from 27 to 30. Continuing the inconsistencies, the horizontal rulings are from 5 to 7 mm apart. In this item, II obviously did not employ a spiked wheel when making his rulings. The cramping of the hand into smaller lines in the top eight to ten verses of the first six leaves of the poem is another oddity.

One final curiosity marks this final poem. Beginning with line four and occurring every five lines thereafter, a word or brief phrase was written outside the right column of text and was preceded by a red paragraph marker (). Apparently, these words are in the proper position of the text since they blend in well with the rest of the text, yet they neither consistently begin nor end a sentence. Nor are the paragraph signs simple markers to designate a new section of text; beginning with line six and occurring every five lines thereafter are the standard paragraph markers of scribe II's stint. In short, the many odd characteristics of this final poem, which alone makes up the

final gathering, lead one to believe that it was copied separately, before the format of the pages had been determined. The scribe might have been either following his own whim or else the format of the original text he was copying (which would have been equally whimsical). At any rate, he seems to have been a rather inexperienced and undisciplined scribe. It may be that this piece had no connection with the commissioned collection of works in the Auchinleck manuscript but was added as an appropriate moralistic conclusion to the tome.

Scribe III appeals more to our modern desire for quality control. Throughout his stint, six poems occupying nearly five gatherings in fols. 70-104^{v}, he used a two-column format closely resembling that of scribe I (Figure 4). Like scribe I, scribe III isolated initial letters in the

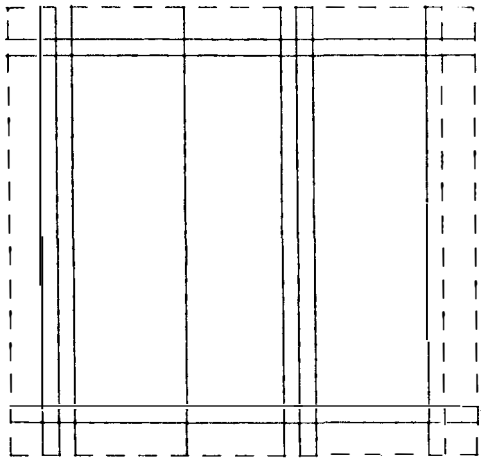


Figure 4. Scribe III's two-column format.

first of the two columns beside the lines of text and left the second column to form a space between the initial letter and the rest of the line. The initial letter column measures from 4 to 5 mm in width, the spacing column usually a millimeter or less narrower. Separating the

two columns of poetry is a 10-mm space between the margin line of the left column and the first vertical ruling for the initial letter of the right column. Four to 5 mm separate the two lines marking the extreme right margin of the page. On fols. 85^{r} and 93^{r}-98^{v} irregularities do occur in that the scribe drew only a single instead of a double line for the right margin. Moreover, on fols. 93^{r}-98^{v} only the top rule crosses the entire page; the bottom rules extend only to the margin lines.

Since the page format so closely resembles that of scribe I, whose writing occupies nearly three-fourths of the volume, it would seem possible that III was using sheets ruled by I. That possibility is negated by two points. First, we can conclude from the minor variations noted above that each scribe apparently ruled his own sheets in this manuscript. Second, scribe III did something scribe I very rarely did, and then only in error: he varied the number of lines per leaf in his early copying. His first poem, On þe seuen dedly sinnes (fols. 70^{r}-72^{r}), was copied 38 lines to the column. Those pages measure approximately 200 x 145 mm. His version of Þe pater noster vndo on englissch (fol. 72^{r} plus one stub) ranges from 36 to 37 lines per column and again measures about 200 x 145 mm. Immediately following is The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin (fols. 73-78), which contains 33 to 40 lines per column and, strangely enough, measures from 205 x 145 mm for the folios with fewer lines against 195 x 150 mm for the folios with more lines. The horizontal rules of those folios with more lines of text are, naturally, narrower by about 1 mm than those of the pages with fewer lines (5 mm versus 6 mm). More consistent is the 44-lines-per-column format of Sir Degare (fols. 78^{r}-$84a^{r}$), the ensuing poem. These leaves

are about 195 x 145-150 mm. Finally, III settled into I's favorite format, the 44-lines-per-column leaf, in The Seven Sages of Rome (fols. $84a^{r}$-99^{v}) and Floris and Blauncheflur (fols. 100^{r}-104^{v}). One small exception, the 43-line right column on fol. 104^{r}, an obvious error, mars the regularity. Although the number of lines only once varies in these folios, the size of the leaf as ruled by the scribe deviates as much as 15 mm in length (from 190 to 205 mm). The shorter columns appear near the end of the scribe's work, in the last four folios.

Of interest here is the fact that while the same general format was used for each page, the number of lines per column changes for each poem of III's work until we enter his last two gatherings. There, he conformed rather rigidly to the number of lines per column which dominates the book. It appears to be, as Bliss pointed out, that the sheets were ruled in advance, but until his final two gatherings there seems to be no preordained number of lines in III's stint. But the last two gatherings of III conform to what must have been the intended format of the volume; they follow that of scribe I, the organizer of the book.

Scribes IV and VI contributed but one piece each to the collection. The work of IV is as radically different in format from the majority of the manuscript's leaves as it is in content. His List of names of Norman barons was written four columns to the leaf, as shown in Figure 5. Measuring from 5 to 7 mm in width, the narrow columns separate the four rows of names. Nothing appears in these spaces but five small x's beside the names "audele," "Touchet," "lovel," "Delet" (?), and "Grynel." The space allotted for each column of names is almost exactly 32 mm. The size of each page is approximately 190 x 150 mm, which, significantly, is very close to that of scribe I (approximately 200 x 150 mm).

Fol. 105^{v} alone deviates; it measures 180 x 150 mm. The first sheet contains 4 columns of 42 lines each; the following pages have 44 lines, 4 mm apart, per column. The concluding page contains three columns of eight lines each and one of seven. Apparently the scribe knew the length of his work, for he drew only as many rules as he needed on this final page. Since IV wrote 44 lines per column, as did scribes I and III (and II when he was using III's ruling), the suggestion is that IV followed the format planned for the entire text.

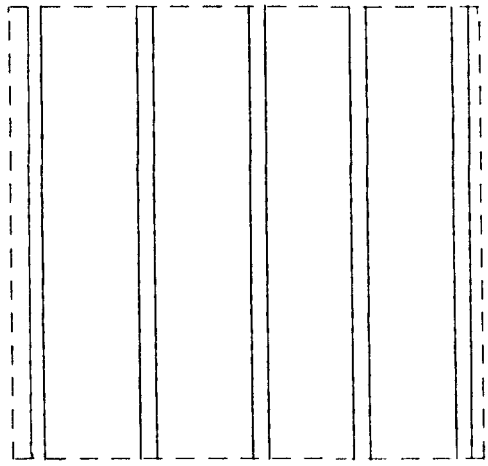


Figure 5. Scribe IV's four-column format.

Scribe V, copier of the fascinating version of Reinbrun gij sone of warwike (fols. 167^{r}-175^{v}) and the pleasant Sir beues of hamtoun (fols. 176^{r}-201^{r}), wrote in the least attractive hand of the six. His ruling nearly duplicates those of I and III, which adds a sense of unity to the text. Furthermore, both his poems share not only gatherings but also leaves with scribe I. Apparently on fol. 167^{r} 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. He could, however, simply have been

given the partially filled gathering as a starting point for his stint. In either case, he copied his text only after scribe I had finished his. This fifth scribe 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 beginner or apprentice scribe under the tutelage of our major scribe.

A sketch of his ruling (Figure 6) demonstrates how closely the format of his page resembles that of scribe I. Like scribe I, V preceded the lines of writing with the triple vertical lines. These lines

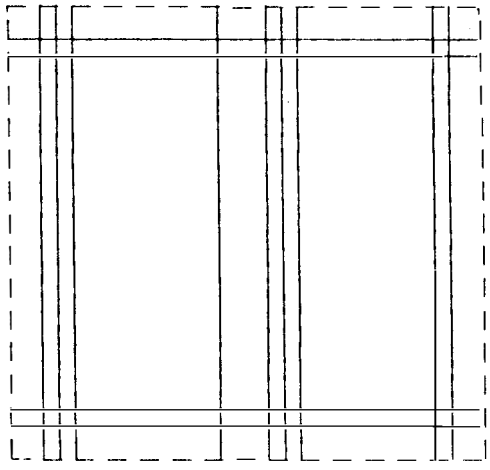


Figure 6. Scribe V's ruling.

form two columns, one for the initial letter of each line, another to separate the initial from the line. Each column is ruled into 44 lines, about 5 mm apart. The 2 columns are 10 mm apart, separated by the column formed by the ruled right margin for the first verse column and the first line of the inital letter column of the second verse column. Finally, the measurements of the space ruled for the copying, 195-200 x 150 mm, are very close to that of the major scribe (I). Again, one might suggest

that scribes V and I were using sheets ruled by a common pen. That does not seem to be the case, however, for the column separating the initial letter from the text of V's work is frequently distinctly narrower than that column in I's work (about half the width); I's two vertical columns vary little at all in width.

Scribe VI, copier of only the romance Otuel (fols. 268^{r}-277^{v}), likewise ruled his sheets quite similarly to those ruled by the major scribe (see Figure 7). By now one can recognize the basic format of the manuscript: the two columns for text (44 lines, 5 mm apart, to the column

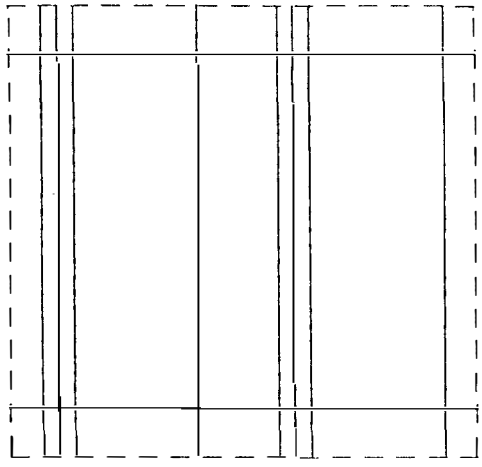


Figure 7. Scribe VI's ruling.

except for fol. 268^{r}, which has a space for the miniature in the left column and only 43 lines in the right-hand column), a narrow column (5 mm) for the initial letter, a narrower one (3 mm) to separate the initial letter from the text, a column (10 mm) formed by a margin and an initial letter column in the middle of the leaf to separate the two columns of text, the rules extending horizontally across the top and bottom of the page, and finally the approximately 200 x 150 mm area of

the ruled leaf. Scribe VI's rulings do have individual characteristics which distinguish them from scribe I's. Most notable is the single-rule right margin (as opposed to I's double rules). Also VI's initial letter column is slightly wider than I's, primarily because he used capital letters to begin each line while scribe I used lowercase. 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 II).

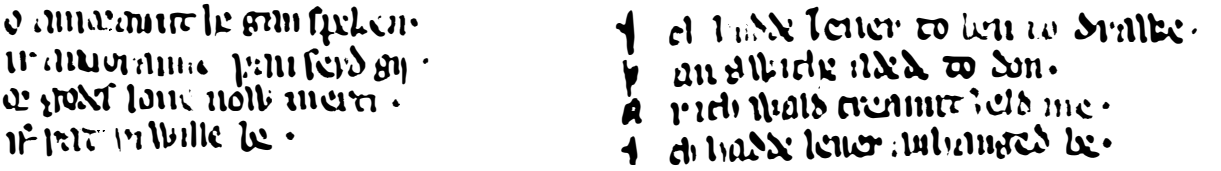
The importance of this detailed examination of the ruling is that it gives the modern investigator insight into the planning and organization of a complicated codex. The consistency of the ruling indicates that the volume was planned as a unit and not merely a collection of fascicles written at different times and places. Aside from the List of names of Norman barons, the opening poem written by scribe I (The Legend of Pope Gregory), and the final poem (Þe Simonie) by scribe II (the copyist with the exceptionally large hand), every leaf is ruled for the double-column format. Even more impressive are the similar dimensions of the folios and the ruled columns. Another consistency is the 44-line columns. Perhaps the most conclusive evidence of planning ahead in the Auchinleck manuscript is the shared gathering (number 16) in which scribe II was forced to adapt his very large hand to a folio preruled by scribe III in the manner which is most prevalent in the manuscript. At the same time, scribe III's disappearance from the text at this point suggests that he had fulfilled his contract by copying his exemplar and was no longer connected with the production of the manuscript.

This evidence of an attempt at unity of form in such a massive codex does not imply any kind of mass production. While there is some general conformity, each scribe ruled his own pages, making his own variations in the common form, thus retaining some individuality in his work. Some cooperation between scribes and awareness of a "plan" are undoubtedly displayed here but not a mechanical lock-step production.

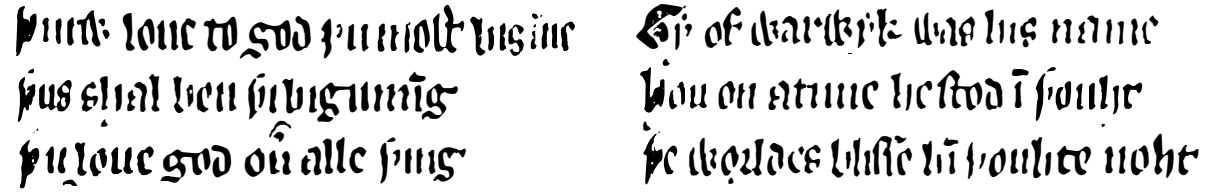
V. THE HANDS OF THE SCRIBES

The hands of the individual scribes attest to the fact that no attempt was made to eliminate the sense of shared labor nor to stamp the book as being in a certain style or from a particular shop. As shown in Figure 8, the hands range from the admirably clear and distinctive writing of scribe I (Figure 8-A), to the large scrawl of II (Figure 8-B), to the disjointed, irregular writing of V (Figure 8-E). Although Kölbing confused the hands of scribes I and III, for reasons not readily discernible, no two hands very closely resemble one another. The hands of scribe I and VI are the only two which look even vaguely alike (see Figure 8-A and 8-F).

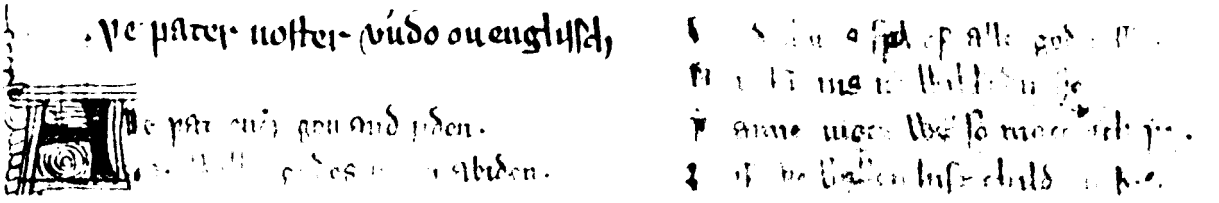
Scribe I's hand is a practiced, legible, unadorned bookhand (see Figure 8-A). The consistency of his rulings is matched by the consistency of his writing. Only rarely does the size of his script change, and those few changes are best explained by his returning to work after a rest. Most of us are prone to write somewhat larger letters when we begin and smaller, more cramped ones as we hurry to finish. The only unusual change in hand is on fol. 146^{v}. Here occurs the curious switch of Guy of Warwick from couplets to a continuation in stanzas. Interestingly enough, the scribe wrote the stanzas in a larger hand. Instead of letters approximately 2 mm high, he began forming letters nearly 3 mm high (a 50 percent increase), writing on the same leaf and guided by the same ruling. The hand size preceding this break is unusually small and that following unusually large. Gradually in the ensuing pages, the hand size settles into the scribe's standard size. But other than the



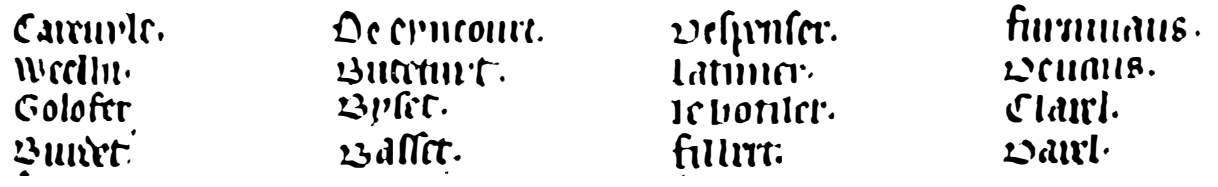
A. Scribe I



B. Scribe II



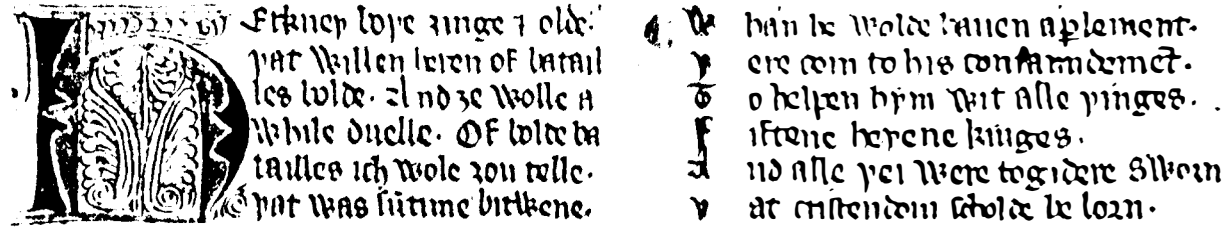
C. Scribe III



D. Scribe IV



E. Scribe V



F. Scribe VI

Figure 8. The hands of the six scribes.

greater tolerance for diversity in the Middle Ages, no readily-accepted explanation offers itself as to why the scribe shifted to a so much larger hand when it clashed so obviously with the preceding lines on the same leaf.

While a London origin for scribe I has been frequently noted, it is hard to categorize his handwriting. It exhibits some characteristics of the Gothic hand. According to E. A. Lowe, "conjoint bow letters"[94] (e.g., for bo) constitute the primary marker of Gothic handwriting. Scribe I frequently fashioned conjoint bow letters in his formations of such combinations as , , , , , , , and . Two other Gothic characteristics mark his hand: the shape for r after bow letters (most often after o), and , for the long s, in the final position.[95] It must be noted, however, that his use of in the final position is inconsistent. While such shapes show that some Gothic characteristics are evident in his hand, his script does not display the other features of a thirteenth-century Gothic hand designated by Denholm-Young: the substitutions of angles for curves and an "accentuation of the difference between light and heavy strokes (what the medievalists called littera fractura)."[96] While his top loop of a descends to close upon the lower (a characteristic of the latter half of the thirteenth century), the scribe's vertical stroke of t still does not rise above the horizontal (another characteristic of the latter

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[94] E. A. Lowe, "Handwriting," in The Legacy of the Middle Ages, ed. C. G. Crump and E. F. Jacob (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926), p. 224.

[95] Ibid.

[96] N. Denholm-Young, Handwriting in England and Wales (Cardiff: Univ. of Wales Press, 1954), pp. 26-28.

half of the thirteenth century) except where two t's occur together.[97] His hand is best classified as textura.[98]

Scribe I did not connect minims for his m, n, u, or v, which frequently confuses the modern reader. At times, this scribe placed a virgula above the minim for i when i was adjacent to other minims for n, m, etc. The virgula was used sparingly for punctuation, and, as far as I can tell, inconsistently. The only other mark of punctuation, much more consistently applied, is the punctus at the end of each line.

Scribe II wrote in a much larger bookhand than scribe I, a hand Bliss describes as "almost liturgical."[99] His hand does not lend itself to categorization; Robinson's description of it as "an idiosyncratic mixture of textura and anglicana"[100] will suffice (see Figure 8-B). Gothic characteristics occur less frequently. The form of r (ꝛ) does follow some bowed letters, particularly b and d, which are then subpuncted when used in this combination, but the most distinguishing feature of the Gothic (conjoint bow letters) appears rarely, usually in the form of the combination ꝺe for de. His minims are often connected by a sharply angled downward (right to left) stroke. The distinguishing virgula above the minim for i occurs occasionally. The vertical stroke of t almost always pierces the horizontal bar. The character for y is always superpuncted (ẏ), a standard tradition; however, the long, backward-curving

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[97] C. E. Wright, English Vernacular Hands From the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Centuries (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), p. xvi.

[98] O. D. Macrae-Gibson, Of Arthour and of Merlin, vol. II (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1979), pp. 37-38. See also Robinson, pp. 130-31.

[99] Bliss, p. 653.

[100] Robinson, p. 129.

vertical of the thorn ꝥ lessens the possibility of confusing the two letters. The modern s (s) is most common though the form ſ occurs occasionally, except in the final position. Besides the interesting vertical of the ꝺ, other distinguishing features of the scribe's hand are the use of ȝ for both modern y and g (ȝou, ȝave) and the sometimes acute curve to the left of the d ascender. Scribe II did not employ a punctus at the end of the line.

Scribe III, like I, has been identified as a London scribe perhaps of Anglo-Norman origin.[101] Scribe III's hand falls more into the category of the cursive hand (see Figure 8-C), which resembles the "Anglicana formata" script described by Parkes.[102] Robinson calls particular attention to Parkes' description of this hand as an experiment "to adapt the engrossing hand for use in books."[103] Already we can see that this "cursive" style is marked by neither elegant flourishes nor forks on the ascenders. We must keep in mind, moreover, that the term "cursive" does not denote continuous joining of letters as we define the term today. This hand typifies the evolution of the Anglicana through the first half of the thirteenth century. Most intriguing here is Parkes' observation that this type of script and the variations imposed upon it eventually

> settled down into the kind of handwriting which could be used not only for writing documents but also as a cheap book hand. Its appearance in books became more frequent. . . . I venture

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[101] K. Brunner, The Seven Sages of Rome (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1932), p. ix.

[102] M. B. Parkes, English Cursive Book Hands, 1200-1500 (London: The Scolar Press, 1979), pp. xvi-xvii and note 1.

[103] Robinson, p. 129.

> to suggest that the appearance of the script in many of the manuscripts containing romances and other vernacular texts in the fourteenth century and later may well be connected with this form of book production.[104]

The interesting postulation that this script could be used for both documents and books makes more significant the occurrence of some influence of chancery hand.[105] This influence, Bliss points out, manifests itself in the long stems of f, r, and long s. We must heed Parkes' observation that this type of Anglicana changed rapidly during the fourteenth century. If the scribe had been trained in the chancery hand, it is possible that he might have been employed in the government while he was at work on the Auchinleck. This influence of a chancery hand reinforces the argument that the manuscript was a secular production.

Scribe III shows very few influences of the Gothic script noted in the hands of I and II. The a does appear in the double-loop form, but this form can also be found in the chancery hand.[106] Conjoint letters are visible only in the combinations de and do, and then rarely. The angular r (ꝛ) appears regularly after o, inconsistently after b, and scarcely at all behind other bowed letters. Some of the idiosyncracies which identify this scribe's hand are: the looping ascender of the d, the failure of the loop on the letter k to descend to the ruled line (ƙ), the curious use of yogh for s in the word she (ȝhe), and the frequent doubling of long s before the combination ch (ſch). S in the modern form is always employed in the final position but rarely in any other, except in the combination sw in an initial position. The vertical

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[104] Parkes, p. xviii.

[105] Bliss, p. 653.

[106] Denholm-Young, p. 28.

of t never breaks the plane of the horizontal; minims for n, m, and u are not joined; and no attempt was made to distinguish with a virgula the i from other minims. Scribe III consistently employed the punctus at the end of a line on fols. 70^{r}-73^{r}, rarely thereafter.

The only nonpoetic writing in the volume, the list of names of barons by scribe IV, was done in "square, formal bookhand"[107] (see Figure 8-D, p. 73). Markers of the Gothic script, the conjoint bowed letters (ꝛ, ꝺ, ꝓ, ꝭ, to name a few) are present. Since this list of names limits a study of the hand (e.g., all initial letters are capitals), I feel it necessary to point out only those characteristics noted for the first three scribes. The long s form (ſ) occurs medially, modern s finally; the ascender of t slightly breaks through the vertical; minims are not joined; i's are not distinguished by virgulae; and y's are superpuncted in the medial position, rarely where final. This hand is very readable, like that of scribe I; the letters are more evenly spaced, d's more squared in body and more flattened to the left on the ascender, e's always more upright and without an extending finishing stroke in the final position, and b's left open (ꝺ).

Scribe V writes in the least aesthetically pleasing hand of the six (see Figure 8-E, p. 73). Bliss describes it as "very ugly and disjointed."[108] Aside from the very general depiction of his writing as "bookhand," meaning distinctly separate letters, as opposed to cursive hand, his hand can be ascribed to no category.[109] There is minimal

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[107] Facsimile, p. xv.

[108] Bliss, p. 653.

[109] Robinson does identify the hand simply as "textura," p. 130.

conjunction of bowed letters, primarily dc and do, but this occurs only occasionally. Angular r (ꝛ) does not appear at all; t always is written with the ascender crossing the horizontal; y is not superpuncted, but the descender does curl back to the right; s occurs only in the long form in all positions; minims are unconnected; i is distinguished occasionally by a virgula, but the marking is so light that it is now difficult to determine if it appears regularly. Scribe V's peculiarities are the textura form of a as 𝒶, which looks much like our modern capital A; d's were very simply made with an ascender shorter and more upright than those of other scribes; e's were formed by two strokes (ɐ), which usually do not connect. The fusion of dc was achieved by merely placing an arc beside the back of the d. A very narrow c was apparently made by marking a minim with a short horizontal line at the top. Other idiosyncratic markers which identify this scribe's hand are the use of a for the word he and the frequent error of using the i of ich as the initial letter and repeating it. The transcription thus reads iich. Scribe V did this consistently but doubled letters erroneously in no other words. Finally, he used no punctus at the end of a line. Suffice it to say that this hand seems to be that of an unaccomplished scribe hurrying his work, making the fewest strokes necessary for his writing, and feeling no need to decorate his scribblings with any loops, swirls, or other ornament.

More practiced and pleasing is the hand of the final scribe, the copier of Otuel (see Figure 8-F, p. 73). His hand resembles that of scribe I in a general way, yet there are numerous distinctions between the two. Bliss has noted some of the more important ones, which I list below.

Scribe I	Scribe VI
left side of a formed with double loop	left side of a straight
d with long final stroke	d with short final stroke
final e is always and medial e sometimes completed with a cross-stroke running out and up	e is never completed with a cross-stroke
long s is often used finally	long s is never used finally
the vertical of t only rises above the horizontal in the group tt	the vertical of t always rises above the horizontal
ꝑ with straight descender	ꝑ with descender curving to the left
undotted y	dotted y
z without cross-stroke	z with cross-stroke[110]

Other, more general distinctions can be pointed out. Scribe VI formed conjunctions of bowed letters much more frequently than did scribe I. Besides the usual ones cited in the discussion of I's hand are those formed with the letter p (ꝓ, which the shape of his a prohibits I from using; ꝑ; and ꝕ); the letter h (ꝶ, ꝵ) and the letter b (ꝺ). Angular r (ꝛ) regularly follows o, b, and d. Unlike scribe I, VI nearly always doubled the letter s before ch. Scribe VI did use a virgula to distinguish the minim for i from those for n and m, but he did so rarely. Lines always end with a punctus.

Robinson mistakenly identifies the hand of scribe VI as being that of scribe I.[111] His different treatment of letter forms, she offers, is due to the fact that "as his hand becomes more current, the letter forms

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[110]Bliss, p. 653. His later listing of orthographic differences among the scribes eliminates any possible confusion of scribes I and VI.

[111]Robinson, pp. 130-31.

become more distorted." She criticizes Bliss's selection of plates for being "widely separated from each other in scribe D's [my scribes I and VI] stint" (i.e., fols. 16^{v} and 269^{v}). If the suggestion here is that scribe I's handwriting changed as he progressed through the text, one wonders what her explanation would be for the fact that the hand on fol. 282^{r}, even further along than fol. 269 (which Robinson says contains the handwriting of my scribe I), matches the writing on fol. 16 exactly. Moreover, Robinson makes no attempt to account for the quite different orthographies of the two stints in question.[112]

Both scribes I and VI, the two whom Robinson, with the tacit approval of Parkes, chooses to consider as one, used a punctus at the end of a line and inset the text two lines for the filled lombards. Robinson calls the latter a "crucial distinction" which identifies the two. But as I have pointed out, III also used the punctus in some poems. Her "crucial distinction" becomes less crucial in view of fol. 79^{r}, for example, where III inset the text two lines for the filled lombard and fols. 306^{v} and 307^{r} where scribe I inset the text three lines. Other important differences aside from the construction of letters also suggest that scribes I and VI are separate. Scribe I made a single curving stroke to indicate the position for the paraphs; VI consistently made two parallel strokes. The difference in the rulings of the leaves by the two, mentioned above (pp. 52-57 and 69-70), is another distinction. Finally, VI always capitalized the initial letters while scribe I did not. Thus it seems that even if we can accept the rather unlikely

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[112] Bliss offers a brief, yet important, distinction among the orthographies of the six scribes, p. 654.

possibility that the hand of scribe I changed as it went along, the differences in the make-up of the pages point to separate scribes.

The interest in the hands of the scribes of course lies in what we can understand about the handwriting in England and, more narrowly, London in the year 1330. An examination of these hands also parts the curtain of centuries and allows us to look at the types of scribes copying books in the fourteenth century. In this codex we see the hands of copyists who represent a broad spectrum of the English book hands in 1330. For example, we note the appearance of the cursive script that began to be used in books in the early fourteenth century. Although scribes I and VI wrote in a somewhat similar style, we still see six scribes who undoubtedly received their training under different masters who wrote in different styles. It is certain that there was no one "writing master" employed or supervising the shop and that these scribes came from different systems of apprenticeship. This point argues for the theory of independent practicioners put forth by Doyle and Parkes. Another point of interest is that the scribal hands correspond with the value of the book.[113] For example, while we see some minor influence of the Gothic script, Denholm-Young pointedly asserts that in the fourteenth century, Gothic script was reserved for the more costly works. Later, "it became specialized as a liturgical script and was not used for other subjects."[114] The hands we see here do not represent the handwriting normally found in first-class, expensive volumes. Parkes'

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[113] Parkes, p. xvi.

[114] Denholm-Young, p. 38.

determination that scribes learned to write in more than a single hand[115] presents an intriguing point. Scribes wrote in faster hands when producing cheaper books. Certainly illuminations and bindings were selected with the cost of the volume in mind, and thus it seems likely that the handwriting would have been selected accordingly. The contractor for such a volume would have approached only those scribes whom he knew were able and willing to work within his means. He and they might likewise have agreed on the script to be used. This may have depended on how sumptuous a book the buyer was willing to pay for.

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[115]Parkes, p. xiv.

VI. INKS

Among the rulings and copyings of the six scribes, there are no discernible differences in either the color or the type of ink. All ruled and wrote with an unremarkable brown ink which sometimes appears dark for a few sentences (e.g., fol. 62^{r}) or watery (fol. 324^{v}), but these differences are probably accounted for by the scribe's reaching the bottom of the container or mixing new batches of ink. The manuscript seems to have been intended as a less than superb work, the ink being a cheap one apparently made from oak gall instead of the more impressive ink made from lamp black, atramentum, which Denholm-Young says was preferred for the more expensive texts.[116]

Not all of the writing is in brown ink, however. Scribe I, the principal copyist, numbered the items in the codex in black Roman numerals preceded by a blue figure (◖) similar to the paraphs alongside the lines of the text. Scribe I also used red ink for the titles of his own poems, for one poem by scribe II (þe Simonie), and for all of those by scribe V (Reinbrun, Sir beues) and scribe VI (Otuel). Scribe III wrote the titles of his first two poems, On þe seuen dedly sinnes and þe pater noster vndo on englissch in red ink; the titles for his other four poems have been lost. Moreover, in some of scribe I's poems (þe bodi & þe soule, The Harrowing of Hell, The Thrush and the Nightingale, and Dauid þe king), speakers are identified and Latin phrases inserted in a red ink. This ink, at one time probably rich and bright, is still

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[116] Denholm-Young, p. 62.

a deep red. It matches the ink which colors the alternate paraphs and embellishes the blue capitals. At one other point scribe I used red. On fol. 304^{r} he introduced the Liber Regum Anglie with the following lines written in red ink:

> here may men rede who so can
> hou Inglond first began
> men inow it finde in englische
> as ȝe broute it telleȝ y wis.

These lines are found in no other version of the poem and may have been an effort by the scribe to emphasize a new text rendered in English for the English reader.

In the Speculum Gy scribe II wrote Latin phrases in red ink (see fols. 40^{v}-46^{v}) and a superscript d in red (see fol. 46^{r}). In ȝe Simonie II also wrote a small a in red to the left of his text (see fol. 328^{v}, for example) to designate the position for capital A's. Scribe III, as noted above, wrote the titles for his own poems in red ink but did not write Latin phrases in red like scribes I and II. In ȝe pater noster, the Latin lines on fols. 72^{r} and 72^{v} were written in brown ink. Scribes IV, V, and VI used no red ink at all. Apparently the rubricators filled all initial letters with red and inserted a red a and b in the left margin of the text to correctly position transposed lines. It is possible that scribe I wrote the red a's and b's, but since there are only two letters to work with, I cannot be certain. These red letters are found throughout the codex and are found only in positions where the scribes first marked the correct positions for misplaced lines.

Without chemical analysis it is impossible to determine if these red inks have a common origin or even a common composition. But they are nearly identical in color, and aside from some isolated fadings,

the red inks used by the scribes and by the rubricators appear to be the same. The importance of this observation to my study is that it shows a standard color of ink being used by several people at work on the same volume. In short, one may conclude that these decorations were made with identical ink at relatively the same time. Undoubtedly common formulas for ink existed in London that could have been used by a variety of scribes and rubricators; or the ink could have been bought by different scribes from a single source. At any rate, there are no distinct differences in the brown and red inks used by the scribes and rubricators. Whether the items were written together in one location, or apart in several, the use of similar inks by all the scribes points to an effort to make the 44 items uniform in appearance. The fact that scribe I numbered all the items in a distinctive ink and provided titles for some of the work of scribe II and titles for all of the work of scribes V and VI places him in a different category than the other five scribes. Scribe I would appear to have been the person responsible for assembling the codex into its final form.

VII. CORRECTIONS

Each scribe was responsible for correcting his own text. Scribe I, for example, deleted an unnecessary word by placing dots under it (see fol. 2^{r}, l. 16) and usually erased unnecessary letters (see fol. 134^{v}, l. 42). Scribe I wrote omitted letters and words above the line (see the superscript ch and the superscript ȝe on fol. 28^{v}, ll. 23 and 24, respectively, of the left column). When scribe I omitted a line and caught his mistake before the column was completed, he placed a + between the initial letter and the rest of the line; scribe I or the rubricator then wrote the letters a and b in red to designate the proper order of the lines (see fol. 20^{r}, left column).

Scribe II made more errors per page than any of the other scribes. Many of the errors were errors of omission; he simply left out letters or short words. He did proofread his text, though, and wrote in missing letters and words above the line. For example, on fol. 39^{r}, l. 40 of the left column, he wrote to above the line; on fol. 332^{v}, l. 16, he added ben above the line. A different type of correction is the insertion of a missing word ȝit (fol. 40^{v}, l. 10) to the left of the text. When II repeated an entire line, he simply struck through the second one (see fol. 41^{v}, l. 5 of the left column). Unlike scribe I, scribe II himself marked transposed lines with the letters a, b, and c in brown ink (see fol. 333^{v}, left column). Scribe II's adding of a single letter d in red ink on line 31 of fol. 46^{r} suggests that he did proofread after he finished copying.

Scribe III made fewer errors than II and was more conscientious in making his corrections. At times he erased incorrect words and wrote

the correction over the erasure (see fol. 70^{r}, l. 38, right column). At other times, he wrote missing letters above the line (fol. 82^{r}, l. 37, right column). To delete unnecessary letters, III simply erased them (see fol. 87^{r}, l. 35, right column, and fol. 87^{v}, l. 8, left column). These erasures left gaps between words, suggesting that scribe III proofread his material after he copied it. He occasionally wrote over a letter without erasing it; for example, on fol. 94^{r}, l. 26, right column, he altered an i to an e. A more interesting correction appears at the bottom of the left column of fol. 78^{r}. There scribe III has added two lines in a black ink. Since III copied his text in brown ink, one can assume that this correction was made when III was proofreading his completed stint. I cannot explain III's use of black ink in this case. He used it at no other time.

Scribe IV made no corrections, but since his work consists of only a list of names, it is impossible to determine whether he made any errors. Scribe V made several errors of omission. For those he corrected, he simply wrote the needed letters above the line (on fol. 199^{v}, left column, for example, wiȳ is written above the line). When V caught his errors in time, he erased words or lines and wrote the proper words over the erasure. On fol. 183^{v} at the bottom of the left column, scide has been written over an erasure; on fol. 185^{r}, line 41 of the right column has been written over an erasure. Like III, scribe V sometimes altered letters without erasing (see, for example, fol. 172^{v}, top of right column, where o has been changed to e). When scribe V omitted a line, he wrote it at the bottom of the column and placed a + beside both the line and the space in which it should have appeared. The rubricator, or possibly scribe I, then wrote an a and b in red ink to

designate the correct positions of the lines. As noted above, scribe I used this same method of correction, so these marks might have been his additions. In one other place where scribe V omitted a line, wrote it at the bottom of the column, and placed a diamond of four dots (⁘) beside it and its proper position (see fol. 197^{r}), the rubricator did not write a red a and b next to the line and its correct position. He either ignored this unusual marking or simply overlooked it.

Scribe VI made the fewest errors per page. He also apparently proofread his work after it was completed. On fol. 269^{v} he wrote a line in the margin of the right column. This must have been done after the page was completed, for on fol. 271^{v} he has placed an omitted line at the bottom of the right column. In this latter case he marked the misplaced line, apparently with a cross, which the rubricator wrote over when he made his red a and b to correctly position the lines.

We can see that the scribes proofread their material and corrected their own work. But there are corrections written by other hands in blacker inks. For some reason, all the corrections by another hand are in the work of scribe I. On fol. 11^{r}, l. 23, for example, the word seyd has been inserted. The hand here closely resembles that of scribe I, yet the backward slant of the long s and the narrower body of the d suggest otherwise. Moreover, the handwriting does not resemble that of any of the other five scribes. A few other examples of such corrections in the work of scribe I but in hands other than those of the six scribes are listed below:

Fol. 34^{v}, l. 27, left column--br in a hand other than scribe I's

Fol. 67^{v}, l. 44, left column--addition of ⁊ marker and an indistinguishable word in a finer hand than scribe I's

Fol. 136^{r}, l. 43, right column--added word (bi) in a later hand than any of the six scribes

Fol. 211^{v}, l. 29, right column--correction (ger) by a later hand than any of the six scribes

Fol. 222^{v}, l. 1, left column--b in a darker ink and in a different hand than scribe I's

Fol. 233, l. 4, right column--straight-line A in a different hand than scribe I's

Fol. 258^{r}, l. 20, left column--addition of word (fron?) in a finer hand than scribe I's

Fol. 259^{r}, l. 19, left column--connected minim n added by a finer hand than scribe I's

These examples are not an exhaustive catalogue of corrections in hands other than those of the scribes. They do demonstrate the sort of corrections that were made after scribe I compiled his work. And since these corrections listed above appear only within the work of scribe I, we can conclude that no one person proofread the entire volume. It is probable that most of these corrections were made by a later owner of the manuscript. The black ink is quite similar to that used to write some of the names and annotations appearing in the margins of the text (see Physical Description, p. 7 above). Moreover, the hand in which the corrections on fols. 136^{r} and 211^{v} were made is quite similar to the hand which wrote these annotations.

At any rate, the scribes apparently were given nearly full responsibility for the texts. They ruled their own pages, copied complete poems assigned to them, proofread their own work, and made their own corrections. Thus they appear to have been working independently. They could

have taken their quires from the contractor's shop, finished their work, and returned them to him. The contractor could then have placed their stints in the proper order without checking their texts against the exemplars. If this codex were being produced to meet a contract, the prime contractor apparently took limited responsibility for the accuracy of the texts. He was satisfied if the compilation had a generally uniform appearance.

VIII. THE DECORATION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The work of the miniaturist, rubricator, and illuminator is important to the study of any manuscript, but it is perhaps more important to this study of the production of the Auchinleck. The decoration tells us more than the fact that the Auchinleck manuscript was sent to a single atelier. It also demonstrates that the Auchinleck was originally intended to be a single volume, not a compilation of independent booklets. Robinson affirms that the codex was decorated in a single atelier,[117] but she argues that "changes in style and format suggest that the book was not planned as a compilation from the start."[118] I have offered evidence above (pp. 50-71) which argues for a predetermined format for the pages. The following analysis of the decoration will support my theory that the book was planned in some detail from the beginning. The changes in style and format are neither as numerous nor as radical as Robinson leads us to believe.

Unfortunately, much has been lost through vandals who have mutilated the manuscript by removing the miniatures which originally were placed before many items in the book. The reason for the mutilation is unknown. Perhaps the vandals sought the gold in the backgrounds of the miniatures. Unfortunately, only five miniatures remain. Of the 44 items in the volume, 35 probably were, at one time, preceded by miniatures. Evidence for the existence of these missing miniatures is the patched rectangles preceding 13 poems and probably the 11 stubs left when the vandal sliced

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[117] Robinson, p. 135.

[118] Ibid., p. 35.

away an entire page. These patches are found before Scynt Mergretc, Seynt Katerine, Þe desputisoun bitven þe bodi & þe soule, Anna our leuedis moder, Sir Degare, Of arthour & of merlin, Hou our leuedi saute was ferst founde, Lay le freine, Otuel a knizt, The Thrush and the Nightingale, Dauid þe king, Sir Tristrem, and Horn childe & maiden rimnild. Five items, Pope Gregory, Adam and Eve, Floris and Blauncheflur, Kyng Alisaunder, and The Sayings of St. Bernard, have more than one page or gathering missing at the beginning, which makes it impossible to know whether miniatures preceded them. Since all but the last of these five are major poems, however, we can safely assume that miniatures did at one time introduce them. Speculum Gy, On þe seuen dedly sinnes, The Sayings of the Four Philosophers, List of names of Norman barons, Guy of Warwick (stanzaic), The Four Foes of Mankind, Liber Regum Anglie, and Þe Simonie are not preceded by miniatures.

Although the presence of the miniatures argues some artistic ambition on the part of the compiler, the Auchinleck manuscript remains a rather plain work. It certainly does not compare with the sumptuous French and Latin texts being produced at the time. The space allotted for the miniatures is small, never exceeding the width of the column of text, and generally about 45 to 55 mm in height. These measurements come from both the size of the extant miniatures and from the size of the patches, usually red-ruled vellum, covering the holes left by the excised miniatures.

The first extant miniature precedes The King of Tars (fol. 7^{r}). This miniature, relatively small, measures 30 x 63 mm. The borders appear to have been sketched in the scribe's ink. Surrounding the picture is a 3-mm purplish border with small gold squares at the four

corners. The scene of the miniature is divided neatly into two parts. On the left, a king in a blue robe is kneeling before a grayish altar upon which rests a dark cat or other small animal. The king's robe is decorated with white, and black ink delineates facial features and the folds in the robes. On the right, a crowned king and a woman kneel before a plainer gray altar topped with brown, above which is a picture or icon of Christ on the cross. The picture neatly summarizes the theme of the poem, the conflict between pagan and Christian forces. The sketch is unremarkable artistically; the hands and feet are out of proportion to the rest of the body, and the figures have a simple two-dimensional look to them.

Even smaller is the sketch preceding Þe pater noster vndo on englissch (fol. 72^{r}). No room was left for this decoration; it is squeezed between the two columns of text, some four lines above the first line of the poem, which begins in the middle of a column, and commands an area of only 31 x 25 mm. The upper and lefthand borders of the picture are purplish, or a faded red; like the borders of the miniature for The King of Tars, the opposing two borders are blue. Again gold squares are placed at the corners. We can also see ruled columns laid out to guide the illuminator's work. The picture presents a red and blue draped figure with the bust of a woman and the beard of a man. His right hand is held up with the palm out. The left hand holds a sheet of paper which unfurls beyond the borders of the picture some 25 mm towards the top margin of the right column. Robinson suggests the character is meant to be God.[119] I think it is

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[119]Ibid., p. 132.

also possible that the figure represents a priest who is reading to his congregation.

The relatively large drawing (70 x 70 mm) at the beginning of Reinbrun (fol. 167^{r}) is the most ambitious of the miniatures. A better sense of a scene from the poem is portrayed here. A carefully drawn, double-ruled column surrounds the picture, though a steeple-like structure rises above the ruling in the upper right corner. An inner blue border with diagonal white hash marks appears inside the black ruling. Gold squares occupy all corners except the one which is covered by the tower. Opposite the tower is a brown castle doorway surmounted by two gray turrets. To the right of this building is a forequarter of a bright white horse with a nicely detailed face and mane. Two knights are engaged in combat, one on the left striking with a sword the face of the one entering the door on the right. The aggressive soldier wears gray arm, leg, and neck armor, a blue coat of arms, and a white belt and scabbard. His headgear and sword are gray, highlighted with black. The injured knight is dressed in an orangish-brown coat of arms and clings to a similarly colored strap on his shield, which is gray, highlighted by white dots. The remainder of his armor is dark gray, like that of the aggressive knight. Although this is an action scene, the characters are stiff, but there was some attempt to proportion them according to their position on the entry. The scene portrays Reinbrun attacking Haslack in the last major battle of the romance.

A much smaller decoration, the historiate initial preceding Sir beues of hamtoun (fol. 176^{r}) is unlike anything else in the manuscript. The drawing has been placed inside the capital L, which measures about 35 x 30 mm. Extending downward along the left side of the folio is a

brown and blue vine which forms a corner with a dark brown leaf, continues horizontally nearly three-quarters across the bottom of the leaf, and finally blossoms into ten rust and green leaves (five above the stem, four below, and one on the tip of the stem) detailed with white stems and veins. No other foliate decoration has survived in the Auchinleck. The picture contained in the capital is unassuming, consisting only of a gray mail-coated knight (Beves?) holding a white spear diagonally across his body. The flesh-colored face is more finely detailed and better proportioned than in the previous miniatures. Black ink details his clothing and his bearded chin.

The miniature preceding Þe wenche þat loued a king (fol. 256^{v}) is as intriguing as the 24 lines of the poem itself. The scene has been nearly completely scraped away; the bottoms of three (?) dark blue robes trimmed in white have been left as has all the precious gold background. Flesh-colored hands protrude from the tunics which are tinted an orange/rust color on the insides of the sleeves. Black-ruled columns border the damaged scene, which apparently displays figures seated side-by-side. As in the two miniatures previously described, an inner border has been drawn in color--the upper border in blue, the sides blue for the top half, pinkish for the remainder, and the lower border red. White ink swirls through the middles of these colored borders. The 24 lines below the drawing have also been scuffed so that they are unintelligible. Pearsall suggests, and I agree, that some attempt has been made to erase the lines, but speculation upon the reasons for such destruction is futile.

The final miniature, preceding King Richard (fol. 326^{r}), remains intact. As usual, black-ruled double lines make up the picture's outer

borders; the area measures 43 x 68 mm. The purplish inner borders are joined by the characteristic gold squares at the corners. The background is dotted gold leaf. The scene depicts a galley with oars extending into the water. The rowers are not visible. In the galley are six knights with one huge knight apparently leading the attack upon a castle. The ship is on a gray sea whose waves are highlighted with white. Far out of proportion to the other figures, the leader (Richard?) wields a huge gray ax highlighted with black, which extends above the frame of the scene. His tunic, like those of the knights in the other miniatures, is orangish rust, as are the banners rising above the galley; the tunic and his whole person are highlighted in black. The castle under attack is a darker gray than the armor of the other knights on the assault ship. The castle's doorwells are black as are the holes through which protrude grayish-white spears. A white iron grating is in a raised position in the doorwell. Highlighted in black are the details of the stone masonry of the castle. Three men occupy the turret and overlook the battle scene. Robinson identifies this scene as Richard's attack upon the walled city of Acre.[120]

The similar outlinings, gold-squared borders, common colors, and likeness in style indicate that the miniatures are the work of the same craftsman. The modesty of these productions helps to set the value of the book. Obviously the compiler did not employ craftsmen skilled enough to produce such a manuscript because he did not intend it to be a treasured addition to a library. He hired the sort of illuminator

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[120]Robinson, p. 132.

appropriate to his purpose.[121] Robinson asserts that Dr. J. J. G. Alexander has identified the illustrations and illuminations as "a later product of the Queen Mary Psalter atélier."[122] She observes that "the figures have the long slender bodies and feminine faces characteristic of the work of this atélier, which contrasts with the work of most of its English contemporaries. . . . The miniatures also share the burnished gold and diapered background found in manuscripts originating from this workshop."[123]

The placement of the miniatures offers further proof of planning. The scribes must have known of the intention to place miniatures at the beginnings of the pieces for they had to leave space for them, frequently in the middle of a column. But there are exceptions. Scribe II left no room for miniatures before any of his three poems. His first and third poems are introduced instead by initials four and five lines high, respectively. Scribe IV evidently felt no need for a miniature before his list of names of the Norman barons. In a list there is no action, and most of the miniatures portray scenes from their respective poems.

The troublesome miniature inserted on fol. 72^{r}, in the work of scribe III, deserves discussion at this point. As noted above, the scribe left no space for the inclusion of this miniature. Apparently, he was either ignorant of the intention to include such decoration or simply forgot to skip enough lines to afford room for it. Given the

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[121]Kathleen L. Scott, "A Mid-Fifteenth Century English Illuminating Shop and Its Customers," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 31 (1968), 195.

[122]Robinson, p. 135.

[123]Ibid.

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. Moreover, the stub remaining on fol. 72a and the repaired rectangular hole on fol. 78^{r} indicate that this scribe did allot space at these points for miniatures. The second possibility is therefore more likely. But the significance of the miniature on fol. 72^{r} is that it gives solid evidence about the steps in the production of the manuscript. Since, because of the position of the miniature, the item number had to be put above the right-hand column of the text instead of in its normal position above the gap between the columns, we can deduce that the rubrication and miniatures were finished prior to the numbering of the items. Therefore, the manuscript went from scribe III to an atelier before it returned to the assembler for the numbering of the poems. This point will become more significant later in our discussion.

Like the miniatures, the other decorations in the manuscript are commonplace. Most pervasive are the paraphs () bordering the lines of text in the work of every scribe except IV. Again, his list of names evidently did not warrant them since it was not divided into sections. The paraphs were not inserted by the scribes themselves; however, each scribe did leave distinguishing marks for the guidance of the rubricators. Scribe I made a single slash () beside the line, scribe II a small , scribe III a small , scribe V a small dot or vertical line (·) (), and scribe VI two parallel slanting lines (). The inference is that the scribes were indicating the positions of these paraphs for the rubricators. Since there is some evidence that the scribes themselves used inks other than the brown ink in which the body of the text was written (see Inks, pp. 84-86 above), the possibility

remains that they could have been leaving marks to guide themselves when they returned to adorn their individual stints. But the consistent colors, patterns, and shapes (to a degree) of the paraphs argue against this hypothesis. In support of the separate rubricators, if the scribe's marking for the placement of the paraph was absent (even in a poem divided into regular stanzas), the rubricators skipped the position where they would normally have placed the paraph.

Ordinarily, the colors of the paraphs alternate red and blue. Mistakes occurred, and the rubricators took little care to use the "correct" color for a new page. The paraphs in the work of scribe I are of a very regular shape; though they may vary in length, the top horizontal lines extend through the initial letter column and into the lines of poetry. The same basic shape also occurs in the single gathering copied by scribe VI. The paraphs in the texts copied by scribe II, however, are different from those in the work of scribe I. The most noticeable difference is the exclusive use of red in II's first and third stints (fols. 39^{r}-48^{r} and fols. 328^{r}-334^{v}). This exclusive use of red has led some students of the manuscript (Bliss, Cunningham) to suppose that scribe II inserted his own paraphs. This does not appear to be the case. First, scribe II did on occasion designate the position for the signs, as noted above (see bottom left of fol. 39^{r}, for example). Second, in his very brief stint on fol. 105^{r}, blue paraphs are present, and the red ones are fashioned with an uncharacteristically long descender, which curves back to the left. The presence of different styles of paraphs indicates that the illumination was done in an atelier in which several artists worked.

The paraphs in the folios copied by scribe III display even more variety. On fols. 70^{r}-76^{v}, the paraphs alternate in color and look very much like those in the stints of scribe I. Suddenly, in the middle of a poem, but at the beginning of a new gathering (fol. 77^{r}), the pattern changes. The blue paraphs do not change shape, but the red ones have a much narrower body, a wavy top horizontal line, and a descender on the thin vertical line which is nearly as long as the body of the paraph itself. Except for the lengthy section of Sir Degare and the entire Seven Sages of Rome (fols. 80^{r}-99^{v}) which have no paraphs at all, the remainder of scribe III's work displays this style of paraph.

A similar shift in style takes place in the work of scribe V (fols. 167^{rb}-201^{ra}). From fols. 167^{r} to 168^{v}, the end of a gathering shared by scribes I and V, the paraphs very closely resemble those in scribe I's early work. At the beginning of the next gathering (fol. 169^{r}), however, we see the narrower red paraph with its distinguishing wavy upper horizontal and descending vertical lines like that seen in the work of scribe III. This pattern continues for a single gathering, and the next gathering, which begins Sir beues (fol. 176), returns to the pattern of paraphs in which the red and blue symbols are fashioned alike. The pattern shifts again two gatherings later, and from fols. 191^{r} to 198^{v} the rubricator employed the narrower, longer red paraph. And the changes in design do not cease here. The following gathering, which is shared by scribes I and V and which concludes Sir beues, has the same symbol for both the blue and red paraphs.

A somewhat different paraph occurs occasionally in the stints of scribe I. On three occasions (fols. 62-69, 223-260, and through the fragments of Kyng Alisaunder to fol. 280) an unusual red paraph is

displayed. It does not have the narrow body of the one described above, but it does have a lengthy descender which curls back to the left at its end. Again, these unusual paraphs extend through gatherings but not through poems, showing that the division of labor of rubrication was by gatherings--not by copy scribes. The paraphs in fols. 223-260, for example, occur in many successive gatherings, but their shapes are not consistent throughout the long poem Of arthour & of merlin which spans fols. 201-256. The shape of the red paraphs, then, changes at the beginning of gatherings rather than at the beginning of poems.

We may conclude that the paraphs were made by at least three different rubricators; each type of red paraph indicates a different artist. Moreover, the rubricators appear to have done their work gathering by gathering, for a single poem which spans two or more gatherings may exhibit two different styles of the paraphs. Only the work of scribe VI retains the same style throughout. It is safe to conclude that the scribes did not insert their own paraphs; they were inserted by the rubricators after the copying was completed. Furthermore, while the scribes never shared the copying of a poem, the rubricators did share the task of decorating a single poem. Finally, the fact that the work of the three rubricators can be found both early and late in the manuscript indicates that the volume was adorned after it had been assembled.

In contrast to the paraphs, the initial capitals which mark major sections of the poems are very consistent in style. This consistency suggests that a single artist painted all those in the volume. The scribes notified the artist of the positions for the capitals by indenting the lines of their texts and by writing in the left margin the letter which was to appear in the allotted space. Usually the ink

used to mark the position of the capital was brown, but scribe II employed red in his first and third stints. Scribes I and VI regularly indented two lines of text. Scribe II inset the text for two to four lines except in his second stint in which the single capital on fol. 105^{r} does not extend into the lines of the poem. Scribe III ordinarily indented two lines but occasionally three or four. Scribe V slightly indented six lines when a capital began a new poem (see fols. 167^{r} and 176^{r}) and from three to five lines thereafter. For the most part, these capitals are blue-filled lombards with red designs within and red flourishes without. The lettering is clearly by the same hand. The embellishing red lines characterize the work of this artisan. Nearly always two thin red lines to the side of the capital rise above the letter and loop together into a narrow tubular structure which curves slightly to the left at the tip. A third line normally ascends with them but does not fuse with the tubing. These three lines usually extend below the capital where they branch into separate curvatures.

A few interesting variations may be noted. Fol. 40^{r} has an all-red capital which may be the result of the artist's oversight as he decorated the text. The red ink used in the lettering instead of the normal blue matches the totally red decoration in this work by scribe II. A red capital A appears on fol. 118^{v}; this A does not match the form of the other capital A's and is not embellished by the red swirls. A third all-red capital appears on fol. 157^{r}. Here a paraph has been scratched off and the capital substituted for it. These red capitals may have been done by an inspector of the final copy (perhaps scribe I). The historiated initial preceding Sir beues (fol. 176^{r}) and the more ornate capital beginning Otuel (fol. 268^{r}), which is similar in style to the

other initial capitals, are the only ones whose embellishments descend the entire page and make use of inks other than red--black, brown, green, and rust for the former; blue and red for the latter.

The paraphs and initial capitals offer two kinds of information about the plan of this book. First, the scribes must have been aware of the intent to add both of these types of decoration, for they had to leave marks for the paraphs and had to both leave space and designate the letter for each capital to be included. Second, since these decorations show a consistency in color and design, more so in the initial capitals than in the paraphs, they must have been put into the manuscript by several craftsmen working in a single atelier. Thus it appears that the volume was decorated as a unit after the completion of the writing, and no segment of it appears to have been designed for independent circulation. It is highly unlikely that such intricate planning and consistency in style would occur within 12 "booklets," to use Robinson's term, which were not originally intended to be bound together.

IX. THE GATHERINGS

A study of the gatherings of the Auchinleck manuscript is imperative for any discussion of the production methods of the codex. It is in these gatherings, particularly those shared by two or more scribes, that Loomis, Bliss, Pearsall, and Robinson find evidence for the collaboration among the scribes, which leads them to the conclusion that the manuscript was the product of a bookshop (see Theories About the Composition, pp. 31-49 above). With the exception of the 1 10-folio gathering by scribe VI, the Auchinleck was originally comprised of at least 51 8-folio gatherings (see Summary I, pp. 10-29 above). Of these 52 gatherings, 4 contain the hands of 2 or more scribes: scribe II copied the first 1-1/2 folios of gathering 8, scribe I the remaining 6-1/2 folios; scribe III copied the first 5 folios of gathering 16, scribe II the next leaf (fol. 105^{r}), scribe IV the next 3-1/4 leaves (the remaining 1-3/4 leaves are blank); scribe I copied more than 6 folios of gathering 24, scribe V the remaining 1-3/4 folios; finally, scribe V copied 2-1/4 folios of gathering 29, scribe I the remaining 5-3/4 folios. One should note that in three of the four examples, the shared gatherings contain the work of scribe I and another scribe. It is also significant that in three of the four instances of shared gatherings, two scribes shared a single leaf. From those instances in which two scribes shared a leaf, we can determine the order in which they did their copying.

Undoubtedly there was collaboration among the Auchinleck scribes. Scribes I, II, III, IV, and V all shared at least one gathering with another scribe. Only scribe VI did not share a gathering. Thus we see

that, for the most part, the scribes did not do their work in the form of groups of gatherings. They seem to have written complete works rather than a few quires of a single original. They could have done this work outside of the contractor's shop. These four instances of shared gatherings are best explained by the theory that when one scribe's finished task did not fill out a gathering, that partially filled gathering was handed on to the next scribe for continuation.

The shared gatherings give us insight into the order in which the copying was done. The first six gatherings, all by scribe I, must have been copied before, or at the same time that, scribe II was copying his first stint (gathering 7 and part of 8); scribe I disappears for a time after gathering 6 and then reappears in gathering 8, where he filled the folios left when II completed the Speculum Gy. Scribe I copied most of gathering 8 and all of gatherings 9 and 10. Thus scribe I had to have written the rest of gathering 8 and all of gatherings 9 and 10 after scribe II finished, for Amis and Amiloun (fols. 48-61) runs from gathering 8 into gathering 9, and Life of St. Mary runs from gathering 9 into gathering 10. Scribe III began his stint with gathering 11; he could have been at work on his stint when scribe I was completing gatherings 9 and 10, for scribe I left nearly an entire leaf blank at the end of gathering 10. Scribe III copied gatherings 11-15 and most of gathering 16 (see Summary I, pp. 15-17 above) in his stint. Scribes II and IV must have worked after III, for they finished gathering 16, which III began. After gathering 16, which was "made up" by scribes II and IV, the work of scribe I reappears. Apparently he was copying his third stint (gatherings 17-24) while gathering 16 was still out, for nearly 2 leaves of that gathering remain blank. If gathering 16 had been

returned in time, scribe I would probably have begun his third stint on its blank leaves. Scribe V finished gathering 24 after scribe I and continued through gatherings 25, 26, 27, 28, and into 29. Since he finished gathering 24 for scribe I, he must have written after scribe I had finished his third stint. Conversely, since scribe I finished gathering 29 for scribe V, he must have begun this stint only after V was finished. Scribe I, afterwards, copied most of gathering 29 and all of gatherings 30-36 (37 was probably copied earlier, as I will later show). Scribe VI copied all of gathering 38, the only 10-page gathering in the codex. He may have been copying simultaneously with scribe I's fourth stint, or he may have copied gathering 38 after scribe I was finished with gathering 37. The former suggestion seems more likely, but it really makes no difference to my argument whether VI copied simultaneously with I or not. Scribe I began a fifth stint with gathering 39 and continued to gathering 52; scribe II wrote the final gathering (52) of the volume,[124] which he could have been copying as scribe I was finishing his final stint or while scribe I was engaged in his first stint, since it uses the single-column format. Thus scribe II (in his first and third stints), scribe III, and scribe VI could have been copying simultaneously with scribe I. Scribe I (in his second and fourth stints), scribe II (in his second stint), scribe IV, and scribe V copied after another scribe had finished.

As the order of the copying suggests, there is no reason why any of the scribes would have had to work in close proximity to another. In fact, the evidence points to just the opposite. Only scribe I worked

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[124]Again, it should be noted that this final gathering (52) may belong elsewhere. See note 42, p. 29 above.

extensively throughout the volume. Except for scribes I and II, each scribe completed his work in a single stint. That is, scribe III filled fols. 70^{r} through 104^{v} and no more; IV filled fols. 105^{v} through 107^{r} and no more; V filled fols. 167^{rb} through 201^{ra} and no more; and VI filled fols. 268^{r} through 277^{v} and no more. It therefore seems possible that scribe I was the prime contractor, the owner of the "shop." It could have been he who organized the volume, copied most of it, and assigned works or groups of works to other scribes to be copied and returned to him to be compiled into a codex. He would also have seen to the rubrication and illumination.

Both Pearsall and Robinson suggest that the Auchinleck was originally composed of independent fascicles or "booklets" (see Theories About the Composition, pp. 31-49 above). At this point it is necessary to return to Summary II (pp. 40-43 above) and keep in mind the hypothetical booklets Robinson described. I do not concede that scribe I's hand appears in neither the third nor the ninth groups as Robinson suggests. My section on the numbers and titles of the items, which is to follow, will demonstrate that scribe I's hand appears in all of the groups. But I think it is more interesting to note the length and position of the other scribes' stints. Since the individual scribes, apart from I and II, completed all their work in one stint, this might appear to indicate that each of these other four scribes prepared a booklet which was copied individually--one scribe per booklet. But this is not the case. While it is true that the first, sixth, eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh groups were copied by scribe I alone (assuming, of course, that the missing five poems at the beginning of the volume--the first item is numbered vi--represent his work also, that the seventh

group is the sole province of VI, and that the twelfth group is composed in the hand of II alone), the remaining groups are shared by two, sometimes three scribes. It would seem unusual that autonomous booklets would sometimes include only a single leaf in another scribe's hand. In the third group, gathering 16, for example, scribe III finished his stint on fol. 104^{vb} and left 3 folios of the 8-folio gathering blank. At this point, scribe II copied a single poem onto fol. 105^{r}. Afterwards, scribe IV began and completed his only stint on fols. 105^{v}-107^{r}. One and three-fourths leaves remain blank in this gathering (16); scribe I began his next stint with a new poem in a new gathering (17) on fol. 107a (stub). Just as likely as this instance representing the completion of an independent booklet is the possibility that this awkward transition is the result of scribe III's having carried off his exemplar and copied his material which was not enough to fill the final gathering (16) of the six he was given. When III returned his quires, scribe I, already at work on gathering 17, first passed the incomplete quire on to scribe II, then to scribe IV, for them to copy short poems to fill out the gathering. When it was again returned to scribe I, he placed the catchword which positioned this gathering (16) before the one he was in the process of copying (17).

At the end of gathering 10, which precedes scribe III's stint, we find more evidence to support the scrivener theory (i.e., a prime contractor who hired subcontractors to copy some pieces). On fol. 69^{v}, scribe I completed a gathering and left 82 lines blank. He, like III in gathering 16, did not have enough material to fill out the gathering, and yet he did not start a new poem on these empty lines. Scribe III began gathering 11 on fol. 70^{r}. If III were not copying at the same

time as scribe I, he would probably have begun his stint on fol. 69^{v} where scribe I stopped. But since III's work begins on a new gathering and since scribe I did not continue his work on fol. 69^{v}, perhaps because III's stint was planned to come next, the supposition that these scribes were copying simultaneously but in different locations is sound. Certainly we do not see in these two examples of awkward transitions the close collaboration among scribes which one might find if they were working side-by-side in a commercial bookshop.

Another point will reinforce this conclusion. Gathering 38, containing a single poem, Otuel a knizt, represents the only work of scribe VI. What is most interesting about this single gathering is that it comprises the only 10-folio quire in the manuscript. Every other gathering in the volume is made of eight folios. The best explanation for this aberration is that scribe VI, underestimating the number of folios needed for the poem, was obligated to insert two additional pages. If scribe I were already at work on the next poem, Kyng Alisaunder, scribe VI could not have been able to copy the final lines of Otuel onto a new gathering.

Both Pearsall and Robinson base their argument for a fascicular production on those awkward transitions from the work of one scribe to the next. Pearsall makes another important point about the 12 groups:

> If the beginning of a group of gatherings, especially one that follows a "made-up" gathering, were always the work of a new scribe, one might suspect a production economy, but . . . this is not so in a substantial number of instances.[125]

The substantial number of instances amounts to five. But there is a

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[125] Facsimile, p. ix.

more logical explanation than that of Pearsall for these instances. In the first, scribe V completed Reinbrun on a folio, now missing, at the end of gathering 25 (see Summary I, p. 20 above). Since this folio is missing, we cannot be sure that scribe V did not fill this entire gathering. Nevertheless, gathering 26, also copied by V, begins a new poem, Sir beues of hamtoun. Sir beues is one of the major romances which make up the bulk of the volume. Perhaps the organizer of the book simply wanted a major poem to begin a new gathering when possible. Five of the seven major romances begin on a new gathering. Amis and Amiloun and Of arthour & of merlin, the only two which do not open on a new gathering, begin on the second and third folios, respectively, of a gathering. Both were copied by scribe I in gatherings begun by other scribes (II and V, respectively). For economic reasons, scribe I apparently decided not to waste five or six folios. The poem preceding Sir beues, Reinbrun, which was also copied by scribe V and which does not begin on a new gathering, is a sequel to Guy of Warwick (the poem which preceded it).[126] Reinbrun depicts the adventures of Guy's son; thus, there would have been no reason to separate Guy and Reinbrun.

In the second of Pearsall's "substantial number of instances," scribe I completed gathering 36 with a filler poem, Hou our leuedi saute was ferst founde, on fol. 260^{v}, and left 34 blank lines (see Summary I, pp. 24-25 above). On fol. 261^{r} he began gathering 37 with a new poem, Lay le freine. It is difficult to designate Lay le freine as a major poem with which he would have wanted to begin a new gathering. And there is a better explanation. It involves scribe I's Arthour & merlin, which

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[126] I.e., the order is Guy, Reinbrun, Sir beues.

shares gathering 29 with scribe V's Sir beues. During V's stint (Reinbrun and Sir beues), scribe I must surely have been at work copying something. I suggest that he was copying Lay le freine while V was at work on his section. Scribe I would certainly have started his new stint with a fresh gathering. When scribe V returned his work, scribe I found that nearly 6 full folios of gathering 29 were blank (see Summary I, p. 22 above). Scribe I thus began Arthour & merlin on fol. 201^{r} of gathering 29. To complete this poem, he required nearly six additional gatherings (30-36), but this would have presented no problem since the blank gatherings were not bound together before they were filled. On fol. 256^{v} of gathering 36, scribe I finished Arthour & merlin and copied 4 short filler poems to complete the gathering. When he put the gatherings into their final order, he supplied the catchword at the bottom of fol. 260^{v} to link gathering 36 to gathering 37, where Lay le freine begins. This procedure would explain how scribe I might have spent his time while V was at work; it explains the "made-up" gathering which precedes Lay le freine, and ultimately it might explain why Lay le freine, a relatively minor poem, begins a new gathering.

The third instance of a scribe's ending one group of gatherings and beginning a new group with a new poem occurs on fol. 281^{r}. Scribe I completed gathering 41 with a short filler poem, Dauid þe king, on fol. 280^{v}, but only 2 lines remain blank on this page. Since gathering 42 opens with a major poem, Sir Tristrem, which was preceded by a 12-line miniature, now lost, the reason for his beginning Tristrem on a new gathering seems obvious.

The fourth instance is a result of scribe I's finishing gathering 44 with a filler poem, The Four Foes of Mankind, which concludes on fol.

303^{v} and leaves 21 lines blank. He then began gathering 45 (fol. 304^{r}) with a major poem, Liber Regum Anglie. But there apparently was some indecision. On fol. 303^{v} we see a box-shaped scuffed area which may represent an outline drawn for a miniature, then erased. We can assume that scribe I considered starting the next poem at this point but decided that it would be better to start a major poem on a fresh gathering.

The final instance occurs between fols. 325^{v} and 326^{r}. There scribe I finished gathering 47 with a filler poem, Alphabetical Praise of Women; the poem concludes on fol. 325^{v} and leaves 28 lines blank. Gathering 48 begins on fol. 326^{r} with the lengthy King Richard. Again, scribe I evidently felt that it was best to begin a major poem with a fresh gathering.

Pointing to these gaps between gatherings by the same scribe and to other instances in which new scribes began new gatherings, Robinson concludes that the Auchinleck was originally composed of 12 independent booklets which were bound together at a date later than their copying (see pp. 38-44 above). But in light of this theory of booklet composition, one is hard pressed to find much common ground in these groups which one might expect if the booklets were intended to be circulated independently. Group one contains items focused upon saints' lives and other miraculous events. The second group also has a heavily religious flavor, but curiously inserted into this group of otherwise thematically unified materials is Amis and Amiloun, a secular tale expounding the theme of friendship. Similar violations of the unity of style and subject matter are found in other groups. For example, group three opens with the poems On þe seuen dedly sinnes and þe pater noster vndo on englissch, passages which were often used by writing masters in the

instruction of their pupils[127] but which have a heavy religious bearing. The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin follows these two items, and it in turn is succeeded by Sir Degare, The Seven Sages of Rome, Floris and Blauncheflur, The Sayings of the Four Philosophers, and the List of names of Norman barons. It is difficult to find any common ground here. Other instances of this apparently random mixing of religious and secular, serious and light, miraculous and mundane poems are found in the other groups. So one must ask on what principle the booklets were put together if it can be attributed to neither the method of assigning one booklet to a single scribe nor the strategy of incorporating items which have a common genre or theme. Some of this random mixing of material can be accounted for by the fact that some of the shorter poems completing a quire are filler pieces, as noted in Summary II (pp. 40-43 above). But the contents of groups three and four deny such a supposition. It is quite possible that these groups portray the material found in the individual exemplars from which the scribes copied. If the scribes were following the order in their exemplars, the problem is still not settled; for one must ask what logic produced the order of the items in the exemplars. It is therefore possible that the scribes were either copying from more than one exemplar or were copying a few items from a large miscellany like the Auchinleck itself. That the entire Auchinleck manuscript is a random mixture of various types of literature is not unusual. It represents a typical single-volume library of miscellaneous material.

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[127] See the plates in Berthold L. Wolpe's "Florilegium Alphabeticum: Alphabets in Medieval Mansucripts," in Calligraphy and Palaeography: Essays Presented to Alfred Fairbank, ed. A. S. Osley (London: Faber and Faber, 1965), pp. 69-75.

The 12 groups present other problems. The number of folios in the groups varies widely. Two of the groups, 7 and 12, the latter incomplete but probably lacking relatively few lines, comprise 9 and 6 folios, respectively. Groups 4 and 5, on the other hand, comprise 77 and 88 folios, respectively. This is a drastic difference. Of course, there is no reason to suppose the booklets had to be of similar length; but the variation is certainly something that must be taken into account. The two longest groups contain the longest works in the codex. Group four, the most unified of all, comprises the unique account of Guy of Warwick and of his son Reinbrun. The following group is made up of two independent poems (copied by different scribes) and three filler pieces.

How then is one to account for the facts that there do appear to be 12 distinct groupings within the text and that the selection of the items to be included was so haphazard? The possibility that a poem and gathering end coincidentally does not seem likely. What appears more likely is that behind this miscellany lies a commonplace book. Robert Walpole has uncovered a tantalizing candidate.[128] He argues that the romances of Roland and Vernagu and Otuel a knizt in the Auchinleck manuscript represent a reworking of the French Pseudo-Turpin (British Museum MS. Add. 40142), and H. M. Smyser agrees with his theory.[129] Walpole suggests that other items included in the French manuscript, Gui de Warewic, Chanç de Willame, Vie de Ste Marguerite and Adgar's Miracles of the Virgin, and Vie de Ste Catherine, numbered 3, 4, 6, 7, apparently were part of a larger volume. He bases this conclusion on his judgement that

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[128]Walpole, pp. 22-26.

[129]Smyser, pp. 275-88.

the same hand copied all of these items. Poems with the same subject matter appear in the Auchinleck, though not in the same order. Walpole's most important conclusion is that the Auchinleck bookshop had this manuscript on its shelf. Thus a manuscript like British Museum MS. Add. 40142 may lie behind the Auchinleck manuscript. Weiss has since argued convincingly against B. M. 40142 as a direct source,[130] but he does not refute the fact that the Pseudo-Turpin is the original for the Auchinleck Roland and Vernagu. A final point needs to be made here. Walpole, Smyser, and Weiss all agree that the translation of the pieces was done in the Auchinleck bookshop. They thus add support to the theory that the scribe, in this case scribe I, may have been more than a mere copyist. Walpole's work represents the sort that must be undertaken to reach any further conclusions about the order and groupings of the material.

An important point concerning these 12 groups is that all but groups 4, 7, and 11 are linked to the following group by a catchword written in the hand of the major scribe (I). Groups 4 and 11 lack the final folio of their final gatherings, so it is possible that they too had catchwords linking them to groups 5 and 12, respectively. Scribe I inserted catchwords for himself and for others that kept the gatherings in their order. His catchwords were all placed about 15 to 20 mm below the last line of the verso of the final folio. That he wrote catchwords to link one scribe's work to another's and to link his own writing with that of another scribe who began a new gathering suggests that he may have been

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[130] J. Weiss, "The Auchinleck MS. and the Edwardes MS.," Notes and Queries, 214 (1969), 444-46. Weiss argues that the Auchinleck Guy is more closely related to MS. "G" of Gui in the Herzog August Library and that the religious pieces of the Edwardes MS. show "not a trace of discernible influence on those in the Auchinleck manuscript."

the prime contractor who sent out some exemplars to be copied by other scribes. While his catchwords may differ in orthography from the opening lines of the new gathering,[131] they are accurate enough to show that he either knew the lines following his work or that the ensuing work was in progress or finished and ready to be added in its proper position. Scribe I apparently did not insert catchwords between the two gatherings written by II; more than 15 mm of space, the usual distance for scribe I's catchword, remain below the final lines of fol. 46^{v}. After scribe II returned his gatherings (7 and part of 8), scribe I copied Amis and Amiloun on the unfilled leaves of gathering 8 and later placed a catchword on fol. 54^{v}, the last leaf of this gathering which scribe II had partially completed. Since II returned only 1-1/4 gatherings to scribe I, there was no pressing need for II to insert catchwords between two gatherings. As is seen on fol. 69^{v}, scribe I also provided catchwords to link his own work to scribe III's, which begins on fol. 70^{r}. The only catchword within those gatherings written by scribe III is on fol. 99^{v}. It likewise appears to have been written by scribe I. The final word (naſeſ) has a long s (ſ) in the final position. Scribe III, as far as I can tell, never used long s in the final position; scribe I sometimes did. Scribe I, then, appears to have been the person responsible

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[131] Scribe I's catchword on fol. 38^{v} reads, "herknep al to mi speche"; scribe II's opening line on fol. 39^{r} reads, "Herknep alle to my speche." On fol. 69^{v} scribe I wrote, "Jhú þat for ous wald die"; on fol. 70^{r} scribe III wrote, "Jhú þat for us walde die." On fol. 168^{v} scribe I wrote, "þis feloun quaþ þerl of co"; on fol. 169^{r} scribe V wrote, "þes feloun queþ þerl of." On fol. 183^{v} scribe I wrote, "so wiþ in a litel stounde"; on fol. 184^{r} scribe V wrote, "so wiþ inne a lite stounde." On fol. 198^{v} scribe I wrote, "he seyd ynore let be"; on fol. 199^{r} scribe V wrote, "he seide ynor let be." On fol. 267^{v} scribe I wrote, "herknep bope ȝing ⁊ old"; on fol. 268^{r} scribe VI wrote, "herknep bope ȝinge ⁊ olde."

for arranging the items in their present order; the stints of the individual scribes were returned to him, and he affixed the catchwords.

An interesting catchword occurs on fol. 107^{v}. Here scribe I has written a catchword on the verso of a folio copied by scribe IV to link the folio to his own succeeding poem, Guy of Warwick (fol. 107a--stub). Scribe IV had finished his work on fol. 107^{r} and had left most of the recto and all of the verso blank. At this point, one naturally asks why scribe I allowed nearly two full leaves to remain blank. The only feasible explanation is that scribe I had already begun copying Guy of Warwick or had completed it. When scribe IV returned his work, scribe I had only to place the catchword for Guy in its place on fol. 107^{v}. A final curiosity remains. The catchword on fol. 107^{v} reads, "here ginneþ sir gii." The phrasing of the catchword does not have the ring of a poem's opening line. It is impossible to tell whether Guy began with this sentence; all that remains of the opening of Guy is a stub of a page. We can never know if the catchword does indeed match the first line of Guy, but the French text employed to fill in the missing lines in the Early English Text Society's edition does not begin with this phrase.[132] Possibly Guy was not at hand when IV returned his work, and scribe I wrote this general catchword to designate Guy's position in the final arrangement of the codex.

Throughout the eight gatherings of Guy of Warwick, scribe I methodically inserted his catchwords to keep his own gatherings in order. He did make minor errors occasionally, such as including the word to in his

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[132]Julius Zupitza, ed., The Romance of Guy of Warwick, EETS, ES 42, 49, 59 (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1966). The French version begins, "Puis cel tens ke deus fu nez." Caius MS. 107 opens with "Syth the tyme þat cryst Ihesu."

catchword which did not exist in his text. (The catchword on fol. 136^{v} reads, "ꝥ he will amend to." The first line of fol. 137^{r} reads, "ꝥ he will amend . . . ."") Scribe I made a bit more serious error on fol. 144^{v}, where he changed wold (in the text) to nold (in the catchword); obviously the error was caused by a hurried glance or a fuzzy remembrance. But for the most part, these catchwords are accurate.

Scribe I continued to write catchwords through Guy of Warwick and the unique Reinbrun poem, copied by scribe V. Scribe I also wrote the catchword at the end of gathering 29, another gathering shared by himself and scribe V. This gathering makes up the final piece of a sort of frame provided by scribe I for all of V's writing. Scribes I and V shared gathering 25; scribe V alone copied gatherings 26, 27, and 28; and scribes I and V again shared gathering 29. After gathering 29, the hand of scribe V never appears again. Since scribe I wrote catchwords to link all of V's gatherings, it seems likely that scribe V returned his quires to scribe I, who placed the catchwords in their proper places, perhaps just before the codex was sent to the binder. The implication is that scribe I was the organizer of the manuscript.

Scribe I copied the next eight gatherings (30-37). At the end of gathering 37, the work of scribe I halts for a time, and the single poem written by scribe VI begins on the next folio. As one would expect by now, scribe I has provided the appropriate catchword on fol. 267^{v} to link gathering 37 to gathering 38, the work of scribe VI. There is no hint of a catchword at the end of this very unusual 10-page gathering.

The next complete gathering (41) after Otuel was copied by scribe I and ends with a catchword by him. For the next seven gatherings, all by scribe I, the catchwords offer an analyst little but some small

variations in wording or spelling. These suggest that the catchwords were for the benefit of the binder. Scribe I made little effort to be precise in his catchwords, but he did not need to be if they simply functioned to keep gatherings in place while the volume was in the bindery.

Since 3 gatherings between 48 and 51 have been lost, it is impossible to glean further information about the catchwords and their significance. A summary will show just how important the catchwords are to an understanding of the compilation of the volume. Scribe I wrote nearly three-fourths of the manuscript and all of the catchwords, with the possible exception of the one on fol. 99^{v}. But, as noted above, that single catchword may well have been written by scribe I. If so, he wrote all the catchwords in the codex. The catchwords by scribe I linked his own gatherings to each other and linked gatherings by scribe V to other gatherings by V. Moreover, scribe I's catchwords linked his own stints to the work of scribe II (see fols. 38^{v} and 39^{r}), to the work of scribe III (see fol. 84^{v}), and to the work of scribe VI (see fol. 267^{v}). Finally, scribe I also wrote a catchword to link the work of scribe IV to his own work (i.e., I's; see fol. 107^{v}). In contrast to the suggestion by Bliss, and in agreement with Cunningham,[133] I see scribe I as having provided the catchwords for the work of scribe IV. The possibility that scribe I may have "decided the order of the articles, and . . . wrote the catchword for the next scribe"[134] where needed

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[133]Bliss (p. 657) mistakenly identifies the catchwords on fols. 168^{v}, 183^{v}, 190^{v}, and 198^{v} as written by scribe V. Cunningham (see Facsimile, p. xi) correctly identifies the hand as that of scribe I.

[134]Bliss, p. 657.

gains credence. In short, he assembled all the works into one volume and so was probably the prime contractor of the book.

Nevertheless, Bliss's two hypotheses about the planning and construction of the tome remain to be considered. He writes:

> either the order of the articles had been planned in advance, so that any scribe who completed an article and a gathering at the same time was able to write a catchword for the guidance of the binder; or the scribe who was to write, or who was perhaps already writing, the next article was working so close at hand that he could be consulted about the order of the articles. In either case the catchwords provide evidence of close collaboration between the scribes.[135]

Since scribe I wrote all of the extant catchwords, Bliss's point is unacceptable. The volume does seem to have been planned in some detail, but scribe I was the only scribe who had to know the order of the texts. The collaboration among the scribes was limited to the interactions between scribe I and the individual scribes. To cite again Bliss's point (see Theories About the Composition, p. 34 above), "if all the catchwords had been written by scribe I, 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."[136] But I suggest that since the scribes were copying from independent exemplars which they could have taken from scribe I's office, they would have needed no guidance. All their task involved was copying the poems within the general format outlined by scribe I. They did not need to worry about putting their stints into the final order designated for the volume. Scribe I saw to that.

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[135] Ibid.

[136] Ibid.

Another method of keeping the parts of a manuscript in order--the initialing of pages--is also found in the Auchinleck manuscript. Cunningham was the first to call attention to this strategy in his notes to the Facsimile:

> gathering 9 has h, 10 k, 16 a doubtful letter, 32 f, 34 g?, 43 e?; 19 has h, 22 d; the only number surviving is iiii on f. 58. The first group is written in brown ink, the second by a different hand in red. They appear to be contemporary with the text, but neither of the hands is identical with the text.[137]

Cunningham observes that no regular system of signatures has survived and that the signatures remaining conform to no pattern. They do not seem to follow in any alphabetical order, nor do they identify particular scribes. All the letters discovered, except for those in gathering 16, are on leaves written by the same scribe (I) and are not in his hand. The only consistency among them is that they appear on the first four folios of these eight-folio gatherings, which is not surprising. Since the method of folding a single leaf to make two separate leaves was employed (as shown in Figure 9), there would have been no need to mark the last four. But the purpose of these curious "signatures" remains a mystery.

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[137] Facsimile, p. xi.

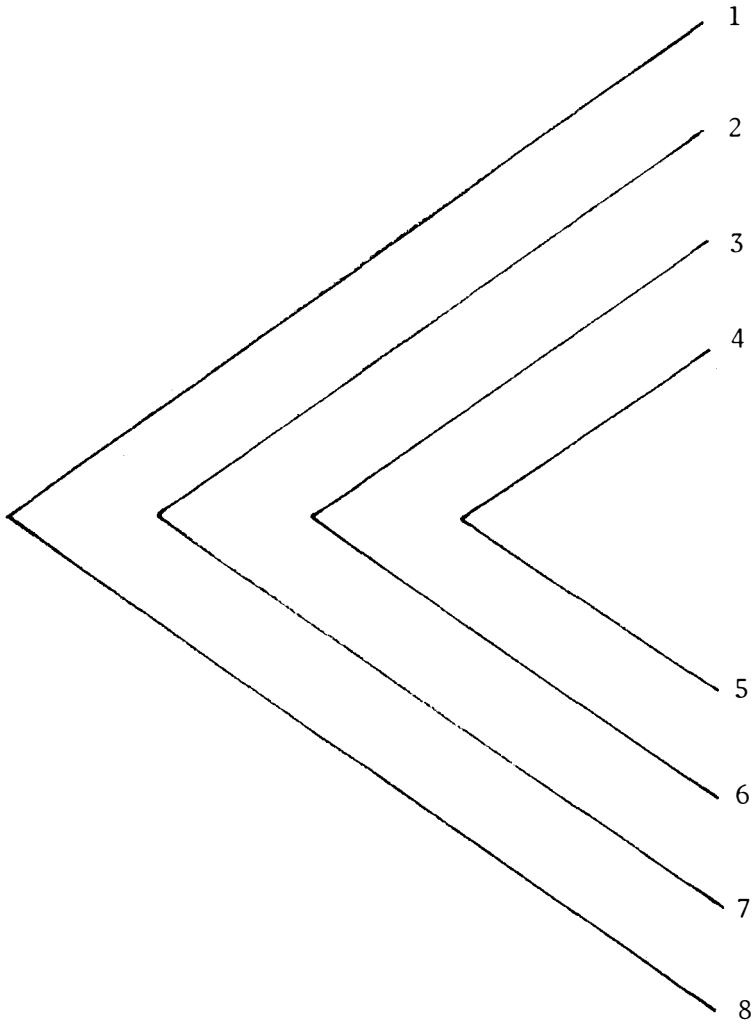


Figure 9. Method of folding leaves.

X. NUMBERS AND TITLES OF THE ITEMS

The numbers and titles for the items were among the final touches put on the Auchinleck manuscript. Scribe I wrote all the numbers and all the titles except those for two poems by scribe III (On þe seuen dedly sinnes and Þe pater noster vndo on englissch). The numbers and titles give us much evidence about the plan of the codex and its final arrangement; moreover, they confirm that scribe I was in a very different category from the other five scribes.

The numbering of the articles in the manuscript provides some clues to its final arrangement. The numbers for the items were written on the recto of every folio of the manuscript. The number of an item appears on every recto of every folio which continues the item. Many numbers were either wholly or partially lost to later croppings of the leaves. Bliss, Cunningham, and Robinson agree that the numbering was done by the compiler of the manuscript after the copying was finished. It seems that scribe I, the most prolific scribe and the one who provided most of the titles and nearly all of the catchwords, was responsible. Proof positive is not possible. Yet the fact that this scribe took responsibility for much of the other editorial work certainly presents him as a strong possibility. Cunningham agrees that the numbering was done by scribe I, but he suggests that the titles were written by the rubricator.[138] The titles of Sinnes and Pater noster, however, are definitely in the hand of scribe III, and the remaining titles so closely resemble the hand of

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[138] Facsimile, pp. xiv-xv.

scribe I that I think Cunningham is in error regarding the titles. The Roman numeral i in the item numbers matches closely the minim for i used by scribe I in his copying, particularly the hint of a curve to the right at the bottom of the lettering. Most interesting is the scribe's tendency to lengthen the descender of this Roman numeral and letter in the final position of a number or word.[139] The Roman numeral v and scribe I's letter v also closely resemble one another in the left curve of both ascenders. The x's in the text and those used for enumeration are less similar, perhaps because the scribe took more care in the writing of the numbers; they do bear a resemblance, though, in that the first two strokes of this letter were formed much like scribe I's r, and the cross stroke, angling down and to the left, appears to have been made in a separate, finer stroke (i.e.,); see, for example, the number on fol. 251^{r} and the r's in the first lines of both columns). Again, no absolute identification of the scribe who wrote the numbers can be made because there are so few letters to work with in the numerals (i.e., i, l, x, v). However, the evidence suggests that scribe I performed this task. Therefore, Robinson's point that apart from the catchword, scribe I's hand does not appear in group three (see Summary II, pp. 40-43 above) "and does not occur at all in the present ninth booklet" is in error.[140]

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[139]See, for example, the number viii on fol. 310^{rb}, l. 36, and the title for Reinbrun gij sone of warwike (fol. 167^{r}).

[140]Robinson, p. 35. She has apparently made a mistake in her writing. In her own summary of the contents of the "booklets" (p. 125), she notes that the ninth group was all copied by scribe I. I assume that she meant that scribe I's hand does not appear in the twelfth group comprised of only scribe II's þe Simonie.

Information about the original arrangement of the items in the manuscript can be gleaned from the numbers missing or written in error. Since the opening poem of the manuscript begins incomplete and is numbered vi, we know that five poems comprising an unknown number of gatherings have been lost. For the next several items the numbering continues uninterrupted, the Roman numerals written on the recto of every folio (some numbers have been cropped). If a poem begins on the verso of a folio, its first leaf may not have an item number.[141]

There are problems, however. The sequence of numbers is broken on fol. 68^{r}; there the number xvii for Anna our leuedis moder duplicates the number of the preceding poem, Life of St. Mary. On þe seuen dedly sinnes, the ensuing poem, has no surviving number. The next poem, þe pater noster vndo on englissch, which should have been numbered xix, or xx if one allows for the error of repetition, bears the numeral xxii. The catchword on fol. 69^{v} shows that at the time the catchwords were inserted, the hypothetical poems corresponding to the numbers xix and xx were not in the manuscript. What was their fate?

Three explanations have been offered. Perhaps the numbers were skipped over in error, like the early repetition of the numeral xvii. But it hardly seems that the scribe would have skipped two numbers, xix and xx. A second theory has been offered by Robinson. She proposes that since the catchword on fol. 69^{v} matches the first line of the next poem on fol. 70^{r}, "booklets were abstracted from this volume shortly

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[141] For example, þe desputisoun bitven þe bodi & þe soule bears no number on its initial page, fol. 31^{v}. On the following page, fol. 32^{r}, and every recto thereafter of a folio containing this poem, the number xii appears. There are no numbers on the versos of the folios for any item in the entire codex.

after it had been written."[142] One is tempted to accept this explanation, but if one does, some questions are still left unanswered. For example, which scribe wrote the "missing" booklets? If it was scribe I, who had written all the gatherings up to this point, does it not seem likely that he would have begun further poems on fol. 69 to conserve costly vellum? If he had written these absent booklets at another time, does it seem likely that he would have put them after his other quires and provided the appropriate numbers without affixing the proper catchwords? If the numbering was done after the miniatures and titles were inserted, as the evidence on fols. 70 and 72 indicates, it does not seem likely that the scribe would have sent the manuscript to the binder with no catchwords, numbers, or titles to designate the sequence of the poems. Another difficulty with Robinson's theory is that one must assume that the manuscript was produced on some basis other than a "bespoke" trade if items could have been and, to take Robinson's theory, were lifted from it so easily. Such a suggestion, as noted previously, runs counter to the evidence provided by Pollard and Doyle and Parkes (see Theories About the Composition, pp. 31-49 above). It is possible that the items were lost rather than taken out purposely.

Pearsall proposes a third possibility, that the discrepancy in the numbering results from the scribe's leaving room for two filler pieces to be inserted at a later date.[143] If they were to be included on fol. 69's verso, these two pieces would not have been numbered. This theory is significant, for it suggests a plan for the manuscript in that while

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[142] Robinson, p. 28.

[143] Facsimile, p. xxi.

the scribes were busily copying the long poems which dominate the work, there was already a preconceived order for their appearance in the manuscript. That is, at some time prior to the copying it was determined that On ye seuen dedly sinnes would follow Anna our leuedis moder. Scribe I had finished his first stint, knew Sinnes was to follow, and simply moved on to his next exemplar while waiting for scribe III to return his work. Filler poems, of course, could have been added at any time. The inclusion of such filler material is common to both this work and others of this era. But I cannot accept Pearsall's explanation without some reservation. He asks us to believe that the poems to be inserted were very short ones indeed. A filler poem on fol. 69^{v} would represent one of the shortest poems of all those surviving (only 78 lines remain blank), yet he asks us to believe that there were to be two. His theory, nevertheless, presents the fewest problems and must stand until another more likely explanation is made.

Later in this section of the manuscript, another minor error was made. The first several folios of item 26 (beginning fol. 100^{r}) were numbered incorrectly xvi. After the rubricator had affixed the blue paraph which precedes the numbers, another small x was squeezed in. Not until fol. 104^{r} does the number xxvi appear without correction.

A major discrepancy in the numbering occurs on the folios preceding the text of Kyng Alisaunder. Otuel precedes the fragments and is numbered xxxvii; Alisaunder is numbered xliiii. But since a gathering is missing between Otuel and Alisaunder, the discrepancy can be dismissed. Missing pages also account for the sudden jump from the number of The Thrush and the Nightingale (xliv) to that of The Sayings of St. Bernard (xlviiii). The five leaves missing between the two may at one time have

contained the missing poems. A final error was made in the numbering of Sir Orfeo. Not even a partial number remains on the leaves of Orfeo, but surely the scribe made an error of repetition again: the preceding poem, Sir Tristrem, is numbered li and the succeeding one, The Four Foes of Mankind, lii.

The numbering of the pieces, as error ridden as it sometimes is, does offer insights into the making of the volume. Primarily, it tells us that the poems were put into the final order by the compiler very soon after they were copied. Scribe I appears to have used the catch-words as a means of preserving the order of the gatherings. To mark the beginnings of the individual items, titles were inserted. What, then, was the purpose of providing numbers for the poems if not to make it easier for the reader to find his place?

Most of the titles for the items were inserted at approximately the same time the numbers were added, after the text had been written. Unlike the numbering, though, not all titles were done by the same hand. Scribe III, for example, has written in red ink the titles for the poems On ȝe seuen dedly sinnes and Þe pater noster vndo on englissch. It is quite possible that he wrote titles for his other poems as well, but we cannot tell since titles for many poems, if they were in fact included, have been lost with the mutilation of the miniatures and/or the initial pages of poems. Aside from the titles inserted by scribe III, however, the remaining titles appear to have been written by scribe I. The title for scribe VI's single poem, Otuel a knigt (fol. 268^{r}), is in the hand of scribe I. The a of the title is radically different from scribe VI's A; the vertical of the t does not pierce the horizontal as VI's does; and the e has a much narrower body than do the e's of VI. The forms of

these letters are all characteristic of scribe I. Moreover, the title of þe Simonie (fol. 328^{r}), which was copied by scribe II and which makes up Robinson's final "booklet," has an angled descender of the ꝑ, a conjunction of ꝑe, separate, vertical minims for m and n, and a finishing stroke on the final e, all markers of scribe I's hand. All the extant titles of the poems, apart from On ꝑe seuen dedly sinnes and þe pater noster by scribe III, were written by the same hand.

The notion of including titles for the items, it seems, came to scribe I after the work was completed. With the possible exception of scribe III, the scribes did not leave room for the titles in their texts. For example, the title for Seynt Mergrete[144] (fol. 16) has been squeezed in between the last line of the preceding poem and another title for Seynt Mergrete (in black ink in a hand which resembles none of the hands of the six scribes), which has been cut through when the miniature was extracted. Could this suggest that scribe I wrote his title in red ink after the miniature was cut out?

The heading for Seynt Katerine, the next poem, has been placed on the same line as the Explicit for Seynt Mergrete. Patching for a missing miniature fills the rest of the column below the title; thus the title must have been written after the artist finished his work, since the miniature left no room for a title above it. More definite evidence of this sequence of events occurs on fol. 31^{v} where the title for þe desputisoun bitven ꝑe bodi & ꝑe soule has been placed between

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[144]Again, the hand that wrote the title is that of scribe I. The m on mergrete is different from scribe I's usual m, but it matches the m he used in the initial letter column, where the first letter is separated from the remaining line.

the preceding poem's last line and its Explicit. The title for Anna our leuedis moder (fol. 65^{v}) appears on a line below that of the opposing column. The title for þe wenche þat loued a king intrudes into the text of the preceding poem; it has been written at the top of the right column of fol. 256^{v}, and beneath it come the final eight lines of Of arthour & of merlin! A similar oddity takes place on fol. 259^{r}. Items numbered xv, xxvi, xxvii, and lii have no titles at all.

The positions of both the numbers and the titles indicate that they were inserted after the manuscript had returned from the hands of the rubricators and illustrator. The stage at which the titles were inserted has been noted above. Some curious occurrences of item numbers suggest that they too were among the finishing touches put onto the manuscript. On fol. 70^{r} a remaining bit of the paraph for the numeral appears above the right column, away from the usual position of the number (at the center of the top margin of the page). Apparently, it was placed there because a flourishing stroke from the initial capital swirls through the top-center-page position. Moreover, on fol. 72^{r} the number was written above the right column because the center-page position was occupied by a miniature. These two instances may not be proof positive, but they are suggestive. At any rate, the titles themselves indicate that the manuscript came into the hands of scribe I, the compiler, before it finally left his office.

We have already determined that scribe I wrote all of the catch-words remaining in the manuscript. The fact that he wrote all the numbers for the items and nearly all the extant titles puts him in a different category from a mere copyist. He was surely not like the hired scribes described by Doyle and Parkes, who "dropped out of the

operation after playing [their] limited part in the production of this copy, leaving the final coordination to someone else."[145] Scribe I must have been the "someone else." He was the last person to work on the manuscript before it was bound. In short, he was probably the prime contractor whom a buyer commissioned to make the book.

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[145]Doyle and Parkes, p. 167.

XI. CONCLUSION

This detailed analysis of the physical aspects of the Auchinleck manuscript tells us much about secular, commercial book production in London in 1330. The organization behind the Auchinleck is looser than Loomis, Pearsall, and Robinson lead us to believe. Doyle and Parkes more accurately depict the organization in their discussion of independent, professional scribes working under a prime contractor. I see in this manuscript no evidence for a highly organized "bookshop," nor do historical accounts provide us with any.

What we know about the book trade in early fourteenth-century London is that books were being produced in a secular, commercial trade; the days of monastic book production were, for the most part, over. N. Denholm-Young notes that "from perhaps the second half of the thirteenth century monasteries were ceasing to produce their own manuscripts. Much of what they did was written in a court or bastard hand."[146] F. E. deRoover produces some rather startling evidence of the decline of the monastic scriptorium:

> In 1291 Murbach did not have a monk who could write; and in 1297 at St. Gall there were few monks who could write, not even the prior. From this period on the monks of Corbic no longer wrote themselves but employed lay scribes.[147]

Marjorie Plant writes that "by the thirteenth century paid scribes did

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[146] Denholm-Young, p. 46.

[147] Florence Elder deRoover, "The Scriptorium," in The Medieval Library, ed. J. W. Thompson (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1939), p. 612.

much of the transcribing in the English monasteries."[148] But perhaps Tatlock puts the situation in its clearest perspective:

> In Chaucer's day the time was long past when almost all book-making was in the hands of "the old monks." With the increase of a middle class, of reading the vernacular, of production of meritorious literature in it, and the desire for literate entertainment, clerical scribes would hardly figure here; it is impossible to imagine that secular reading-matter multiplied much except through secular and commercial routes. That all this would be true there is sufficient evidence. The stationarius, librarius, bibliator, bibliopola are mentioned now and then, selling and renting books. . . . Richard de Bury mentions them . . . early in Chaucer's century in England . . . [and] London naturally seems to have been the center. . . . The probability is also that most of [the Chaucer MSS.] were written for and sold by book-dealers, and that commercial considerations were kept in mind.[149]

If we discount the possibility of monastic production and accept Tatlock's suggestion of professional, commercial book production, how much evidence can we find? Graham Pollard finds that "instances of handicrafts--parchmener, scrivener, illuminator, and bookbinder--are to be found in London in the thirteenth century, and some of these craftsmen occupied important commercial sites; from which it may be inferred that they sold their own work in their own shops."[150] He later warns that he knows of "no evidence to show that before printing there was any wholesale dealing in such books as were sufficiently standardized to be kept in stock."[151] The Auchinleck seems to be a book made by craftsmen who

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[148]Marjorie Plant, The English Book Trade: An Economic History of the Making and Sale of Books (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1965), p. 21.

[149]J. P. Tatlock, "The Text of the Canterbury Tales in 1400," PMLA, 50 (1935), 108-9.

[150]Pollard, pp. 4-5.

[151]Ibid., p. 16.

did their work in their own quarters, and it offers no evidence for a shop in which any two of the four handicrafts were performed on the premises.

H. E. Bell asserts that there was a gild of those involved in the production of books in London by 1376.[152] But it must be noted that this was a corporation of independent artisans. Loomis calls attention to the fact that a fifteenth-century English manuscript bears a picture of a medieval bookshop which "shows books arranged on two stands, and the keeper of the shop in converse with a prospective buyer."[153] This picture might well represent the sort of shop scribe I kept. The shop portrayed is a small one, and there are no other scribes to be seen. There is only enough room for the shopkeeper to display a few books and perhaps do his own writing.

With Pollard's evidence of independent scribes and artisans working in the city and with Doyle and Parkes' conclusion that there is "no evidence for centralized, highly organized scriptoria in the metropolis,"[154] even in the fifteenth century, Pearsall's theory that the Auchinleck was produced in a London bookshop of 1330 in which "translation and versifying were as much the activities of the place as scribing, illuminating, binding and selling"[155] is difficult to accept. It is more likely that the Auchinleck was produced under the direction of a scrivener who

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[152]H. E. Bell, "The Price of Books in Medieval England," in The Library, 4th series, Vol. 17 (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1937), p. 313.

[153]Loomis, "Auchinleck and a Possible London Bookshop," p. 159.

[154]Doyle and Parkes, p. 199.

[155]Facsimile, p. ix.

accepted a commission to make the codex and hired independent scribes and artisans to assist him.

The manuscript also gives us some idea about the nature of the purchaser of the book. Even though it is not sumptuous, the sheer size of the volume and the extensive decoration would make it very expensive. This rules out the possibility that it was produced for either a student or a minstrel. And yet the relative plainness of the format and decoration does not suggest the sort of noble household which commissioned the Ellesmere Chaucer or the Morgan Library Troilus and Criseyde. Furthermore, Loomis notes in her study of the volume that while "English nobles and clerics may have willingly listened to English stories," accounts of their libraries show that with rare exception they were interested in "the acquisition of books written in Latin or French."[156] Aside from some Latin phrases, the language of the Auchinleck manuscript is all English.

Albert Baugh and Pamela Robinson have noted that some of the poems in the manuscript were revised to give them a more secular, more courtly flavor. Perhaps these revisions were made to suit the tastes of the customer. Baugh observes that the handling of Otuel in the Auchinleck was such that except for a very general "antithesis between pagan and Christian," the religious aspects are "almost entirely absent."[157] The author of this version, he goes on to say, was certainly not interested in "religious propaganda" and "was probably a layman." Robinson's

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[156]Loomis, "Auchinleck and a Possible London Bookshop," p. 155.

[157]Albert C. Baugh, "The Authorship of the Middle English Romances," M. H. R. A. Bulletin, Nov. 1950, No. 22, p. 26.

analysis of some of the major poems, most notably Guy of Warwick, Amis and Amiloun, and Sir Orfeo, also puts the authors who were reworking these poems outside the monastic walls. In her estimation, the scribes themselves attempted to deliver to the bourgeois reader such literature as the court might be reading.[158] In short, she sees a tendency by the scribes themselves to make the stories more courtly.[159] Capitalizing upon the wants of the bourgeois reader, the scribes revised some major poems in an effort "to make bestsellers of them," in hopes of ensuring "the commercial success of this manuscript." This final point by Robinson implies that the Auchinleck was made in a bookshop which had the capital for such speculation. Moreover, in agreement with Pearsall, she suggests that the manuscript represents a compilation of 12 independent booklets. Neither of these points is probable. What is more likely is that scribe I, having accepted a contract for a large volume, hired professional scribes to assist him. He decided upon the format, which the others followed, and after putting the book into its final order wrote the numbers for the items, most of the titles, and the catchwords.

Moreover, the decoration of the book--the miniatures, the paraphs, and the initial capitals--indicate that the codex was conceived as a unit. The uniformity of the artwork points to a single atelier. The employment of three rubricators for the paraphs probably resulted from the supervising artist's recognition of the size of the task at hand. Just as there were several scribes, the atelier had several artists--

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[158] Robinson, pp. 70-77.

[159] Ibid., p. 74.

a principal with helpers. Finally, the positions for these decorations had to be planned for and marked by the scribes. In itself, this final point argues for a general plan that had to be laid out by the compiler of the book, scribe I.

The production method behind the Auchinleck manuscript is much closer to that described by Doyle and Parkes than that described by Loomis, Pearsall, and Robinson. Doyle and Parkes accept Pollard's theory that books were ordered by a patron from the bookdealer of the fourteenth century, the stationarius, who appears to have been important "as a dealer rather than a craftsman, as an intermediary between the producer and the public rather than an actual maker of the goods he [sold]."[160] The stationarius would himself have been a scrivener, one who both wrote on commission and owned a small shop containing exemplars. When he agreed to produce a larger volume, like the Auchinleck manuscript, he would have hired professional scribes to assist him. These scribes could have been either those who worked in their own quarters on a full-time basis or clerks who copied books in their spare time. They would have been like the professional scriveners described by Doyle and Parkes who received not an entire volume to copy but portions of it and were paid by the quire. In the case of the Auchinleck, they received complete poems instead of individual quires.

The physical evidence of the Auchinleck manuscript lends credence to Doyle and Parkes' theory of composition. Yet an analysis of the production method for the Auchinleck must focus on the work of scribe I. Scribe I copied nearly three-fourths of the text, and his stints occur

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[160]Pollard, p. 5.

throughout the entire manuscript. He also supplied nearly all the extant catchwords, all but two of the titles, and all the numbers for the items. Thus we have evidence that at some time he handled every completed gathering of the manuscript. If he was indeed the last person to touch the manuscript, we may safely assume that it was he who presented the complete codex to the buyer. He was, then, a professional copyist who compiled, copied, and sold books.

There is some historical evidence for this type of "book" producer in the person of John Shirley, who worked in the first half of the fifteenth century. According to Brusendorff, Shirley became a professional scribe rather late in life.[161] He recognized the demand for the works of Chaucer, Lydgate, and others and set out to make these works available by means of some type of circulating library. But more importantly, he also established a system to produce copies of the texts. At the time of his death in 1456, he was the tenant of "four shops which he rented from Saint Bartholomew's Hospital, and it has been strongly argued that these were the headquarters of his 'publishing business.'"[162] His shop produced literary manuscripts "for a circle of noble clients."[163] Brusendorff's lengthy discussion of John Shirley's methods makes clear that Shirley translated some pieces, copied items himself, and employed other scribes to assist him. Based upon what we have gleaned from an analysis of the manuscript, it seems quite possible that scribe I

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[161]Aage Brusendorff, The Chaucer Tradition (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1925), p. 213.

[162]H. S. Bennett, Chaucer and the Fifteenth Century (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1947), p. 116.

[163]Brusendorff, p. 217.

functioned as a book producer much like John Shirley did nearly a century later. Scribe I may very well have been the owner of a shop which contained a number of exemplars which he copied or had copied to satisfy the commissions of patrons. In the copying of these texts, scribe I may also have altered the exemplars to suit the tastes of the customers.

John Shirley is not the only man we know who entered the "publishing" business in a roundabout way. William Caxton, before his publishing career, was first apprenticed to a London mercer and later became governor of the Merchants Adventurers.[164] Caxton's sudden interest in literature has not been clearly explained, but Boyd notes that the Duchess of Burgundy commanded him to finish his translation in English of Le Recueil des histoires de Troyes.[165] Shortly thereafter Caxton received many requests for copies of his work, which he had difficulty providing because of the time-consuming process of copying them by hand. Boyd quotes Caxton's own explanation of his decision to begin his printing business:

> "And for as moche as in the wrytyng of the same my penne is worn, myn hande wery and not stedfast, myn eyen dimmed with overmoche lokyng on the whit paper, and my corage not so prone and redy to labourc as hit hath ben, and that age crepeth on me dayly and febleth all the bodye, and also be cause I have promysid to dyverce gentilmen and to my frendes to adresse to hem as hastely as I myght this sayd book: Therfore I have practysed and lerned at my grete charge and dispense to ordeyne this said book in prynte after the maner and forme as ye may here see. . . ."[166]

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[164] Beverly Boyd, Chaucer and the Medieval Book (Anderson, Ritchie and Simon, 1973), p. 117.

[165] Ibid., p. 118.

[166] Ibid., p. 119.

Thus, like Shirley, Caxton began his career trying to satisfy the demands of the reading public. Moreover, both writers translated French and Latin texts in the course of their work. With two such famous cases of individuals who not only sold books but also played a large part in their production, is it not possible that another may have preceded them in such adventure? Scribe I of the Auchinleck manuscript may have been an early entrepreneur who disseminated literature on a contractual basis.

For a book dealer to enter into a contract with a buyer, which Doyle and Parkes call the "bespoke" trade of the Middle Ages, was a common business arrangement. A volume the size of the Auchinleck manuscript could have been produced only on such a basis. Certainly the expense involved in procuring the vellum, in hiring the scribes, in commissioning the artisans of the atelier, and in having the volume bound would have prohibited any book dealer from producing such a huge text on speculation, in hopes that a customer would happen by who would want and who could afford such a text.

It is true that the Auchinleck is not a deluxe edition, but any book in the Middle Ages was expensive. To illustrate the point, James Thompson describes the cost of a book produced for the Countess of Core in 1324.[167] Her hired scribe copied 317,000 words for which he was paid 8 shillings plus room and board. (The Auchinleck manuscript contains, as a rough estimate, some 350,000 words.) Eight shillings, 32 days' wages for a common laborer,[168] reflects only the wages of the scribe. It does not

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[167] J. W. Thompson, The Medieval Library (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1939), p. 645.

[168] Boyd (p. 150) cites the wages drawn by a thresher, carpenter, or mason as slightly more than three pence per day.

include the cost of vellum (approximately 1-1/2 pence per skin), illumination, illustration (the Auchinleck artists used gold leaf for the background of the miniatures), or binding. Thompson reckons the total cost of the countess' book at no less than 10 pounds. The immense sum this represents is put into better perspective when one considers that a silver spoon cost 10 pence, and a quarter (i.e., 8 bushels) of wheat 5 shillings, sixpence.[169] Moreover, since the common worker was paid 3 pence per day, 10 pounds would equate to 800 days of labor. Perhaps two final examples of recorded transactions will give us a rough idea of the value of books. The Countess of Anjou gave 200 sheep, 5 quarters (40 bushels) of wheat, and 5 quarters of rye for a copy of the Homilies of Bishop Haimo of Halberstadt. For the mere use of 6 books, one of which was an Augustine, Richard Courtenay deposited a bond of 300 pounds.[170] Any attempt to equate the cost of these books with today's prices is a most difficult task; moreover, the records of the prices of books rarely give the number of words, the quality of the vellum, the extent of the illustration and illumination, or the type of binding of the book. But even if we were to assume that the literature to be included was so popular that it was probable that a purchaser would have soon come by, the capital invested in the Auchinleck would have made it difficult for a dealer to invest in other works until this book was sold. When Pearsall and Robinson speak of fascicular production of the Auchinleck manuscript, they ignore this economic risk. The concept of the production of individual booklets, later to be bound together as an

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[169]Thompson, p. 645.

[170]Ibid., p. 646.

afterthought, implies that the volume was not originally conceived as a book, that the booklets were produced on speculation and later compiled to suit a customer's request. While their theory allows us to exclude the cost of binding from the shopkeeper's expenses, it still forces us to accept that he would have taken a large economic gamble.

If we can accept that the bespoke trade was the more likely impetus that put the wheels of production into motion, we must also conclude that the contents of the book were probably established before the copying began; in short, the whole compilation followed an agreed-upon plan. The physical evidence argues this explanation. The format of the pages and the style of the illumination demonstrate a much stronger sense of unity in the manuscript than Robinson leads us to believe.

In conclusion, unlike Loomis and Pearsall, I do not see a team of translators, versifiers, and scribes at work in a single workshop. The history of the book trade argues against such an elaborate establishment. I feel that the unique versions of the romances are better explained by the existence of lost exemplars which lie behind the Auchinleck. Since the scribes apparently took their originals from the scrivener's office, it is likely that the Auchinleck was not copied from a single exemplar. It is possible that scribe I himself translated several of the pieces into English, functioning as both scribe and translator, like John Shirley and William Caxton, and thus produced these unique versions himself.

To propose the possibility that scribe I also served as the translator or adaptor of the texts is to align myself with Robinson's theory about the composition of those romances. Yet I disagree with her view that the manuscript first took the form of independent booklets which

were later compiled into a single volume. Scribe I perhaps accepted the commission, copied most of the items to be included in the text, and hired out some of the others in order to expedite the production of the codex. I agree with both Bliss and Robinson that scribe I served as a supervisor of sorts in that he organized the copying of the exemplars and compiled those copies into a volume. Like Doyle and Parkes, I see some form of organized, secular, commercial book production, but certainly one on a scale much looser than that which Loomis, Pearsall, and Robinson envision. Their hypothetical bookshop may have consisted of little more than a small room in which the scrivener accepted the commissions of patrons to produce wills, contracts, booklets, or entire volumes. The scrivener who owned the shop had on his shelves a library from which his patrons could select items to be copied into books that would suit their tastes. The purchaser did not have to select every item to be in the manuscript, but he probably did request certain poems, most likely the major romances, and in more general terms made known his needs or tastes so the book dealer could select other items to supplement the major poems. The discussion between the buyer and seller would have been most important; from it the dealer would have received an idea of the contents and production the buyer was willing to pay for. After the deal was struck, the dealer, like John Shirley, copied some of the manuscript himself and hired the help of independent scribes to speed up his production. He sent away with those scribes sections of a planned volume. Along with the exemplars, he gave instructions concerning the format of the folios and plans for the illustrations. The copyists did not need to be aware of the order of the items to appear. That order was determined by the dealer. Upon the scribes' completion

of their work, the gatherings were sent to an atelier to be decorated. Then they were returned to the shop where the dealer inserted the titles and item numbers. Finally it traveled on to the bookbinder. Then it was ready for the person who had commissioned it to return and pick up his single-volume library in which he could read, for the price of 800 days' labor, "in Ingliise rim" what out of the French and "out of latin hath y wrought / for alle men latin no conne nouȝt."[171]

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[171] Life of St. Mary Magdalene, fol. 65^{v}, ll. 66-68.

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