The artists of later Anglo-Saxon England are particularly noted for the lively and delicate multi-coloured line drawings which feature in some sixty of the illuminated manuscripts which have come down to us from the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. These drawings are in distinct contrast to the often rather heavy work in gold and full colour which is characteristic of the Winchester School, though both are frequently recognizable as the contributions of the same craftsmen. That the two techniques were not regarded as being of unequal artistic stature is clearly demonstrated by their joint appearances within the same miniature in such masterpieces as the Benedictional of St Ethelwold and the Eadui Psalter, and by the deliberate choice of line drawing as the medium of illustration not only in the Sherborne Pontifical and the New Minster Liber Vitae but also for the magnificent Crucifixion page in the Ramsey Psalter, which is combined with a huge and fully coloured initial B to form one of the most striking decorative openings in English manuscript art.

The most ambitious of the many long cycles of illustration carried out in line drawing alone is that in the Harley Psalter, Harley MS. 603, which even in its present unfinished and incomplete state contains more than one hundred eleventh-century drawings. It is well known that the Harley Psalter was inspired by the early ninth-century Utrecht Psalter, from which many of the drawings are directly copied. The artists of the Utrecht Psalter virtually translated the psalms verse by verse into visual form, achieving a deliberately archaic visual effect by the use of rustic capitals for their text and a very atmospheric late classical style for their drawings. This manuscript seems to have arrived in Canterbury late in the tenth century, under what circumstances we do not know, and several generations of English illuminators were greatly excited by it, the Harley Psalter being only the first of three known copies, each adapting the style of the original to reflect the idiom current in its own time. In the eleventh century this meant replacing the monochrome drawings of the Carolingian manuscript by English drawings in which a variety of colours, including blue, green, mauve, yellow, and vermilion, add a new dimension to compositions which, at least in the early stages of the manuscript, are otherwise followed with amazing fidelity by the imitators.

The Harley Psalter has enjoyed much scholarly attention over the years, though it has yet to be the subject of a facsimile edition. However, surprisingly little of this attention has
been concerned with discussion of the evidence for provenance and date of this very
important work of art, though it is now generally accepted that the manuscript was
produced in the scriptorium of Christ Church Cathedral Priory at Canterbury and the
date usually given for the earliest phase of the work is c. 1000 (or, more cautiously,
early eleventh century), with additions up to the middle of the twelfth century. Two
totally different types of script appear in the book, one unquestionably of a style considerably
later than the other, and most subsequent writers have been content to follow the division
of the drawings themselves into three groups, the earliest of them subdivided between six
different hands, published more than thirty years ago by Francis Wormald in his
pioneering book on Anglo-Saxon drawings. As far as I know, no one has ever attempted
to explain for whom the book might have been made, though it is surely clear that so lavish
an undertaking could hardly have been embarked upon solely at the whim of the
scriptorium.

Since Wormald wrote, two events have taken place which offer fresh scope for
consideration of the manuscript. First, in 1957 the volume was rebound and its gatherings
were thrown out on meeting guards, revealing its structure without recourse to
investigations hampered by a tight binding and supplemented by guesswork. Secondly,
T. A. M. Bishop’s work on the Canterbury scribes has enabled us to associate both the
basic scripts of the Psalter with dated documents from Christ Church and, further, to see
in the later script the work of Eadui Basan, a leading figure in the history of the
scriptorium of that house during the early decades of the eleventh century.

In its present state the Harley Psalter contains a virtually complete copy of the psalter
as far as Psalm 143, verse 12. This abrupt finish is almost certainly due to later mutilation
rather than to interruption to the original campaign of work on the book. The first and last
leaves are much soiled, suggesting that at some time in its history the manuscript was for a
considerable period left unbound. The text of the manuscript follows the Roman version
of the psalter, with a brief excursion into the Gallican between Psalm 100 and Psalm 105,
verse 25. Structurally the volume falls into four unequal sections, representing three
distinct phases of work. These sections are distinguished by differing combinations of
scribe and artists and are confirmed by the physical arrangement of the gatherings. The
following discussion is given in general terms and a more detailed description is provided
as an appendix.

The original brief of the team responsible for the production of the Harley Psalter was
quite clearly to produce a copy of the Utrecht Psalter, following the original as closely as
possible in illustration and arrangement but substituting the Roman version of the psalter,
then in current use in England, for the Gallican of the model. Close scrutiny reveals that
the drawings at the very beginning of the book were in fact executed before the text was
added, and it seems reasonable to suppose that scribe and artist were working together in
close co-operation. The first (fols. 1–27) and third (fols. 50–7) sections of the volume
represent this first phase of the work. The script may be associated with that of a Christ
Church charter relating to a lease granted in 1003 which is, in its turn, related to a
considerable group of Christ Church manuscripts, though firm dates are unfortunately
lacking. The drawings of this phase were divided by Wormald between four different hands and his stylistic divisions match up closely with the gatherings. The first gathering (fols. 1-8) is illustrated by Hand A (fig. 1). The second (fols. 9-17) is also largely by Hand A, but two conjoint leaves (fols. 13, 14) are ascribed to Hand C (fig. 3) and two others, plus the last leaf of the gathering (fols. 12, 15, and 17), to Hand B. Hand C does not appear elsewhere in the manuscript and I am personally inclined to wonder whether he is not really just a variant of Hand A, whose other work does vary considerably in scale and in style according to the models supplied by the Utrecht Psalter artists. This section ends with a further pair of conjoint leaves (fols. 18, 19) and a gathering of eight (fols. 20-7), all illustrated by Hand B (fig. 2).

After a hiatus of twenty-two leaves, the first script reappears in the third section of the manuscript (fols. 50-7), a straightforward gathering of eight leaves with drawings supplied by Wormald's Hand D (fig. 4). These drawings contain more colour than the ones in the first section of the manuscript and are very close indeed in feeling to their Carolingian prototypes. Hand D's work much resembles that of Hand B, allowing for the differences engendered by the influence of the model, and it would be worth examining the relationship between the two in much greater detail than is possible in the present article.

In these two sections the eleventh-century work copies the layout and content of the ninth-century original in every respect. The fourth section of the book (fols. 58-73) marks a radical departure from it. Although the same script continues to provide the text, both the layout and the form of illustration have been varied. Instead of leaving spaces for the drawings as indicated in the model, the scribe simply leaves an appropriate space at the beginning of each psalm, regardless of how this falls upon the page. These spaces are filled by Hand F (fig. 5), whose compositions are distinctly simpler than those of the Utrecht Psalter, though individual details are recognizably used. Hand F appears to be stylistically somewhat later than Hands A-D and may be compared with the marginal drawings in the Bury Psalter and with illustrations in the manuscripts of Eadui Basan, mentioned below, all of which seem to be associated with the 1020s. Wormald implies a noticeable time lag between the two groups of early drawings in the Harley Psalter, which would suggest that the drawings of this second phase must be additions to a text already in existence, since the same scribe is associated with both phases. I cannot personally see any internal evidence to support this view. It seems more reasonable to suggest that a deliberate attempt was being made to finish the book as expeditiously as possible, the simplified page layout and the far less detailed illustrations, with their fewer and larger figures, having been decided upon as a compromise which would allow the manuscript to retain the semblance of its earlier appearance. Both scribe and illuminator seem to have been party to it. The rubrics and initials in the first, third, and fourth sections of the book seem to have been added at this time. Some include errors possibly engendered by haste.

Alongside the work of Hand F, the fourth section of the Harley Psalter contains four major drawings (fols. 58v, 67, 70v, and 72v) and four small vignettes (fols. 61, 61v, 62v, and 70) by a rather less talented but very distinctive contemporary, Hand E (fig. 6).
Fig. 1. Hand A: illustrations to Psalms 14 and 15. Harley MS. 603, fol. 8
Fig. 2. Hand B: illustrations to Psalms 42 and 43. Harley MS. 603, fol. 25
Fig. 3. Hand C: illustration to Psalm 21 (incorrectly numbered 31 by the rubricator). Harley MS. 603, fol. 13v
Psalmus

Lauda tua Beneath the sky of
cale &c. justus et
dicat omnis populus

Allélúia

omnis non muenterum;
Et surrens est sine
E tuorum impotens;
Et tamem a domino

Sedem et membra et in
umbrae mortis et uncu
lustros inmensitatem

E us flos hominum
Qua palam animam in
anem et anima even
et sanatur bona

Sedem et membra et in
umbrae mortis et uncu
lustros inmensitatem

Qua exsudabatur et
quum dui & consilium
adsum irrationem

E tamen et

Fig. 4. Hand D: illustration to Psalm 106. Harley MS. 603, fol. 54v
Fig. 5. Hand F: illustrations to Psalms 123 and 124. Harley MS. 603, fol. 65°
Hand E is of vital importance for the sequence and dating of the work in the manuscript because he is also to be found within the first phase of the book but not within the third. The change from Gallican to Roman psalter text, and the choice of a contemporary minuscule script to replace the rustic capitals of the Carolingian book, inevitably meant that the text provided by the Anglo-Saxon scribe refused to fit neatly into the exact space allotted to it according to the page design of the Carolingian model. Hand E seems to have belonged to a man with an aversion to empty space and his vignettes, often unusual little compositions devoted entirely to plants, are inserted into mid-page gaps left by the scribe.

Fig. 6. A space-filling vignette by Hand E. Harley MS. 603, fol. 62v (detail)

Just such a gap occurs on fol. 25v and it is filled with some of his distinctive foliage. He also supplied full-scale drawings on fols. 15 and 15v, where Hand B left illustrations unfinished, and was apparently responsible for the frontispiece of the Holy Trinity on fol. 1,16 which bears no relationship to the Utrecht Psalter. But he did not avail himself of the ample opportunities offered in the second section of the manuscript, where only two of the many picture spaces were filled during the eleventh century. The many large and inviting gaps should have proved irresistible to Hand E, and the fact that he makes no appearance at all within this section implies that he was no longer concerned with the book when these pages were supplied, and thus that all the work in the first, third, and fourth sections of the Harley Psalter, comprising the first and second phases of the making of the manuscript, antedates the execution of the second section.

The second section of the manuscript (fols. 28–49) presents an entirely different appearance from the remainder of the book. It is written out in the second, and stylistically later, of the two types of script found in the manuscript, and the vellum of which it is made is distinctly inferior. Interposed between the two portions in which the original intention of making a ‘facsimile’ of the Utrecht Psalter has been rigidly adhered
to, it has every appearance of being a later substitute for a lost or damaged portion of the original work. Its scribe follows the pattern already established in the fourth section of the book, leaving a picture space before each psalm rather than endeavouring to emulate the layout of the model. Several leaves are missing, one leaf (fol. 44) has been cut down at a later date, and the whole has a very uneasy and unpolished look. Only two eleventh-century drawings are to be found in this section, on the recto and verso of its first leaf (fol. 28) (fig. 7). These, together with a vignette in a gap in the preceding section, on fol. 17’, constitute Wormald’s Group II, which he regarded as dating from the second half of the century. Their artist, unlike Hand F, does follow the compositions of the Utrecht Psalter but he makes no attempt to emulate their style. All the basic elements of each ninth-century drawing are incorporated, but their proportions and spatial relationships are so much altered that at first sight the illustrations seem entirely unlike those in the Utrecht Psalter. Twelve finished drawings and the sketches for two more were inserted into this section of the manuscript during the twelfth century, accompanying the psalms on fols. 29–35. The remaining leaves were never illustrated, nor were the initials supplied.

As we have seen, the dating of the script and drawings in this third phase of the making of the Harley Psalter should provide a terminal date for work on the two earlier phases. The identification of the scribe as Eadui Basan of Christ Church is therefore of possible significance. This scribe’s name is recorded in a colophon in a Gospels now in Hanover, which has been in Germany since the latter part of the eleventh century. He seems to have been a leading member of the Christ Church scriptorium and several manuscripts have been associated with him, including the Grimbold Gospels. No firm outside dates can be assigned to his career, but one of his manuscripts, a psalter in the Arundel collection, cannot be earlier than 1012 because it contains mention of St Ælphage, martyred in that year. Two other documents which he wrote are approximately dated, for they refer to transactions between King Cnut and Christ Church in or about 1018 and there is no reason to suppose them other than contemporary with the events recorded. These two latter items show his script at its most polished and assured. The script in the Harley Psalter is by comparison uneven and sometimes almost quavering. It is perhaps not too imaginative to see it as the work of an elderly or infirm man and it may therefore be considerably later than the documents of 1018, though we have no way of knowing how long Eadui may have lived. A date in the late 20s of the century is a possibility, but this section of the Harley Psalter could equally well have been written out as late as the 1040s. The two associated drawings are probably contemporary with Eadui’s script.

Although it provides a terminal point for the completion of the other three sections of the manuscript, Eadui’s contribution to the book is thus far too nebulous in date to make any great difference to the very long space of time—at least half a century—which is generally assigned for the eleventh-century work in the Harley Psalter. The ‘early eleventh century’ dating for the earliest work in the book may, however, imply a period closer to 1020 than to 1000. The earlier style of script is found throughout both the earlier phases of
Fig. 7. Opening page of the second section of the Harley Psalter, showing Eadui's script accompanied by a drawing executed by the Group II artist. Harley MS. 603, fol. 28
work on the manuscript. At the very beginning of the volume it is clear that text and pictures were being executed in close collaboration, and this probably continued throughout the ‘facsimile’ phase of work on the psalter. In the second phase both script and drawing seem to reflect a change of emphasis, apparently in a deliberate attempt to speed up the work by abandoning any thought of producing an exact copy of the page layout of the model and by reducing the content of the illustrations to a minimum. There is no indication that the drawings by Hand F were supplied at a period noticeably later than the script, and the activities of Hand E, whose frontispiece of the Holy Trinity rounds off the enterprise, suggest a tying off of loose ends in a project virtually completed. Once again it must be stressed that we do not know how long any of these craftsmen lived.

An apparently old-fashioned style may frequently overlap something new. Nor should we make the mistake of regarding the drawings of phase one of the Harley Psalter as representing a first essay in a new idiom, reflecting the immediate and overwhelming influence on Anglo-Saxon artists of the newly imported Utrecht Psalter and therefore by implication claiming an early date. Line drawing was a great strength of Anglo-Saxon book decoration long before the end of the tenth century and the several hands involved in copying the Utrecht Psalter in the Christ Church scriptorium are already highly competent exponents of this particular form of art.

No one has ever proposed an original patron for the manuscript nor attempted to explain what its purpose may have been. The exact purpose of the Utrecht Psalter itself is indeed still obscure. It must have been an immensely costly undertaking and it is hard to believe that the scriptorium could have embarked upon it merely at whim. The substitution of the Roman for the Gallican text and the use of a contemporary minuscule in place of the rustic capitals of the original suggest that it was no mere exercise in facsimile reproduction but that it was intended to be readily legible. It seems too sumptuous to have been designed primarily for liturgical use, though liturgical divisions appear in a number of the psalms. The most feasible explanation for so enormously detailed and literal a cycle of illustration is surely that it was simply seen as a kind of visual commentary on the text which it accompanied, to act as an aid to the study of and meditation on the psalms.

One of the concrete arguments for the manuscript’s Christ Church provenance is provided by the decoration of the Beatus initial on fol. 2, in which a tiny figure, badly rubbed but clearly wearing an archbishop’s pallium, is prostrated at the feet of Christ, from whose hand he seems to be receiving a scroll (fig. 8). This initial is not very expertly painted. It is certainly not the work of Hand A, the chief artist of the page, but seems to be one of Hand E’s additions, coeval with the Trinity picture on the preceding leaf and probably also with the rubrication of sections one, three, and four. A smaller initial in the final section of the manuscript (fol. 64) has similar foliage decoration. This places it in the context of the second phase drawings, which seem to date from the third decade of the century. This initial is surely not merely decorative. There are several comparable owner-donor miniatures in tenth- and eleventh-century English manuscripts, albeit usually on a larger scale. The nearest in date is probably that in the Eadui Psalter, where
the figure of a monk, thought to be that of Eadui himself, is prostrate at the feet of St Benedict, offering him the manuscript.27

In November 1020 a new Archbishop of Canterbury was consecrated by Wulfstan, Archbishop of York. He was Æthelnoth, formerly dean of Christ Church itself, and his appointment to the primatial see represented a considerable triumph for local interests.28

He is said to have been the friend of Ælfric the Grammarian and grandson to the historian Æthelweard, and he is credited with the enrichment of his cathedral church both in relics and in properties. A connection between Æthelnoth and the Harley Psalter would be quite in keeping and, if Hand E is to be dated in the 1020s, he must be the archbishop represented in the Beatus initial, as his archiepiscopate was a long one, ending only in October 1038. We have no precise details of his career before he became Archbishop of Canterbury, but the fact that he already held high office in the cathedral priory before 1020 makes it possible that he was himself the moving spirit behind the making of the manuscript, his elevation inspiring the decision to speed up its completion. Alternatively, it may have been ordered originally for his immediate predecessor, Lyfing otherwise known as Ælfstan, who succeeded the martyred Ælphage in 1013. Both men served Cnut and it was in Lyfing’s time that Eadui seems, from the evidence of the Christ Church
charters, to have come to the peak of his career. ^^ Several of the most splendid and unusual manuscripts of the period can be associated with specific bishops and archbishops, among them the Bosworth Psalter, which may have been designed for St Dunstan, and the Ramsey Psalter, the most likely patron of which is Dunstan’s friend, Oswald. Most striking of all is St Æthelwold’s Benedictional, which is unique among manuscripts in its particular category for the scope and richness of its pictorial cycle. For a dignitary of Canterbury to aspire to ownership of a copy of the Utrecht Psalter, up-dated into a form easily legible in his own day, would be quite in keeping with the spirit of the times.

Whatever the truth of its origins and later ownership, close examination of the Harley Psalter in its present rebound state does make it hard to sustain the view that work on this manuscript was drawn out over so long a period as half a century. It makes much better sense to regard it as the product of a perhaps leisurely but certainly continuous process, involving the participation of a single scribe and a change of emphasis when more speedy completion was suddenly desirable. The inserted second section, involving Eadui, may well reflect some disaster to work already delivered and, if the archbishop of the Beatus initial does indeed represent Æthelnoth, his demise in October 1038 may have been the moment when eleventh-century interest in this ambitious project finally came to an end.

APPENDIX

Structure and contents of Harley MS. 603

Psalter, in Latin. Imperfect, ending at Psalm 143, verse 12. 73 folios. Approximately 380 x 310 mm.

Section 1, fols. 1–27v. Script by the first hand. Rubrics added by a contemporary of Hand F. Illustrations by Hands A–C. Four gatherings, viz:

I[^8] (fols. 1–8). Psalms 1–15. Fifteen illustrations by Hand A (fols. 1v–5 and 6–8v inclusive, with two on fols. 2v and 8). Frontispiece (fol. 1) and Beatus initial (fol. 2) added by Hand E.

II[^9] (fols. 9–17). Psalms 16–30. Six illustrations by Hand A (fols. 9, 10v, 11, 11v, 16, and 16v), three by Hand B (fols. 12, 15, and 17), and four by Hand C (fols. 13–14v inclusive). One of the Hand B illustrations (fol. 15) completed and another (fol. 15v) inserted, perhaps over an existing outline, by Hand E. One vignette by Wormald’s Group II artist (fol. 17v). The odd leaf of the gathering (fol. 10) carries, on its verso, in addition to an illustration by Hand A, traces of a composition of three seated figures under an arcade.


Section 2, fols. 28–49. Script and rubrics attributed to Eadui Basan. Illustrations by Wormald’s Group II artist and by a mid-twelfth-century hand. Four gatherings, viz:

VI³ (fol. 34-41). Psalms 64-77. One ink drawing and two faint sketches added in the mid-twelfth century (fol. 34-5 inclusive).


VIII³ (fol. 48-9). Psalms 94-7. No illustrations. A leaf is lacking at the end of this gathering, and Psalms 98 and 99 are missing, together with the picture space for Psalm 100.

Section 3, fol. 50-7. Script by the first hand. Rubrics added by a contemporary of Hand F. Illustrations by Hand D. One gathering, viz:

IX³ (fol. 50-7). Psalms 100-11. Eleven illustrations by Hand D (fol. 50, 51, 51Ⅲ, 52Ⅲ, 53Ⅲ, 54Ⅲ, 55Ⅲ, 56-57Ⅲ inclusive). One vignette (fol. 53) by Hand E.

Section 4, fol. 58-73. Script by the first hand. Rubrics contemporary with illustrations. Illustrations by Hand F, with interpolations by Hand E. Two gatherings, viz:

X³ (fol. 58-65). Psalms 112-23. Fourteen illustrations by Hand F (fol. 58 (two), 59 (two), 59⅞ (two), 60, 60⅜, 64, 64⅞ (two), 65, and 65⅞ (two)). Two interpolations (fol. 58 and 61) and two vignettes (fol. 61⅞ and 62⅞) by Hand E.

XI³ (fol. 66-73). Psalms 124-43, verse 12. Nineteen illustrations by Hand F (fol. 66, 66⅞ (two), 67, 67⅞ (two), 68, 68⅞ (two), 69-73⅞ inclusive). Two interpolations (fol. 70 and 72) and two vignettes (fol. 67 and 70) by Hand E.

Since this article reached proof stage, my attention has been drawn to Rolf Hasler, ‘Zu zwei Darstellungen aus der ältesten Kopie des Utrecht-Psalters’, Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte, xlv (Deutscher Kunstverlag München Berlin, 1981), pp. 317-39. Hasler is particularly concerned with a hypothetical and very subtle political flavour in some of the illustrations in the final section of the manuscript and with a possible royal background to the entire project. He does not offer a general re-assessment of the traditional dating of the manuscript, nor of its physical structure. However, he does connect Archbishop Æthelnoth with the later phases of work on the Harley Psalter, suggesting that it may have been a gift from him to Queen Emma or even to Cnut himself.

1 Recent and comprehensive coverage of these manuscripts, with an extensive bibliography, is provided by E. Temple, Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts 900-1066. A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, 2 (London, 1976). The techniques are combined in the illustration of the bishop pronouncing his blessing over the congregation, Add. MS. 49598, fol. 118⅞, E. Temple, op. cit., no. 23, pl. 91.

3 In the miniature of St Benedict with the monks of Christ Church, Arundel MS. 155, fol. 133, E. Temple, op. cit., no. 66, pl. 213.

5 Stowe MS. 944, E. Temple, op. cit., no. 78.

6 Harley MS. 2904, E. Temple, op. cit., no. 41. The artist of the Ramsey Psalter Crucifixion, one of the most brilliant of the period, who seems to have worked abroad as well as in England, was equally at home in both media. His finest drawings occur in an Aratus, Harley MS. 2506 (E. Temple, op. cit., no. 42) and he uses full colour in a set of Evangelist portraits in a Gospels produced in the Arras region, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 827 (E. Temple, op. cit., no. 45).

7 Two complete facsimiles of the Utrecht Psalter are available. The first, issued by the Palaeographical Society in 1874, is a fine specimen of nineteenth-century collotype and still in many respects far superior to the more recent full-colour edition, The Utrecht Psalter, Codices Selecti lxxv (Graz, 1982). The manuscript, now MS. 32 in the University Library of Utrecht, was once MS. Claudius C. vii in the library of Sir Robert Cotton and is to this day designated ‘Wanting in 1696’ in the appropriate shelf list of the Department of Manuscripts in the British Library. For some account of its history see J. H. A. Engelbregt, Het Utrechts Psalterium (Utrecht, 1965).

8 For the two later copies see C. M. Kauffmann, Romanesque Manuscripts 1066-1190. A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, 3

9 For the twelve twelfth-century drawings in Harley MS. 603, see M. Kauffmann, op. cit., no. 67.

10 F. Wormald, _English Drawings of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries_ (London, 1952), no. 34.


12 This short section of text could have been copied from the text of the Utrecht Psalter itself; see F. Gasquet and E. Bishop, _The Bosworth Psalter_ (London, 1908), pp. 8–9. However, the erroneous reading on which this suggestion is based is not uncommon. I am grateful to Claire Kelleher for her investigation of this point.

13 The Roman version, a Latin translation antedating St Jerome's general revision of the Latin Bible, was standard in Rome itself until the sixteenth century and was probably introduced at Canterbury by St Augustine at the end of the sixth century. It appears in the majority of English pre-Conquest manuscripts. The Gallican version, St Jerome's slightly later revision, came into general use in Gaul at an early date and was gradually adopted throughout the remainder of western Christendom. In England its spread was hastened by the Norman Conquest.

14 Stowe Charter 35. This diploma is dated 1003 and has generally been regarded as the original. However, see Simon Keynes, _The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'the Unready', 978–1016_ (Cambridge, 1980), p. 259, where it is shown that internal evidence points to a date in 1002 for the actual transaction. Keynes also sees faults in the design of the document, which imply that it is a copy. The solid basis for the dating of the whole group of manuscripts, discussed by T. A. M. Bishop, 'Notes', Part VII, op. cit., can thus no longer be regarded as entirely reliable. Bishop's division of the early work in Harley MS. 603 between two hands (the short Gallican section alone being regarded by him as the work of the scribe of the Stowe charter) does not make any significant difference to the present discussion.

15 Vatican Library, MS. reg. lat. 12, E. Temple, op. cit., no. 84, pls. 262–4. The date of the Bury Psalter is uncertain, not to say controversial, but the third decade of the century is likely. A community of Benedictine monks was established at Bury in or about 1020, and was granted a charter of privileges by Cnut in 1023. The house owned a fine Gospels (Harley MS. 76, E. Temple, op. cit., no. 75) attributable to the Christ Church scriptorium of the 1020s. The Psalter's marginal drawings, closely akin in style to the work of both Hand F and Hand E in the Harley Psalter, often trespass on to the text space of their pages and create much the same feeling of economy in line for the sake of speed that is characteristic of the second phase of the Harley book.


17 F. Wormald, op. cit., pp. 54–5, compares them with the drawings in his no. 27, Cotton MS. Caligula A. xv, which he dates c.1073 on internal textual evidence (though it is worth noting that the Palaeographical Society's editor, Series I, 1873–83, pl. 145, regarded the change of hand concerned as appearing in 1058). J. J. G. Alexander, writing in the exhibition catalogue _English Illuminated Manuscripts 700–1500_ (Brussels, 1973), no. 15, implies a date more appropriate to Eadui's script.

18 This second section of the manuscript is altogether less regular and less well-preserved than the remainder of the volume. It also seems possible that some of the leaves have been wrongly joined together during a rebinding at some stage of its long history.

19 See T. A. M. Bishop, _English Caroline Minuscule_ (Oxford, 1971), nos. 24 and 25 for a list of Eadui manuscripts. In the present context it is worth noting that some brief pen trials on spare pages at both ends of the Utrecht Psalter itself may very well be in Eadui's hand, though none is really long enough for certainty. I am grateful to J. P. Hudson for his opinion on these.

20 E. Temple, op. cit., no. 67. The colophon is reproduced by T. A. M. Bishop, ibid., pl. xxiiia. I am very grateful to Patrick McGurk for the loan of a microfilm of this manuscript.

21 E. Temple, op. cit., no. 68. The decoration of this particular Gospels does not seem to be the work
of the Christ Church scriptorium. Its iconography, which includes groups of saints after the manner of the Æthelstan Psalter and the Benedictional of St Æthelwold (E. Temple, op. cit., nos. 5 and 23), has a strong Winchester flavour.

22 Arundel MS. 155, E. Temple, op. cit., no. 66.
23 Stowe Charter 38, a grant by Cnut to Archbishop Lyfing, 1018; and two additions to a Gospels, Royal MS. 1 D. ix (E. Temple, op. cit., no. 70), one recording the admission of Cnut, his brother Harold, and three members of his household into the confraternity of Christ Church, and the other Cnut's solemn confirmation of the rights of Christ Church at Lyfing's request. These events must have taken place between Cnut's accession in 1016 and his visit to Denmark in the winter of 1019 (see D. H. Turner in the exhibition catalogue, *The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art*, British Museum and British Library, 1984, no. 52).

24 T. A. M. Bishop, *English Caroline Minuscule*, no. 25 regards some additions to the Vespasian Psalter as representing Eadui's 'late and degenerate' work, and compares these with the Harley Psalter.

25 See note 16 above.
26 See T. A. M. Bishop, 'Notes', cited in note 11 above.
27 Reproduced in colour in *The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art*, no. 57. See also E. Temple, op. cit., pl. 213.
29 See above, note 22.
30 E. Temple, op. cit., no. 22.
31 Ibid., no. 41.
32 Ibid., no. 23.