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 Excerpt
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Introduction

AELFRIC'S PSALTER AND THE HARLEY PSALTER

In his will of AD 1003–4, Aelfric, the archbishop of Canterbury, bequeathed a pectoral cross, a ring, and a book of Psalms to Wulfstan, the archbishop of York.¹ The book of Psalms was an appropriate part of Aelfric's bequest: more than any other book of the Middle Ages, the Psalter was at the centre of both public and private worship. It was recited in its entirety at least once a week in the performance of the liturgy, and it was extensively used for personal devotions. Aelfric's ring would have been of gold. His pectoral cross might have looked like the sculpted ivory in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, which has stylistic parallels with a number of English manuscripts of the first quarter of the eleventh century.² His Psalter may well have been made in the scriptorium of his community, Christ Church, Canterbury, which was possibly the most productive in England at that time.³ It must have been a worthy companion to the other two treasures, and quite different from most of his books, which were bequeathed to the community of St Albans. It was probably well written and decorated, with an elaborate binding. Wulfstan, for his part, would have had high expectations of Aelfric's Psalter. Certainly he appreciated fine books: he compiled and corrected the Old English material that was added to the York Gospels, and which included three of his own homiletic tracts.⁴ This book was in part written by the master scribe Eadui Basan, who

¹ Dorothy Whitelock (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, Cambridge 1930, pp. 52–5, with notes on pp. 160–3.

² See J. Beckwith, *Ivory Carvings in Early Medieval England*, London, 1972, p. 51, ills. 63–4, and cat. 27; also R.H. Randall, 'An eleventh-century ivory pectoral cross', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 25, 1962, pp. 159–71.

³ The pioneering work on this subject is T.A.M. Bishop, 'Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts, Part VII: The early minuscule of Christ Church Canterbury', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 3.5, 1963, pp. 413–23. T.A.M. Bishop, *English Caroline Minuscule*, Oxford, 1971, provides a wider context. Since then the bibliography has burgeoned. T.A. Heslop, 'The production of *de luxe* manuscripts and the patronage of King Cnut and Queen Emma', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 19, 1990, pp. 151–95, is a seminal article on manuscript production in the period. D.N. Dumville, *English Caroline Script and Monastic History: Studies in Benedictinism, A.D. 950–1030*, Woodbridge, 1993, esp. pp. 86–131, is the most positive assessment of the pre-eminence of the Christ Church scriptorium at this time. N. Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury*, Leicester, 1984, pp. 255–78, discusses the contents of the texts produced in the scriptorium, and the community context surrounding them.

⁴ York, Minster Library Ms. Add. 1 (E. Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts 900–1066. A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles*, vol. 2, London, 1976, cat. 61); edited in facsimile as N. Barker (ed.), *The York Gospels*, Roxburghe Club, London, 1986. See the contribution of S. Keynes, 'The additions in Old English', pp. 81–99, at pp. 81–96.

worked at Christ Church,⁵ and its illustrations have been attributed to the Christ Church artist of a manuscript of Prudentius' *Psychomachia*.⁶

There were many ways of decorating a book of Psalms,⁷ but none was more elaborate than that employed in the Harley Psalter, BL Harley Ms. 603 (fig. 1).⁸ Since the nineteenth century, there has been little doubt that its principal exemplar was the great Utrecht Psalter, Utrecht, Rijksuniversiteit Bibliotheek Ms. 32 (fig. 2).⁹ The Utrecht Psalter is generally supposed to have been made at the monastery of Hautvillers, near Rheims, around AD 830. It was one of many manuscripts brought to England in the wake of renewed political links with the continent, and then monastic reform in the tenth century.¹⁰ The drawings in this Psalter head each Psalm, Canticle, and prayer, and run across the three columns of text. They literally depict selected verses of the following text, combining them to form visually coherent compositions. They provided the most comprehensive surviving cycle of illustrations to the Book of Psalms, and became the model for the most extensive essay in line drawing by Anglo-Saxon artists.¹¹ The Harley Psalter is one of the glories of Anglo-Saxon art surviving from the century before the Norman Conquest.¹² It was the work of twelve hands; two scribes, two artist-scribes, and eight artists. Three of them can be identified as working on other manuscripts made at Christ Church, and one of them wrote BL

⁵ For the most recent discussion of Eadui's career, see Dumville, *Caroline Script*, pp. 120–40. For a convincing interpretation of his work on the York Gospels see Heslop, 'Cnut and Emma', pp. 166–72.

⁶ BL Cotton Cleopatra c.viii (Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Mss.*, cat. 49). The illustrated folios are reproduced in T.H. Ohlgren, *Anglo-Saxon Textual Illustration*, Kalamazoo, 1992, pp. 473–525. See Heslop, 'Cnut and Emma', p. 167, n.45, where it is noted that the artist of fols. 4v–7v (upper illustration) of the Prudentius manuscript, was the artist of the York Gospels. Bishop, 'Notes VII', p. 421–2, ascribes the Prudentius manuscript (his art. 7) to one of the inter-related scribes of the Christ Church scriptorium (his scribe ix).

⁷ For a discussion of the various types of Psalter illustration see V. Leroquais, *Les psautiers manuscrits latins des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 3 vols., Mâcon, 1940–1, vol.1, pp. LXXXVI–XCIX.

⁸ Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Mss.*, cat. 64. Full-page reproductions of all the illustrated folios of the manuscript are to be found in Ohlgren, *Textual Illustration*, pp. 147–248.

⁹ Two full facsimiles are available: *Utrecht Psalter*, A colotype facsimile, 2 vols., The Palaeographical Society, 1874, and *Utrecht Psalter*, Codices Selecti Phototypice Impressi, 75, Graz, 1982–4, with a commentary volume, including a bibliography, by K. Van der Horst and J.H.A. Engelbrecht. The illustrated pages of the Utrecht Psalter are reproduced in E.T. DeWald, *The Illustrations of the Utrecht Psalter*, Princeton, 1932. W. de Gray Birch, *The History, Art and Palaeography of the Manuscript Styled the Utrecht Psalter*, London, 1876, at p. 117, writes of the relationship between the Harley and Utrecht Psalters that 'no one will venture to deny that the most intimate connection between the two manuscripts exists in a very prominent and self-asserting manner'. Some have done. For example, J.A. Herbert, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, London, 1911, p. 115, envisaged a long series of successive copies intervening between Utrecht and Harley. If there is any remaining doubt, it is hoped that this book will put the matter beyond any.

¹⁰ The standard, if dated, texts of the period remain F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edn, Oxford 1971, pp. 319–93, and D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, 2nd edn, Cambridge, 1966, pp. 28–82. For links between the English church and the continent, see V. Ortenberg, *The English Church and the Continent in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries*, Oxford, 1992. See also F.A. Rella, 'Continental manuscripts acquired for English centers in the tenth and early eleventh centuries: a preliminary checklist', *Anglia*, 98, 1980, pp. 107–16.

¹¹ For a characterisation of the Utrecht Psalter illustrations in particular, nothing surpasses F. Wormald, *The Utrecht Psalter*, Utrecht, 1953. An analysis of each Psalm is to be found in DeWald, *Utrecht Psalter*, with additions and corrections in S. Dufrenne, *Les illustrations du Psautier d'Utrecht, sources et apport carolingien*, Paris, 1978, pp. 41–4, n.110.

¹² J.M. Backhouse, D.H. Turner, and L. Webster (eds.), *The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art 966–1066*, Exhib. cat., London, 1984, is a useful introduction to the art of the period, and puts it into a historical context. Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Mss.*, is a summary illustrated catalogue of the illuminated manuscripts. See also L.L. Brownrigg, 'Manuscripts containing English decoration 871–1066, catalogued and illustrated: a review', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 7, 1978, pp. 239–66.

Stowe Charter 35 in 1002 or 1003. Harley may have been started when Aelfric was archbishop, and on its fol. 2r the initial to the first psalm depicts an archbishop, wearing his pallium, prostrate before the Lord.

However, if Harley was indeed Aelfric's book of Psalms destined for Wulfstan, it is difficult to know what use either archbishop would have found for it. It stands in marked contrast to the Bosworth Psalter, of c. 1000, which is traditionally, but probably incorrectly, associated with another archbishop of Canterbury, St Dunstan.¹³ The Bosworth Psalter is a comprehensive text, containing a Roman version of the Psalms, a calendar, a litany, and all the important texts of the Benedictine Office. The Harley Psalter may be extensively decorated, but it ends incomplete at Psalm 143, verse 11, and it has none of the auxiliary apparatus normally associated with the Psalter. At least in the form in which it has survived, the Harley Psalter is a partial and eccentric document which would certainly not have helped an archbishop in his liturgical duties, and which might well have proved frustrating in his private devotions.

It has proved frustrating also for the modern historian. While Bosworth reveals much about the liturgical practices of a monastic community at the turn of the millennium, in Harley the scholar is deprived of many of the usual methods of dating and placing, let alone understanding the purpose of a book of Psalms. As a result, there is little scholarly consensus on the origin and dates of the manuscript. Wormald considered that the Harley Psalter was made at Christ Church, Canterbury.¹⁴ This view was substantiated by Bishop's observation that one of the scribes of Harley was a Christ Church scribe,¹⁵ and endorsed by Backhouse.¹⁶ Others have disagreed: James and Dodwell both thought that it was made at St Augustine's,¹⁷ and Carver found some evidence to support their hypothesis;¹⁸ Higgit suggested that many of the drawings may have been executed at Glastonbury, and that the manuscript may then have moved to Christ Church;¹⁹ and Gameson has recently noted that although the manuscript was executed at Christ Church, many of its artists may have come from Winchester, and returned there after they had finished their task.²⁰ There is no certainty that Harley was made at Christ Church, and it is not safe to assume that it was

¹³ B.L. Add. Ms. 37517 (Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Mss.*, cat. 22). P. M. Korhammer, 'The origin of the Bosworth Psalter', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 2, 1973, pp. 173–87, argues for a Christ Church, Canterbury origin for the manuscript; N.A. Orchard, 'The Bosworth Psalter and the St Augustine's Missal', in R. Sharpe (ed.), *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest*, 1995, forthcoming, argues for a St Augustine's origin. See also G.R. Wieland, *The Canterbury Hymnal*, Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, Toronto, 1982; H. Gneuss, *Hymnar und Hymnen im englischen Mittelalter. Studien zur Überlieferung, Glossierung und bersetzung lateinischer Hymnen in England mit einer Textausgabe der lateinisch-altenglischen Expositio Hymnorum*, Tübingen, 1968, pp. 104–5 and *passim*; E. Bishop and F. Gasquet, *The Bosworth Psalter*, London, 1908; J.M. Makothakat, *The Bosworth Psalter: A Critical Edition*, unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of Ottawa, 1972.

¹⁴ F. Wormald, *English Drawings of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries*, London, 1952, p. 69.

¹⁵ Bishop, 'Notes vii', p. 420.

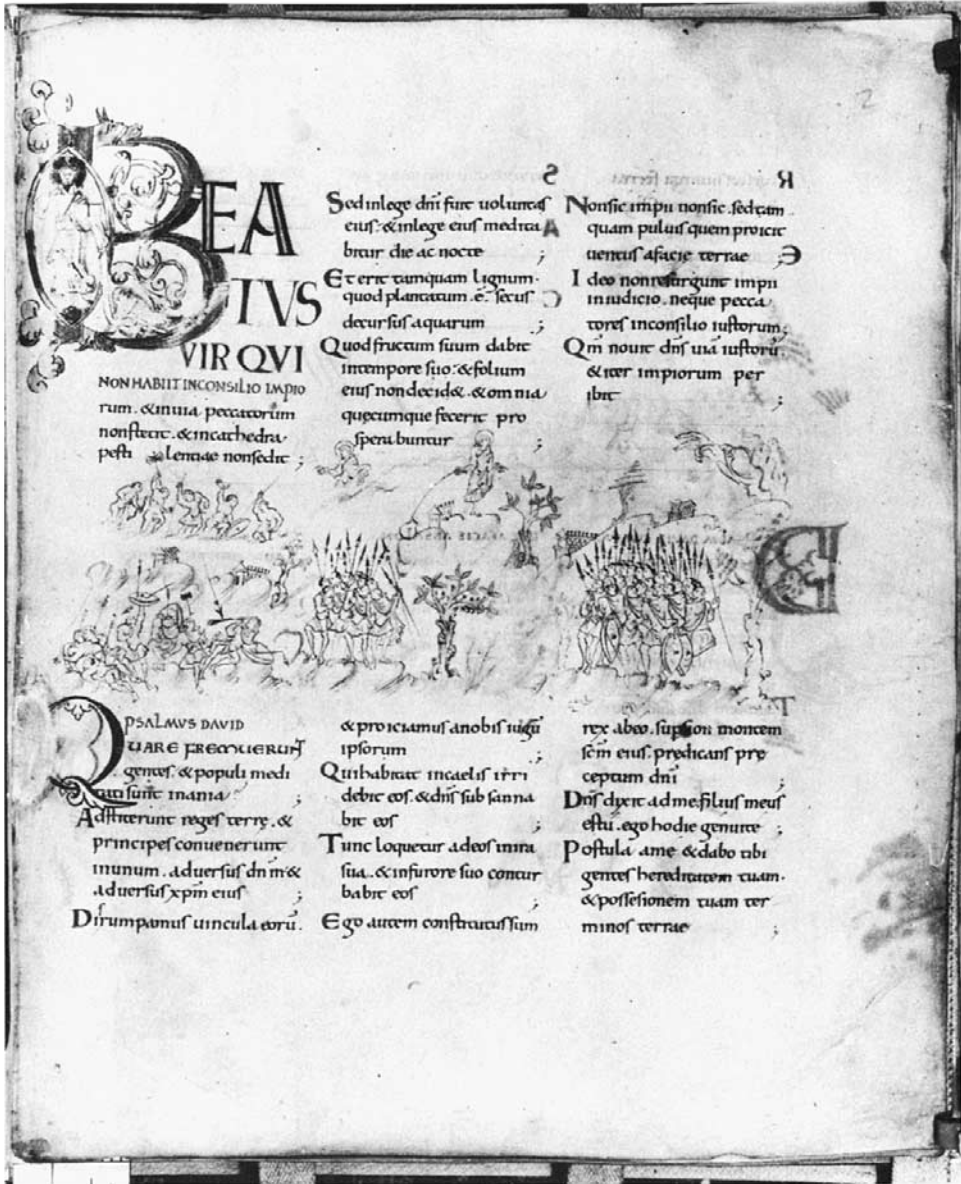
¹⁶ J.M. Backhouse, 'The making of the Harley Psalter', *British Library Journal*, 10.2, 1984, pp. 97–113, *passim*.

¹⁷ M.R. James (ed.), *The Canterbury Psalter*, London, 1935, p. 4, n.2; C.R. Dodwell, *The Canterbury School of Illumination 1066–1200*, Cambridge, 1954, pp. 1–3.

¹⁸ M.O.H. Carver, 'Contemporary artefacts illustrated in late Saxon manuscripts', *Archaeologia*, 108, 1986, pp. 117–45, at p. 144, n.51.

¹⁹ J. Higgit, 'Glastonbury, Dunstan, monasticism and manuscripts', *Art History*, 2, 1979, pp. 275–90, at p. 282.

²⁰ R. Gameson, 'Manuscript art at Christ Church, Canterbury, in the generation after St Dunstan', in N. Ramsay, M. Sparks and T. Tatton-Brown (eds.), *St Dunstan: His Life, Times and Cult*, Woodbridge 1992, pp. 187–220, at p. 208.



¹ The Harley Psalter, fol. 2r. The illustration to Psalm 2 is by A; the script is by scribe 1; the rubrication is by E; the display capitals and Beatus initial are by I; the initial to Psalm 2 is by J; there is a correction to the text in column a, last line, Dirumpamus; additions were made to the illustration by G.



2 The Utrecht Psalter, fol. 2r, showing the illustration to Psalm 2.

entirely the work of the members of the scriptorium in which it was made.

Suggestions for the dates of the manuscript have also varied widely: for example, Bishop dated the work of one scribe to shortly after 1003,²¹ whereas Brooks dated it to the end of the eleventh century;²² Alexander and Kauffmann considered the presence of Eadui Basan to indicate that the manuscript was made *c.* 1015–25,²³ in contrast to Backhouse who dated the rest of the text to this time, but dated Eadui's script somewhat later,²⁴ while Pfaff dated all the script in the codex to the first ten years or so of the eleventh century.²⁵ There have been several suggestions for the patron of the Harley Psalter; the Psalter that Aelfric bequeathed to Wulfstan is but one of a range of possibilities. Backhouse considered that it was made for another archbishop of Canterbury, Aethelnoth,²⁶ but Hasler thought that it was begun for Aethelred the Unready, and finished for King Cnut.²⁷ We do not know who would have used it, nor how it would have been used.

The lack of scholarly consensus on the Harley Psalter is a measure of the state of unknowing concerning Anglo-Saxon manuscript production in the eleventh century. Much of the dissension has been caused by the fact that historians have tried to fit an interpretation of Harley into a historical framework deduced from other arguments. But the richness of the manuscript as a resource is not sufficiently appreciated if it is used merely to illustrate a historical debate. Nor are the issues surrounding it sufficiently understood for it to be used in this way with safety. The Harley Psalter merits detailed study, but to advance our understanding of it we should not begin with a patron who might have wanted it, nor with a set of historical circumstances into which it may be fitted. Rather, we should start with an analysis of how it was made, which might lead to an understanding of the circumstances of its production, and of the assumptions that lay behind the working procedure employed to make it, of the motives for its production, and, ultimately, of the patron who may have commissioned the volume.

COPYING, COPIES, AND FACSIMILES

The Harley Psalter is a crucial manuscript for understanding book production in England in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It was executed over a period of more than one hundred years, and therefore offers an extraordinary opportunity to study the development of style, script, and manufacturing techniques within the confines of one volume. Moreover, it is admirably suited to an investigation of its construction. The survival of the Utrecht Psalter means that adherence to, and deviation from the

²¹ Bishop, 'Notes vii', p. 420. ²² Brooks, *The Church of Canterbury*, p. 380–1, n.28.

²³ J. J. G. Alexander and C. M. Kauffmann, *English Illuminated Manuscripts 700–1500. Catalogue of the Exhibition at the Royal Library of Albert I, 29 Sept. – 10 Nov.*, Brussels, 1973, pp. 38–9. ²⁴ Backhouse, 'Making', p. 106.

²⁵ R. W. Pfaff, 'Eadui Basan: Scriptorum Princeps?', in C. Hicks (ed.), *Harlaxton Medieval Studies II: England in the Eleventh Century*, Stamford, 1992, pp. 267–83, at pp. 272–3. ²⁶ Backhouse, 'Making', pp. 108–10.

²⁷ R. Hasler, 'Zu zwei Darstellungen aus der ältesten Kopie des Utrecht-Psalters, British Library, Codex Harleianus 603', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 44, 1981, pp. 317–39, at pp. 320–2 and pp. 334–8.

exemplar can be noted precisely, and the decisions made concerning the manufacture of the volume can be traced in detail.

However, in studying Harley, Utrecht has caused as many problems as it has provided insights. These problems begin, not in trying to understand the differences between the two books, but rather in scholarly interpretation of Harley's fidelity to the Carolingian manuscript. Much is hidden in the familiar phrase that the Harley Psalter is the first English copy of the Utrecht Psalter. The phrase itself is the result of an accident of survival. Most books of this period were 'copies' of other books, but normally their exemplars have disappeared. Although the label 'copy' does not help us to understand the Harley Psalter any more than it does most other books, it has often been taken for an explanation of it. It is all too easy to confuse the motives that lay behind the production of the Harley Psalter with the techniques used to make it, and with the methods that the student employs in studying it. In scholarship today, Harley is used in conjunction with Utrecht, and the similarities and differences between the two books are noted. While this is undoubtedly a powerful key to interpreting the manuscript, the way that Harley is examined now has little or nothing to do with the way that it was designed to be used at the time. Did the owner of Harley really want a new manuscript for the purposes of comparing it with an old one in order to see how well the artists had copied it? If not, we must ask what it was wanted for, and whether the artists and scribes of the Harley Psalter were employing the Utrecht Psalter for reasons that might have allowed them to adapt their exemplar as well as to follow it closely. The word 'copy' does not explain the ways in which they used the exemplar, and it does not account for the reasons why they used it; if artists and scribes did follow Utrecht, we need to know how and why they did this. For example, was the sense of space created in the Utrecht Psalter something that they wished to recreate, or was it incidental to their technique, which was geared towards quite other ends? If it was the latter, it would not be relevant to judge the Harley artists by the extent to which they achieved the sense of space created in the Utrecht Psalter. It would be rather like judging William Webb Ellis by the rules of soccer:²⁸ the Harley Psalter was largely born of the Utrecht Psalter, just as rugby was born of soccer, but it would not be any more pertinent to accuse the Harley artists of being spatially blind than it would be to accuse a rugby player of committing handball. They may have been interested in Utrecht for quite other reasons.²⁹ If we can unravel these reasons, we can get close to the purpose of Harley.

The problems engendered by understanding the Harley Psalter as a copy of the Utrecht Psalter are compounded when, in later phases of its production, Harley deviates dramatically from its exemplar. Explanations for the appearance of the later quires of Harley are necessarily based upon judgements concerning its early quires.

²⁸ In 1823 William Webb Ellis picked up a football and ran with it over the opposing team's goal line, thereby scoring the first try.

²⁹ S. Dufrenne, 'Les copies anglaises du Psautier d'Utrecht', *Scriptorium*, 18, 1964, pp. 185–97, at pp. 196–7, and R. Gameson, 'The Anglo-Saxon artists of the Harley (603) Psalter', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 143, 1990, pp. 29–48, *passim*, discuss the degree to which the Harley artists maintained the sense of space created in Utrecht.

Since it has been assumed that Harley was intended to be a copy of Utrecht, deviation from this goal has been understood as a radical change of intention in the programme, or in the circumstances surrounding the manufacture of the volume. Fuelled by the distressed appearance of the manuscript on the one hand, and by the drama of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle on the other, scholars have sought to explain the manuscript by reference to events outside the scriptorium. For example, Dodwell thought that Harley was made at St Augustine's, Canterbury and that Utrecht, which he believed was at Christ Church, a stone's throw away, was only intermittently available.³⁰ Hasler suggested that the Utrecht Psalter was moved to Winchester, along with other artistic treasures, to save it from the ravages of the Danish army in 1010–11, and that therefore it was not available to the later artists of Harley.³¹ There is nothing inherently unlikely about these suggestions. Manuscripts clearly travelled, and so did artists. The Stockholm *Codex Aureus* is a well-known example of a manuscript that was taken hostage, ransomed, and given to Christ Church.³² But, unlike the Stockholm manuscript, there is no evidence that Harley was subjected to similar treatment. The only reason for supposing such an explanation is an inability to account for the physical state of the Psalter in any other way. Before resorting to these hypotheses, it is wise to study in detail the scribes and artists who worked on the book, and to understand the reasons for their actions. If Harley had a purpose of its own, independent of its exemplar, it would be a mistake to qualify the extent to which it is a copy of the Utrecht Psalter, and it would be a mistake to introduce *ad hoc* hypotheses to explain why it ceased to be one. This would be to work from an incorrect premise.

Rather, we might ask why the Utrecht Psalter was useful as an exemplar in the creation of Harley, why the responses to the exemplar were so different, and why a patron might have wanted a manuscript like Harley. It is not just that the hypotheses of Dodwell and Hasler leave so much unexplained, but also that they might not be necessary. The best account of the Harley Psalter surely is the one that explains the work of the scribes and artists of the book most fully, that makes the fewest auxiliary suppositions beyond the evidence available, and that is consistent with the range of possibilities in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The trouble with the word 'copy' is that it can be used as a verb and as a noun. As a verb, it is as useful as the verb to follow. As a noun, it gives a name to something that defines it entirely by its relationship with another thing, omitting all reference to its other characteristics, and the function it might have performed. In the eleventh century the Harley Psalter was not defined solely by its relationship with the Utrecht Psalter. We can speak of copying, a copyist, and a copy, but it is only possible to speak of following and a follower, adhering and an adherent. If words other than 'copy' are used, it is possible to articulate the techniques of manufacture employed in the book without characterising it as a whole. The word 'copy' will not be used as a verb again in this book. It will only be used as a noun to highlight its inadequacies.

³⁰ Dodwell, *Canterbury School*, p. 3. ³¹ Hasler, 'Zu zwei Darstellungen', p. 322.

³² Stockholm, Royal Library, Ms. A.135 (J.J.G. Alexander, *Insular manuscripts 6th to the 9th century, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles*, vol. 1, 1978, cat. 30).

At its most extreme, ‘copy’ as a noun is synonymous with ‘facsimile’. It has occasionally been suggested that the Harley artists set out to create a facsimile of Utrecht. Scribes and artists did make facsimiles in the medieval period. They should not be judged facsimiles by the extent to which they look like the original, for that is always relative.³³ Rather they should be judged by the presence of the intention to duplicate, for the purposes of topographical accuracy or deception, or because admiration of the original (for whatever reason) was unqualified. In certain respects some of the Harley artists and scribes imitated Utrecht, but if they had set out to make a facsimile of it, they would not have deliberately made their manuscript different from it at the same time.

MAKING THE HARLEY PSALTER

From the start Harley was to be different from Utrecht in some important respects, and these differences are revealing. It was to be in colour, not monochrome. Although Anglo-Saxon artists did frequently employ the technique of coloured line drawing,³⁴ this represents a deliberate choice on the part of the artists, and not just a natural translation into a new idiom; some line drawings made in this period were executed in only one colour, notably illustrations to a metrical calendar which are stylistically similar to the Harley Psalter.³⁵ It was also to be written in Caroline minuscule, and not in Rustic capitals like the Carolingian manuscript. By the time work on the Harley Psalter had started, Caroline minuscule had superseded Anglo-Saxon minuscule as the script in which Latin texts were normally written.³⁶ Possibly this change of script was a natural choice to make, and the Rustic capitals of Utrecht may have appeared outmoded to Anglo-Saxon scribes. However, Anglo-Saxon artists and scribes did recognise the formal qualities of Rustic capitals, and employed them, for example, in the *De laudibus sancte crucis* of Rabanus Maurus in Trinity College, Cambridge.³⁷ The change in drawing medium and in script betrays a willingness to experiment with the model that is also reflected in the version of the Psalter text employed. While the text of the Utrecht Psalter is Gallican, in accordance with the liturgical usage of Carolingian Francia, the Harley Psalter was initially to follow the Roman version of

³³ Compare, for example, the differences between the three photographic facsimiles of the Utrecht Psalter.

³⁴ For the use of multicoloured line drawing by Anglo-Saxon artists see J.J.G. Alexander, ‘Some aesthetic principles in the use of colour in Anglo-Saxon art’, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 4, 1975, pp. 145–54, *passim*; also R. Deshman, ‘The Leofric Missal and tenth-century English art’, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 6, 1977, pp. 145–73, at pp. 158–162.

³⁵ BL Cotton Ms. Julius A.vi (Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Mss.*, cat. 62). A similar choice to use multicoloured line drawing was made by the artists of two manuscripts of Prudentius’ *Psychomachia*, BL Cotton Ms. Cleopatra c.viii (Temple *Anglo-Saxon Mss.*, cat. 49), and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Ms. 23 (Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Mss.*, cat. 48), while the main artist of another one, BL Add. Ms. 24199 (Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Mss.*, cat. 51) worked in monochrome.

³⁶ See Bishop, *Caroline Minuscule, passim*; also Dumville, *Caroline Script, passim*.

³⁷ Cambridge, Trinity College, Ms. B.16.3 (Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Mss.*, cat. 14). See S. Keynes, *Anglo-Saxon manuscripts and other items of related interest in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge*, *Old English Newsletter Subsidia*, vol. 18, 1992, cat. 4.

the Psalms, introduced to Canterbury from Rome by St Augustine and his colleagues.³⁸ But the reasons for the change are not as simple as this neat distinction between traditions would imply. In the late tenth and eleventh centuries the Gallican gradually replaced the Roman as the liturgical norm in Anglo-Saxon England, no doubt because continental practices had such a profound effect on monastic reform.³⁹ Even at Christ Church, where there is evidence that the Roman version lingered well into the eleventh century,⁴⁰ it is probable that a Gallican Psalter was made around the year 1000.⁴¹ If the relative status of these two versions of the Psalms was in a period of transition, as it seems to have been, the initial decision to make a Roman Psalter is not so much an indication that Utrecht's text was unacceptable, as it is evidence that Harley was designed to be a very different book. The Utrecht Psalter is a Gallican psalter with monochrome illustrations written in Rustic capitals. The Harley Psalter started life as a Roman Psalter with coloured illustrations written in Caroline minuscule, using the Utrecht Psalter as an exemplar. Between the Utrecht Psalter and the Harley Psalter lay the English Channel and two hundred years of history, and even at the start of the campaign on Harley, the cultural distance of the two books is fully reflected in their appearance.

However, before the Harley Psalter was left unfinished in the twelfth century, the campaign on the manuscript had undergone many developments. It is not just that the Utrecht Psalter was not followed later in the programme, but also that nearly all the initial decisions concerning the making of the book, which made it different from Utrecht, were overturned. Some of its illustrations are monochrome, some of its text is Gallican, and some of the letter forms of the Utrecht Psalter are reproduced. I intend to unravel how and why this happened.

My first two chapters are concerned with how the various quires of Harley were made. Planning an illustrated manuscript could be a complicated process.⁴² After the

³⁸ See Leroquais, *Psautiers*, vol. 1, pp. xiv–xl, for the various texts of the Psalter. That the Gallican is Jerome's second revision of the Psalter is not disputed; whether his first can be equated with the Roman text we have is still apparently an open question – see D. de Bruyne, 'Le Problème du Psautier Romain', *Revue Bénédictine*, 42, 1930, pp. 101–26, who disputes his authorship, and A. Vaccari, 'I Salteri di s. Girolamo e di s. Agostino', *Scritti di erudizione e di filologia*, 1, Rome, 1952, pp. 207–55, esp. at pp. 211–21, who finds evidence to support it. Later writers have come down in favour of the different points of view, but do not seem to have added to the evidence: see, for example, E.F. Sutcliffe, 'Jerome', in G.W.H. Lampe (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Bible Vol. 2: The West from the Fathers to the Reformation*, Cambridge, 1969, pp. 80–101, at pp. 84–5, and R. Loewe, 'The Medieval history of the Latin Vulgate', in the same volume, pp. 102–54, at p. 111. See also Weber (ed.), 'Le Psautier Romain', pp. vii–xxiii.

³⁹ C. and K. Sisam, *The Salisbury Psalter*, Early English Text Society, 242, 1959, pp. 47–52, discuss the introduction of the Gallican Psalter to England.

⁴⁰ BL Arundel Ms. 155 (Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Mss.*, cat. 66), is the last known Roman Psalter from Christ Church, and can be dated to 1012–23; see F. Wormald, *English Kalendars Before AD 1100*, Henry Bradshaw Society, vol. 72, 1934, pp. 169–81 for the calendar; the entry for the martyrdom of Alphege is in the original hand, the entry for his translation is a twelfth-century addition. Brooks, *The Church of Canterbury*, pp. 261–5 notes the conservatism of the Roman liturgical usage, but it might not have been confined to Christ Church; see above n.13 for the Bosworth Psalter.

⁴¹ Dumville, *Caroline Script*, p. 108, n.127 has noted that the Gallican Psalter, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Ms. 411 (Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Mss.*, cat. 40), should be attributed to the Christ Church scriptorium, and should be dated to the early eleventh century.

⁴² An excellent introduction to the subject is J. Vezin, 'La réalisation matérielle des manuscrits latins pendant la haut Moyen Âge', *Codicologica*, 2, 1978, pp. 15–51. The essential texts for the codicology of late Saxon