

PAULINA ZAGÓRSKA  
Adam Mickiewicz University  
pkolasinska@wa.amu.edu.pl

## THE PATRONAGE OF THE *EADWINE PSALTER*

The paper discusses the results of a study into almost 2000 corrections found in the Old English gloss to the first 50 Psalms of the *Eadwine Psalter*, a post-Conquest manuscript produced in mid-twelfth century. It contains the three Latin versions of the Psalter translated by St. Jerome, each accompanied by a gloss: the Gallicanum – Latin, the Romanum – Old English, and the Hebraicum – Anglo-Norman. The exact purpose behind the production of this psalter, its role, as well as the reason for introducing extensive corrections to the Old English gloss remain unknown. By making the corrections the focal point of the study, the present paper builds a case for identifying Thomas Becket (or his associates) as the patron of the *Eadwine Psalter*, which seems to provide comprehensive answers to some baffling questions concerning this manuscript.

Keywords: *gloss, psalter, psalm, twelfth century, Eadwine Psalter*

### 1. Introduction

The *Eadwine Psalter* is a luxurious, lavishly decorated manuscript produced in mid-twelfth century, at Christ Church, Canterbury. Language-wise it is a complex text, containing all the three Latin versions of the psalter – the Romanum (glossed in Old English), the Gallicanum (glossed in Latin), and the Hebraicum (glossed in Anglo-Norman). As such, it is a product of its times, reflecting the traditions and cultures from which it emerged and which came into close contact following the Norman Conquest. However, due to the fact that the first half of this manuscript was heavily corrected, most historical linguists have deemed this psalter as a useless source of linguistic data as a “hodgepodge of morphological and phonological features” (Pulsiano 2001: 154). The corrections raise numerous questions as well, including such issues as the very reason for introducing them.

The present paper revisits the *Eadwine Psalter*, for the first time ever making the corrections the focal point of the study. In the course of the study, almost 2000 corrections which were introduced to Psalms 2-50 in the psalter were identified and analysed in order to provide possible solutions to at least some of the issues regarding the manuscript. The aim of this paper is to present and discuss the results of this study, which would provide answers to some puzzling questions concerning this manuscript, with the ultimate goal of building a case for identifying Thomas Becket as its patron.

### 1.1. The psalter in Medieval England

The psalter constituted the theological centre of medieval Church (McKinnon 1999: 43; Toswell 2014: 151; van Liere 2014: 30), conveying the New Testament's ideas of justice, humility, and penitence, and thus forming the fundamentals of Christian ethics (Toswell 2014: 4f.). It also promoted the idea of private prayer and devotion (Sisam and Sisam 1959: 74f.; Toswell 2012: 3). Since it was impossible to follow everyday Offices without knowing the psalter (Riché 2006: 115), it was also the core of monastic life (McKinnon 1999: 50). As a result, the psalter became the most extensively studied text in the Middle Ages (Brown 1999: 3), and since it was also used as a practical educational tool for teaching Latin (Stanton 2002: 9), it was at the same time the most extensively glossed medieval text (Brown 1999: 2f.). In summary, the psalter clearly held a prominent role in the cultural and religious life in the medieval world, including England, which is reflected in the exceptionally high number of copies that have survived until today (Toswell 2012: 32) – there are now twenty-nine complete or near-complete Anglo-Saxon psalters.

There were two Latin versions of the psalter in common use in Anglo-Saxon England: the Romanum and the Gallicanum. The Romanum is the first out of three Latin versions by St. Jerome, a revision of the *Vetus Latina* (Toswell 2012: 11), which enjoyed great popularity in Anglo-Saxon tradition (Billett 2014: 191; Toswell 2012: 471; Karkov 2015: 292)<sup>1</sup>, where it was in common use until the late eleventh century (Gibson 1992a: 1; Toswell 2012: 470). There were two psalter glosses of major significance representing the Romanum tradition: the *Vespasian Psalter* (London, BL, MS Cotton Vespasian A I), also referred to as A or an A-type gloss, written in the mid-ninth century, the oldest version surviving to date; and the *Regius Psalter* (London, BL, MS Royal 2 BV), also known as D or a D-type gloss, which was the most influential and widespread version in Anglo-Saxon England. Due to the practice of copying glosses from exemplars, all the other known Romanum glosses show affiliation to either

<sup>1</sup> Karkov (2015: 292) comments that the strong preference for the Romanum in the post-Conquest England can be seen as a conscious and deliberate reference to the Anglo-Saxon tradition of *romanitas*, i.e. belonging to the tradition of the Roman Church as represented by Pope Gregory.

of the two (Toswell 2012: 475). As to the Gallicanum, it is the second Latin version of the psalter by St. Jerome, a revised version of the Romanum based on the Septuagint and Origen's Hexapla, which offers a more modern and accurate rendition of the Greek text (Gretsch 2004: 22ff). The Gallicanum was in widespread use in continental Europe (Gibson 1992a: 1), and by the twelfth century it had virtually replaced the Romanum as the liturgical text (Gibson 1992b: 113).

There are fourteen complete continuous Old English glosses that have survived until the present day (Sisam and Sisam 1959; Pulsiano 2001). All these psalter glosses, through belonging to the same Old English tradition of vernacularizing the psalter, show strong internal relationships. Still, there are no two identical psalter glosses (van Liere 2014: 29), as the scribes tended to modify the text while copying it from the exemplar – either accidentally or deliberately (Stanton 2002: 45; Toswell 2012: 6). Toswell (2014: 242ff.) explains that the differences result from cross-contamination,<sup>2</sup> conservatism, personal preferences, and difficulties with following the Latin original. Consequently, a psalter gloss is a useful source for studying language change, development, and dialectal variation diachronically. Due to the status that the psalter enjoyed in medieval England, factors such as cultural, social, and political background should be taken into account in the analysis of each psalter and its gloss.

## 2. The *Eadwine Psalter*

The *Eadwine Psalter* is a post-Conquest manuscript produced in the mid-twelfth century in Christ Church, Canterbury. It is the most richly illustrated surviving twelfth-century psalter, with 150 colorful outline drawings, copied from the monochrome *Utrecht Psalter*, as well as several hundred fully painted initials, highlighted in gold (Heslop 1992: 25). As has been said, language-wise it contains three Latin versions of the psalter: the Gallicanum (glossed in Latin), the Romanum (glossed in Old English), and the Hebraicum (glossed in Anglo-Norman). The manuscript is arranged into three columns, each with a different Latin version of the psalter. The column with the Gallicanum is about twice as wide as those with the Romanum and the Hebraicum together. Considering its size (460 mm x 330 mm) and the lavish decorations, it was most probably a display psalter (Pickwood 1992: 4), yet its exact purpose remains unknown.

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<sup>2</sup> I.e. intrusions from other glosses resulting from the common practice of copying psalters from exemplars (Brown 1999: 5ff.).

## 2.1. The peculiarities of the Eadwine Psalter: literature review

O'Neill (1992: 126f.) discusses several peculiarities that are characteristic of the Old English gloss to the *Eadwine Psalter*. The first one concerns the number of hands who copied the Old English gloss;<sup>3</sup> the suggested numbers vary from five to fourteen,<sup>4</sup> whereas for the other parts of the psalter – from two to three. Teresa Webber, a prominent codicologist, lists five scribes who – in her opinion – were responsible for the Old English gloss (1992: 18ff.). For the purpose of this paper, only scribes identified by her as OE1 and OE4 are relevant, as the former copied Psalms 2-25 (fols 7r-44v), and the latter was responsible for corrections in Psalms 1-77, which include completing the gaps that the original scribe left, and substituting individual words, phrases, and complete passages. As for Psalms 26-77 (fols 45r-140v, except for parts of Psalm 40), Webber explains that she is unable to conclusively identify the scribe who glossed them as he displayed some characteristics which are very similar to OE1 (1992: 19). Hence, Webber refrains from stating definitely whether Psalms 26-77 were glossed by OE1 or some other scribe.

The second problematic area concerns the language(s) of this psalter. To start with, the *Eadwine Psalter* contains numerous independent glosses whose sources are unknown, which is highly surprising given the fact that Old English psalter glosses generally display a striking lexical similarity to one another (Toswell 2012: 242), which makes identifying the affiliation a relatively easy task. However, this is not the case with the *Eadwine Psalter*. Next, the Old English gloss shows numerous deviations from Latin moods, tenses, and numbers. Crowley (2000: 139) suggests that this is evidence of a more informal approach to the text, and more recently, Toswell (2012: 223) stated that the gloss to the *Eadwine Psalter* should be treated as a syntactically correct interlinear translation rather than a word-for-word gloss. Moreover, the first part of the gloss (Psalms 2-77) includes extensive, numerous corrections, whereas the second part (Psalms 78-151) is more modern, both in terms of language and content (O'Neill 1992: 124). What is more, Psalms 1 and 151 were most probably contemporary English translations (O'Neill 1992: 130), which further adds to the linguistic complexity of the *Eadwine Psalter*. The incorporation of Old English also raises questions regarding the role and status of (Old) English in the post-Conquest Anglo-Norman society. O'Neill (1992: 135ff.) observes that the very

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<sup>3</sup> The name *Eadwine Psalter* refers to Eadwine, who has been traditionally believed to be the author of the manuscript. However, considering the volume of this project, as well as the codicological evidence, although it is possible that the production of the manuscript was managed by a single scribe, it was certainly produced by a whole, coordinated team (Webber 1992: 13). Thus, presumably there were three scribes who wrote the Latin texts, two or three who wrote the Anglo-Norman gloss, and several scribes responsible for the Old English gloss (Webber 1992: 16ff.).

<sup>4</sup> For example, Karkov (2015: 289) estimates the number of Old English hands at no fewer than six, Pulsiano (1989: 236) at seven, whereas Webber (1992: 18ff.) at five.

presence of an Old English gloss in a twelfth-century psalter is both peculiar and important, as it shows that the language was apparently still in circulation at that time. However, since the gloss was copied from an exemplar which was then circa three hundred years old, the language must have been palpably archaic. The manuscript's *mise-en-page* is a subject of some controversy: O'Neill argues that the relative position of the Romanum text (glossed in Old English) and the Hebraicum (glossed in Anglo-Norman) indicates that the former was subordinate to the latter, even though both versions are written in letters of the same size;<sup>5</sup> Treharne (2012: 173) interprets the manuscript's layout as a means of communicating the superiority of Latin, to which both English and French were equally inferior; whereas Karkov (2015: 295) argues that the *Eadwine Psalter* is not clearly in favor of any of its languages; instead, it expresses an ongoing dialogue between them (Karkov 2015: 290-292).

The reason for incorporating Romanum and an A-type exemplar for the Old English gloss is yet another issue, as they must have already felt to be archaic in the twelfth century. The reason behind including the Romanum may be simple: due to its popularity in Anglo-Saxon England there must have been numerous readily available copies. However, the inclusion of an A-type psalter gloss raises more questions, especially that a more modern and updated version, the D-type psalter, was present in Christ Church at the time of the manuscript's production (O'Neill 1992: 132). Hence, it would seem that it was not just the question of availability, but rather a conscious, deliberate choice. Treharne (2012: 178) interprets the incorporation of the Romanum as a manifestation of traditional Englishness, whereas Stirnemann (1992: 189) explains that the *Eadwine Psalter* can be viewed as an example of twelfth-century antiquarianism, which manifested itself in deliberately recycling archaic materials. According to Gibson (1992c: 212) the *Eadwine Psalter* reflects the climate of the place of its production – Christ Church – which at that time may have been seen as the cradle of Roman Christianity in England. As such, Gibson (1992c: 212) sees the *Eadwine Psalter* as the ultimate example of twelfth-century conservatism, something that Faulkner (2012: 280) calls “self-conscious belatedness”.

Ultimately, there is the question of the purpose behind the production of this manuscript. Gibson (1992c: 213) explains that since the Gallicanum was the only relevant version of the psalter at that time, the inclusion of the Romanum with the Old English gloss was pointless from the practical perspective, and so the psalter was probably never used in liturgy; nor was it used for educational purposes due to its obviously high cost and size. A similar view is expressed by van der Horst, Noel, and Würstefeld (1996: 236), who also add that the

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<sup>5</sup> He claims that the Anglo-Norman gloss's prominence can be seen in that it was entered first, its placed closer to the Latin text, and moreover, outside the main text of the psalter, wherever there was a lack of space, the Old English gloss was sacrificed in favour of French. O'Neill concludes that this points to the Old English gloss being merely a formal addition to the French gloss which was never supposed to have a practical purpose.

manuscript was useless from the scholarly perspective as it was already outdated by the time it was completed. They conclude that the *Eadwine Psalter* should instead be treated as a conservative compendium that builds upon past cultural achievements, expressed in the text, the calligraphy, and the illustrations. Treharne (2012: 172) argues that it should be seen as a demonstration of wealth and intellectual superiority, especially that it was most probably a display psalter in which Anglo-Norman and English were of equal status (Treharne 2012: 173).

For all these reasons, the Old English gloss in the *Eadwine Psalter* has been broadly ignored as a Middle English corruption of an Old English gloss, and for this reason it has been deemed quite irrelevant for the discussion on the Old English glossing tradition (O'Neill 1992: 123). The gloss has been said to defy historical analysis and be useless for the analysis of other glosses (Sisam and Sisam 1959: 56f.) as it contains a confusing mixture of morphological and phonological features (Pulsiano 2001: 154). Brown (1995: 137) says the state of the Old English gloss in this gloss is "very shabby". In summary, there is a general agreement that the Old English gloss is a worthless source for linguistic analysis.

### 3. The study

The primary interest of this paper concerns the analysis of the corrections introduced to the Old English gloss to the *Eadwine Psalter* in order to offer an answer to some peculiarities of the gloss. The data have been collected from three primary sources:

- (1) A high-resolution electronic facsimile of the *Eadwine Psalter*, available online, served as the major source;
- (2) Harsley's 1889 edition of the *Eadwine Psalter* served as a reference for verifying the results;
- (3) Pulsiano's 2001 *Old English glossed psalters* was used for a comparative analysis.

For the purpose of this study, the corrections inserted in the Old English gloss to Psalms 2-50 have been subjected to analysis. The reason for excluding Psalms 51-77 (which also contain a high number of corrections) is that in order to provide an accurate analysis and discussion of the results, they need to be compared to other known Old English psalter glosses; Pulsiano's 2001 work has been used for this purpose, and since it covers only the first 50 Psalms, this limits the scope of the present study as well. The reason for excluding Psalm 1 from the analysis is that it was written by a different scribe, and – as has already been observed – it was probably a contemporary translation. Those examples which were found in verses not written by the original scribe of Psalms 2-25 and 26-50 as listed by Webber (1992: 19), were also excluded from the study.

The procedure for collecting the data was as follows: an online edition of the manuscript was scrutinized for all the examples of corrector's interventions

into the Old English gloss, thus compiling an original corpus of corrections using a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet. In total, 1973 corrections were collected in the course of manuscript analysis. Next, the examples were initially analysed and subsequently categorized according to what was corrected: morphology, morphophonology, lexicon, orthography, phonology, or syntax. Unfortunately, in most cases the corrections were inserted so skilfully or they were so extensive that it was impossible to tell what was corrected and why. Thus, these examples were excluded from further analysis, and hence the study is concerned only with lexical and morphological corrections, 390 in Psalms 2-25 (44.11% of the analysed corrections) and 571 in Psalms 26-50 (60.68% of included corrections). The initial analysis also revealed some differences between the type and number of corrections introduced to Psalms 2-25 and 26-50. Since this difference correlates with the findings of Webber (1992: 18ff), who suggested a possibility that two scribes were responsible for the Old English gloss in Psalms 2-77, in this study the glosses to Psalms 2-25 and 26-50 are analysed separately in order to test whether it is possible to tell the number of hands based on linguistic, rather than paleographic evidence, since the latter is inconclusive.

## 4. Results

The following subsections present the results of the study in terms of the number of hands, the source of the Old English gloss to the *Eadwine Psalter*, and the glossing practice behind the production of this manuscript.

### 4.1. The number of hands

The data analysis indicates that most likely there were two scribes, and that indeed the second one took over from Psalm 26 onwards. This is clear from the change in the nature and scope of corrections, even if the relative difference in sheer numbers does not seem to be compelling. In total, there are 884 corrections found in Psalms 2-25 per 4628 words of the Romanum text, which gives 19.10 corrections per 100 words of the Romanum text. As for Psalms 26-50, there are 1089 corrections for 5761 words of the Latin text, which gives 18.90 corrections per 100 Latin words.

In terms of the frequency of occurrence of lexical substitutions (i.e. cases when the corrector substituted a gloss written by an original scribe with some other word), there are clear differences between the two analysed parts of the gloss. In Psalms 2-25 there are in total 98 such corrections and 181 coordinated glosses (i.e. cases when two Old English words are used to translate one Latin lemma), which gives 2.11 lexical substitutions and 3.91 coordinated glosses per 100 words of the Latin text. As for Psalms 26-50, there are 134 lexical substitutions and 197 coordinated glosses, which gives 2.32 lexical substitutions



and 3.42 coordinated glosses per 100 words of the Latin text. Furthermore, out of the coordinated glosses, the original scribe of Psalms 2-25 employed 58 such double glosses written entirely by him<sup>6</sup> (1.24 per 100 Latin words), whereas the second original scribe – only 12 (0.21 per 100 Latin words), which suggests a difference in the glossing practice between the two scribes. On the other hand, the two scribes have been hypothesized to have had a similar attitude towards the gloss, as some evidence of modernization – or, in any case, deviation from the original exemplar – has been found, such as a high number of glosses – almost a hundred – which are independent of the general Old English psalter glossing tradition.

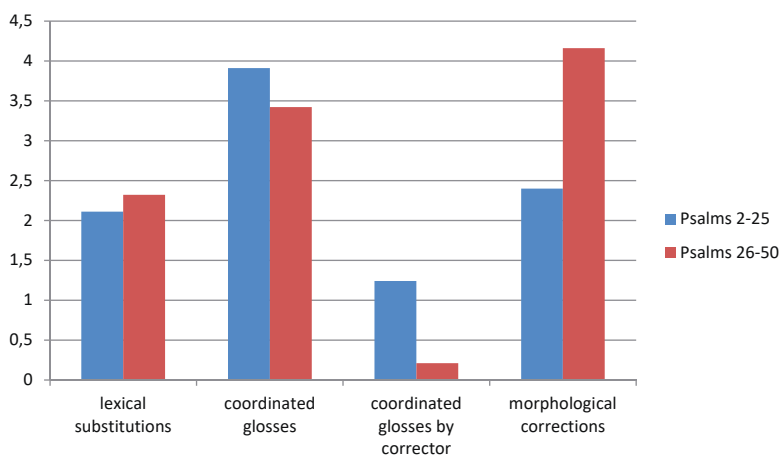


Figure 1. Differences in the number of different types of corrections expressed per 100 words of the Romanum text.

In terms of morphology, the difference in the frequency of occurrence of corrections between the two analysed parts of the psalter is more dramatic; there are 111 morphological corrections in the gloss to Psalms 2-25 (2.40 per 100 Latin words) versus 240 in the gloss to Psalms 26-50 (4.16 per 100 Latin words). Moreover, some of the observed tendencies, such as using the form *biom* (which the corrector changed to *bio*), have been found only in Psalms 2-25, and others, such as using a dental fricative instead of <d> for past participles, omitting the final unaccented *-n* or a tendency to leave empty inflectional endings for the corrector to complete, have been found in Psalms 26-50. Still, the tendencies displayed by the two original scribes are rather similar, as it seems that they were both willing to preserve the features of the dialect derived

<sup>6</sup> The coordinated glosses found in the *Eadwine Psalter* were written entirely by the original scribes, co-written by the scribe and the corrector, or written entirely by the corrector.



from the original exemplar (perhaps because they shared the Anglian dialectal background). Alternatively, the shared tendency can also suggest that they underwent similar training.

On the other hand, the corrector displays a strong tendency towards traditional and relatively archaic Old English morphology and lexicon. In terms of lexicon, his corrections are typically in line with the *Regius Psalter* or the general glossing tradition, and regarding morphology, the tendency is similar – he also tends to employ inflectional endings characteristic of the West Saxon koine.

#### 4.2. The source of the Old English gloss

The results of the analysis of the data provided by the lexical corrections are generally in line with the previous scholarship. Indeed, it seems that the original gloss was based on an A-type psalter, whereas the corrector relied on a D-type psalter. However, many glosses have been found not to belong to either A or D. These were tested against Pulsiano (2001); some of them were found in other known psalter glosses, which indicates that both the original exemplar and the exemplar used as the source of corrections were likely copies with cross-contaminations from other known psalter glosses, especially glosses to the Gallicanum.

As regards the corrector, he typically restored lexical items which belong to the Old English glossing tradition, especially to D. This was done through either substituting the original vocabulary, or by pairing it with such glosses; for most coordinated glosses co-written by the original scribe and the corrector, the former used independent glosses to which the corrector added glosses derived either from D or AD (i.e., A and D having the same gloss for the given lemma). Since the independent glosses do not belong to the general Old English glossing tradition, I have hypothesized that they may be spontaneous translations introduced to the gloss by the original scribes – possibly to increase the intelligibility of the gloss derived from an archaic A-type exemplar.

Moreover, on several occasions the original scribes incorporated vocabulary derived from a D-type psalter, including coordinated glosses which can also be found in D. This could be evidence that the original scribes either knew the D-type psalter by heart, or that they had access to it – though it is impossible to tell whether they had access to the exemplar used by the corrector. This finding would disqualify O’Neill’s (1992) suggestion that the choice of an A-type exemplar was purely accidental, which according to him would explain the change of the exemplar halfway through the Old English gloss – the scribes were supposed to have realized that they had copied the gloss from a wrong exemplar and tried to amend it. However, the choice of A must have been deliberate, since the original scribes apparently had the knowledge of D, and moreover, it does not seem likely that the choice of an exemplar was accidental in such an expensive, elaborate project as the *Eadwine Psalter*.

Thus, the question remains why it was decided that not only an archaic version of the Latin psalter – the Romanum – was used, but also, why its oldest available Old English gloss was selected. It has already been hypothesized that the choice of the Romanum was deliberate due to the fact that Christ Church had a rich tradition in copying that version of the psalter, and so there must have been numerous readily available copies. Also, since this was the oldest functional version of the psalter known in Anglo-Saxon England, its choice may have been made due to the sentiments it stirred. This could also explain why the oldest Old English gloss was chosen to accompany it; such a combination would be a tribute to the long Anglo-Saxon tradition of vernacularizing the psalter. Viewed in this way, the Old English gloss in the *Eadwine Psalter* and the Romanum version can be seen as a cultural monument for the Anglo-Saxon past. The decision to change the exemplar, on the other hand, may have been caused by the difficulties that such an archaic gloss must have caused for the two original scribes; they most likely tried to modernize the gloss, hence the high number of corrections by the seemingly conservative corrector. They also deviated from the Old English glossing tradition by employing glosses which are independent from it.

The number of independent glosses is indeed peculiar. Since the vast majority of the glosses unaffiliated with either A or D have not been found in any other known Old English psalter gloss, they may be examples of the twelfth-century English vocabulary.<sup>7</sup> It is especially surprising that the corrector – who seems to have been consciously conservative – would have left these independent glosses while revising the original version of the gloss using a D-type psalter. Moreover, he must have left them intentionally, as on numerous occasions, instead of substituting independent glosses with glosses belonging to the Old English glossing tradition, he paired them with those which are affiliated with D or AD. This may be because he was able to recognize the lack of intelligibility resulting from copying the *Eadwine's* gloss from an archaic exemplar, and so he may have compromised his conservative attitude in this respect. What is more, apart from leaving the numerous independent glosses, he also used them himself. Perhaps both the A-type and D-type exemplars were highly contaminated or incomplete, and so the scribes had to substitute the missing or illegible glosses with spontaneous translations.

### 4.3. The glossing practice behind the Old English gloss to the *Eadwine Psalter*

The first observation is that obviously both original scribes and the corrector relied on exemplars, but they modified them, which is evident in the number of independent glosses employed by all the three scribes, especially by the original

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<sup>7</sup> The question whether this is indeed the case is beyond the scope of the present paper and will be analyzed in a separate, follow-up study.

ones. Secondly, the data also suggest that the original scribes knew that they would be corrected, as on numerous occasions they left empty spaces for the corrector to fill in. This practice may have resulted from the confusion regarding the morphological forms which should be applied, as well as a damaged or incomplete exemplar. Regarding the former possibility, both original scribes have been found to deviate to some extent from the original exemplar in terms of morphology and lexicon. Moreover, as noted by Fisher (2012: 23), copying should not be seen as the opposite of composing; medieval scribes were agents of texts, dynamically responding to them. In the case of the Old English gloss to the *Eadwine Psalter*, it is not inconceivable that the scribes consciously deviated from the exemplar. Moreover, the practice of leaving empty spaces for the corrector may also indicate that it was realized that there was a problem with applying what was deemed correct inflectional endings and lexical items, and perhaps the second original scribe may have been advised to refrain from completing certain glosses.

All this evidence paints two conflicting pictures. On the one hand, the work must have been scrupulously planned, as both the change of the original scribe and the corrections are introduced to the gloss with a lot of skill. On the other hand, the strong tendency towards independent glosses displayed by the original scribes, as well as some modernization of morphological forms, contrasted with the corrector's tendency to restore archaic, traditional forms and glosses, indicate that there was a conflict of interests regarding the aim and purpose behind the Old English gloss and the Latin exemplar.

## 5. Discussion

Probably the most baffling questions concern the very reason for producing the *Eadwine Psalter*, and the status and role that English had in twelfth-century post-Conquest England. Numerous factors need to be considered in order to tackle these issues.

First of all, one has to bear in mind the prominent role of the psalter in medieval Europe. Additionally, as has been noted, the psalter was probably the most extensively glossed type of text in Anglo-Saxon England, which is evident in the high number of surviving copies of complete Old English psalter glosses. Thus, the psalter – its production process, purpose, use, etc. – can shed light on the state of the cultural, social, and religious life of the time in which a given psalter was produced. No medieval text should be studied in isolation – all the factors related to any given Medieval manuscript need to be taken into account in approaching and analyzing it.

As the *Eadwine Psalter* was most probably a display psalter, it was aimed for the public view, and produced with spectators in mind. It was obviously expensive in preparation, as well as time- and effort-consuming, with its extensive, elaborate illuminations, and a generous use of gold and silver. Consequently, its

patron must have been an affluent individual or organization. However, it seems that the production of the *Eadwine Psalter*, although obviously well-planned, must have been subject to a change mid-way, which resulted in abandoning the original, A-type exemplar in favor of a D-type Romanum psalter glosses. It seems that the enough evidence has been presented to suggest that the choice was in fact deliberate.

The *Eadwine Psalter* was produced at the scriptorium at Christ Church in Canterbury. Gameson (1995: 116) explains that shortly after the Conquest, this scriptorium openly displayed its devotion to the Anglo-Saxon values and traditions. This trend has also been noticed by Richards (1988: 121), who sees it as an example of seeking identity in the post-Conquest reality. Gibson (1992c: 212) states that the *Eadwine Psalter* mirrors the atmosphere at Christ Church – in mid-twelfth century it was seen as the stronghold of the Anglo-Saxon tradition, hence Gibson sees the *Eadwine Psalter* as an institutional statement, a reaction to the post-Conquest reality. The fact that Christ Church consciously employed the conservative Anglo-Saxon tradition after the Conquest can be thus seen as a culturally-oriented agenda (Broūn 2003: 146).

The time of production was mid-twelfth century: one hundred years after the Norman Conquest, with the ongoing assimilation processes, and amongst a lot of social and political tensions. It has already been suggested that the choice of an archaic version of the psalter, paired with its most archaic available Old English gloss, may have been a conscious, deliberate decision, made in order to pay tribute to the Anglo-Saxon traditions and past. Another possibility is the view proposed by Noel and Würstefeld (1996: 236) that it was conceived of as a manifesto of Englishness by its patron, especially that the Anglo-Saxon culture had a tradition of vernacularizing the Bible, unparalleled in contemporary Europe. Incorporating the gloss to the *Vespasian Psalter* may have been a eulogy for the lost tradition and past. Moreover, Old English had a rich tradition of glossing the Romanum, it was also the first version of the psalter in Anglo-Saxon England. Its inclusion to the *Eadwine Psalter*, and – what is more – choosing the oldest available gloss to this version, may indeed have been thought to express the longing for the lost past and the cultural heritage it entailed. Ultimately, the *Eadwine Psalter* is a mixture of three traditions: Latin, Old English, and Anglo-Norman. Produced in difficult times, it also reflects the complex reality in which it was devised.

It seems that the previous scholarship has been predominantly focused on analysing the *Eadwine Psalter* from the perspective of the assimilation of the Normans and the English. This might be the reason for its failure to account for all the peculiarities of the manuscript, especially the inclusion of the Old English gloss to the Romanum, and the change of the original exemplar. Therefore, a different perspective is proposed here. In the considerations over the *Eadwine*, the time and place of its production, as well as at the linguistic reality in which it was produced have already been discussed. However, one important piece of information is still missing – namely, who commissioned

the manuscript. Considering that the time and place of the production of the manuscript was mid-twelfth century Canterbury, Archbishop Thomas Becket – or his associate(s) – is a strong candidate for its sponsor. Apart from his obvious relationship with the place of production of the manuscript, an archbishop was certainly wealthy enough to afford such a luxurious manuscript, and he may have seen the psalter as serving a very special role in his conflict with King Henry II.

Thomas Becket was a Londoner of Norman descent, who was appointed the Royal Chancellor in 1155. After seven years, having developed a very close relationship with the king, in 1162 he became Archbishop of Canterbury (Barlow 1999: 64). Through this appointment the king wanted to secure what he considered to be his rights and to limit the ecclesiastical power (Guy 2012: 255), as the Church in England had acquired a lot of influence and independence (Barlow 1999: 68f.). However, as early as in 1163 the conflict over supremacy began between the king and the archbishop. It reached its peak in 1164 with the Constitutions of Clarendon and Becket's continental exile for two years, and eventually ended with his assassination in 1170. Additionally, during the time of Becket's archiepiscopate, the priorate was held by Wibert, who actively supported the production of luxurious manuscripts which were supposed to refresh religious resources (Webber 2015: 307).

Given all these spheres of the psalter's influence, it is not difficult to conceive that a psalter – especially a display psalter such as *Eadwine* – as a whole could communicate more than its text, especially that in history there are numerous examples of religious books used as emblems of wealth, luxury, and power (de Hamel 1994: 42ff). Viewed from this perspective, the *Eadwine Psalter* could be interpreted as an artifact-manifesto used in the conflict between the Church and the crown, rather than one illustrating the relationship between the English and the Normans. If Becket indeed had been the patron, this hypothesis would account for most – if not all – of *Eadwine*'s peculiarities.

Firstly, it would explain the *mise-en-page*. In the descriptions of the *Eadwine Psalter* it has been noticed that the Romanum and the Hebraicum together with their vernacular glosses are written in the same hand and size, which so far has been interpreted to mean that the vernacular languages are of equal status, both being subordinate to the Latin of the Gallicanum. However, Treharne (2012) claims that the Romanum with the Old English gloss has a more central position, whereas O'Neill (1992) states that the Anglo-Norman was entered first which according to him indicates its superiority. Nevertheless, it seems that the exact relationship between the Romanum/Old English and the Hebraicum/Anglo-Norman is of secondary importance, as the key message is that both vernaculars are subordinate to the Latin Gallicanum, which may symbolize the subordinancy of the lay power to the Church.

As regards the choice of the Romanum and the A-type Old English gloss, they can be seen as a monument to the rich Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical tradition and culture. Furthermore, this gloss dates back to the beginning of the ninth

century, and so incorporating it (or a related copy) would make a powerful statement regarding the power and legitimacy of the Church; that the English ecclesiastical power is as old, or even older than and thus superior to *Normanitas* and the secular power. The fact that the Christ Church scriptorium had a rich tradition in glossing the Romanum means that employing the Romanum alongside the Gallicanum was a deliberate choice, possibly expressing the sentiments for the past. Still, pairing the Romanum with Old English may be seen as evoking this long-standing relationship between the religion and the vernacular which translated it.<sup>8</sup> In the English microcosm, producing a psalter containing the Gallicanum, the Romanum, and the Hebraicum together with Old English and Anglo-Norman glosses can be seen as explaining a religious, historical, political, and cultural continuum, in which the Church always takes the foremost position. Hence, if this manuscript says anything about the relationship between Old English and Anglo-Norman, it is that they are both inferior to Latin, just as the secular power is inferior to the ecclesiastical power, and the king – to the archbishop.

Thirdly, it has been noticed that the scribes who copied and corrected the gloss had conflicting interests and attitudes towards the Old English gloss; the original scribes may have had problems with copying what must have seemed to them to be a highly archaic exemplar, an A-type psalter, and thus deviated from it to provide more modern, and thus more understandable gloss, whereas the corrector's work can be seen as restoring the tradition. Although the choice of an A-type psalter was definitely not coincidental, its conservatism may have triggered the shift to D. The original scribes deviated from the exemplar, especially in terms of lexicon, because they may have deemed it impractical to copy the gloss faithfully, given the (most probably) archaic language of the exemplar. If we assume that selecting a highly archaic exemplar was indeed a way of praising the past and its achievements, that it had a political message to communicate, which means that its choice had highly ideological implications, after Becket's exile or death that aim of the manuscript may have changed, which also may have triggered the change of exemplar.

If Thomas Becket indeed was the patron of the *Eadwine Psalter*, it is unlikely that any ethnic sentiment inspired the idea for the psalter which included Old English. Hence, the proposed explanation for the employment of the Romanum paired with its oldest known Old English gloss is that it was supposed to stress the long Anglo-Saxon — and consequently English — ecclesiastical tradition. As has been said, Christ Church is famous for its conservatism following the Conquest, and it is known that under the priorate of

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<sup>8</sup> It also means that there must have been plenty of available copies and that the scribes were experienced, which must have made the choice of employing the Romanum quite convenient. On the other hand, obviously the Gallicanum is the major version of the *Eadwine Psalter*, and it has been shown that the scribes who worked on the Old English gloss were familiar with it, as they frequently substituted the Romanum glosses with the Gallicanum ones.



Wibert in the mid-twelfth century, there was a strong tendency to recycle old, venerable manuscripts (Webber 2015: 307). Old English texts, both in verse and prose, were in circulation in post-Conquest England; they were copied, revised, and commented upon (Faulkner 2012: 277; Conti 2007: 366). Faulkner (2012: 281) explains that the texts produced in the twelfth century are consciously archaic, and Treharne (2012) sees them as a way of dealing with the trauma and the drama of the Conquest; reaching back to the past was supposed to help deal with the present. In her view, the Anglo-Saxon past and tradition was the source of pride. Thus, including Old English in the *Eadwine Psalter* can be seen as a conscious reference to the past achievements.

## 6. Conclusions

The aim of this paper has been to discuss the results of the analysis of scribal corrections introduced to the Old English gloss to the *Eadwine Psalter* in order to answer several questions regarding the peculiarities of the manuscript itself, which can be explained by identifying the patron of the manuscripts as Thomas Becket. The time and place of production match the time when Becket was Archbishop of Canterbury, which establishes a connection between him and the *Eadwine Psalter*. Moreover, due to his position, he must have had the means to afford such a *deluxe* manuscript. If Becket had been the patron, it would provide an answer to the reason for producing the psalter: it may have been a manifestation of wealth and power in the conflict between Becket and Henry II, communicating a symbolic message. Through the languages that it contains, as well as through its *mise-en-page*, the *Eadwine Psalter* manifests the ecclesiastical superiority over the secular power, as well as historical and cultural continuity. Becket's banishment or death offer a likely explanation for the change of the exemplar. Still, the corrector put time and effort in revising the original gloss and adapting it according to the new exemplar. The resulting project is still consistent with what might have been the original purpose – evoking the Anglo-Saxon psalter glossing tradition – yet a change to D makes the gloss more practical, as D was the most widespread gloss to the Romanum, a refined version of A.

Admittedly, identifying Thomas Becket as the patron of the *Eadwine Psalter* is based on circumstantial evidence. However, given the evidence, this hypothesis is not without merit. It would seem that focusing on the relationship between the English and Normans does not offer the right angle to accommodate for the peculiarities of the language and production of the *Eadwine Psalter*. Instead, understanding this psalter as a manifestation of wealth, power, and ecclesiastical superiority, allows to comprehensively explain the most baffling aspects of this manuscript.



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