

An integrated re-examination of the dating of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11

LESLIE LOCKETT

Students of late Anglo-Saxon manuscripts are fortunate to have recourse to a number of fundamental studies which chronicle changes in the various arts of manuscript production during the tenth and early eleventh centuries.¹ These studies provide a background against which to assess the work of individual craftsmen (scribes, initiallers, illustrators) who produced English manuscripts of this period. In the attempt to date a manuscript, each of these studies provides a spectrum of changing practices against which one can measure the most probable date of execution for any aspect of the manuscript. Additionally, if we use these studies as a group rather than one by one, they have much to tell us about the chronological circumstances of the creation of an entire codex as a composite work of art produced by a team of craftsmen.

¹ On changes in the preparation and layout of parchment pages, see N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957), pp. xxiii–xxv. On trends in decorated initials, see F. Wormald, ‘Decorated Initials in English Manuscripts from A.D. 900 to 1100’, *Archaeologia* 91 (1945), 107–35, repr. in *Studies in Medieval Art from the Sixth to the Twelfth Centuries*, ed. J. J. G. Alexander, T. J. Brown and J. Gibbs (Oxford, 1984), pp. 47–75; see also R. Gameson, ‘The Decoration of the Tanner Bede’, *ASE* 21 (1992), 115–59, at 116–28. On stylistic changes in tenth-century manuscript art, see R. Deshman, ‘The Leofric Missal and Tenth-Century English Art’, *ASE* 6 (1977), 145–73. On the use of colour in tenth-century manuscript art, see J. J. G. Alexander, ‘Some Aesthetic Principles in the Use of Colour in Anglo-Saxon Art’, *ASE* 4 (1975), 145–54. D. N. Dumville has published a number of studies on Square and Anglo-Caroline minuscule script: ‘English Square Minuscule Script: the Background and Earliest Phases’, *ASE* 16 (1987), 147–79; ‘English Square Minuscule Script: the Mid-Century Phases’, *ASE* 23 (1994), 133–64; ‘Beowulf Come Lately: Some Notes on the Palaeography of the Nowell Codex’, *ASNSL* 225 (1988), 49–63, repr. as ch. 7 of his *Britons and Anglo-Saxons in the Early Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 1992); and *English Caroline Script and Monastic History: Studies in Benedictinism, A.D. 950–1030* (Woodbridge, 1993). On methods of punctuation in later Anglo-Saxon verse manuscripts, see K. O’Brien O’Keeffe, *Visible Song: Transitional Literacy in Old English Verse*, CSASE 4 (Cambridge, 1990). I will be using the following abbreviations throughout the present paper: E. Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts 900–1066* (London, 1976), will be cited as Temple; *Facsimiles of Ancient Charters in the British Museum*, ed. E. A. Bond, 4 vols. (London, 1873–8) will be cited as BM Facs.

The so-called 'Junius Manuscript', now Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11, is a particularly good candidate for such an integrated analysis because it contains an abundance of potentially datable features: line drawings, decorated initials, and five punctuated Old English poems written in later Anglo-Saxon scripts.² Junius 11 has not yet been the subject of a thorough, interdisciplinary analysis, and efforts to date it by individual features have produced discrepant results.³ Moreover, scholars have repeatedly asserted that certain codicological, art-historical, and palaeographical aspects of Junius 11 seem 'old-fashioned' for an eleventh-century production, but most are reluctant to suggest a date earlier than 'c. 1000'. If we find that no feature of the manuscript provides an absolute *terminus post quem* for its construction, the combined weight of all these 'old-fashioned' features may prompt us to consider a tenth-century date for Junius 11.⁴

² Selected features of Junius 11 will be treated in detail below; for more complete descriptions of Junius 11, see the introduction to the facsimile edition, *The Cadmon Manuscript of Anglo-Saxon Biblical Poetry: Junius XI in the Bodleian Library*, ed. I. Gollancz (London, 1927), and Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 334 (pp. 406–8); see also C. E. Karkov, *Text and Picture in Anglo-Saxon England: Narrative Strategies in the Junius 11 Manuscript*, CSASE 31 (Cambridge, 2001), 1–3 and 19–44, including valuable bibliography of previous scholarship; B. C. Raw, 'The Construction of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11', *ASE* 13 (1984), 187–205; and P. J. Lucas, 'MS Junius 11 and Malmesbury', *Scriptorium* 34 (1980), 197–220 and 35 (1981), 3–22. All line drawings comprising the narrative cycle are printed not only in Gollancz's facsimile but also in T. Ohlgren, *Anglo-Saxon Textual Illustration* (Kalamazoo, MI, 1992), pp. 526–76 (plus commentary at pp. 88–99), and in Karkov, *Text and Picture*. Large-scale digitized images of the entire manuscript have been provided by the Early Manuscripts Imaging Project at Oxford University and are visible online at <http://image.ox.ac.uk/show?collection=bodleian&manuscript=msjunius11>.

³ Ker, for instance, dates the manuscript 's. x/xi' on the basis of palaeographical features (*Catalogue*, no. 334, p. 406), while Wormald is one of a handful of art historians who date Junius 11 to the second quarter of the eleventh century on the basis of 'Scandinavian' features in the artwork ('Decorated Initials', p. 59).

⁴ This article deals solely with the dating of the inception of the manuscript, not with later stages of its production. For the present investigation neither Liber II (pp. 213–30) nor the work of the second artist (pp. 73–88) is relevant, as there is no conclusive evidence that their execution followed immediately upon the writing of Liber I (pp. 1–212) or the illustrations of the first artist. Varying opinions have been put forth concerning the relationship between Liber I and Liber II: see Raw, 'Construction', esp. p. 203, as well as J. R. Hall, 'The Old English Epic of Redemption: the Theological Unity of MS Junius 11', *Traditio* 32 (1976), 185–208, and P. J. Lucas, 'On the Incomplete Ending of *Daniel* and the Addition of *Christ and Satan* to MS Junius 11', *Anglia* 97 (1979), 46–59. Hall draws on evidence of Anglo-Saxon catechetical methods to demonstrate that both Liber I and Liber II were part of the original conception of the Junius 11 codex; Lucas, on the other hand, argues on codicological grounds that Liber II was necessarily an independently conceived addition. Raw's position is one of compromise: she claims that Liber II was an 'afterthought' but that its execution was not much later than that of Liber I. As no evidence has yet demonstrated a close chronological link between the two parts of Junius 11, the following discussion will assume that the two books are chronologically separated by an indeterminate but significant interval of time.

The dating of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11

Before presenting the evidence, some clarification is in order, concerning methodology and the use of the above-mentioned studies of aspects of later Anglo-Saxon manuscript production. There has been a tendency to turn observations of trends into rigid dating criteria, or to interpret a characteristic feature of a period as an absolute *terminus post* or *ante quem* for the book as a whole. Consider, for example, David N. Dumville's assessment of two liturgical manuscripts. In his discussion of Cambridge, Trinity College B. 11. 2, he writes that 'the book is a specimen of Phase-II Square minuscule and should therefore be attributed to the 930s', and in his assessment of London, British Library, Royal 2. B. V, he concludes that "The original scribe wrote English Square minuscule in Phase III, therefore in the period of the 940s and 950s."⁵ These rigid criteria are based on the script of original Anglo-Saxon charters, but we have no firm evidence that the scribes of liturgical manuscripts (or of any kind of manuscript other than charters) adopted new forms of Square minuscule at the same time as they appear in charters. Even the corpus of documents written by charter scribes provides evidence demonstrating that phases of script continued to be executed after the periods assigned to them by Dumville.⁶

I raise these issues not primarily to criticize Dumville's valuable palaeographical research, but rather as a caution against putting too much weight on narrow periodization based on any individual feature of a manuscript. Nearly every aspect of manuscript production underwent demonstrable changes during the last 175 years of the pre-Conquest period, but these changes were neither unidirectional nor simultaneously adopted by all English scriptoria. A more prudent procedure would be to visualize each aspect of manuscript production as changing along a spectrum rather than corresponding to a series of fixed periods of time. In the case of Junius 11, we should begin by dating its features separately, assigning to each feature its most probable location on the spectrum from, say, 940 to 1050; when we have carefully dated each individual feature, the range of dates which best accounts for all of them may be considered the most probable range of dates for the first phase of production of the entire codex.

CODICOLOGICAL FEATURES OF JUNIUS 11

Methods of pricking and ruling the parchment pages underwent changes over the course of the tenth and early eleventh centuries. Ker explains that, early in the eleventh century, it became common practice to rule each sheet separately, whereas before the eleventh century, multiple pages were ruled simultaneously.⁷

⁵ D. N. Dumville, 'On the Dating of some Late Anglo-Saxon Liturgical Manuscripts', *Trans. of the Cambridge Bibliographical Soc.* 10 (1991–5), 40–57, at 43 and 48.

⁶ For example, Dumville discusses a performance of Phase II script in a charter of the year 944 ('Background and Earliest Phases', pp. 173–4). ⁷ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. xxiv.

Junius 11 is among eighteen manuscripts listed by Ker as having multiple pages ruled simultaneously. Leaving aside Junius 11, the other seventeen include eleven manuscripts dated to the eighth, ninth, or tenth centuries,⁸ two dated 's. x/xi', and four dated either 's. xi in.' or 's. xi¹.' The ratio alone demonstrates that multiple-page ruling was falling out of favour by the turn of the century, and we would expect the contrast to be sharper yet if the survival rate of pre-1000 manuscripts were as high as that for eleventh-century manuscripts. Certainly this does not tell us that Junius 11 is a tenth-century manuscript, but it does tell us that its method of ruling is common in the tenth century and unusual, but not rare, in the eleventh.

Another codicological practice which underwent change in the later Anglo-Saxon period is the arrangement of the parchment pages in a quire. Dumville notes that the Insular custom of arranging pages with all hair sides facing outwards, so that hair faced flesh within each quire (HFHF), was becoming less common already in the tenth century and was almost never practised by the early eleventh century.⁹ The common procedure of the eleventh century, which Ker labels 'normal' for Anglo-Saxon manuscripts (again, because the sheer numbers of surviving eleventh-century books is so much higher than those of previous periods), was to arrange pages so that hair sides faced out on the outer page of each quire, but within the quire, hair faced hair and flesh faced flesh (HFFH).¹⁰ Junius 11 exhibits the HFFH arrangement.¹¹ Of the manuscripts which Ker lists as having the Insular HFHF arrangement, nineteen are pre-1000 manuscripts, five originated in the period 's. x/xi', and two were made during the period 's. xi in.', suggesting that Junius 11's arrangement of pages would not have been unusual in the tenth century but was more common in the eleventh. This conclusion is corroborated by Dumville's observation (based primarily on Latin manuscripts) that the tenth-century trend in page arrangement was not one of unidirectional change in favour of HFFH. Of the thirteen tenth-century Canterbury manuscripts identified and described by T. A. M. Bishop in a series of studies,¹² Dumville considers five to be specimens of Phase II Square minuscule and, consequently, products of the 930s.¹³ Only one of these five adheres to the Insular HFHF arrangement; two are HFFH, and two are mixed (one

⁸ One of these is Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 173, fols. 57–83, containing the Latin text of Caelius Sedulius, with Old English glosses; Ker dates the glosses 's. x/xi (?)', but the Latin text (and hence the pricking and ruling) dates from the eighth century (*Catalogue*, no. 40, p. 59).

⁹ Dumville, 'Background and Earliest Phases', p. 155; see also Ker, *Catalogue*, p. xxv.

¹⁰ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. xxiii. ¹¹ Raw, 'Construction', p. 195.

¹² T. A. M. Bishop, 'Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts', *Trans. of the Cambridge Bibliographical Soc.* 2 (1954–8), 323–36; 3 (1959–63), 93–5 and 412–13 [pts 4–6].

¹³ Dumville summarizes Bishop's studies in tables; see 'Mid-Century Phases', pp. 137–8. Those which he considers Phase II specimens are listed on p. 139.

arranged partly FHFF). From this group of manuscripts Dumville concludes that 'receptiveness to continental practices was a feature of the scriptorial tradition in southern England in the early tenth century'.¹⁴ Whether or not we agree with Dumville's narrow dating of these manuscripts to the 930s, we need not question that they were produced some decades before the year 1000 and give firm evidence that hair-facing-hair page arrangement was practised in conjunction with Square minuscule around the middle of the tenth century. Accordingly, the HFFH arrangement of the pages in conjunction with the multiple-page pricking and ruling suggests a most likely date between the middle of the tenth century and the first decade of the eleventh century.

DECORATED INITIALS

Francis Wormald, in his study of the evolution of Anglo-Saxon decorated initials, devotes particular attention to the type of initials which combine Carolingian acanthus leaves with native pre-Alfredian interlace and animal ornamentation.¹⁵ To summarize Wormald's conclusions briefly, initials of the late ninth and early tenth centuries tend to exhibit worm-like proportions, whether the animal bodies are drawn with appendages and surface details¹⁶ or as solid-colour lines;¹⁷ the wormy proportions begin to give way to fuller-bodied animals in the early decades of the tenth century, as in the Durham Ritual,¹⁸ which shows initials of slender proportions alongside 'more solid' winged dragons which 'are gaining in firmness and strength'.¹⁹ In the 152 initials of the Junius Psalter, Wormald observes a dramatic increase in the use of acanthus ornament and consistently thicker proportions in the animal bodies and interlace.²⁰ A limited amount of detail is present in the outlines of the animal bodies, including scalloped lines on the upper parts of wings, parallel lines on the ends of

¹⁴ Dumville, 'Mid-Century Phases', p. 142.

¹⁵ Wormald, 'Decorated Initials', pp. 50–62 and 72–5. Most of the initials treated by Wormald are illustrated in Temple, especially cat. nos. 19 (Type IIa) and 30 (Type IIb). Type I initials do not receive a separate catalogue entry but are found throughout.

¹⁶ See London, British Library, Royal 5. F. III (c. 900), 2v (Temple, cat. no. 2 and ill. 9, particularly the second set of initials, reading 'IAM'). Wormald discusses this manuscript as well as Hatton 20 (see below) at p. 52 of 'Decorated Initials.'

¹⁷ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 20 (c. 890–7), 11v and 93v (Temple, cat. no. 1 and ill. 3 and 4).

¹⁸ Durham, Cathedral Library, A. IV. 19 (initials dated to the early tenth century), 2v and 28v (Temple, cat. no. 3 and ill. 7 and 10); see also the facsimile, *The Durham Ritual*, ed. T. J. Brown *et al.*, EEMF 16 (Copenhagen, 1969).

¹⁹ Wormald, 'Decorated Initials', p. 53. Initials of comparably moderate proportions are found in London, British Library, Royal 7. D. XXIV (initials dated to the early tenth century), 138r, 147v and 104v (Temple, cat. no. 4 and ill. 11–13), mentioned by Wormald at p. 54.

²⁰ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 27 (Temple, cat. no. 7 and ill. 1, 20–4 and 26). Temple, following Wormald ('Decorated Initials', pp. 55–7), dates the manuscript to the second quarter of the tenth century, and Ker suggests 's. x¹' (*Catalogue*, no. 335, p. 408).

wings, and thin single or double lines defining the contours around the eyes and mouth. These characteristics of the Junius Psalter initials are shared by a few other early- to mid-century manuscripts, including the Tollemache Orosius²¹ and the Tanner Bede.²² But further modifications are visible in Type I initials of the second half of the tenth century and later. Animal and vegetal decorations succumb to ‘emaciating tendencies’, becoming less naturalistic and more ‘wiry’.²³ Initials of this period also include more intricate interlace, as is made possible by the thinner acanthus tendrils, and increasing amounts of detail in the outlines of the animals. These tendencies are illustrated by the thin acanthus and interlace in the initials of London, British Library, Royal 6. A. VII, 2r,²⁴ and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 41, p. 246,²⁵ as well as the streamlined bodies of the animals in a Vercelli Book initial,²⁶ and the more subtle detailing of the animal faces and bodily contours of the initial **d** in London, British Library, Harley 5431, 101r.²⁷

Based on these criteria and on degrees of similarity to the Junius Psalter and Tollemache Orosius initials, Wormald works out a chronology of thirteen manuscripts displaying Type I initials. He places the initials of the Vercelli Book, for instance, in the second half of the tenth century, and those of Harley 5431 at ‘about 1000’, because their animals are ‘less fleshy’ than those of the Junius Psalter and Tollemache Orosius. But Wormald makes one exception to his usual dating based on similarity to these two manuscripts. Constrained by what he believes to be ‘the occurrence of Scandinavian ornament’ elsewhere in the manuscript, Wormald dates Junius 11 to ‘the second quarter of the eleventh century’, although he acknowledges that ‘The initials in the Caedmon manuscript [= Junius 11] are peculiar, because although the manuscript seems to be late, the dragons and even the acanthus ornament have an artificial antiquity

²¹ London, British Library, Add. 47967, dated by Temple to the second quarter of the tenth century (cat. no. 8 and ill. 25); see also the facsimile, *The Tollemache Orosius*, ed. A. Campbell, EEMF 3 (Copenhagen, 1953). The similarities with the Junius Psalter initials are so extensive that Wormald remarks, ‘The sole difference seems to be that the Junius Psalter uses colour and the Orosius uses only outline drawing’ (‘Decorated Initials’, p. 57).

²² Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner 10, dated by Temple to the first half of the tenth century (cat. no. 9 and ill. 35–7 and 39–40); see also the facsimile, *The Tanner Bede*, ed. J. Bately, EEMF 24 (Copenhagen, 1992). R. Gameson dates the Tanner Bede to the reign of Edward the Elder (899–924); see ‘The Decoration of the Tanner Bede’, pp. 154–6.

²³ On the tendency toward a ‘wiry’ and ‘emaciated’ style of interlace in the later tenth and eleventh centuries, see Wormald, ‘Decorated Initials’, pp. 48–9; he works out his tentative chronology of the Type I manuscripts on p. 59.

²⁴ Temple, cat. no. 60 and ill. 257; early eleventh century.

²⁵ Temple, cat. no. 81 and ill. 258; first half of the eleventh century.

²⁶ Vercelli, Cathedral Library, Cod. CVII (second half of the tenth century), 49r (Temple, cat. no. 28 and ill. 98).

²⁷ Temple (cat. no. 38 and ill. 126) dates this manuscript to the last quarter of the tenth century.

about them and look as if they are later copies of initials belonging to a type quite close to the Helmingham [Tollemache] Orosius.²⁸

A small group of initials will efficiently demonstrate some general similarities between Junius 11 and the Orosius as well as other Type I initials of the first half of the century: the Durham Ritual, 28v; the Tollemache Orosius, p. 8; the Tanner Bede, 79r and 14v; the Junius Psalter, 20r and 135v; and Junius 11, pp. 21, 67 and 71. The animal bodies in the initials are very robust; at their thickest point, they are two to three times as wide as the necks, tongues, tails, and acanthus scrolls which comprise the limbs of the letters and the heavier interlace, which is in turn about twice as wide as the finer interlace.²⁹ The general aspect of such initials is captured well by Temple's description of 'soft fattish creatures' combined with 'thick worm-like interlace' in the Tanner Bede.³⁰ In addition, the facial contours and features as well as the execution of the wings follow a relatively predictable pattern in the initials of these five manuscripts.³¹

One characteristic of the Junius 11 initials which is not accounted for by association with this group of early- to mid-tenth-century manuscripts is the use of one or more parallel lines running the length of an animal or vegetal tendril, giving the appearance of a pair or a bundle of stalks, as on p. 67 (see pl. *Ib*). This type of embellishment appears in the Salisbury Psalter (969–78) and the Bosworth Psalter (c. 980), in initials which retain much of the character of the Junius Psalter-related specimens but already show the 'emaciating tendencies' of the later period.³² On these criteria the initials of Junius 11, which retain the full-bodied proportions of

²⁸ Wormald, 'Decorated Initials', p. 59.

²⁹ For the Durham Ritual, 28v, see Temple, ill. 10; for the Tollemache Orosius, p. 8, see Campbell's facsimile edition; for the Tanner Bede, 79r and 14v, see Bately's facsimile edition (79v also appears in Temple, ill. 40); for Junius 27, 20r and 135v, see Temple, ills. 20 and 1; for the Junius 11 initials, see pls. *Ia–c*. Most of these initials make use of all three sizes, as in Junius 11, p. 71: the animal bodies are the widest component; the descender of the **p** is about half as wide, and the interlaced tendril sprouting from one beast's head is the narrowest component.

³⁰ Temple, p. 40. These proportions are clearly different from those of the early tenth century, when the bodies were scarcely wider than the connecting animal and vegetal limbs, and they are also distinct from later tenth-century initials in which the acanthus tendrils and interlace grow ever thinner.

³¹ Specifically, one may generally observe the following features in these initials: a double line at the corner of the mouth; a double line for the contour over the eye, usually curved in a manner which gives the appearance of scowling; a single curled line defining the nose; frequently a crest or knob appears above the nose or on the upper neck; occasionally a single line defines an upper lip; sometimes teeth are present. The detailing of wings is fairly constant, with several rows of scalloped feathers giving way to parallel lines running the remainder of the length of the wing (except in the Durham Ritual example). Later in the tenth century, facial detail develops to include additional contours and shading, as in the Type IIa initials of the later tenth and eleventh centuries illustrated by Temple (cat. no. 19 v–xi and ill. 68–75).

³² For the Salisbury Psalter (Salisbury, Cathedral Library, 150), see Wormald, 'Decorated Initials', pl. 59; for the Bosworth Psalter (London, British Library, Add. 37517), see Temple, cat. no. 22 and ill. 81.

the earlier initials, would seem to be contemporary with or slightly earlier than those of the Bosworth Psalter and the Salisbury Psalter.

Other scholars have noticed that the Junius 11 initials would indeed have been unusual if produced in the eleventh century: Ker labels them an example of ‘the elaborate *tenth-century* style of penwork initial’,³³ and Temple observes that ‘they are rather retrospective in style and, composed of full-bodied dragons, interlace, beasts’ and mask heads, they recall no. 7 (Junius Psalter)’.³⁴ If we take at face value the obvious tenth-century character of the Junius 11 initials, we should assign them a probable date between the middle of the century and the end of the 970s, unless we can find a compelling reason to support Wormald’s suggestion of ‘artificial antiquity’. On the other hand, the initials alone do not allow us to rule out the possibility that they are a later, very faithful copy of initials in the style of the Junius Psalter.

THE DRAWINGS OF THE FIRST ARTIST OF JUNIUS 11

The question of Scandinavian influence

Wormald’s dating of Junius 11 to the second quarter of the eleventh century relies chiefly on his observation of ‘Scandinavian features’ in the manuscript. The designs on pp. 225 and 230 contain elements probably related to the Ringerike style of Scandinavian art, which emerged around the year 1000,³⁵ but as part of Liber II, they are separated by some interval of time from the work of the first artist and need not be considered in our dating of the Old Testament section of the manuscript.³⁶

³³ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. xxxviii; italics mine. ³⁴ Temple, p. 77.

³⁵ On the Ringerike qualities of these designs, see T. D. Kendrick, *Late Saxon and Viking Art* (London, 1949), pp. 104–5; D. Talbot Rice, *English Art, 871–1100* (Oxford, 1952), p. 129; D. M. Wilson and O. Klindt-Jensen, *Viking Art* (Ithaca, NY, 1966), p. 141; and W. Holmqvist, ‘Viking Art in the Eleventh Century’, *Acta Archaeologica* 22 (1951), 1–56 *passim*. On the dating and characteristics of the Ringerike style, see Wilson and Klindt-Jensen, *Viking Art*, pp. 134–46, and S. H. Fuglesang, ‘Stylistic Groups in Late Viking and Early Romanesque Art’, *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia* 1 (1981), 79–125, esp. 80–90. Both of these surveys of the Ringerike style also deal briefly with its relationship to English art; fuller studies of this topic include Holmqvist, ‘Viking Art in the Eleventh Century’, and S. H. Fuglesang, ‘The Relationship Between Scandinavian and English Art from the Late Eighth to the Mid-Twelfth Century’, *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, ed. P. E. Szarmach with the assistance of V. D. Oggins (Kalamazoo, MI, 1986), pp. 203–41, esp. 227–8. Fuglesang also explores the possibility that the designs on pp. 225 and 230 of Junius 11 may be derived from Carolingian rather than Scandinavian models; see *Some Aspects of the Ringerike Style* (Odense, 1980), pp. 72–4 and 199.

³⁶ Wormald’s surmise that the second Junius 11 artist, who drew the illustrations on pp. 73–88, also did the designs on pp. 225 and 230, is often repeated but not substantiated. Kendrick makes no distinction between the artist responsible for the pictures on pp. 41 and 57 and the artist of the designs (*Late Saxon*, pp. 104–5). Temple (p. 77) proposes that the *first* artist of Junius 11 also drew the Scandinavian designs, which is unlikely; on the relationship between Liber II, containing the Ringerike designs, and Liber I, see above, n. 4, as well as Lucas, ‘Incomplete Ending’, p. 50.

We should, however, consider Wormald's claim that Scandinavian features appear in the work of the first artist,³⁷ such as the dragon ornament on p. 56, the interlace in the column capitals on p. 57, and Noah's Ark depicted as a dragon-head ship on pp. 66 and 68.³⁸ T. D. Kendrick, who dates the manuscript to the period 1030–50, adds the acanthus ornament in the left-hand border of p. 41 (see pl. IIIa) to his list of Scandinavian traits.³⁹ More recently, Barbara Raw has upheld the dating of Wormald and Kendrick, relying primarily on the dragon-head ship.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, scholarly estimation of the degree of Scandinavian influence – particularly of the style datable to the period 1025–50 – has declined sharply in the last half-century. Since Wilhelm Holmqvist in 1951 established that the relationship between Scandinavian and English art consisted of influence exerted *on* the Scandinavians as well as *by* them,⁴¹ scholars have moved away from the earlier tendency to find Scandinavianisms throughout Junius 11 and other English manuscripts.⁴² By the 1980s, Signe Horn Fuglesang eliminated

³⁷ Scholars have generally assumed that the first artist is also responsible for the Type I initials on pp. 1–73, 79 and 143, although there is no secure evidence to support this claim (Temple, p. 77; Gollancz, *Cædmon Manuscript*, p. xviii; Lucas, 'MS Junius 11 and Malmesbury', p. 206). On stylistic grounds this attribution seems unlikely, and Gollancz's support of this attribution is weak, as G. Henderson demonstrates in 'The Programme of Illustrations in Bodleian MS Junius XI', *Studies in Memory of David Talbot Rice*, ed. G. Robertson and G. Henderson (Edinburgh, 1975), pp. 113–45, at 115. I therefore treat the initials and the line illustrations as the work of separate contributors to the Junius 11 codex.

³⁸ Wormald, 'Decorated Initials', p. 59, and *idem*, *English Drawings of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries* (London, 1952), p. 76. ³⁹ Kendrick, *Late Saxon*, p. 105.

⁴⁰ B. C. Raw, 'The Probable Derivation of Most of the Illustrations in Junius 11 from an Illustrated Old Saxon *Genesis*', *ASE* 5 (1976), 133–48, at 134: 'The manuscript probably dates from the second quarter of the eleventh century for there are a number of Scandinavian elements in the work of both artists, in particular the representations of the ark as a dragon ship on pp. 65, 66, and 68.'

⁴¹ Holmqvist, 'Viking Art', proposes a date of 'around the year 1000' for Junius 11, based on comparison with native English artistic developments (p. 48). Holmqvist's seldom-cited analysis of Junius 11 is ultimately made less credible by his suggestion that all the artwork in the manuscript was executed by a single hand (pp. 14–15), but his argument about the direction of artistic influence is, on the whole, persuasive.

⁴² In 1951, Holmqvist commented, 'Unfortunately, there has hitherto been an exaggerated belief in Scandinavian influence upon insular art, and this now makes it difficult to survey the situation with an unbiased mind' ('Viking Art', p. 13). Talbot Rice, already in 1952, assigned a Canterbury origin of *c.* 1000 to Junius 11, with no mention of Scandinavian features except in the pattern designs on the final pages (*English Art*, pp. 129 and 203–5), which he recognized as chronologically discrete from the production of the first 212 pages. Wilson and Klindt-Jensen (in 1966) consider Holmqvist's redating 'improbable', but they too doubt that Kendrick and Wormald were accurate in attributing so many features of English manuscript art to Scandinavian influence: 'Other elements of the Ringerike style have been alleged in English manuscript sources, but, apart from certain scraps of interlace ornament in the Bodleian Library manuscript, Junius 11 and some rather doubtful "Scandinavianisms" cited by Wormald in the British Museum MS., Cotton, Claudius B. iv and certain other places, they do not amount to much' (*Viking Art*, p. 143). Temple, writing in 1976, accepted Holmqvist's argument and

Junius 11 from her list of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts which display clear Scandinavian influence,⁴³ and although she acknowledges the presence of Ringerike features in the depiction of the dragon-head Ark in the Old English Illustrated Hexateuch, she finds no such features in Junius 11.⁴⁴

Scholars have now reached some agreement that 'barbaric' qualities in later Anglo-Saxon art are not to be identified with Scandinavianisms; what crudeness we find in the work of the first Junius 11 artist is to be attributed to the artist's lack of talent or training rather than to his emulation of Viking art. Although the scope of this article does not allow a detailed comparison of the Junius 11 drawings with Insular and Scandinavian works, it is useful to note that the first artist's unruly acanthus ornament and interlace, which Kendrick and Wormald considered to be symptomatic of the infection by Scandinavian tendencies, do not display the hallmarks of Ringerike art as described by Fuglesang, including 'clearly accentuated linearity, suppression of dents in the outlines, [and] predomination of even curves'.⁴⁵ To make more fruitful stylistic comparisons with the first artist's work requires that we acknowledge the difficulty of locating stylistic analogues for work executed by a less adept hand, which can obscure similarities which might be more evident in the work of an artist well-trained in emulating a particular style. Without imposing modern aesthetic biases on a medieval work of art, it may be noted that certain geometric niceties generally respected by the artists of high-grade tenth-century English manuscripts such as the 'Benedictional of St Æthelwold' (London, British Library, Add. 49598), including ruled straight lines, parallel lines, precise right angles, and symmetrical circles, are frequently neglected by the first Junius 11 artist.⁴⁶ Whether we ascribe this to lack of skill, lack of training,

Footnote 42 (*cont.*)

dating 'c. 1000' (p. 77). Fuglesang (in 1986) remarks that scholars following Kendrick 'have had a tendency to exaggerate the claim for Scandinavian influence in English manuscripts' ('The Relationship Between Scandinavian and English Art', p. 228).

⁴³ Fuglesang, 'Stylistic Groups', p. 89; cf. *idem*, *Some Aspects of the Ringerike Style*, pp. 72–4.

⁴⁴ Fuglesang, 'The Relationship Between Scandinavian and English Art', p. 228.

⁴⁵ See Fuglesang, 'Stylistic Groups', p. 86; cf. *idem*, *Some Aspects of the Ringerike Style*, p. 72. For example, the interlace of the capitals on p. 57 of Junius 11, cited by Kendrick as a certain Scandinavianism, has sharp angles and irregular protrusions suggesting vegetation, whereas Ringerike interlace exhibits smoother outlines and avoids 'dents'. Although there are a few tendrils projecting from the cluster of interlace, they are not the characteristic tendrils of Ringerike art, which are shaped like long fingers with curls at their tips, and which generally appear either in clusters or in pairs separated by lobes (see Fuglesang, 'Stylistic Groups', p. 83). In addition, the trees on pp. 11–44 of Junius 11 are thick in proportion and end in angular, ruffled leaves; they display neither the proportions nor the small terminal curls of Ringerike vegetation as exemplified by the Vang memorial stone and the vane of Heggen Church, both standard specimens of Norwegian Ringerike (see Fuglesang, 'Stylistic Groups', pp. 84–6, figs. 2–4).

⁴⁶ Karkov, *Text and Picture*, cautions us against value judgements such as these: 'A distinction has sometimes been made in the quality of the work produced by the two [Junius 11] artists, but

or lack of patience, it does reduce the degree to which his artwork is imitative and thereby obscures our view of his sources. The important point is that we must not, like Kendrick, confuse minimal adherence to the standards of high-grade tenth-century manuscript art with an intentional cultivation of a 'barbaric' style.⁴⁷

As scholarly confidence in the attribution of Junius 11's unusual features to Scandinavian influence diminished, so did the tendency to date the manuscript to the second quarter of the eleventh century. The most recent case for the later date is Raw's argument, based on the dragon-head Ark on pp. 66 and 68.⁴⁸ She does not state clearly on what grounds she considers the ship to be a product of the period 1025–50. Presumably, if she is following Wormald and Kendrick, she considers the dragon head to be in the Ringerike style; recall, however, that Fuglesang does not include Junius 11 in her discussion of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts influenced by Scandinavian art.⁴⁹ The three Junius 11 dragon heads do not have much in common with typical Ringerike-style animals, for the latter are characterized by predominantly smooth, straight

such distinctions rest on modern concerns with aesthetics and notions of what constitutes a good drawing' (pp. 35–6). However, Karkov also turns to the 'Benedictional of St Æthelwold' and its dedication poem for evidence of what the Anglo-Saxons valued in art, such as elaborate borders and a wide array of colours, which, like the traits I note above, were not pursued by the first Junius 11 artist, again suggesting a different standard. Gameson readily admits that the first Junius 11 artist 'may be cited as [an artist] whose draughtsmanship was mediocre' (*The Role of Art in the Late Anglo-Saxon Church* (Oxford, 1995), p. 69).

⁴⁷ With this said, we may pursue other stylistic comparisons more fruitful than those which have been made with Ringerike-style art. The unusual treatment of the acanthus on p. 41 of Junius 11 (both in the column at the top left and in the bottom panel surrounding Adam and Eve) provoked Kendrick to call the ornament 'just untidy nonsense, not part of a comprehensible and systematized decorative scheme' (*Late Saxon*, p. 105). On the contrary, this page may help us to understand the effect our illustrator intended to create. The ninth-century Drogo Sacramentary (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 9428) provides a precedent for both the style and the arrangement of the acanthus of p. 41. In the Sacramentary, the acanthus is characterized by thin, stretched-out limbs, frilly leaves, and a few petalled flowers, as in Junius 11. (For plates of the Drogo Sacramentary, see R. G. Calkins, *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY, 1983), pls. 85–93.) On 15v of the Sacramentary (Calkins, *ibid.* p. 168, pl. 88), acanthus interlace serves to fill up the space within the limbs of letters, similar to the use of the acanthus interlace to fill up the column in the top panel on p. 41 of Junius 11 (see pl. IIIa). Furthermore, the use of long stretches of sparsely-flowered acanthus to create visual borders enclosing illustrated figures, as on 24v of the Sacramentary (Calkins, *ibid.* p. 172, pl. 91), is paralleled on p. 41 of Junius 11 and accounts for the rather strange arrangement of the acanthus limbs in the second panel: they are meant to enclose the individual environments surrounding Adam and Eve, visually confirming their recent isolation from God and one another brought on by the Fall. The link between English acanthus ornament and the acanthus of Carolingian books related to the Drogo Sacramentary has been proposed elsewhere by Wormald, 'Decorated Initials', p. 48. ⁴⁸ Raw, 'Probable Derivation', p. 134.

⁴⁹ Fuglesang, 'Stylistic Groups', p. 89.

lines and curves (see, for instance, the dragon-head Ark in the Old English Illustrated Hexateuch),⁵⁰ while the Junius 11 dragons have many sharp angles and feathery or pointy protrusions.

There is another possible interpretation of Raw's dating of the manuscript based on the dragon-head boat: if she considers an animal-head boat of any style to be representative of Viking warships, she could, like Kevin Kiernan in his dating of the *Beowulf* manuscript to the reign of Cnut,⁵¹ be taking into consideration the political and cultural implications of the artistic representation of something likely to be linked, in the minds of the audience, with the threat of Viking invasion, outside the period of Danish rule.⁵² Three facts make this premise unlikely with respect to the Junius 11 animal-head Ark. First, the presence of animal-head boats in both Romano-British and early Christian art suggest that animal-head boats may have had, in the Anglo-Saxon mind, associations other than with Viking warships.⁵³ Second, archaeological evidence points to the use of dragon-head boats among the early Anglo-Saxons themselves, as well as their continental ancestors of the migration era, suggesting that animal-head decoration was as likely to have been associated with native Insular ship-building practice as with Viking practice.⁵⁴ Third, we can demonstrate the

⁵⁰ See the facsimile, *The Old English Illustrated Hexateuch*, ed. C. R. Dodwell and P. Clemoes, EEMF 18 (Copenhagen, 1974), 14r and colour frontispiece.

⁵¹ K. Kiernan, *Beowulf and the Beowulf Manuscript*, rev. ed. (Ann Arbor, MI, 1996), p. 15.

⁵² Wilson and Klindt-Jensen use a similar argument to narrow the dating of the Ringerike-style stone slab from St Paul's, London, to 1025–50, contrary to Holmqvist's suggestion that it be dated around the middle of the eleventh century: 'It is conceivable, but hardly likely, that certain fine pieces of Ringerike decorated material were produced in England during the reign of the Confessor, but it must be assumed that such a completely Scandinavian piece as the St Paul's stone was produced by a Viking craftsman for a Viking – an unlikely event after the reign of Harthacnut' (*Viking Art*, p. 145).

⁵³ P. Marsden discusses a miniature Roman animal-head prow, found in London, a memorial to the achievements of the warship *Ammilla*; additionally, a gold medallion struck for the advent of Constantius Chlorus in Britain (260 AD) illustrates an oared ship with prominent animal head and tail at each end (*Ships of the Port of London: First to Eleventh Centuries A.D.* (London, 1994), pp. 17 and 105 and figs. 6d and 95). For an early Christian example, notably of an animal-head boat illustrating an Old Testament episode, see especially the fourth-century 'Jonah and the Whale' mosaic at Aquileia Cathedral, in L. R. Martin, *The Art and Archaeology of Venetian Ships and Boats* (College Station, TX, 2001), p. 28, fig. 4; see also p. 28, fig. 3 for a mosaic of a fishing boat with similar decoration.

⁵⁴ For animal-head boats of the migration era and the early Insular period, see R. Bruce-Mitford, 'Ships' Figure-Heads of the Migration Period', *Aspects of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology: Sutton Hoo and Other Discoveries* (New York, 1974), pp. 175–87. See esp. p. 185, where Bruce-Mitford concludes that 'dragon-heads or serpentine stem-posts, well known later from the Oseberg Ship, the Gotlandic Stones, the Bayeux Tapestry, trial-pieces and moulds were already established in the barbarian north [on the Continent] in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D.' The author goes on to suggest that such dragon-head boats were used by the invaders of Britain and by those responsible for the Sutton-Hoo ship burial.

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presence of animal-head boats in at least two manuscripts present in England before 1025. The ninth-century Utrecht Psalter, which was brought to England no later than the late tenth century,⁵⁵ portrays animal-head boats in the illustrations of Ps. XLVII and CIII.⁵⁶ In the early eleventh century, these animal-head boats were taken over into English manuscript art by the illustrators of the Harley Psalter, who relied on the Utrecht Psalter as their model.⁵⁷ Here, too, the animal-head boats appear at Ps. XLVII and CIII, and one of the boats is clearly adorned with a dragon-head with upright horns, a long, flat nose, and open jaws.⁵⁸ Clearly the depiction of an animal-head boat, even a dragon-head boat, does not lend support to a *terminus post quem* of 1025.

The case in favour of dating Junius 11 based on Scandinavian influence, therefore, has serious weaknesses which make the attribution of Junius 11 to the period 1025–50 unlikely. Although the scope of the present article does not permit an extensive examination of the stylistic tendencies of the first Junius 11 artist, we might briefly consider his figure drawings in light of the spectrum of mid-tenth-century stylistic developments proposed by Robert Deshman.⁵⁹

Figural style

As mentioned above, with reference to the crudity of the first artist's acanthus decoration, we cannot ignore the problems which attend the comparison of high-grade stylistic trends with the traits of an unusual artist like the first Junius 11 illustrator; at any rate, it would be unwise to put too much weight on such a brief and preliminary comparison as the one which follows below. However, several art historians – including some who favour an eleventh-century date – have suggested that Junius 11's nearest artistic relatives are manuscripts from the early decades of the tenth century. Wormald, for example, writes that the work of the first artist 'seems to be based on the early tenth century English

⁵⁵ Utrecht, Rijksuniversiteit Bibliotheek, 32 was probably executed around 830 at the monastery of Hautvillers, near Rheims, and imported to England before the end of the tenth century; see W. Noel, *The Harley Psalter* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 2. K. van der Horst suggests a date of *c.* 820 (*The Utrecht Psalter in Medieval Art: Picturing the Psalms of David*, ed. K. van der Horst, W. Noel, and W. C. M. Wüstefeld (Tuurdijk, 1996), p. 23).

⁵⁶ See *Vollständige Faksimile – Ausgabe im Originalformat der Handschrift 32 – Utrecht-Psalter* (Graz, 1982), 30v and 62v. One of the ships on 30v is not a bird-head boat, but a dragon-head boat with two pointy, laid-back ears, and open mouth, and a snub nose. Although it lacks detail because of its tiny size, it is a closer analogue to the Junius 11 dragon-heads than are Ringerike-style dragon-heads.

⁵⁷ London, British Library, Harley 603. Temple (cat. no. 64, p. 81) dates the Harley Psalter to the early eleventh century, and most of the opinions cited by Noel fall between 1000 and 1025 (*Harley Psalter*, p. 6).

⁵⁸ For the illustration of Ps. CIII, see Temple, ill. 205, and Ohlgren, *Anglo-Saxon Textual Illustration*, p. 211; for Ps. XLVII and the dragon-head boat, see Ohlgren, *ibid.* p. 193.

⁵⁹ Deshman, 'Leofric Missal', pp. 148–58.

work possibly of the period of King Athelstan'.⁶⁰ Temple states that the first artist's drawings 'copy earlier, probably English models'.⁶¹ Is the impression of antiquity in the illustrations due only to faithful copying of an early model, or are there aspects of the first artist's own style which suggest an early date of execution?

Deshman, in his study of the Leofric Missal, describes three elements of figure drawing which evolved in demonstrable patterns over the course of the mid- to late tenth century. To illustrate the early and late extremes, he analyses the drawing of Christ and Dunstan in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 4. 32, 1r, most likely from the 950s, and the drawing of Vita on 49v of the Leofric Missal (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 579), probably drawn in the year 979 (see pls. IVa–b).⁶² Deshman develops three chronological spectra based on the stylistic trends which he observes in these manuscripts: (1) the figures are full-bodied and three-dimensional in the earlier part of the period, but they grow thinner and flatter in later years; (2) the drapery, which in the earlier period is illustrated with longer, more continuous and curving lines, comes to be dominated by 'a nervous ornamental pattern' and 'sketchy and broken' lines; (3) in the illustration of faces, there is a shift from large facial features which occupy the entire face to tiny and delicate features, accompanied by an increased use of parallel lines or stippling to illustrate hair.⁶³ Bridging the gap between the extremes of each stylistic spectrum are the 'Benedictional of St Æthelwold', most likely illustrated c. 973,⁶⁴ and an illustration of Christ in a manuscript of the *Regula pastoralis* (Oxford, St John's College 28, 2r), which Deshman dates to the 960s in light of its position on each of the stylistic spectra: its resemblances to both the Dunstan drawing and the Leofric Missal 'demonstrate that the drawing in the Canterbury manuscript [of the *Regula pastoralis*] falls stylistically and chronologically between the picture in the Dunstan codex and the one in the Missal. On the whole, however, the Canterbury drawing is closer to the former in style and thus in date'.⁶⁵

The first Junius 11 artist's numerous figure drawings provide ample material for a comparison of roughly datable stylistic features. We may begin with the proportions of the bodies. The two drawings of Christ (the Dunstan drawing and the *Regula pastoralis* drawing) 'have extremely broad waists and thighs and narrower shoulders and lower legs', while the figures of the 'Benedictional of St Æthelwold' and the Leofric Missal illustration of Vita are 'narrow and rectangu-

⁶⁰ Wormald, *English Drawings*, p. 40. ⁶¹ Temple, p. 77.

⁶² Deshman, 'Leofric Missal'. He presents his rationale for the dating of the Missal on p. 146; the stylistic comparisons appear on pp. 152–8. ⁶³ *Ibid.* pp. 152–5.

⁶⁴ On the dating of the Benedictional, see R. Deshman, *The Benedictional of Æthelwold* (Princeton, NJ, 1995), pp. 260–1: 'The Benedictional was completed between 971 and 984, most likely ca. 973.' ⁶⁵ Deshman, 'Leofric Missal', pp. 153–4.

lar with a short waist and long legs'.⁶⁶ The Junius 11 figures tend to be somewhat rectangular and have slender legs, but their midsections, while less curvy than the Christ illustrations, are solid, three-dimensional, and occasionally heavy, as in the enthroned God pictured in the frontispiece, the large angel in the top register of p. 3, and the depictions of Enoch on p. 61 (pl. III*b*). Both Junius 11 and the 'Benedictional of St Æthelwold' tend to juxtapose relatively rounded figures with slender, more vertical figures,⁶⁷ indicating perhaps a transitional position on the stylistic spectrum.

In the first artist's work, the drapery, too, suggests a transitional style between that of the Dunstan drawing and that of the illustration of Vita: its hemlines are far less brittle and nervous than those of the Vita drawing, and in general they are more relaxed and contain fewer zigzag folds than those of the Benedictional as well.⁶⁸ The majority of figures are dressed in drapery comparable to that of the *Regula pastoralis* Christ, such as the angel in the top register of p. 3. The articulation of the flying ends of the mantles of Junius 11 figures (as on p. 7) is strikingly similar to that of the Dunstan and *Regula pastoralis* illustrations, while it exhibits far fewer folds and sharp angles than the flying mantles in the Benedictional or the Missal. Another helpful comparison may be made between the drapery of the figures on pp. 41 and 61 of Junius 11 (pls. III*a* and *b*) and those in the well-known portrayal of King Edgar offering the New Minster Foundation Charter to Christ (London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A. viii, 2v, dated 966 but possibly executed somewhat later; see pl. IV*c*).⁶⁹ The v-folds below the abdomen, the flying mantles, and the elevated outer edges of the hemlines are closely related in terms of shape, tension, and angularity of folds.⁷⁰

As for the facial features, Junius 11 shares traits with both the early and late manuscripts on our spectrum. All four kinds of hair mentioned by Deshman are represented in Junius 11: the earlier types, solid-colour and blank (with neither colour nor line embellishment), and the later types, accented with parallel lines

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* p. 155.

⁶⁷ See, for example, the thick-set angel and the slender Women at the Tomb (Deshman, *Benedictional of Æthelwold*, 51v, ill. 22) and the thick-waisted Enoch and angels alongside the thinner (but still three-dimensional) onlookers on p. 61 of Junius 11.

⁶⁸ Cf., for instance, the Vita illustration and the Benedictional's Doubting of Thomas (Deshman, *Benedictional of Æthelwold*, 56v, ill. 24) with even the most agitated treatments of drapery in Junius 11, as on pp. 41 (top register) and 61. Although Temple (p. 77) characterizes the Junius 11 hemlines as 'wildly agitated but strangely frozen and formalized', the 'agitated' upturn of the hem at its most exaggerated, on p. 61, is still less tightly crimped than the hem of the figure in the *Dextera Domini* illustration of the Leofric Missal (see Deshman, 'Leofric Missal', pl. IV).

⁶⁹ Temple, cat. no. 16 and ill. 84; for a colour plate, see *The Utrecht Psalter in Medieval Art*, ed. van der Horst *et al.*, p. 145.

⁷⁰ The work of the New Minster Charter artist and the first Junius 11 artist are also comparable in terms of facial features (see below) and depictions of hands and feet: compare the figure of God on p. 31 of Junius 11 with St Peter in the bottom right corner of the Edgar illustration.

or stippling. The faces drawn by the first Junius 11 artist have large features which fill the face, a trait shared with the two Christ illustrations, but they exhibit the type of eyes shared by the *Regula pastoralis* Christ and the Leofric Vita.⁷¹ Thus with regard to all three stylistic developments discussed by Dешman, the first artist of Junius 11 practised a style associated with a period earlier than that of the Leofric Missal and later than that of the Dunstan Christ, but roughly contemporaneous with the *Regula pastoralis* (960s), the Edgar illustration (*post* 966), and the ‘Benedictional of St Æthelwold’ (*c.* 973). We cannot date Junius 11 on the basis of the stylistic habits of the first artist alone, but a date of *c.* 970 would account for certain roughly datable features in his figure drawings.

The use of colour in Junius 11

One further aspect of the artwork deserves comment here, namely the use of colour by the first Junius 11 artist. The second artist’s work, in blue, green, and red inks, is probably roughly contemporaneous with his work in the Corpus Prudentius manuscript – within perhaps fifteen years of it, judging from the similarity of style and the short time we might expect an illustrator to maintain healthy hands and eyes.⁷² His Junius 11 drawings almost certainly postdate the Leofric Missal, thought to be the earliest example of Anglo-Saxon coloured ink drawing; the coloured drawings of Junius 11 therefore represent a relatively new trend in Insular art.⁷³ The first artist, in contrast, worked in a more traditional colour scheme, using brown and red inks occasionally embellished with a wash in similar tones.⁷⁴ On p. 11 the figure of God is fully painted in sombre greens and browns, while the rest of the illustration consists only of line drawing. Temple notes that the use of colour in this illustration is best compared with early tenth-century manuscripts, the Æthelstan Psalter (London, British Library, Cotton Galba A. xviii + Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson 484, fol. 85), illustrated during the reign of Æthelstan, and the Junius Psalter, among others,⁷⁵ while the use of a single painted figure in an otherwise unpainted line drawing has its earliest known parallel in the ‘Benedictional of St Æthelwold’, 118v,

⁷¹ Dешman’s description of the eyes of the *Regula pastoralis* Christ and the drawing of Vita states that ‘The upper eyelid in both faces is formed by a double line and the lower lid by a single straight one, and the eyelids are not joined together at the corners of the eye’ (‘Leofric Missal’, p. 153). For a clear example of this style in Junius 11, see p. 36.

⁷² Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 23, dated to the late tenth century; see Temple, cat. no. 48 and ill. 50, 155–58.

⁷³ For a colour plate of the second artist’s work (p. 84), see the frontispiece to the Gollancz facsimile. On the early stages of coloured ink drawings in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, see Alexander, ‘Some Aesthetic Principles in the Use of Colour in Anglo-Saxon Art’, p. 149, and Dешman, ‘Leofric Missal’, pp. 158–62.

⁷⁴ To view all the illustrations of both artists in colour, go to <http://image.ox.ac.uk/show?collection=bodleian&manuscript=msjunius11>. ⁷⁵ Temple, p. 76.

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which portrays the bishop, fully painted, blessing his congregation which, along with the architectural background, is drawn in red ink only.⁷⁶ If the first and second artists worked in the same scriptorium, we might expect them to have had access to the same colours of ink, if they were working at approximately the same time – especially if, as many scholars believe, they were both working in a major scriptorium such as Christ Church, Canterbury, some decades after the Leofric Missal pioneered the use of coloured ink drawings. It seems more probable, therefore, that the first artist completed his work before the introduction of coloured ink drawing techniques into his scriptorium. If we concur with the identification of the second Junius 11 artist as the illustrator of the Corpus Prudentius, and we date his Junius 11 work as roughly contemporary (late tenth century), then the first artist of Junius 11 probably worked in the preceding period, perhaps the third quarter of the tenth century, before blue and green inks came into widespread use for drawing.

PALAEOGRAPHY AND PUNCTUATION IN LIBER I

Neil Ker assigned a date of 's. x/xi' to the work of Scribe 1, who wrote pp. 1–212 of Junius 11, and most scholars have, with good reason, accepted Ker's opinion.⁷⁷ However, since the appearance of Ker's *Catalogue* in 1957, further research in the field of tenth-century scripts suggests that a Square minuscule showing little or no Caroline influence is not likely to have been written at or after the turn of the eleventh century. We have good cause, therefore, to re-evaluate individual features of Scribe 1's hand and assign a more probable date to his work. I wish to note that the research of David Dumville, in which he rigidly periodizes the phases of Square minuscule, does play a part in the argument which follows, but I rely more heavily on Ker's judgements about the chronological distribution of individual letter forms, because, as might be expected in an era of rapidly changing script types, no extant manuscript, datable or otherwise, shares Junius 11's precise combination of letter-forms, proportions, aspect and degree of formality.⁷⁸ The safest and most thorough

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*; for a colour plate of the Æthelwold illustration, see Deshman, *Benedictional of Æthelwold*, ill. 35.

⁷⁷ Ker intended this date to denote a fifty-year period, around 975–1025, but with the most likely date falling around the middle of that period (*Catalogue*, p. xx; see also Dumville, 'Beowulf Come Lately', p. 51).

⁷⁸ Dumville takes scriptorial synchronicity for granted through the mid-tenth century: 'For the next half-century [after 930], continuing developments in the script are most easily followed in the corpus of Anglo-Saxon royal diplomas . . . A notable variety of forms of this script, defined by its occurrence in dated documents, often allows fairly precise dating of related specimens in undated contexts' ('Beowulf Come Lately', p. 52). Although Dumville claims that no evidence yet demonstrates that undated documents produced by non-royal scribes did *not* follow the rigidly periodized phases of Square script witnessed by dated charters, it is impossible to

procedure will be to examine each feature separately to determine which ones might influence the balance of probability.

Because Liber II was a later addition to Junius 11, the three scripts contained therein deserve only brief mention here.⁷⁹ The three scribes who worked on Liber II used a minuscule characteristic of the early eleventh century; it is differentiated from the script of the first Junius 11 scribe by the use of both Caroline **a** and a teardrop-shaped **a** of non-Square ductus, adoption of the tall **s**, less frequent use of tall **e** in ligature, and laterally compressed proportions.⁸⁰ We may safely say that the execution of Liber II occurred no earlier than the first years of the eleventh century.⁸¹

However, the script which appears on pages 1–212 is considerably different in character. The dominance of square **a** and the corresponding absence of the teardrop-shaped **a** indicate that Scribe 1 practised Anglo-Saxon Square minuscule. Evidence of dated and datable manuscripts strongly suggests that this script was discontinued during the first decade of the eleventh century, giving us a *terminus ante quem* of c. 1010.⁸² Accordingly, the probability of this script occurring during the second quarter of the eleventh century is extremely low; a date shortly after the year 1000 is improbable but not, perhaps, impossible. To narrow the period during which the first scribe of Junius 11 might have worked, we need to examine individual letter forms and scribal habits in search of chronologically significant characteristics.

Individual letter-forms

a One of the chief characteristics of most specimens of Square minuscule is the square **a** made with three strokes: one moving down from the top left corner and curving sharply to the right to make the (often angular) bowl; one

Footnote 78 (*cont.*)

demonstrate that all English scribes *did* keep up with royal scribes in terms of changing phases of Square minuscule. Dumville explains his vision of a mechanism for such scriptorial synchronicity at p. 161 of ‘The Mid-Century Phases’, but this vision relies on unsubstantiated assumptions of ‘the power of local desire to imitate royal fashion’.

⁷⁹ For a fuller description of the Liber II hands, see *Christ and Satan: an Old English Poem*, ed. M. D. Clubb (New Haven, CT, 1925), pp. xi–xiii.

⁸⁰ Ker remarks that the first of these (pp. 213–15) is ‘untidy and sloping’, and he dates all three to ‘s. xi’¹ (*Catalogue*, no. 334, p. 408).

⁸¹ Dumville, ‘Beowulf Come Lately’, p. 63: ‘The new [Vernacular] minuscule was not being employed as a bookhand before the first decade of the eleventh century.’ On the term ‘Vernacular minuscule’, see also Dumville’s ‘Specimina Codicum Palaeoanglicorum’, *Kansai University Collection of Essays in Commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of the Institute of Oriental and Occidental Studies* (Osaka, 2001), pp. 1–24, at 10–12.

⁸² Dumville’s research on the transition from Square minuscule to eleventh-century Vernacular minuscule indicates that ‘No book (or charter) certainly datable by its contents to after A.D. 1000 is a specimen of Square minuscule’ (‘Beowulf Come Lately’, p. 61). He further claims that

beginning at the top right and coming down to the base line before hooking up to the right, either slightly or with exaggeration; and finally, the straight line, sometimes a hairstroke, from left to right across the top, closing what would otherwise be an open **a**.⁸³ Some scribes also employed a Square **a** made with only two strokes, such that the first stroke forms the bowl as in the three-stroke form, but the second stroke begins in contact with the top of the first stroke, forms the flat top of the **a** moving from left to right, and then angles downward to form the right side of the letter.⁸⁴ In some specimens, the first stroke bows more sharply to the left while descending, or the top part of the second stroke is very short, causing the shape of the letter to resemble Vernacular **a**; thus it is of importance that we observe not only the shape of a particular scribe's **a** but also the arrangement of the strokes.

The first scribe of Junius 11 uses the two-stroke square **a** as his standard form. It usually retains its square shape, that is, with a wide rather than a tapered top, but it does not always have sharp corners. The two-stroke Square **a** duct is evident in the frequent appearance of a little lip on the top left corner, showing that the first stroke comes from the left. In some instances, the scribe does not sharply angle his second stroke, so that the **a** has a very round appearance.⁸⁵ On occasion, the shape of the **a** so nearly approximates the teardrop shape of the Vernacular **a** that we must look very closely to see that he is indeed retaining the Square duct rather than shifting to the Vernacular duct; the best demonstration of this may be seen by viewing the online digital images of some of his more careless **a**'s.⁸⁶ Ker notes that late-tenth-century Square **a** was 'particularly square',

'Datable specimens of script show the Square minuscule to have been written to the very end of the tenth century and probably even a very few years beyond A.D. 1000, albeit (no doubt) by scribes trained before that date. . . . No specimen of Square minuscule is datable later than [1001 × 1013]; in fact, on the strictest interpretation of dating criteria, no example *need* be dated after A.D. 1000' (*ibid.* p. 54).

⁸³ The scribe of Junius 27, for example, writes a hairline top-stroke which extends past the downward strokes on both sides, illustrating that it is a third, distinct stroke. In contrast, in eleventh-century Vernacular minuscule, the Square **a** is replaced by a two-stroke, teardrop-shaped **a**: both strokes begin at the top right, the first moving diagonally down toward the left and curving back to the right along the baseline to form the rounded bowl, and the second moving downward, more or less perpendicular to the baseline, until intersecting with the first stroke and hooking up to the right, as in the scripts of Junius 11, Liber II (where it appears alongside Caroline **a**).

⁸⁴ The scribe of London, British Library, Cotton Charter VIII. 14 (S 864, BM Facs. iii. 33, written in 987) betrays his use of the two-stroke method by his reduction of the top right corner to a curve as he elides the two strokes: see line 8, *transfere*, and line 10, *clarescit*. None the less, these are not Vernacular **a**, because the intended shape is the square, not the teardrop, and the two strokes meet at the left side rather than the right side of the letter.

⁸⁵ One pronounced example appears at p. 1, line 18, in the word *noldan*. For this and subsequent examples of letter-forms, I recommend viewing the digitized images at <http://image.ox.ac.uk/show?collection=bodleian&manuscript=msjunius11>.

⁸⁶ On p. 13, compare line 1 *ac* with line 2 *variad* and line 8 *sande*; see also p. 29, line 7, *ac*.

while earlier in the century ‘it might be pointed, or rounded much like a modern written **a**, or more or less square.’⁸⁷ The rounded and ‘more or less square’ forms prevail in the work of the first Junius 11 scribe, whose **a**, especially in comparison with a typical script of the 990s, has square proportions but lacks sharp angles.⁸⁸

Alongside the two-stroke variety of the Square **a**, Scribe 1 also occasionally uses the oc-**a** carried over from Insular majuscules of previous centuries and frequently employed in combination with square **a** in the early phases of Square minuscule; although in Phase II manuscripts the oc-**a** is rounded, in Junius 11 it takes the form of a Square **a** modified by a hook on the top right corner. This form appears rarely in positions where a capital is not required;⁸⁹ it is used several times in initial position immediately after punctuation, suggesting that the scribe adopted it as a capital form.⁹⁰ Scribe 1 does not use Caroline **a** or the teardrop-shaped **a** of Vernacular minuscule, either of which we would expect to appear in an eleventh-century manuscript. Most manuscripts which use oc-**a** in combination with square **a** are products of the very early tenth century, but this combination does appear in later manuscripts such as Cambridge, Trinity College B. 11. 2 (s. x med.; see pl. II*a*)⁹¹ and London, British Library, Add. Charter 19792 (dated 969).⁹² These manuscripts show a regular distribution of oc-**a** throughout the text, unlike Junius 11. It is likely that the infrequent presence of oc-**a** in non-capital positions in Junius 11 is an effect of copying an exemplar containing oc-**a**; it is also possible that the first scribe was trained in an early or mid-century script which alternated oc- and square **a**, but that he was working to eliminate oc-**a** from his repertoire.

⁸⁷ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. xxviii.

⁸⁸ A good example of extremely square **a** is practised by the second scribe (25v–45v, 91r–197r, 197v/6–218) of London, British Library, Royal 7. C. XII, a manuscript of Ælfric’s First Series of *Catholic Homilies*: see the facsimile, *Ælfric’s First Series of Catholic Homilies*, ed. N. Eliason and P. Clemoes, EEMF 13 (Copenhagen, 1966), esp. p. 35, where the editors state their reasons for dating the manuscript to ‘the first half of 990.’

⁸⁹ See p. 8, line 15 *folca*, and p. 14, line 1, *ahwalda*.

⁹⁰ See, for instance, p. 14, line 21, *Abof*; p. 26, line 1, *Adamr*; p. 30, line 21, *Adam*. Gollancz provides a fuller discussion of capitals in the text; see *Cadmon Manuscript*, pp. xix–xxi. Lucas also discusses the small capitals in *Exodus* in the introduction to his edition of the poem (*Exodus*, rev. ed. (Exeter, 1994), pp. 19–20).

⁹¹ See S. Keynes, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and Other Items of Related Interest in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge*, 3rd ed. (Binghamton, NY, 1992), p. 16 and pl. VI, and Temple, ill. 79–80. Bishop (‘Notes’ [pt 4], pp. 324–5) compares the script with mid-tenth-century charters, but Dumville claims that this manuscript represents Phase II and is therefore a product of the 930s (‘Mid-Century Phases’, pp. 138–9).

⁹² S 1326; BM Facs. iii. 28. In addition, the Exeter Book (Exeter, Cathedral Library, 3501, fols. 8–130; s. x²), like Junius 11, was written by a scribe who used the oc-**a** as a capital (see 9r, line 4) and the square **a** as his standard minuscule form; see the facsimile, *The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry*, ed. R. W. Chambers, M. Förster, and R. Flower (London, 1933); see also Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 116 (p. 153).

æ Scribe 1 writes this letter by attaching the lobe and the tongue of the **e** onto the back of his normal square **a**. He usually begins the lobe at the top of the **a**, so that the **e** is often slightly taller than the **a**. Ker states that the indiscriminate use of tall **æ** without a following ligature is characteristic of eleventh-century manuscripts, but Scribe 1 avoids tall **æ** in non-ligatured positions.⁹³

d The straight-backed half-uncial form of **d** does not appear in Liber I of Junius 11; the usual form has a very short back lying horizontally across the body and often breaking sharply upward at the tip. Frequently, to avoid interference with a previous letter, the back of **d** rises up from the body at an angle of as much as 45° from the head line.⁹⁴ Ker notes that the tendency to form horizontal-backed **d** was at its height in the eleventh century,⁹⁵ but the discrepancy between tenth- and eleventh-century use of the horizontal back is not pronounced enough for us to give chronological significance to the presence of horizontal and diagonal backs on **d** in Junius 11, as horizontal-backed **d** appears in manuscripts throughout the tenth century, often alongside diagonal-backed **d** and (in the first half of the century) the half-uncial form.

e In its short form, **e** is somewhat angular at the top left corner, where a hook is occasionally visible at the start of the first stroke, but Scribe 1 does not exaggerate its squareness. The tall form of **e** nearly always has a closed lobe. Ker records that in Junius 11 ‘**e** is high in combination with a following **a, f, m, n, o, r, s**, but not usually before **c, g, t**, or in the combination **æ** or if it occurs in a prefix (e.g. *gefysed*)’.⁹⁶ I would augment Ker’s description with the observation that Scribe 1 also uses tall **e** with **i, p, u** and **wynn**, while ligatures with **c, g** and **t** are made more frequently than Ker seems to suggest.

The use of tall-**e** ligatures is chronologically significant because tenth-century scribes used tall **e** whenever it could possibly be ligatured to a following letter,⁹⁷ but the conventions governing the use of tall **e** were less well understood and less regularly practised in the eleventh century, which led to the reduction or abandonment of tall-**e** ligatures by some scribes, while others practised the indiscriminate use of tall **e** in positions where ligature was impossible.⁹⁸ The contrast may be illustrated by a comparison of the main hand of Cambridge, Trinity College O. 4. 10 (s. x med.), which employs tall **e** whenever possible but never where inappropriate (see pl. II*b*),⁹⁹ with the second scribe of London, British Library, Royal 7. C. XII (c. 990), who very rarely uses tall **e** in any circumstance.¹⁰⁰ If

⁹³ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. xxviii.

⁹⁴ See, for example, p. 1, line 12, where the back of **d** in *heredon · sægdon* is raised in order to avoid interference with **e** and **g** respectively. ⁹⁵ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. xxix. ⁹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 408.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* p. xxxiii. ⁹⁸ *Ibid.* p. xxix.

⁹⁹ Keynes, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, p. 14 and pls. Va and Vb.

¹⁰⁰ On the work of Scribe 2, see Eliason and Clemoes, *Ælfric’s First Series of Catholic Homilies*, pp. 19–20.

Eliason and Clemoes's dating of the manuscript is correct, Scribe 2's work demonstrates that the abandonment of tall **e** was beginning well in advance of the eleventh century, at least at the scriptorium at Cerne Abbas.¹⁰¹

Scribe 1 of Junius 11 is clearly familiar with the tenth-century conventions for the use of tall-**e** ligature, but he occasionally employs no ligature or a low-**e** ligature where he could use the tall **e**. It is not likely that such a consistent use of tall **e** would have been practised by a scribe trained in the eleventh century,¹⁰² but it is more difficult to assess how early in the tenth century we might expect to see occasional inconsistencies.¹⁰³ The contrast between the slightly irregular insertion of tall **e** in Junius 11 and the virtual abandonment of tall **e** as early as 990 in the Ælfric manuscript reinforces the probability that Scribe 1 of Junius 11 was trained in a period of adherence to canonical tall-**e** conventions well before the year 990.

g Insular **g** with fully rounded upper compartment and closed lower compartment predominates in Liber I, but the upper compartment sometimes appears less rounded.¹⁰⁴ Ker notes that eleventh-century manuscripts usually exhibit closed-tail **g** while 'early' manuscripts tend to have **g** with an open tail; I suspect that by 'early' he does not mean tenth century, because a large number of early-tenth-century hands which Dumville would call 'canonical Phase II script' write a closed **g**, as do numerous hands of the later tenth century.¹⁰⁵

Hence the consistently closed **g** of Junius 11's Scribe 1 does not have much chronological importance. However, it is one of the palaeographical similarities

¹⁰¹ On the origin of the manuscript, see Eliason and Clemoes, *Ælfric's First Series of Catholic Homilies*, p. 35.

¹⁰² In fact, the discrepancy in tall-**e** usage is one of the features demonstrating the difference in age (or in date of training, at least) between the two scribes of *Beowulf*: the first scribe, writing in Vernacular minuscule, used low **e** even in ligature, while the second scribe used Square minuscule and a very tall **e**. It is also noteworthy that the second scribe uses his tall **e** somewhat carelessly, as it often appears at the end of words or before letters such as tall **s** which do not participate in **e**-ligatures. See the facsimile, *The Nowell Codex*, ed. K. Malone, EEMF 12 (Copenhagen, 1963).

¹⁰³ There are very early examples of inconsistent use of tall **e**, as in Cambridge, Trinity College B. 16. 3, which is usually dated to the second quarter of the tenth century (Keynes, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, pp. 11–12 and pl. IVb; see also Dumville, 'Background and Earliest Phases', p. 175). Cf. the use of **e** before **r** in line 4, *certaminis* and *construerent*; **e** before **n** in line 4, *construerent*, and line 3, *[oboe]dientiu[m]*; **e** before **t** in line 4, *p[ro]phete* and line 6, *nigig*; **e** before **r** in line 3, *inxxerunt*, and line 4, *pluerant*.¹⁰⁴ Cf. p. 1, line 12, *pegnas*, with p. 1, line 22, *gelamp*.

¹⁰⁵ Phase II performances with closed **g** include London, British Library, Cotton Augustus ii. 65 (S 425; BM Facs. iii. 5); Cambridge, Trinity College O. 4. 10; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 422, pp. 1–26 (*Solomon and Saturn*); and Cambridge, Trinity College B. 11. 2. The tenth- and early-eleventh-century manuscripts which I have examined do not suggest a chronological change in the use of open or closed **g** over the course of this period; manuscripts of both halves of the century are split nearly evenly between open and closed **g**. For Dumville's discussion of these manuscripts, see 'Background and Earliest Phases', pp. 173–4 and 'Mid-Century Phases', pp. 136–44.

between Junius 11 and a group of Trinity College manuscripts which T. A. M. Bishop identifies as sharing a single scribe and origin at St Augustine's, Canterbury: TCC O. 4. 10, TCC O. 2. 30, and TCC B. 11. 2, all dated 's. x med.' (see pls. II*a*, *b*, and *d*).¹⁰⁶ Although my primary interest in this discussion is not to localize Junius 11 or find sources for Scribe 1's particular script, these manuscripts, more nearly than any others I have analysed, share Junius 11's peculiar constellation of letter forms as well as its proportions and overall aspect, although Junius 11 is clearly a less formal script; I will return to a fuller discussion of these Trinity College manuscripts below.

h The right leg of **h** is usually parallel to the left leg, although it sometimes reaches out to the right slightly. One symptom of Caroline influence on late-tenth- and eleventh-century Square script is the curving inward of the right leg of the **h**;¹⁰⁷ Junius 11 does not display this tendency. However, the tendency is not prevalent enough at any point in the history of Square or early Vernacular minuscule for us to attach chronological significance to its absence from Junius 11.

i This letter often has moderate feet at the top and bottom but is not finished with a finial of any kind; it is never dotted. Although ligatures frequently connect **i** with preceding **g** and **t**, the **i** does not drop down significantly below the base line, as in the **ti** ligature characteristic of early Square script of the first decades of the tenth century, in which **i** becomes a descender.¹⁰⁸

p The shift from an open-bowed **p** to one with a closed bow is one of the more uniform changes in later tenth-century English script. Manuscripts from the first half of the century generally exhibit **p** with an open bow and a finial which angles upward into the bowl of the letter, while manuscripts of the 990s and later nearly always close the bow with a stroke which meets the back of the **p** at a right angle.¹⁰⁹ In Junius 11 the bow of **p** is open with respect to ductus, but the opening is sometimes imperceptible; the bow is often finished with a careful finial.¹¹⁰ Such a consistent use of open **p** is not likely to have occurred in a manuscript of the 990s or later.

r Scribe 1 of Junius 11 uses the Insular form of **r**, with the left leg extending below the line, sometimes only slightly, sometimes nearly as far as the longer descenders **f**, **p**, **s**, **þ** and **wynn**. The right leg dips fully or nearly to the base line

¹⁰⁶ Bishop, 'Notes', pt 4. Dumville also provides a plate of a different folio from TCC O. 4. 10 ('Mid-Century Phases', pl. II). Dumville rightly doubts Bishop's proposition that these manuscripts contain the work of a single shared scribe ('Mid-Century Phases', p. 139).

¹⁰⁷ Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. xxix–xxx. Scribe 2 of the Blickling Homilies displays this trait, as at 86v, line 5, where it is followed by a Caroline-influenced **a**; see the facsimile, *The Blickling Homilies*, ed. R. Willard, EEMF 10 (Copenhagen, 1960).

¹⁰⁸ Dumville, 'Mid-Century Phases', p. 141.

¹⁰⁹ It is noteworthy that Ker lists ten Old English specimens with open **p**, and all are dated 's. ix ex., x' except for Junius 11 (*Catalogue*, p. xxx).¹¹⁰ See p. 4, line 12, *Sceop* and *scyppend*.

before hooking back upward slightly; this leg occasionally reaches out to the right rather than descending parallel to or angled toward the left leg. No Caroline influence is apparent. The varying lengths of the descender and angles of the right leg of the **r** used by Scribe 1 are comparable to those of the scribe of the three Trinity College manuscripts (see under **g** above, and further discussion below).

s Junius 11's Scribe 1 is very unusual among tenth-century English scribes in his absolute adherence to one form of **s**, the low form. Tall **s** is entirely absent, while round **s** is never used as a minuscule form but only as a capital. It does not seem that we can attach chronological significance to this phenomenon, because from early in the tenth century, some scribes reserved certain forms of **s** for Latin texts,¹¹¹ but the usual practice was to alternate among two or three of the available forms, employing tall-**s** ligatures in the appropriate circumstances.¹¹²

If we seek to understand why the first scribe of Junius 11 had a strangely rigid attitude about limiting himself to a single form of **s**, one plausible answer is that he worked in a scriptorium which trained its scribes to reserve tall **s** and round **s** strictly for Latin manuscripts and to use low **s** exclusively in Old English manuscripts. There are not many specimens of Latin written in Square script which fit this description, but the main text of TCC O. 4. 10 does, and the scribe of TCC O. 2. 30 (who rarely uses low **s**) seems to have been working toward a similar tendency, providing another link between Junius 11 and the group of Trinity College manuscripts (see pls. II*b*, *c*, and *d*). It is noteworthy that the contemporary interlinear glossing of TCC O. 4. 10 is in Latin but that it uses low **s** alongside tall **s**, suggesting that the rules governing what form of **s** to use may have been based on the formality of the script rather than on language alone.¹¹³

t The only feature of the **t** which changed appreciably over the life span of Square minuscule is the method of finishing the curve of final **t**; a sharp downward tick at the end is a characteristic of early, high-grade specimens of Square minuscule.¹¹⁴ In Junius 11, **t** never has this decorative finish.

y With rare exceptions, the only form of **y** in Liber I is straight-limbed, with both limbs extended fully to the head line, and without dot.¹¹⁵ As with the letter **s**, Scribe 1 has chosen one form and adhered strictly to that choice, even though many tenth- and early-eleventh-century scribes employed multiple forms side-

¹¹¹ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. xxx.

¹¹² Ker does not discuss tall-**s** ligatures in detail, but common ones include initial **s** with **p**, **t** and **wynn**.

¹¹³ See Keynes, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, pls. Va and Vb, and Dumville, 'Mid-Century Phases', pl. II. ¹¹⁴ See, for instance, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 183, 6r (Temple, ill.18).

¹¹⁵ On very rare occasions Scribe 1 dots his **y** (p. 4, line 17, *syððan*; p. 8, line 19, *ryne*) or employs the small, curved form of **y** with dot (p. 154, line 7, *moyses*). Both the straight-limbed, dotted form and the curved form are so rare in this manuscript that they may be considered anomalous and not part of the scribe's intended repertoire of letter-forms; I suspect that, like the *oc-a* which makes rare appearances in Liber I, these forms were carelessly copied from the exemplar.

by-side.¹¹⁶ It is difficult to locate other examples of exclusive use of straight-limbed **y**, but analogous performances appear in the Blickling Homilies (both scribes)¹¹⁷ and in TCC O. 4. 10, which has already been noted as having many similarities with Junius 11.¹¹⁸

Proportions. For manuscripts of the early- and mid-tenth century, the term 'Square' refers not only to the shape of the angular, flat-top **a**, but also to the general proportions of letter forms with substantial single-chamber bodies; in other words, the width of most letters' bodies is the same as the distance from head line to base line. The longer ascenders and descenders (**b**, **f**, **h**, **p**, low **s**, **þ**, **wynn**) extend beyond the minim area by roughly the length of a minim, such that the area defined by the letter has the proportions of two squares whose side is the distance from head line to base line.¹¹⁹ This description does not hold true for many manuscripts of the late tenth century. As scribes began to include Old English bounds in Latin charters more regularly, the Latin was given spatial priority and the Old English was written much smaller, with the result that both in charters and in other documents, Square minuscule became laterally compressed. Ascenders and descenders grew longer with respect to the width of the body of the letter, so that proportions were no longer square.¹²⁰

Junius 11 exhibits neither the horizontal compression nor the vertical elongation which is characteristic of late-tenth- and early-eleventh-century Square minuscule. The single-chambered body of a letter such as **n** or **c** occupies a space as wide as it is tall, and ascenders and descenders are no more than twice as

¹¹⁶ One notable example is the Vercelli Book, 11r, where one can see long, curve-limbed **y**, both with and without dot; long, straight-limbed **y**, both with and without dot; and f-shaped **y**; on 24r the same scribe uses a modification of the long, straight-limbed **y** with dot, in which the descending limb is gently curved upward (see the facsimile, *The Vercelli Book*, ed. Celia Sisam, EEMF 19 (Copenhagen, 1976)). ¹¹⁷ See Willard, *The Blickling Homilies*, pp. 31 and 36.

¹¹⁸ Any study of the letter **y** in Latin manuscripts is made difficult by the infrequent appearance of this letter in Latin orthography of this period and of the limited number of plates available for studying each manuscript: commonly, a Latin charter or single facsimile page of a longer document does not contain a **y** at all, making generalizations difficult. However, because **y** is much more common in Old English, we have plenty of evidence to support the conclusion that it was unusual for a scribe to use exclusively the straight-limbed **y** with no dot.

¹¹⁹ An excellent example is Cambridge, Trinity College B. 1. 30A, a fragment of a service book, written probably in the 920s, in Keynes, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, p. 11 and pl. III.

¹²⁰ CCCC 173 illustrates the various stages of compression. The hand on 17r writes with proportions just slightly narrower than square; on 22v is a hand with thoroughly square dimensions; the scribe who begins on 26r uses the 'decorative' phase of Square minuscule, elongating his ascenders and descenders but not compressing the bodies of the letters; this is followed on 28r by a hand which is not 'decorative' and retains square proportions; the hand which begins on 28v, executed during the period 1001 × 1013, is altogether smaller and narrower, and the slender proportions are accentuated by the elongated ascenders and descenders, particularly **ð**; see complete facsimile in *The Parker Chronicle and Laws*, ed. R. Flower and H. Smith, EETS os 208 (London, 1941). On this tendency, see Dumville, 'Beowulf Come Lately', p. 53.

tall as the bodies are wide. This suggests that Scribe 1 of Junius 11 was, first and foremost, probably not experienced in writing Old English charter bounds; it also suggests that he was trained before the period when most scribes had adopted narrower proportions for Old English even outside the context of charters, that is, before the last quarter of the tenth century.

To recapitulate, this analysis of individual letter forms reveals no letter forms which are peculiar to the period 990 or later, nor does it reveal consistent use of forms which are found only the first few decades of the tenth century. Rather, Scribe 1 of Junius 11 employs letter-forms which are usually associated with Square minuscule of the middle of the tenth century up through the 980s. Before moving on to discuss the pointing of the manuscript, however, I wish to return briefly to the group of Trinity College manuscripts which share so many features with Junius 11. In addition to closed **g**, the exclusive use of straight-limbed **y** without dot, and the complementary forms of **s** (low in Old English, round and tall in Latin), there are other common characteristics: the shape of square **a**; the tendency to write horizontal-backed **d** with a sharp upward break in the back; consistent use of tall-**e** ligatures; **ti** ligature in which **i** does not become a descender; variation in the length of the descender of **r**, which often drops only slightly below the base line; and meticulously square proportions in the bodies of single-chambered letters. So far I have not discovered any other manuscripts which so closely approximate the constellation of letter forms and overall aspect of Scribe 1's work.

Upon comparing TCC O. 4. 10 and Junius 11 (pls. II*b* and *c*), a fundamental difference in appearance is immediately noticeable, but we cannot attribute this difference to either letter-forms or proportions. Instead, it is primarily attributable to the use of a more formal grade of script in the Latin manuscript and a lower grade of script in the Old English. The Junius 11 scribe places the beginnings and ends of strokes carelessly, whereas the scribe of TCC O. 4. 10 lifts and sets down his pen meticulously to disguise the junctures where two strokes meet. In the Latin manuscript, legs of letters such as **h**, **m**, **n** and **u** are parallel; descenders and ascenders are carefully tapered toward the bottom; and the minims remain the same size from one letter to another. None of these characterizations is true of the Junius 11 scribe's work, which is not untidy but was executed more quickly and informally. The least formal of the three Trinity manuscripts, TCC O. 2. 30 (pl. II*d*), is the closest analogue to Junius 11 in terms of script grade and overall aspect, and it is probably somewhat later than TCC O. 4. 10 and TCC B. 11. 2.¹²¹

Although scholars currently disagree with Bishop's claim that all three Trinity College manuscripts share a common scribe, Dumville favours the theory that

¹²¹ When Dumville selects Phase II manuscripts from Bishop's 'Notes' articles, he puts TCC O. 4. 10 and TCC B. 11. 2 in this category but not TCC O. 2. 30 ('Mid-Century Phases', p. 139). The

The dating of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11

O. 4. 10 and B. 11. 2 came from a single scriptorium. He envisages a period, bracketed by B. 11. 2 at the beginning and O. 4. 10 at the end, in which a house script evolved at this scriptorium;¹²² among the changes of this period, it seems, are the elimination of *oc-a* and the reduction or elimination of low *s* in Latin texts. I would propose that we extend this period of evolution to include both TCC O. 2. 30, which appears to be a later, less formal derivative of the script in O. 4. 10, and Junius 11, which may be a vernacular derivative of the same lineage of Latin scripts. We need not assume that Junius 11 came from the same scriptorium as the Trinity College manuscripts, because scribes and books travelled, and a writing master could have used as his teaching exemplar a high-grade manuscript from another house.

If, therefore, the Trinity College manuscripts are to be dated between the reign of Æthelstan and the middle of the tenth century, it seems likely that the Junius 11 scribe was trained a generation after the scribes of B. 11. 2 and O. 4. 10, and contemporaneously with or shortly after the scribe of O. 2. 30, probably in the third quarter of the tenth century. Dumville has not yet published his work on Square minuscule of this period, but in foreshadowing his forthcoming research, he has described Phase V of Square minuscule as a southern derivative of Phase II, practised in the 960s and later.¹²³ The comparison of Junius 11 with the two earlier Trinity College manuscripts demonstrates that Scribe 1 was indeed practising a script closely derived from Phase II specimens, so the brief description of Phase V fits Junius 11 aptly. We may also observe that Junius 11 is not likely to be a very late example of Phase V, which was increasingly susceptible to Caroline influence as the century progressed, because there is little or nothing in Junius 11 which appears Caroline. In light of all this, the period 960 × 990 seems best able to account for all the features of the script in Liber I, whether or not the hypothesis relating Junius 11 to the Trinity College manuscripts finds further support. This date, of course, is based on the script alone; we still need to integrate this evidence with the art historical and codicological evidence before forming an opinion on the whole codex. However, we first ought to examine the chronological significance of the first scribe's pointing.

Punctuation in Liber I

As Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe demonstrates in her study of visual cues in Old English manuscripts, Junius 11 is unique among the major poetic codices

scribe of TCC O. 2. 30 has eliminated *oc-a*, minimized vertical-backed *d*, and simplified the Latin abbreviations, indicating a shift away from the canonical Phase II; he has nearly eliminated low *s* from his script, perhaps in response to the interest (shared by the scribes of TCC O. 4. 10 and Junius 11) in reserving low *s* for use in vernacular texts.

¹²² Dumville, 'Mid-Century Phases', p. 142. ¹²³ *Ibid.* p. 155.

because of its relatively regular and metrically-based punctuation.¹²⁴ The Exeter Book and the Vercelli Book, dated to the second half of the tenth century,¹²⁵ and the *Beowulf* manuscript, which is generally dated no later than the early years of the eleventh century,¹²⁶ display punctuation which, unlike Junius 11, is sporadically distributed and does not universally (or even primarily) serve the purpose of marking verse hemistichs.¹²⁷ The pointing of Junius 11 serves to distinguish half-lines of verse; points in the middle of half-lines are rare. O'Brien O'Keeffe's research indicates that the only close analogues of this method and style of pointing in Old English poetry are eleventh-century copies of religious verse texts, including several poems in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201 (s. xiⁱⁿ) and two poems in London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B. i (s. xi^{med}).¹²⁸

Consequently, O'Brien O'Keeffe proposes that the Liber I punctuation represents a new and 'forward-looking' method adapted from Latin texts for the purpose of enhancing the status and didactic character of the Old Testament vernacular poetry.¹²⁹ Lucas likewise views the punctuation of *Exodus* as a borrowing from Latin poetry, most likely imported by Benedictine scholars.¹³⁰ The juxtaposition of Old English and Latin texts in the scriptoria and schools of the English Benedictine Reform suggests a plausible environment in which such an adaptation could have occurred and evolved over the period of several decades. Viewed in this light, the traditional dating of Junius 11 to the eleventh century

¹²⁴ 'Except for Liber I of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11, whose pointing is consistent and metrical, and for which pointing only one scribe (and possibly a corrector) was responsible, the major codices and most other Old English verse copied before the eleventh century appear to have been pointed sporadically' (*Visible Song*, p. 151). On the pointing of Junius 11, see especially pp. 179–87; see also pp. 155–79, where O'Brien O'Keeffe discusses the pointing of the Exeter Book, the Vercelli Book and the *Beowulf* manuscript. Lucas, focusing solely on the pointing of *Exodus*, gives a detailed account of the points and concurs that the punctuation was based on metrical rather than sense units (*Exodus*, pp. 21–4). O'Brien O'Keeffe's assessment of the Junius punctuation differs from that of M. B. Parkes, who writes that 'Much of the punctuation was inserted after the text was copied' and claims that the majority of points coincide with sense units but only 'seem to demarcate metrical units identified by modern analysis' (*Pause and Effect: an Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA, 1993), p. 111).¹²⁵ Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 394 (pp. 153 and 460).

¹²⁶ Among those supporting this date for the manuscript are Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 281; Dumville, 'Beowulf Come Lately', *passim*; and M. Lapidge, 'The Archetype of *Beowulf*', *ASE* 29 (2000), 5–41, at 7–8.¹²⁷ O'Brien O'Keeffe, *Visible Song*, pp. 163, 166–71 and 175–9.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.* p. 185. The poems in question are *Judgment Day II*, *An Exhortation to Christian Living* and *A Summons to Prayer* on pp. 161–7 of CCC 201 and *Menologium* and *Maxims* in the Tiberius manuscript. Lucas proposes that the pointing of *The Battle of Brunanburh* in the A-text of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (CCC 173), written between 950 and 975, is similarly regular and metrical (*Exodus*, p. 22), but O'Brien O'Keeffe explains that these points are later alterations to the text (*Visible Song*, pp. 131–2).¹²⁹ O'Brien O'Keeffe, *Visible Song*, p. 186.

¹³⁰ Lucas, *Exodus*, pp. 21–2.

fits well with observed trends in punctuation in other Old English verse manuscripts. Although the punctuation does not provide a strict *terminus post quem*, comparison with other manuscripts, as well as logical conclusions about the time needed to adapt Latin scribal practice to Old English verse, support the traditional dating of *c.* 1000 or later.

If we could demonstrate with confidence, using manuscript witnesses, a mechanism by which regular metrical pointing entered Old English verse directly from the Latin tradition during the late tenth or early eleventh century, this might be the strongest case yet made in favour of an eleventh-century date for Junius 11, unless we were willing to posit that Junius 11 anticipates other examples of metrical pointing in Old English by several decades. However, there exists another possible mechanism for the introduction of metrical pointing into Junius 11, and manuscript evidence suggests that such pointing was probably imported before the height of the Benedictine Reform. In short, the pointing of Liber I may derive from the punctuation of vernacular German poetry in continental manuscripts of the ninth century.

Malcolm Parkes, in his history of western punctuation, discusses a bilingual manuscript (Valenciennes, Bibliothèque de la Ville, 150 [143], s. ix/x) containing both the Old French sequence to Sainte Eulalie, in which pairs of short rhythmic lines are linked by end rhyme,¹³¹ and the Old High German *Ludwigslied*, in which each line consists of two rhyming hemistichs.¹³² However, in contrast to contemporary vernacular poetry in England, which was always written out in *scriptura continua*, these poems are arranged with each pair of rhyming hemistichs occupying its own discrete line on the page, according to the conventional presentation for Latin poetry of the ninth century.¹³³ Additionally, the division between hemistichs within each physical line on the page is marked by a *punctus* which appears to be the work of the scribe of the text rather than of a later reader. The importance of this manuscript with regard to Junius 11 is that it demonstrates a ninth-century interest in adapting Latin verse arrangement to Germanic poetry whose sense units are arranged in pairs of half-lines linked by aural effects. Furthermore, like Junius 11, the scribe of the Valenciennes manuscript considered it important to indicate visually the end of every hemistich: at the close of the first, he writes a *punctus* and leaves a larger space; at the close of the second, he starts over on a new line.

¹³¹ Parkes calls this sequence a 'prose text' (*Pause and Effect*, p. 237), but the patterned stresses, rhyme, and loose alliteration of the text suggest that it is nearer to verse than to rhymed prose.

¹³² Illustration, partial transcription, and partial translation of 141v appear on pp. 236–7 of Parkes, *Pause and Effect*.

¹³³ Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, discusses the possible influence of Psalter punctuation and layout on the presentation of vernacular verse (p. 104).

The Valenciennes manuscript is not alone in testifying to a scribal impulse to provide visual cues marking the ends of half-lines in German vernacular poetry. Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1447, which originated at Mainz in the ninth century, contains fragments of two Old Saxon biblical poems, the Saxon *Genesis* and the *Heliand*.¹³⁴ This manuscript provides a much closer analogue for the pointing in Liber I of Junius 11 because it is laid out in *scriptura continua*, as is Junius 11, rather than by allotting a discrete line to each pair of hemistichs as in the *Ludwigslied*. The interest in visually demarcating the half-lines is nonetheless preserved. The facsimile pages of both the 1894 and 1991 editions show that half-lines are regularly separated by large spaces and *punctus*. The study of the scribes' pointing habits is made easier by the diplomatic edition of the *Heliand* fragment in Braune and Zangemeister¹³⁵ and by Doane's apparatus, which contains notes about many (but not all) instances of pointing in the *Genesis* fragment.¹³⁶ Although points are frequent in both poems, the most frequently used visual cue in Pal. lat. 1447 is the use of a 'pattern of contrastive spacing', which involves the use of a wider space to mark divisions between half-lines and, according to Doane, occasionally to set off rhetorical units which are not coincident with metrical units.¹³⁷ A significant proportion of these spaces also contain *punctus*, but *punctus* are rarely used in positions other than between half-lines.¹³⁸ Another witness to this method of pointing by means of contrastive spacing and *punctus* is the Munich manuscript containing a nearly complete copy of the *Heliand*.¹³⁹ Employing a greater number of *punctus* than spaces, and containing *punctus* predominantly located on the head line, it may provide an even nearer analogue to Junius 11's pointing than do the Valenciennes and Vatican manuscripts.

¹³⁴ The edition of K. Zangemeister and W. Braune is extremely helpful and is accompanied by a facsimile and extensive commentary (*Bruchstücke der altsächsischen Bibeldichtung aus der Bibliotheca Palatina* (Heidelberg, 1894)). A. N. Doane also discusses this manuscript at length and provides facsimile pages of the Saxon *Genesis* fragments; see his *The Saxon Genesis: an Edition of the West Saxon Genesis B and the Old Saxon Vatican Genesis* (Madison, WI, 1991).

¹³⁵ See pp. 37–40; Braune notes in the introduction that he is responsible for arranging the poem in lines according to metrical hemistichs, but otherwise he has kept the punctuation as it appears in the manuscript (*Bruchstücke der altsächsischen Bibeldichtung*, p. 35).

¹³⁶ Doane, *Saxon Genesis*, pp. 232–52.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 25–6. Doane also supplies a brief series of examples to illustrate his observations about the purpose of the spaces (p. 26).

¹³⁸ Zangemeister and Braune's diplomatic edition shows clearly that the vast majority of points in the *Heliand* fragment are placed between half-lines and only a few are placed within half-lines.

¹³⁹ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm. 25. For illustrations of small passages of this manuscript, see J. Rathofer, 'Zum Aufbau des Heliand', *ZDA* 93 (1964), 239–72, which includes pls. at pp. 254–5. For discussion of this and other *Heliand* manuscripts, including the Vatican fragment, see B. Bischoff, 'Paläographische Fragen deutscher Denkmäler der Karolingerzeit', *FS* 5 (1971), 101–34, at 127–9, and Doane, *Saxon Genesis*, pp. 44–7.

These examples of vernacular Germanic pointing suggest a simple mechanism by which the pointing methods of Junius 11 could have entered Anglo-Saxon vernacular scribal practice much earlier than the early eleventh century. Somewhere in the transmissional history of the Old Testament poems of Junius 11, one of the scribes, namely the transliterator of the original Saxon *Genesis* into the Old English *Genesis B*, must have used as his exemplar a manuscript containing Germanic verse, which could well have been punctuated after the fashion of the Valenciennes manuscript or in the style of the Munich and Vatican manuscripts: an exemplar containing either of these two methods could have given rise to pointing like that in Junius 11 with minimal and systematic scribal simplification.¹⁴⁰ The link between Junius 11's *Genesis B* and the Saxon *Genesis* makes this theory even more plausible, because we can say with certainty that a vernacular Germanic poetic manuscript was consulted at some point in the transmission, and its text was transliterated as closely as possible, as far as we can judge from the corresponding passages in Pal. lat. 1447; it is likely, therefore, that the pointing of the Old Saxon original was retained in the Old English *Genesis B*. It may have spread to the rest of Liber I in a subsequent copy by a scribe familiar with the *Genesis B* punctuation, who applied it to the other poems in the codex.

Because the Vatican and Munich manuscripts are both products of the mid-to-late ninth century, and the Valenciennes manuscript is dated to *c.* 900, we have considerable evidence of regular, metrical pointing in manuscripts of Germanic poetry written during the period *c.* 850–900, when Doane believes the Old Saxon source of *Genesis B* must have arrived in England.¹⁴¹ Although

¹⁴⁰ If the layout of the Valenciennes manuscript were adapted for *scriptura continua*, the scribe would have needed to insert points at the ends of full lines, like those at the half-lines, to make up for the cue formerly provided by the allocation of one pair of hemistichs to a line on the page. It is equally plausible that a regularizing scribe working from an exemplar punctuated like Pal. lat. 1447 could have produced Junius 11—type pointing, which is a similar system but stripped of any subtlety: whereas the scribes of the Vatican fragment used three elevations of *punctus* (high, middle, and low, indicating different degrees of syntactical break) and chose to leave a significant proportion of half-lines unpointed, the Junius 11 scribe did not use different levels of points to distinguish pause length, and he punctuated nearly every half-line. In other words, the Junius 11 punctuation has a narrower range of meaning. (Both manuscripts use more complicated punctuation at ends of sections or questions; these occur infrequently and fall outside the scope of the current inquiry.) The hypothesis that continental Germanic methods of verse punctuation were simplified for consumption by Anglo-Saxons is bolstered by the lack of metrical pointing in the copy of the *Heliand* preserved in London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A. vii, fols. 5–170, whose scribe used punctuation very sparingly; see pls. in R. Priebsch, *The Heliand Manuscript, Cotton Caligula A. VII in the British Museum* (Oxford, 1925), pls. 1–4.

¹⁴¹ 'The dating imposed by the early [West-Saxon] elements means that the ancestor of *Genesis B* must have been in England by ca. 900 and the anglicization begun not long after that' (Doane, *Saxon Genesis*, pp. 51–2).

this evidence does not prove definitively that the Anglo-Saxons first adopted regular, metrical pointing from continental vernacular sources in the tenth century rather than from Latin sources in the eleventh century, it provides a reasonable alternative to the eleventh-century hypothesis, thereby widening the range of possible dates for the pointing method alone. Because this method of pointing may have been brought to England as early as *c.* 900, and because it was undoubtedly practised in early-eleventh-century England, it cannot help us narrow the range of likely dates for Junius 11, and it does not lend any more support to an eleventh-century dating than to a tenth-century dating. This topic, however, deserves further attention, and perhaps comparative studies with continental vernacular manuscripts will shed more light on tenth-century developments in Insular verse punctuation.

CONCLUSIONS

Now we must weigh the evidence provided by each datable feature of the codex and determine a range of dates which is narrow enough to be useful and wide enough to account for all the evidence we have discussed. To recapitulate: codicological evidence suggests *c.* 950–*c.*1010. The decorated initials seem likely to have been produced in the years around the 970s, while the style of the first artist's figure drawings points to a date of execution after *c.* 950 and before *c.* 980. If the first artist and the second artist worked in the same scriptorium, the use of different colour techniques indicates that the first artist probably worked in the period before the introduction of coloured line drawing into the scriptorium, which may have happened at any time after *c.* 980. Palaeographically, many of the characteristics of canonical Phase II script are conspicuously absent from the work of Scribe 1, as are Caroline and Vernacular features, suggesting a range of dates between the middle of the tenth century and the 990s. Finally, the pointing of the Old Testament verse of Liber I is chronologically inconclusive because it may have been imported either directly from Latin poetic manuscripts during the Benedictine Reform or from pointed Saxon or Old High German exemplars much earlier in the tenth century.

Earlier, the issue of later copies and 'artificial antiquity' was raised. With regard to the possibility that we are being fooled by feigned archaisms, I would ask two questions. First, why would an eleventh-century team of two artists, a scribe, and an initialler all conspire to create a manuscript which could pass for a tenth-century product in every single detail? Second, if we attribute the old-fashioned appearance of the manuscript to the eleventh-century copying of an early-tenth-century exemplar, as has been proposed before, we must be able to explain why an eleventh-century artist would copy figure drawings of the 930s while using drapery appropriate to the 960s and 970s, and why the scribe would consistently use letter forms of neither the early tenth nor early eleventh

The dating of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11

century. I know of no evidence which would make either of these hypotheses deserving of serious consideration.

I consequently suggest that Junius 11 be redated to the period *c.* 960–*c.* 990. Perhaps a range as narrow as thirty years bespeaks overconfidence in my methods, but many features of Junius 11 described above would need special pleading to be accounted for before 960 or after 990. Putting aside Junius 11, however, this integrated and spectrum-based method of dating has the potential to steer us away from datings based on an isolated feature of a manuscript or on rigid and narrow periodization, thereby casting new light on other Anglo-Saxon manuscripts in need of fresh consideration.¹⁴²

¹⁴² I am very grateful to Professors C. Barber, M. Lapidge, and K. O'Brien O'Keeffe for reading this paper and offering helpful comments at various stages during its preparation.



Ia Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11, p. 21



Ib Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11, p. 67



Ic Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11, p. 71

electorum. quæ laudam dñi ad mñoniam reducit;
In quo non oportet aliquod finistrum sonare.
sed totum dextrum quæle ē impurā uitæ; Illi sunt
neci uisus p quos neutrum ad alt. qui læta om
ecclē. & dñi laudam sine tristitia nentent. sicuti p̄
dñs nēgnauit de conām. et dñs nēgnauit gultā. & lau

IIa Cambridge, Trinity College B. 11. 2, 53v

Vigilius dicitur sua dixit
Simam pūnant tibi quatuor. helia dantes
Expulit una duos tussis & una duos.
Iam secura potes totis tussire diebus.
Nilquā agat istic tertia tussis habet. AMEN

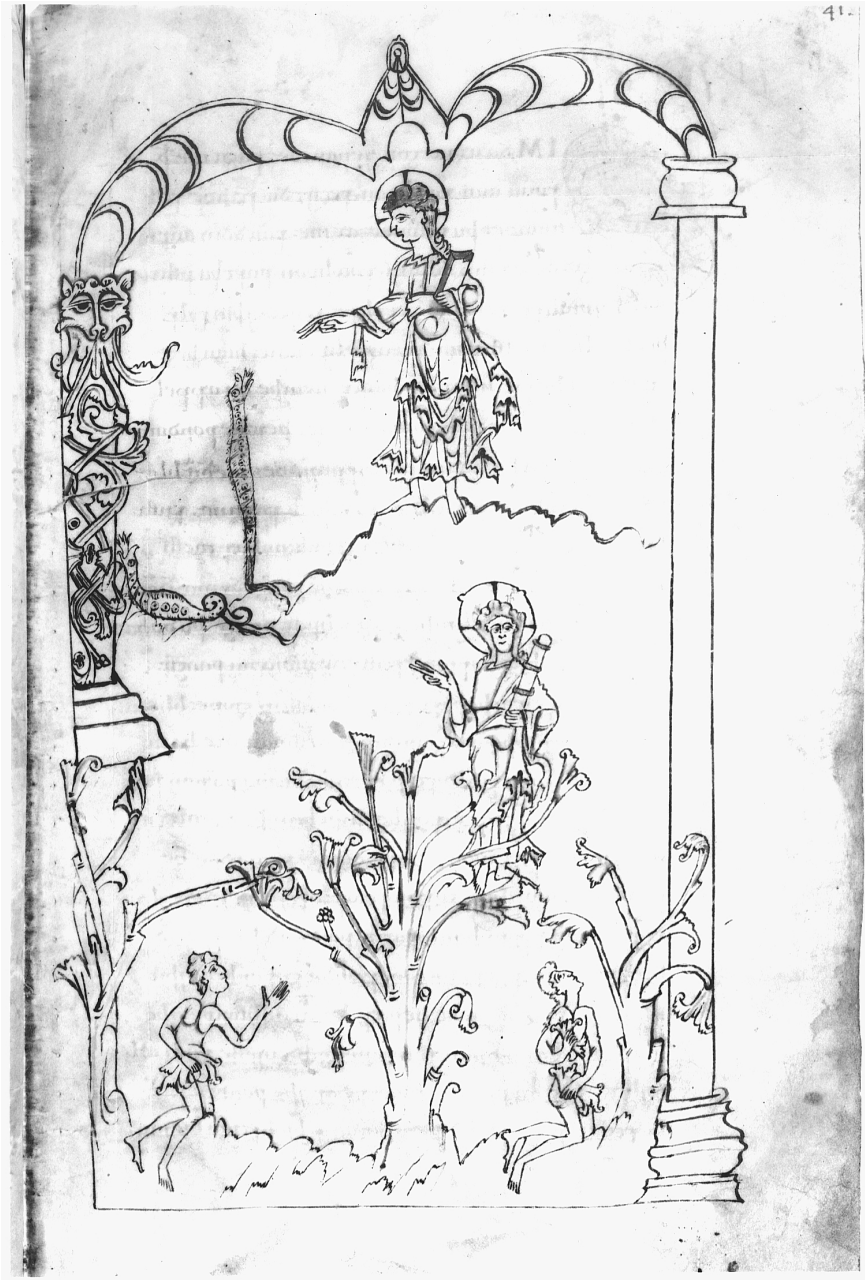
IIb Cambridge, Trinity College O. 4. 10, 110v

te þa roðhuar færðh. þre ruca a hoð. up fnom for
ðan. þunh huf agh þono. fnta ælmiltas. fold þær
aðæled. und þi htah roðone. halgum mihtum.
pæcti of pæctum. þam þepuniad gyt. und þi færðh
ne. folca hroþf. þacom of þi foldan. fur rðian.
mæpe mihgth þrudda. næron mætoððaga gya. þio
lond. nepegar nyæ. ac roð beþruðh færte. folde

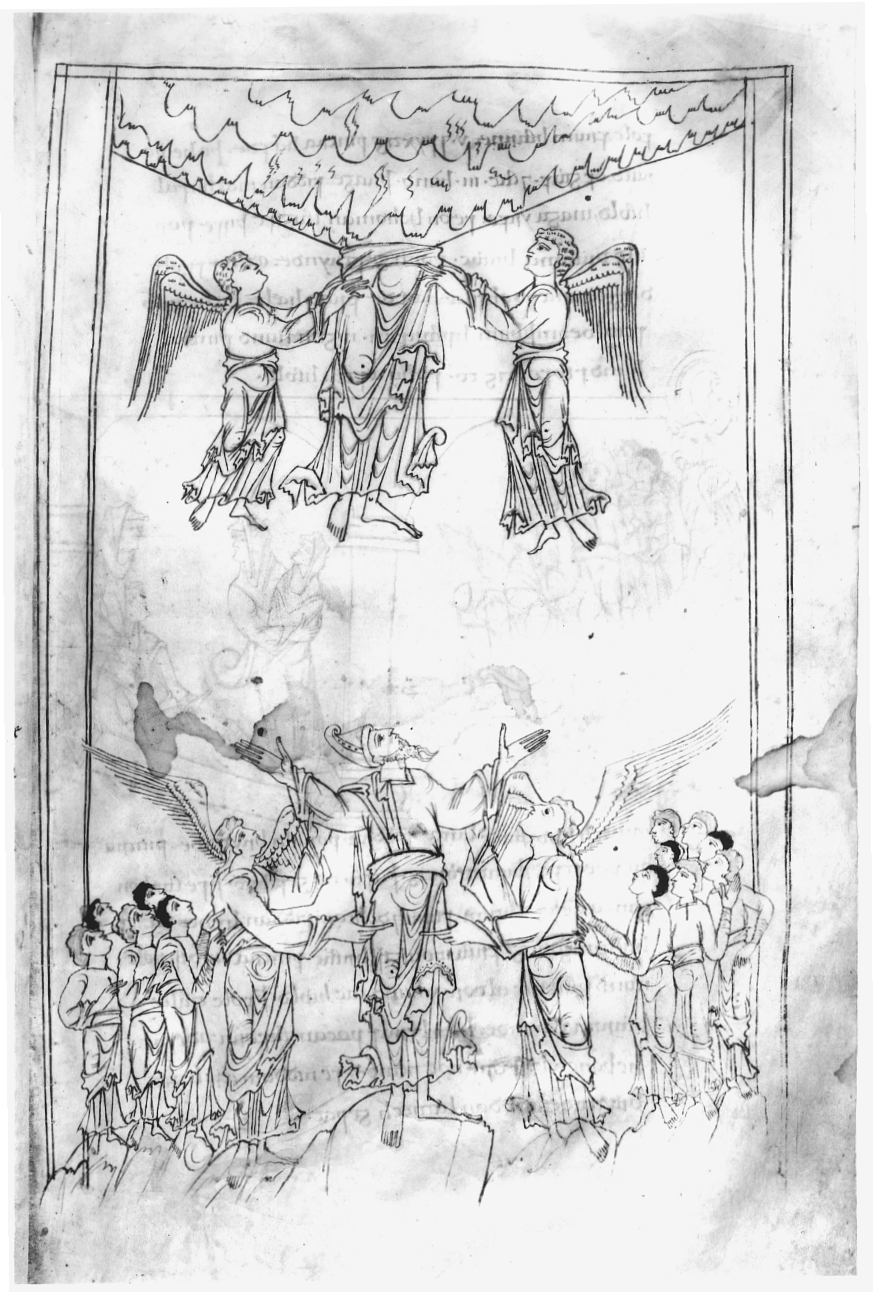
IIc Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11, p. 8

xpo uero nati militaturus. oboedientie fortissima
atq. preclara anima adsumis. Inprimis ut quicquid
agendum Inchoas bonum. ab eo perfici Instantissima
oratione disposcas. Ut qui nos iam In filionu dignus
est numero Computare. non debeat aliquando de
malis actibus nris Conquistari. Ita tñ si omni

II d Cambridge, Trinity College O. 2. 30, 130r



IIIa Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11, p. 41



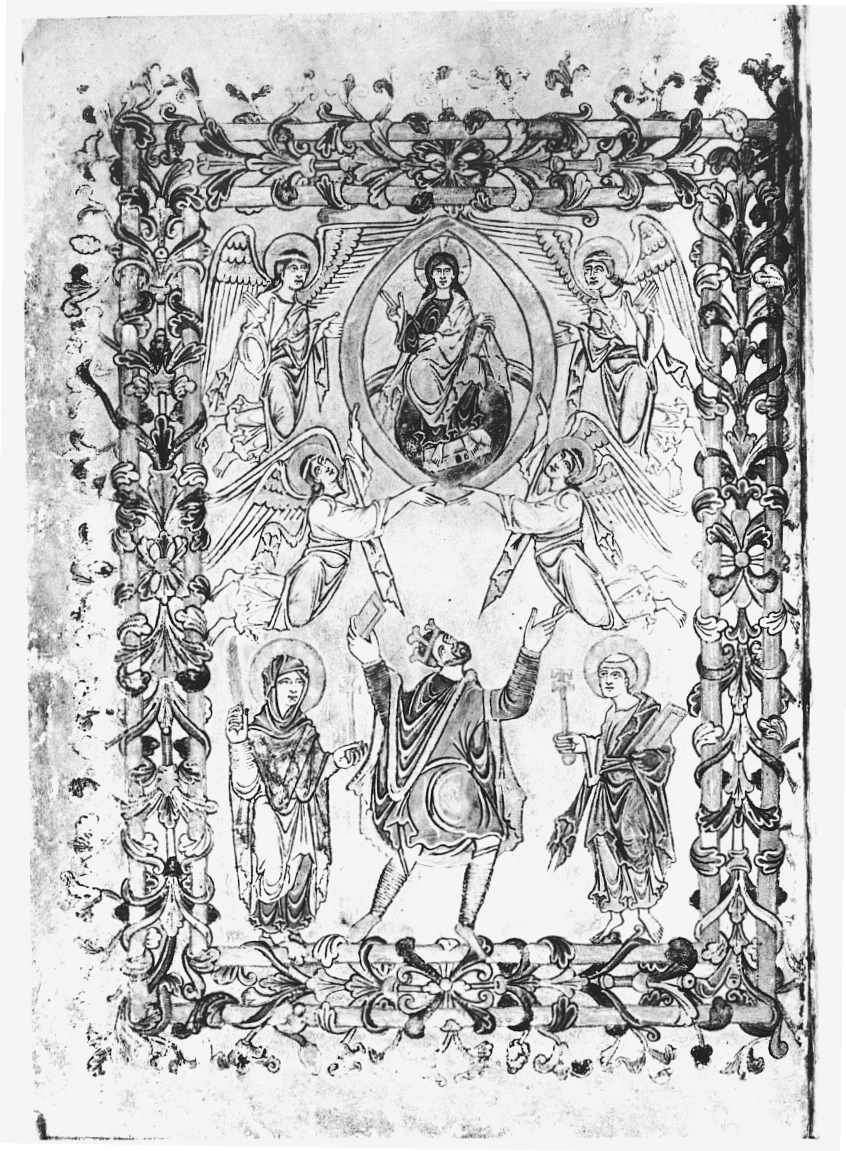
III*b* Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11, p. 61



IVa Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 4. 32, 1r



IVb Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 579, 49v



IVc London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A. viii, 2v