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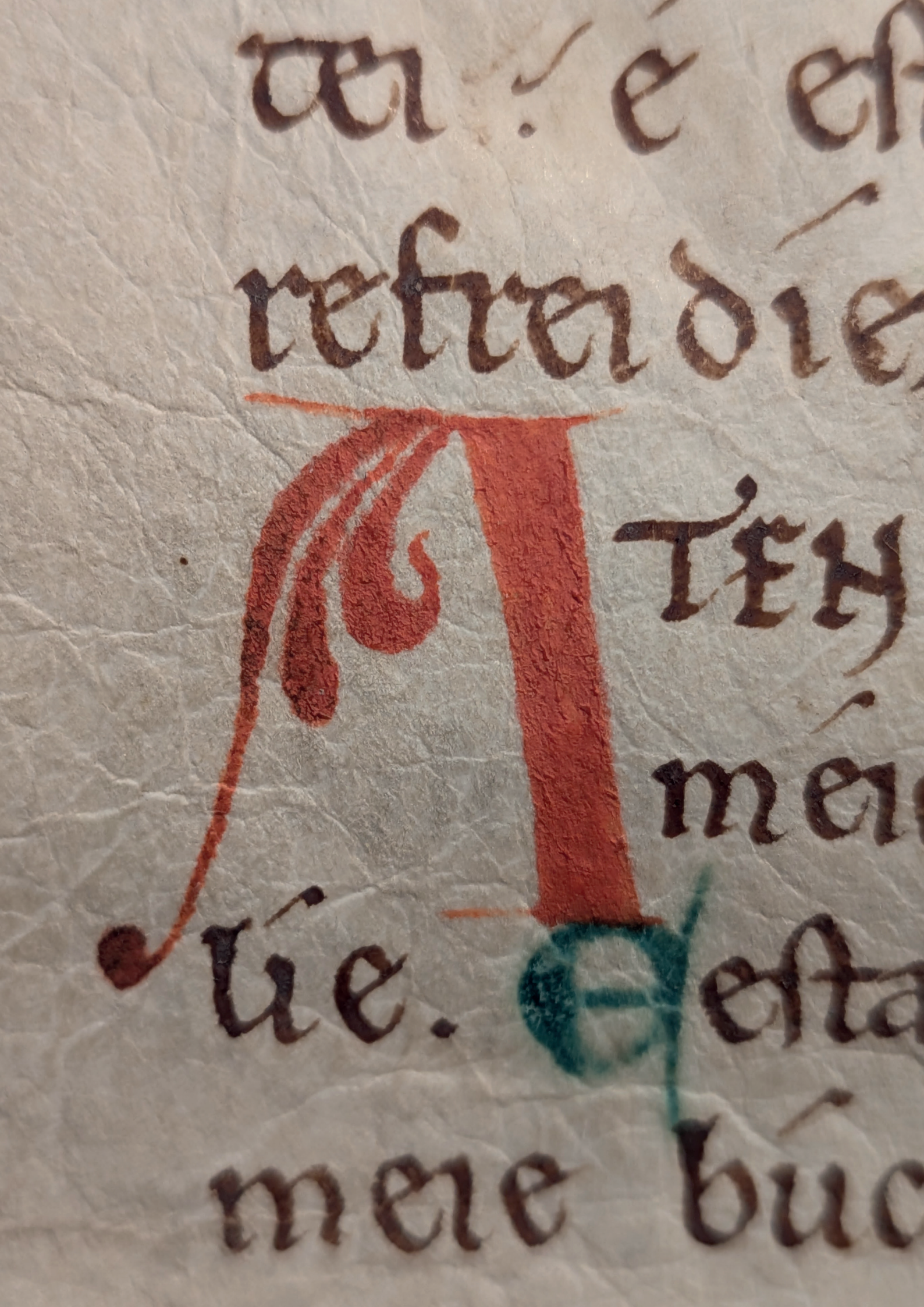


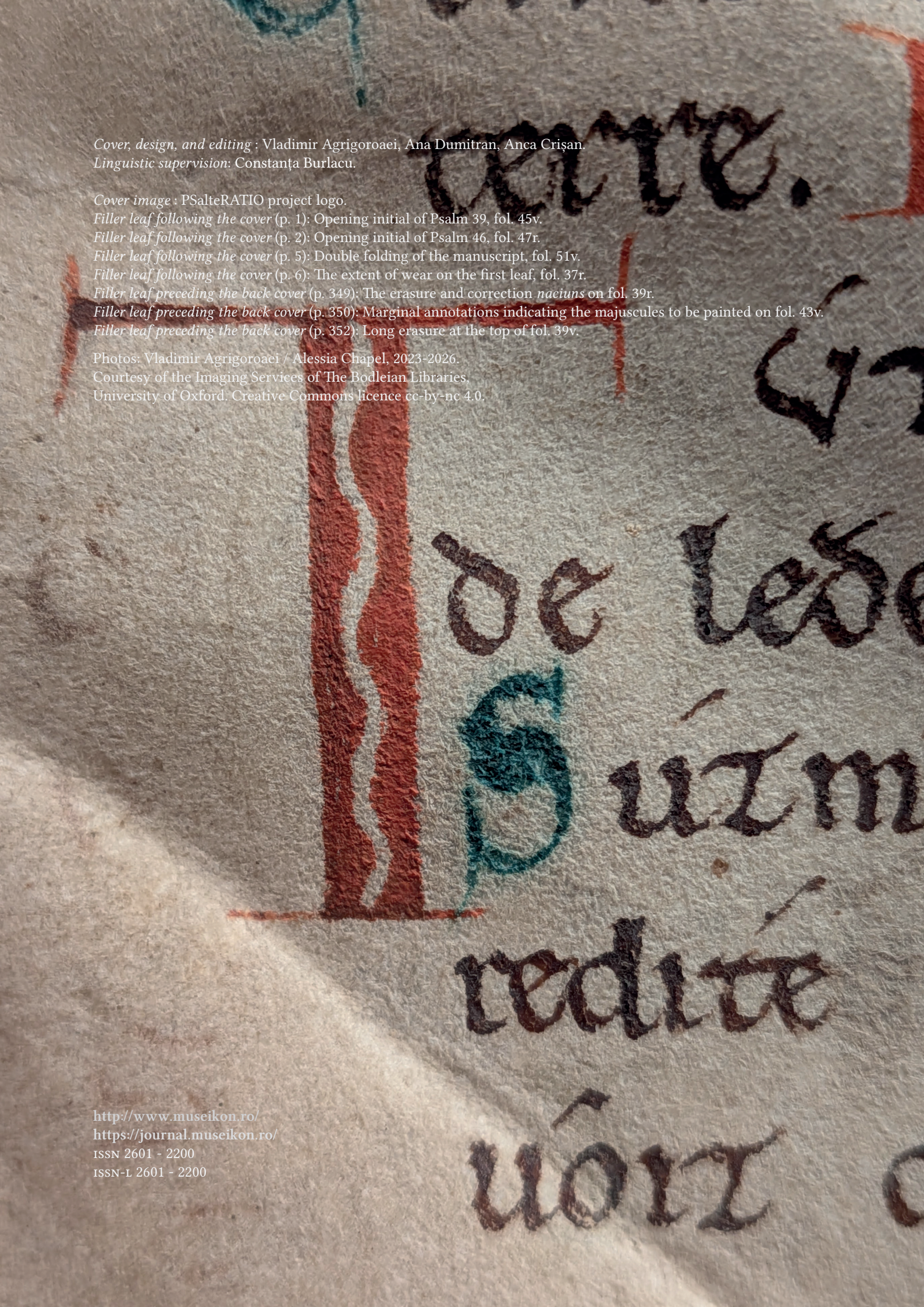
The Manufactory of Old French Psalters

Vladimir Agrigoroaei and Alessia Chapel

with contributions by Patrizia Lendinara and Clive Sneddon,
including a previously unpublished note by Dorothy Sneddon

Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia
Centre d'Études Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale, Poitiers





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Filler leaf following the cover (p. 1): Opening initial of Psalm 39, fol. 45v.
Filler leaf following the cover (p. 2): Opening initial of Psalm 46, fol. 47r.
Filler leaf following the cover (p. 5): Double folding of the manuscript, fol. 51v.
Filler leaf following the cover (p. 6): The extent of wear on the first leaf, fol. 37r.
Filler leaf preceding the back cover (p. 349): The erasure and correction *naciuns* on fol. 39r.
Filler leaf preceding the back cover (p. 350): Marginal annotations indicating the majuscules to be painted on fol. 43v.
Filler leaf preceding the back cover (p. 352): Long erasure at the top of fol. 39v.

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To Cinzia Pignatelli, whose work preceded our own, and whose support and advice accompanied us throughout this endeavour. With our warmest gratitude and affection.

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a tei tuit pople. E fledecent é esfodent les genz kar tu fuges
elce: é les genz en terre abrecef. Regehiscent a tei li pople ds
tei tuit pople: la terre dunat sun fruit. Benedeit nus ds
et nus ds: é crement lui tuit cef les cuntredet de terre.
Esdrest sei ds é seient departi li enemi de lui. é fuiant
de la face de lui. Sicume defalt fums defaldrunt: sicume deseit
la face de fu: issi perissent li pecheür de la face de deu. E
iucent é esledecent en lesguardement de lui. Ds et
anter a deu. salme dicet al sun num: cure saint a lui chi mundet
dechedement. sire é. num a lui. E esledecent en lesguardement de lui. Ds et
turbet de la face de lui. del pere des orfenins. é lesguardement de lui. Ds en
sun saint lui. ds chi enhabitet fac dune cuitasne. é lesguardement de lui. Ds et
meinet les liez en fortece: ensement els chi enaspriscent
en sepulchres. D s cu tu fors esseies en lesguardement de lui. Ds
cu tu trespassoies el desert. La terre é moude. kar li ciel degutterent
de la face de deu de sinay: de la face de deu de isr. Pluie uoluntere
desseuerras ds a la tue heredited é enfermede é. tu acertes parfist
L es almailles habitabunt en li: tu apprestas en ta dulceur al poure ds
Li sire dunrat parole as predecenz par multe uertut. Li reis de uertuz
de ame del ame: é de la bealté de maisun adepartir espuilles. Si
uus dormez entre merens clergies pennes de columbe fun argentedes
é les derainetez del dos de li en pallor dor. Denecrent qui desfeuunt
li celestiels les reis sur li. de neif serunt enblancit en selmon. li mons de
deu. mont grassons assemblez. mont graf. a quen sulchet nus les mons
assemblez. Li mont el quel bien plout é. a deu habitet en lui: kar li fed
habiterat en fin. Li cutres de deu. a dis milliers multe pluble milliers
desledecent. li sire en els en sina en saint. Tu muntas en halt prisis cap
uertet: receus dunis en humes. Acertes les nun credanz habitet nuisire seignur
deu. Benedeit li sire el iurn closcum iurn: prospre cure berat a nus
ds des nos saluz. Li nostre ds. ds de salfs saluant: é de seignur del eissi
de eissement de mort. Mais nequedent ds framborat les chefs de fes enes
la uertiz del chef uel des paralanz en lur meschief. Dit li sire
conuertirai: conuertirai el parfund de la mer. Pur ce que sire empeis tes
piez en sanc: la langue de tes chiens des enemis de lui. Iuvenal
enterrement ds: les enterrement del mien deu. del mien rei chi a dit. Uenid
rent li prince coniunt as cantanz: el milliu des iuuencels. Ymnes
Es iglises benedisez a deu: al seignur des fonteines de israel. Ibi
iamin li iuuencels: el trespassement de prise. Li prince de iudas
dels: li prince de zabulon. é li prince de neptalim. Mande
uertut: conferme ds ice que tu as ouret en nus. De tun

ꝛ disciplíne que nr̃e ſire alquune fiede ne ſe
ume li ſue ire eſprenderat en brief cent: be

ſ mei criblent: & mult ſeſdrecent en contre 3
mei ẽ ſalut a luj en ſun deu. Car tu ſire
chanz mun chief. Ie criai a nr̃e ſeignur
munt. Ie dormi e ſi ſumeillai. e icele
zu milliers de póple aurunant mei:
ar tu aſſeruit tuz contrariant a mei
aſ atriblet. Salut ẽ de noſtre ſeignur:

ſtaſe me ott: en tribulatiun tu purluig 4
ref la meie oreiſun. Li fil des humes
: pur quei amez uus uanitet. & que
fait merueillus ſun ſaint: nr̃e ſire ne orat:
uilez pecer: les cóſeſ que uus dicſ en
acrifiez ſacrifiſe de iuſtiſe. & eſpez el
mes choſes? Seignez ẽ ſur nus la
eáce el mien cuer. De el fruit del fru
lt̃ipliet. Et n paſ en ice meiſme:

What can be established from the present experimental study

This volume is not intended as a monograph, but rather as a collection of research findings assembled from three instalments of an experimental study published in the journal *Museikon* ("The Manufactory of Old French Psalters…," 7 (2023), p. 55–143; 8 (2024), p. 103–203; and 9 (2025), p. 157–215) and supplemented by additional unpublished investigations conducted between 2025 and 2026. Its purpose is to advance and refine current conclusions concerning the Anglo-Norman psalter tradition.

Produced within the framework of the ANR *PSalteRATIO* project, the volume brings together materials of varying scope and status, ranging from exploratory analyses to more developed studies, all united by a common interest in the transmission, translation, and reception of Anglo-Norman psalters. The principal contributors, Vladimir Agrigoroaei and Alessia Chapel, have indicated their respective contributions throughout the volume by placing their initials at the end of each relevant section: VA for Vladimir Agrigoroaei and AC for Alessia Chapel.

Their research provides evidence for a reassessment of early Anglo-Norman translation practices, demonstrating that the earliest Old French prose psalters did not originate as free-standing, independent prose translations, but evolved from interlinear glosses, under the influence of earlier insular traditions. The comparison of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320, and London, British Library, MS Arundel 230 demonstrates that neither manuscript is the direct antigraph of the other; rather, both derive from an independent, word-for-word interlinear gloss within a shared ancestral tradition. MS Douce 320 represents a secondary deliberate attempt to transform such a gloss into a fluid and syntactically coherent prose text, whereas MS Arundel 230 reflects the more organic development of the gloss tradition, whose form varies from manuscript to manuscript in ways consistent with Old English precedents. Furthermore, internal textual discrepancies, broader contextual comparisons, and a series of scribal errors and corrections rule out the hypothesis that MS Douce 320 was translated directly from the Latin Gallicanum of the St Albans Psalter.

The argument that MS Douce 320 derives from an interlinear gloss tradition rather than an independent prose translation is built on decisive physical, textual, and comparative evidence. Erasure analysis reveals that the scribe's initial draft layer frequently mirrored rigid, word-for-word Latin word order, which was subsequently scraped away and overwritten with better syntax. This mechanical reliance on a gloss model is further demonstrated by the specific types of copying errors and corrections made throughout the manuscript, which reflect visual eye-skips characteristic of navigating cramped interlinear spaces rather than continuous prose columns, while uncorrected residual calques and literal translation artifacts still pepper the final text. Finally, related witnesses like MS Harley 5102 show scribes actively recopying the MS Douce 320 prose tradition back into an interlinear layout, confirming that medieval copyists routinely adapted texts between these two formats.

The forensic examination of the physical erasures and scribal modifications in MS Douce 320 provides direct evidence for the mechanics of its production. These traces reveal the scribe's sustained effort to transform a literal, word-for-word interlinear gloss into a more polished and standardized Old French prose text. Most significantly, the evidence points to a multi-stage process of editorial revision, rather than to a simple, single-pass transcription. In the earlier portion of the folios examined, the physical evidence shows the scribe negotiating competing spellings and uncertainties inherited from the exemplar. Initial readings were systematically scraped away and replaced, often in an effort to regularize local Anglo-Norman features and orthographic variation. The erasures illustrate the scribe's inconsistency in spelling vowels and his use of digraphs; the erasure and/or correction of final dentals in verbal and nominal forms, linked to the related problem of the words *enfer*(*n*), *iur*(*n*), and *car*(*n*); variable vowel spellings, and recurring lexical items, with forms such as *quar* or *ker* frequently replaced by *kar*, and *quer* corrected to *cuer*. Consider also the the complex relationship between conjunctions *mais* and *acertes*; a long series of hesitant renderings of the Latin suffix ***–tio***. These interventions suggest a conscious attempt to impose greater uniformity and, in most cases, to bring the spelling closer to the pronunciation of continental forms.

The transcription process was done in stages, two of which are obvious beyond any doubt. In the first part of the text, after much hesitation, the scribe gradually defined his method and settled on certain spellings and on how to render the word order in vernacular. In the second part of the vernacular version of the Psalms, a certain degree of hesitation is still present, but to a lesser extent, because the method was defined. The exact separation between the two parts is hard to pin down, for the scribe took various decisions at different stages of the text transcription.

That the process was gradual and decisions were taken step by step is evident from the fact that the scribe took a minor decision rather quickly, at the end of the first three folios. On fol. 40r he stopped correcting *quar* and *ker* into *kar*. Four folios later, on fol. 43v, he settled for a solution on the issue of *quer* corrected into *cuer*. In other instances, the scribe probably gave up erasing and correcting. The fact that he rendered Lat *autem* as OFr *mais* from fol. 37r to 69v, corrected *acertes* into *mais* between fol. 40v–46r, and finally left *acertes* uncorrected from fol. 40v to 71v is proof of such resignation. Similarly, the erasures concerning double ***–rr–*** do not occur after fol. 47. The scribe was in search of a method; he had to perfect it gradually, since there were too many things to be taken into account. In the specific case of interconsonantal ***–e–***, he came up with a decision only after several hesitations on fol. 45-54. This interval corresponds to the beginning of an actual turning point in several categories of erasures and corrections.

For instance, the scribe's hesitation in the transcription of vowels and digraphs seems to end on fol. 55–56. Four other corrections on top of erasures of this type occur on fol. 56v–57r (*sul* > *sol*), f. 58v (*uitante* > *oitante*), fol. 60r (*?* > *curucez*), and fol. 70r (> *aorerums*), but they are rare exceptions. In the case of dentals in future and past tense verbal forms, the turning point occurs on fol. 53–59. This will be amply discussed in the study, where we will also note that it can be linked to a turning point in the spelling of past participles (fol. 57) and nouns ending in dentals (fol. 60), thus leading to the conclusion that the scribe experimented and finally settled the issue of dentals when he transcribed fol. 53–60. By that point, he took the decision to enforce irrelevant idiosyncrasies as well. The majority of the spellings with ***–tiun*** or ***–ceun*** occur before fol. 59r, whereas ***–ciun*** and ***–cun*** are preferred after. Similarly, the deletion of an ***–n*** in *car*(*n*), *enfer*(*n*), and *iur*(*n*) occurs respectively on fol. 56v, fol. 57r–59v, and fol. 57r–60r. Extensive erasures stop on fol. 57r. There are only two on fol. 61r and fol. 75v, but they are

not very large and cannot be linked to the issue of lines in the Latin source, only with word order. Fol. 55-60 are therefore the segment of the text where the scribe had found his method.

The fact that the corrective insertions of words or segments of words occur throughout the entire text of the Psalms suggests that they cannot be related to his hesitations but rather to the fact that he is adapting a source, making eye-skips and other errors that all scribes commit when working with a source. Also, the extensive use of erasures and corrections in the first part of his transcription of the Psalms is not related to his variable degree of acquaintance with the textual tradition of certain Psalms, but to an overall pattern of rewriting. Therefore, our two main discoveries are that the scribe focused on making a pre-existing text more fluid—a hypothesis that will be amply dealt with in the sections focusing on the extensive erasures, the corrective uses of the low dash, and the odd additions and corrections; and secondly, that the scribe took care to convert certain dialectal features into a more continental or high-prestige variety of language. This does not explain the relationship between MS Douce 320 and MS Arundel 230, the text of which was certainly not the source of Douce. Our preliminary findings cannot support a full and thorough discussion of the issues in the Arundel manuscript before its own erasures have been analysed. However, it can be argued that the unnatural word order found in MS Arundel 230 follows the pattern of several glosses that are known in Old English literature. In this type of equation, Douce would represent a possible prosification of a gloss.

Finally, several traces preserved beneath the erasures of MS Douce 320 provide particularly important evidence for the process of syntactic restructuring. In many cases, the erased text does not represent a simple copying error or an accidental omission, but the original, word-for-word Latin syntax inherited from an interlinear gloss antigraph. The scribe deliberately removed these Latin constructions and replaced them with revised French phrasing and more idiomatic syntax. Scraping and overwriting thus emerge as a fundamental mechanism in the transformation of the rigid interlinear gloss into the fluid prose text preserved in MS Douce 320.

The Maidstone fragments (Kent County Archives, Fa/Z1), written in alternating Latin and French verses, were long thought to descend directly from MS Douce 320. A scribal error in Ps 58:15, however, reveals that the scribe, reading the Latin and vernacular texts separately, misinterpreted the Latin interlinear abbreviation ***-ur*** above *pacientur* as the vernacular letter ***a***. This physical mistake could only have arisen from copying a bilingual interlinear gloss in which a smaller vernacular text was written above a larger Latin one. Maidstone therefore derives not from Douce itself but from a closely related interlinear-gloss antigraph. This conclusion is reinforced by shared vocabulary and translation habits, notably the systematic rendering of Latin *quoniam* as Old French *ker*.

The Orne fragments (Paris, National Archives, AB XIX 1734), previously regarded as an independent prose translation, likewise prove to belong to the same textual family. At Ps 88:3, the scribe wrote *edefiee* at the bottom of one folio and repeated *fiee* at the top of the next. This duplication reflects copying from an interlinear antigraph where the vernacular gloss had been physically divided by the ascender of the Latin word *edificabitur*. Orne also shares characteristic readings with Douce and Maidstone, including the translation of *quoniam* as *ker*. Its variant *en nun égos* (Ps 77:40) appears to be a simplified form of the reading preserved in both Douce and Arundel.

The relationship between these witnesses is further clarified by a sequence of erasures and corrections in Douce. Significantly, such corrected formulations correspond to readings preserved in Orne, indicating consultation of a second antigraph closely related to the Orne tradition. The evidence thus unites Douce, Arundel, Maidstone, and Orne within a single interlinear-gloss tradition; the same cannot be said of the other surviving witnesses.

As for the emergence of the Anglo-Norman bilingual psalters in double-column format—combining a Latin Gallicanum with Old French translations derived from the Douce tradition and supplemented by additional vernacular texts—the evidence points to an early division of the corpus into three textual branches. These are distinguished by their rendering of *beatus vir* in Ps 1:1: the *huem* group (MS Douce 320 and MS Arundel 230), the *barun* group (the Winchester Psalter and BnF, MS n. acq. lat. 1670), and the *ber* group (British Library, MS Add. 35283, Cambridge, Clare College MS 6, and BnF, MS lat. 768). Although the Winchester Psalter is among the earliest and most celebrated witnesses (*c.*1150–1170), it emerges as a peripheral and heavily revised manuscript rather than the ancestor of the double-column tradition. Its text frequently introduces learned reformulations, such as replacing la *commune fei* with *ueire creance* in the text of the Athanasian Symbol. By contrast, the largely neglected Cambridge Clare College MS 6 preserves conservative readings, notably in Ps 3:9, that coincide with those of MS Douce 320 and bring it significantly closer to the archetypal double-column arrangement.

At the macrostructural level, this type of volume developed from an early collection comprising the Psalms and a sequence of five Canticles ending with *Audite celi*—as preserved in Douce and Arundel—towards expanded compilations incorporating the Athanasian Symbol, hymns, and prayers. The Athanasian Symbol, in particular, can be traced back to a single original vernacular translation shared by all witnesses. The concluding vernacular prayers, however, do not derive from a common antigraph. In the Winchester Psalter, they were translated directly from Latin, apparently to achieve aesthetic and structural symmetry within the codex, whereas the Vitellius fragments (British Library, MS Cotton Vitellius E.ix) preserve evidence of an independent translation initiative.

The final chapter of this volume examines the First French Commentary on the Psalms and demonstrates that its interlinear glosses do not constitute an independent translation. Rather, they represent a stylistic and contextually integrated reworking of an earlier Anglo-Norman translation belonging to the Douce–Arundel tradition. Their linguistic form was shaped by the pastoral and theological concerns of the accompanying exegesis, with many lexical choices reflecting the spiritual interpretations advanced in the commentary itself. The study further establishes that the interlinear apparatus was produced only for the first instalment of the work (Ps 1–50). Contrary to earlier hypotheses, it neither originated on the Continent nor resulted from the combination of two distinct scribal sources. Instead, it emerged as an insular adaptation developed during the manuscript's transmission within the British Isles. At the same time, the underlying continental Walloon commentary can be traced to an Anglo-Norman model closely related to MS Douce 320, which subsequently underwent a process of insular Anglo-Normanisation.

Beneurez li huem chi ne alat el conseil des felunz: & en la ueie des peccheurs ne stout: & en la chaére de pestulence ne sist. Mais en la lei de nŕe seignur la uolunté de lui: & en la sue lei penserat par uurn é par nuit. Et iert ensement cume le fust qued é. planté de iuste les decurs des éswes. chi dunrat sun frut en sun tens. Et sa fuille ne decurrat: & tuces les cóses que il unque ferat: se runt faiz pspres.

Nient essi li felun nient essi: mais ensement cume la puldre que li uenz gette de la face de terre. Empicé ne resurdent li felun en iuise: ne li pecheur el conseil des dreiturierz. Kar nŕe sire cunuist la uéie des iustes: é le eire des felunz perirat.

Pus quei fremirent les gent: & li pople purpenserent uaines cóses? Li rei de terre estourent. & li pnce sei asemblerent en un: en contre nŕe seignur é en cuntre sun crist. Derumpums les lur luens: é degetums de nus le iuh de els. Chi habitet es cels les escharnirat: & nŕe sire les iubsannerat. Lo- res parlerat á els en sa ire: & en sa furur les conturberat. Mais ié sui establiz réis de lui sur syon sun saint munt: preechánt sun cumandement. Nŕe sire dist á mei tu es li miens filz: ie hui te engendrai. Requer de mei é ie durrai a tei les gent la tue heredited: é la tue possessiun les térmes de terre. Tu guuerne- ras en uerge ferrine: e si frandras ensement cume le uaisel del potier. Et hore uus réis entendez: seiez aprist uus chi iugez la terre. Seruez á nŕe seign en criéme: e si esleec iez á lui och tremblur. Pernez disciplne que nŕe sire alquune fiede ne se curuust: é uus pissez de la iuste uéie. Cume la sue ire esprenderat en brief tens: be- neuré tuit icil chi en lui sei fidент.

Sire á quei sunt multipliez cil chi mei tribulent: mult se lesdrecent en contre mei. Mult dient á la meie áneme: nen é. salut á lui en sun deu. Mais tu sire les li miens receuére. é la meie gle: é exalchanz mun chief. Ié criai á nŕe seignur par ma uoiz: & il me oit de sun saint munt. Ié dormi é si sumeillai. e ré- uai: kar nŕe sire me receit. Ne crendrai milliers de pople aurunant mei: esdrece tei sire. li miens dé sal me salf. Kar tu as ferut tuz contrariant á mei senz achaisun: les denz des peccheurs tu as arrimplez. Salz é. de nostre seignur: é sur tun pople la tue benedicéun.

Quant ie apelouve. dí de la meie iustise me oit: en tribulatiun tu purlung- nas á mei. Aiez merci de mei é oiez la meie óreisun. Li fil des humes desque a quant serez uus e griefs cuer: pur quei amez uus uanitez. & que- rez menceunge? Et sachez que nŕe sire ad fait merueillus sun saint: nŕe sire me orat quant ié crierai á lui. Iraisez uus é ne uuilez pecchier: les cóses que uus dites en uos cuers. & en uos litaiez cópunctiun. Sacrifiez sacrifise de iustise. & espez el seignur: mult dient chi nus demustrez bones choses? Seignez é. sur nus la lumiére del tuen uult sire: tu dunas leece el mien cuer. De frut del fru- ment: del uin é del suen ólie sunt multipliez. En pais en ice meisme:

State of the question and preliminary remarks

brenne def viuf
l mien calice:
á mei en mute clé
ſtrau le ſegnur
uffrent en mei
teſuref: kar
eſleechat la mien
rát en eſpánce.
raſ le tun ſaint

The source(s) of the Douce and Arundel versions (VA/AC)

In an analysis of Peshitta's Syriac rendition of the book of Jeremiah, Greenberg investigated how scribes modified the text of the original translation. It became evident that features characterising translation technique often indicate revisional activity too (Greenberg 2002, p. 126–142). In other words, when a sacred text went through a 'diorthosis' process, alterations were usually inserted in a coherent manner, that is, reviewers and rewriters inserted them according to a certain logic. This is what the authors of the present study intend to examine in analysing the filiation between the earliest Old French Psalters, with special attention to the particular case of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320.

Psalters written in the Anglo-Norman dialect in the 12th century and their copies or adaptations from the 13th and 14th centuries form an odd category of texts, the dynamics (and mechanics) of which have not been properly explored. There are monolingual manuscripts, bilingual manuscripts on double columns presenting the Latin and vernacular texts as individual units aligned to the verse; there are interlinear glosses in Latin manuscripts, and many other arrangements.

Some of these Old French psalters, written in an Anglo-Norman scripta, appear to be textually related, whereas others are generally regarded as belonging to a different tradition. Their filiation remains difficult to establish, as no comprehensive analysis of the textual development has yet been undertaken. Partly influenced by philological Bédierism, scholars focused on one manuscript more than others and often came up with incompletely justified conclusions.

Some believe that the first text of the group must have been a psalter with an interlinear translation. Although often regarded as an outdated hypothesis that has been superseded by more recent scholarship, it is not one that can be dismissed outright. On the contrary, as the present study will demonstrate, the available evidence consistently supports it. Far from being invalidated, the hypothesis proves to be fundamentally correct and deserves to be reconsidered in light of the material examined here.

The most interesting candidate for a source has always been the so-called Arundel Psalter (London, British Library, MS Arundel 230, 12th century), given its strong textual links with the other texts. Others argued that the prototype of the translation was the only monolingual psalter of the lot—Oxford Psalter (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320, also dated to the middle of the 12th century).

Douce's links with the Latin Psalter of St Albans (Hildesheim, Dombibliothek, St Godehard 1), its alleged source, would confirm that Oxford Psalter was the first in the series. In all these instances, nevertheless, the perspective is misleading: each time we query the corpus, it gives different results. Since the texts are unstable and shape-shifting, it is our opinion that the relationships between them must be analysed to the letter (and to the erasure).

One thing is certain: most translations are linked in one way or another to MS Douce 320, a witness that was the focus of many linguistic studies at the end of the 19th century, at a time when the history of the Old French language was still in an exploratory stage. See e.g., Brachet 1870 on accentuation; Meister 1877 on conjugation and declension (cf. the review of Koschwitz 1878); Cornu 1878 for conjugation; Harseim 1879 on vocalism and consonantism; Varnhagen 1879 for the Old French rendering of Latin ***c*** (cf. the reply of Cornu 1881b); Faulde 1880 on geminated consonants; Cornu 1881a on matters related to verbal forms; Lincke 1886 on accentuation; etc. To this, it is possible to add various comparative studies with other vernacular texts, such as Berger 1884, p. 1–34 (cf. the reviews of Meyer 1888, p. 122–124, Suchier 1884, p. 416–429); Förster 1914; etc.

Currently there is no way of knowing if the Psalm section of MS Douce 320 was the very first codex of its group, but it is one of the oldest manuscripts preserved today. MS Arundel 230 seems to be part of the same textual tradition, yet it goes into realms of functional equivalence, towards a different aesthetic of translation, as if it were a manuscript that stood alone in the middle of the entire textual tradition. As of now, we present only these two manuscripts, with others to follow at a later stage of the study, in different sections.

MS Douce 320 is a monolingual Old French codex, dating from the 12th century and produced somewhere in England. It was located in the Benedictine abbey of Montebourg (Normandy) at the beginning of the 14th century. There, it was bound together in a single volume with an Old French translation of the Rule of Saint Benedict, itself dated to the first half of the thirteenth century. This composite nature of the current codex explains why earlier bibliographical references designate it as the "Psalter of Montebourg."

The manuscript's folios are approximately 29 x 20 cm, the text being transcribed in a single column. It has forty lines per page, with initials and majuscules written in red or green, used alternately. This second part of the manuscript contains the translation of the 150 Psalms based on Gallicanum, followed by five Canticles. The translation is written in prose, contrary to the custom of early Anglo-Norman biblical texts, which are often written as adaptations in verse. The text was edited first by Michel 1860 and more recently by Short 2015.

We concur with the palaeographic analysis of Short, Careri, Ruby 2010 in the matter that the translation of the Psalms in MS Douce 320 does not show signs of being the work of more than one scribe. Variations in character width are the result of the scribe's attempt to fit more

Drawing of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320, fol. 37v (erasures marked in yellow in this drawing).
© Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

Close-up of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320, fol. 39r. Photo: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023-2026.
Courtesy of the Imaging Services of The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Creative Commons licence CC-BY-NC 4.0.

letters in the tight space left available by certain erasures; no sign of different ducti can be found throughout this copy of the Psalms.

Occasional claims have been made that the version of MS Douce 320 could be derived from a now lost bilingual psalter, despite its antiquity when compared with the other psalters of its group. All this changed a decade ago, when Short, Careri, Ruby 2010 proposed a different interpretation. They argued that the text of Douce could be the original autograph of the Old French translation and that the other witnesses (all bilingual), could be derived from it. In their opinion, Douce would be translated from a specific version of the Latin Gallicanum, the one preserved in the already-mentioned St Albans Psalter. This famous codex, contains not only the Psalms, but also one of the oldest version of the Old French Song of Saint Alexis, the vernacular text being copied after a cycle of images.

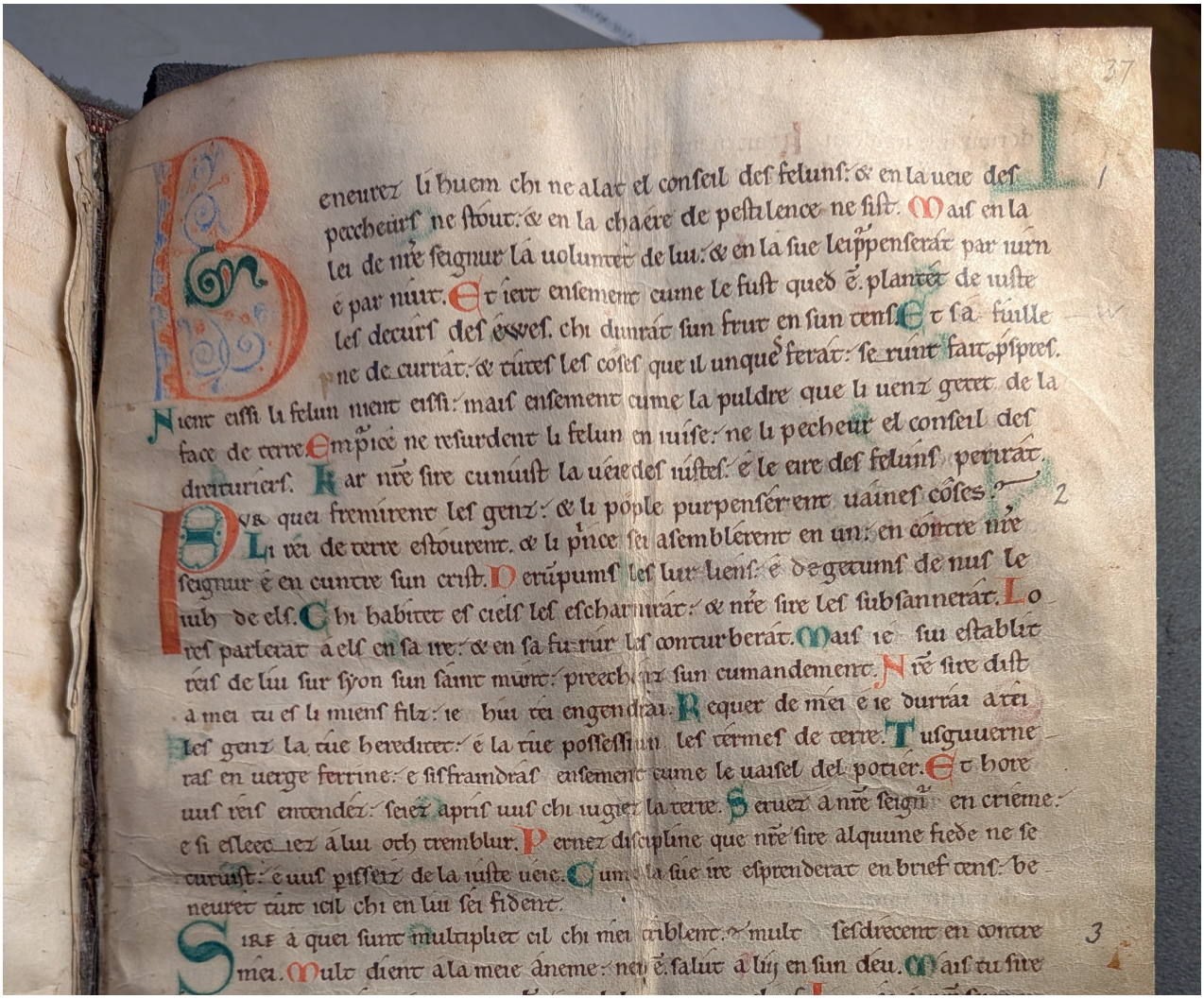
To avoid the twists and turns of various interpretations, we mention only fundamental notions, notably the fact that this codex was probably composed for a certain Christine of Markyate, a recluse whose life would have several points in common with the story of saint Alexis. Certain researchers argue that the manuscript could be linked to the evangelical conversion of Christine. Others consider that the quire comprising the *Song of St Alexis* was produced separately, in a different devotional context, before being included in the final structure of that Latin psalter (e.g., Gnädinger 1972, p. 24–28; cf. Matthew 2008; Gerry 2009, p. 600; Gerry 2013, p. 81; for the recluse and her links with the St Albans Psalter, see Geddes 2005).

The conjecture that the Oxford Psalter and the St Albans Psalter could be related is to many scholars' liking, since it establishes a relationship between two texts (and two manuscripts) which influenced the onset of Anglo-Norman translations (or Old French literature in general). This led to speculations about the uses of MS Douce 320, especially in connection with Christina of Markyate.

As Clive Sneddon will mention later in this volume, in the section devoted to the double-column bilingual psalters, the hypothesis that the vernacular scribe in both manuscripts was the same individual is not new, having already

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320, fol. 37r (upper portion). Courtesy of the Imaging Services of The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Creative Commons licence CC-BY-NC 4.0.

St Albans Psalter, p. 57—Albani Psalter: Dombibliothek Hildesheim, St. God. Nr. 1 (Eigentum der Basilika St. Godehard, Hildesheim), S. 57. The prologue of the Song of St Alexis, a seminal text at the beginning of Old French literature. Courtesy of Dombibliothek Hildesheim.





Ici cumencet amiable cancun espirtel raisun de ceol no
ble barun eufemien par num · e de la vie de sum filz boneu
ret del quel nus auum ot lire e canter · par le diuine
uolentet · il desirrables icel sul filz angendrat · Apres le naissence
co fut enfes de deu mechime amet · e de pere e de mere
par grant certet nurrit · la sue iuuente fut honeste espirtel ·
por lamistet del sureram pietet la sue spuse iuuene cuman
cat al spus uif de uertet Ki est un sul fattur e regnet
an trinitet · Cesta istorie est amiable grace esfuerain
consulacun a castun memorie spirtel · les quels uiuent
purement sulunc castethet · e dignement sa delitent
esgoies del ciel & es noces uirginels ·

Laudate eum in sono tubę:
laudate eum in psalterio & cythara.
Laudate eum in tympano & choro:
laudate eum in chordis & organo.
Laudate eum in cymbalis benesonantibus:
laudate eum in cymbalis iubilationis:
omnis spūs laudet dñm



haurietis aquas in gaudio de fontibus saluatoris.
Cantate ỹ laute pphe

CONFITEBOR tibi dñe qm iratꝰ es mihi:
conuersus est furor tuus & consolatꝰ es me
Ecce deus saluator meus: fiducialiter agā & non timebo.
Quia fortitudo mea & laus mea dñs:
& factus est mihi in salutem.
Haurietis aquas in gaudio de fontibus

been advanced by Malcolm Parkes in the 1960s or 1970s. Short, Careri, Ruby 2010 instead refer to an oral remark by Rodney Thompson. The latter reportedly noticed that the hand of *scribe B* from the St Albans Psalter, dated 1130–1160, resembles that of the copyist who transcribed the French translation of the Psalms in MS Douce 320. It was from this palaeographic observation that the three scholars set out to search other common points between the two codices. According to their argument, the Gallicanum of the St Albans Psalter preserves a Latin text contaminated by readings from the Romanum. On the basis of selected correspondences between this text and the translation in MS Douce 320, they propose that the latter may derive from the Gallicanum as transmitted in the St Albans Psalter. However, they do not address why the features identified in the St Albans Psalter should be specific to this manuscript rather than shared by other psalters from the same region and period. The comparison, as presented, rests entirely on palaeographical considerations.

In the publication, they mention few cases of variation or discrepancy. Such an exception occurs in the translation of Ps 136:9. St Albans Psalter follows Romanum in that verse, while the Old French translation is modelled on Gallicanum. Another one appears in the translation of Ps 118:69. There, MS Douce 320 renders a term which is erased in St Albans Psalter (found in Romanum).

Short, Careri, Ruby 2010, p. 36 explain these exceptions as 'memory-triggered mechanisms or individual initiatives on the part of the scribe of the Saint Albans Psalter or the Oxford Psalter' (*mécanismes de type mémoriel ou des initiatives individuelles de la part du copiste du Saint Albans ou de l'Oxford*). They do not analyse them further and focus on the divisions of longer Psalms in two or more textual units.

It appears that these internal divisions would correspond to those of St Albans Psalter, but it is not explained why the comparison with this particular manuscript is relevant in aspects which both the Latin manuscript and the vernacular translation probably share with an extensive number of codices from the same period. Indeed, as the three scholars suggest, perhaps this can be linked to a Benedictine liturgical tradition, but the fact that the two manuscripts (and texts) are monastic in origin does not link them in a direct manner. In the remainder of the paper, further similitudes are identified in the sizes of initials, but these initials do not always correspond from one manuscript to the other. In concluding their study, it is argued 'that it is not excluded, or rather that it is highly probable, […] that the Anglo-Norman psalter [i.e., MS Douce 320] was translated directly from the Psalter of St Albans' (*qu'il n'est pas exclu, ou plutôt qu'il est hautement vraisemblable,* […] *que le psautier anglo-normand a été traduit directement sur le Psautier de Saint Albans*; Short, Careri, Ruby 2010, p. 40). This conclusion sets the stage for a reconstruction of the social and cultural context in which MS Douce 320 would have been produced. Needless to say, this reconstruction is conjectural.

MS Arundel 320 is not the chief interest of their paper, nor of the edition of MS Douce 230 by Short 2015. However, this witness represents the most intriguing example in the category of Old French interlinear gloss translations of the Psalms and can be just as well a candidate for the source of the Oxford Psalter tradition.

Arundel dates to the middle of the 12th century (cf. Careri, Ruby, Short 2011: 68; for previous editions of MS Arundel 230, see Beyer 1887; Beyer 1888). Arundel's French gloss, in small letters, occupies the interline of a Gallicanum in large characters (fol. 7r–161v). In most cases, this vernacular interlinear gloss seems to be subservient to the MS Douce 320 translation choices, but the relationship between the two is still unclear.

It is often implied that 'only the order of the words has changed [in MS Arundel 230], which is not surprising, because [t]here the French is copied word for word, in the form of glosses, unlike all the previous psalters' (Ruby 2010, p. 183). Last but not least, it was argued that the Psalms could have been written at the Benedictine abbey of SS Peter, Paul and Andrew in Peterborough, whereas the calendar that precedes them could be that of a Benedictine abbey at Crowland (Careri, Ruby, Short 2011, p. 69).

Indeed, nobody can deny that such conclusions can be drawn, but the matter is far more complex. The Arundel text presents a series of curious elements. We will leave aside the fact that the gloss is preceded by a prologue in six hexasyllables taken from a much later text, the First French Metrical Psalter (cf. Meyer 1866, who identified the source), and the fact that the gloss of fol. 7r–8v was transcribed by a modern hand, without trace of erasure (cf. Rector 2010, fn 76, who believed that the initial text could be lost "due to either fading or erasure;" the modern hand transcribes an Anglo-Norman text, dated to the 17th century by Careri, Ruby, Short 2011; cf. Michel 1860, p. XVI, who sees it as more recent).

Instead, we will briefly concentrate on a matter already analysed in Agrigoroaei 2016, p. 44–46 (cf. Rector 2010, for a different interpretation). Well before the beginning of the medieval gloss, starting at the end of fol. 8v, one notices a tentative transcription of the vernacular gloss in the margin of the Latin text, not between its lines. This happens on the first folio of the first Psalm (fol. 7r), the margin of which is now cropped.

The gloss was possibly transcribed at a time when the quires had not yet been bound into the current cover, that is, when the margin of the folio was a few centimetres thicker. The French scribe copied the translation of the first verse of the first psalm twice, making an eye-skip, although he had already written *huem* above *vir* on the same leaf, as if tempted to transcribe an independent text

St Albans Psalter, p. 372—Albani Psalter: Dombibliothek Hildesheim, St. God. Nr. 1 (Eigentum der Basilika St. Godehard, Hildesheim), S. 372. The Canticle of Isaiah at the end of the Psalter.
Courtesy of Dombibliothek Hildesheim.

Quædam hîc gallica, siue normãnica, cum essent vetustate consupta, restituimus fideliter e pulcherrimo quidem et æque antiquo manuscripto Collegij Trinitatis in Cantabrigia.

Psalm: 1

Beneurez

BEATVS

.huem.

VIR

Lbenurez huem
elconseil desfelun
despecheurs ne s
chaere depestilenc
Lbenurez huem
elconseil desfeluns.
despecheurs nestu
ere depestilence n
Mais enlalei deure
uolencer delur ne
purpenserat parn
Le ere ensement cu
ãplantez deuste le
ewes: ki sun frun
et fruit S.

qui ne allat el conseil des felons.

QUI NON ABIIT IN CONSILIO IMPIORUM:

e en la veie des pecheurs ne stout e en

& in uia peccatorũ non steit: & in

x alias. des escharniseurs.

la chaere de pestilence ne sist

cathedra pestilencie non sedit. Sed uo.

mais en la leie del seigneur la voluntet de lui

Sed in lege domini uoluntas eius:

et en la leie de lui penserat par iour e par nuit

& in lege eius meditabitur die ac nocte.

e iert ensement cume fust tresplan=

Et erit tanquam lignum quod plan

tet de iuste les ruisals des ewes

tatum est secus decursus aquarũ:

lequel sun fruit durrat en sun tens

quod fructu suo dabit in tempore

Soc. Reg. Lond
ex dono Henr. Howard
Norfolciensis.

and not an interlinear one. Here is the transcription of the text in the right-hand margin:

Li benurez huem [...]
el conseil des felun[...]
des pecheurs nest[...]
chaere de pestilence [...]
Li benurez huem [...]
el conseil des feluns. [...]
des peccheurs ne stu[...]
ere de pestilence n[...]
Mais en la lei de nostre[...]
uolentet de lui ; et e[...]
purpenserat par iu[...]
Et ert ensement cu[...]
que plante est ; deiuste l[...]
ewes ; ki sun fru[...]
en tens.

It corresponds to the version of MS Douce 320, f. 37r (cf. the editions of Short 2015, p. 43; Michel 1860, p. 1), but the first three words and several other words from the third verse appear in a rather different order:

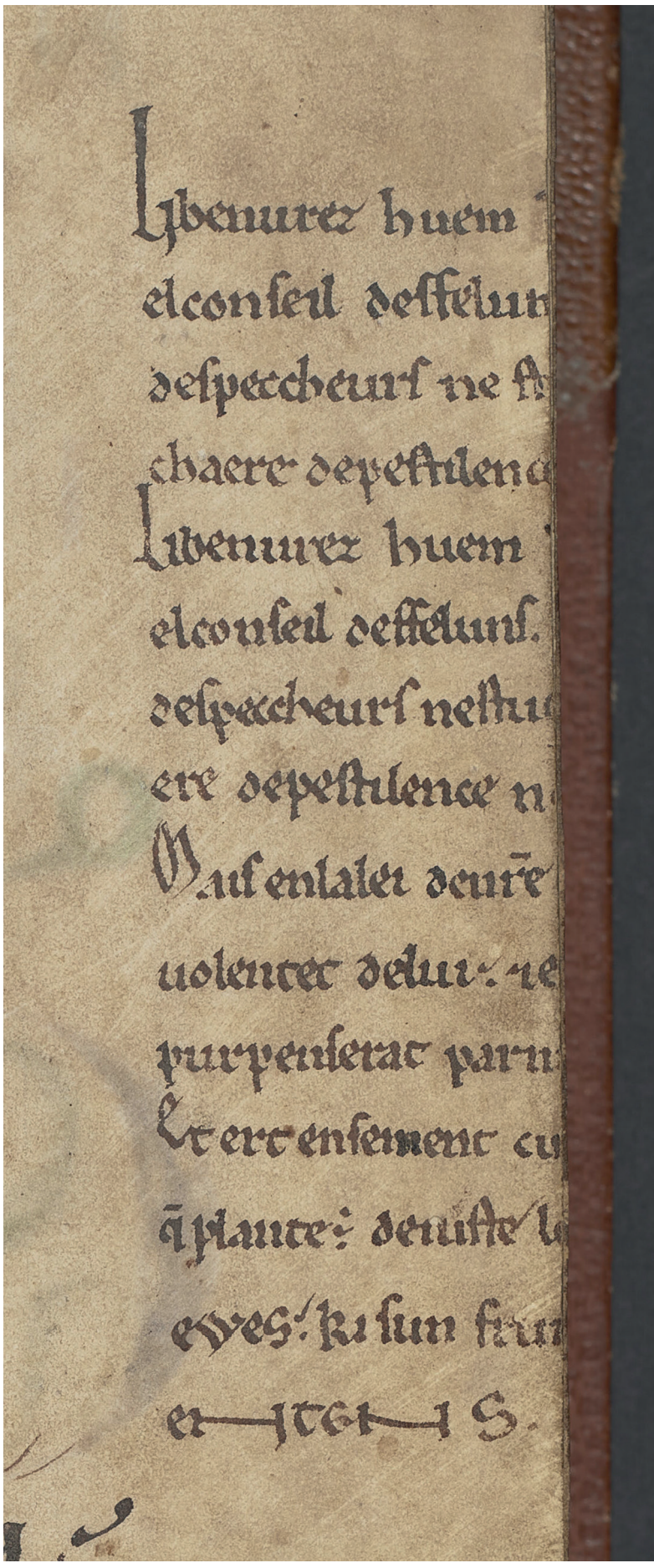
Beneurez li huem chi ne alat el conseil des feluns ; et en la ueie des peccheurs ne stout ; et en la chaere de pestilence ne sist .

Mais en la lei de nostre seignur la uoluntet de lui ; et en la sue lei purpenserat par iurn e par nuit .

Et iert ensement cume le fust queð est . plantet de iuste les decurs des ewes . chi dunrat sun frut en sun tens .

This eye-skip gives the impression that MS Arundel 230 is based on a previous text. That text was adapted, but it cannot be the text of MS Douce 320. The source copied by the Arundel scribe was slightly different. This is confirmed by the fact that the scribe does not change the word order in the second part of the eye skip repetition: *li benurez huem* appears twice with the same word order, as opposed to *beneurez li huem* in MS Douce 320.

This does not mean that MS Arundel 230 is not related to MS Douce 320. The different readings can be due to the emendations of scribes. As a result, Short, Careri, Ruby 2010, p. 39 can also be right in their assumption that the possible Latin source from which the Old French Psalter tradition stems could be related to the Latin versions of MS Cotton Nero C IV and MS Arundel 230 of the British Library. Therefore, another hypothesis must be taken into account: that MS Arundel 230 is the witness of an original development of (French) biblical translations though being composed of words that match the Latin ones and following the syntax of Latin verses. MS Douce 320 can be a reworking of a primary version, not necessarily that of MS Arundel 230. This hypothesis was first formulated (albeit only in part) by Herman 1954, p. 75, who followed in the footsteps of Franzén 1939 (cf. Nordahl 1972, who followed Herman 1954). It was certainly a possibility for Beyer 1887, p. 517, and it is not completely excluded by Pignatelli 2015, p. 35, fn 1 (cf. Pignatelli 2009; Pignatelli, Lavrentiev 2013).



Opening folio of the Psalms in the Arundel Psalter.
Marginal gloss transcription on the same folio.
From the British Library collection, MS Arundel 230, fol. 7r.

The Latin text of Arundel is often close to Romanum, and the French gloss is based on a Latin text which contained a slightly different text from Gallicanum. The close reliance on Latin syntax in Arundel appears to be significantly greater than the one we find in other texts of the same period. The only downside of these analyses is that they evaluate the vernacular rendering in terms of good or bad—that is, in terms of the 'superiority' of MS Arundel 230 (based on its respect for the Latin source), or its 'inferiority' in comparison to the fluidity of the vernacular text in MS Douce 320.

We believe that the maze of Anglo-Norman psalters should be analysed via in-depth analyses of each essential manuscript. All phenomena related to translation, rewriting, or copying should be properly listed, so that each individual research can take a step further in the direction of a general comprehensive explanation for the filiation links in the entire group.

The analysis presented in the third section of this volume is based on the erasures found in MS Douce 320, as a continuation of ideas presented in Agrigoroaei 2016, p. 26-29, and in other articles by the same author. A series of research visits undertaken by Alessia Chapel and Vladimir Agrigoroaei at the Bodleian Library between 2023 and 2025 enabled them to record all indisputable erasures in the Psalms section of the manuscript. The resulting classification of these interventions suggests that the conclusions advanced by Sneddon 1978, though overlooked by many scholars, may in fact be correct.

The reason for such negligence might be due to the unavailability of the results of the extensive research of Sneddon 1972. This publication (a B.Litt. diss.) became available online as a scanned copy only in recent years. Initially, our research was independent of this publication, but when it could be confronted with it, it became evident that it was heading towards similar conclusions. It is therefore copiously quoted in our study, to acknowledge its value, especially since it is the only analysis that focused on the erasures of MS Douce 320.

The comprehensive analysis of these erasures constitutes the largest section of our study (*The Genetic Stratigraphy the Douce Version*) and is preceded by a transcription of the textual variants in MS Douce 320 (*The Semi-Diplomatic Transcription of the Douce Version*). Since the discussion of the erasures repeatedly draws on evidence from the Arundel text, and since a codicological, palaeographical, and textual analysis of Arundel would not fit naturally within either of the subsequent sections, it has been placed here, in the concluding pages of these preliminary remarks.

THE CONTENTS AND COMPOSITION OF MS ARUNDEL 230 (VA)

London, British Library, MS Arundel 230, is a composite manuscript consisting of three distinct units produced in England between the mid-12th and the late 13th century, subsequently supplemented by later medieval additions.

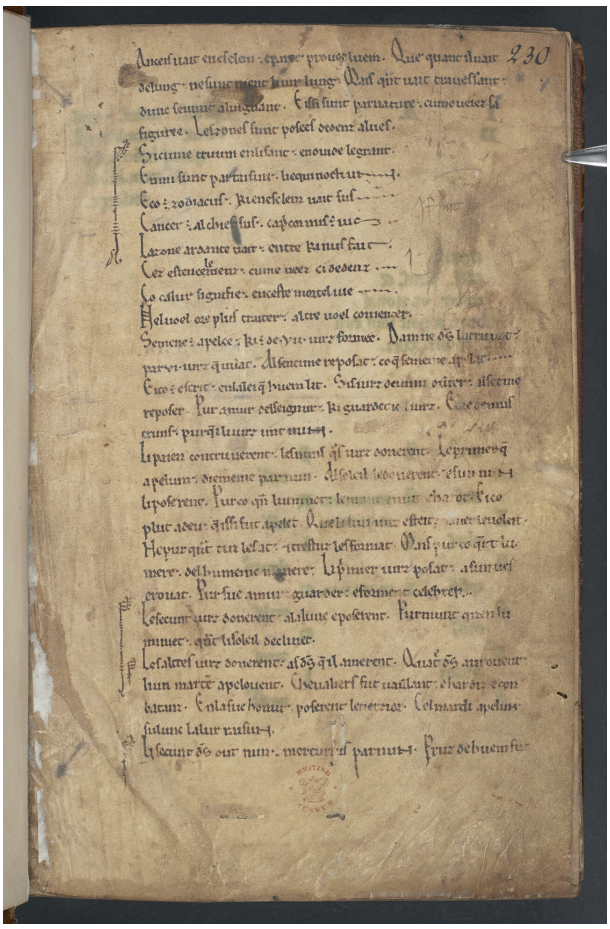
The manuscript opens with Part I (fol. 1–6), a calendar accompanied by astronomical and computistical texts in Anglo-Norman and Latin, produced between *c.*1150 and 1200. This section contains Philippe of Thaon's *Comput*, a scientific poem composed in 1113/1119 and regarded as one of the earliest technical works in Old French, together with calendar tables intended for the calculation of the liturgical year and various lists relating to medieval prognostications and so-called "perilous days." According to previous scholarship, the hand responsible for copying the *Comput* is also believed to have written the vernacular gloss accompanying the Psalms in the second section of the manuscript. A much later hand also transcribed the prologue of the First French Metrical Psalter.

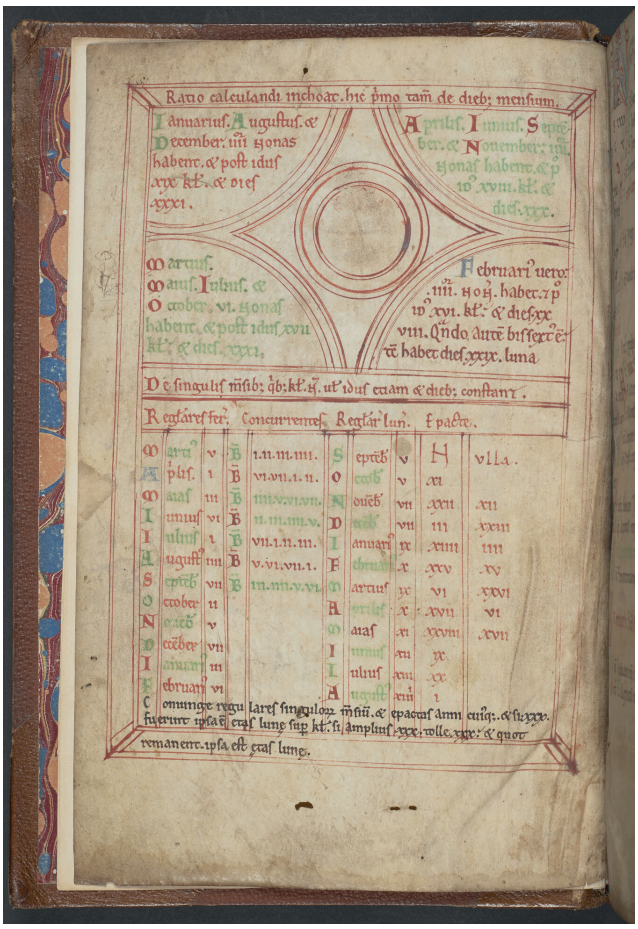
The core of the volume is Part II (fol. 7–161), created sometime after 1150, likely at Peterborough Abbey. It contains the Latin Gallicanum (fol. 7r–146r) paired with an interlinear Anglo-Norman French translation, making it one of the most important surviving witnesses to early Anglo-Norman Psalm translations. This main section continues with ten Old and New Testament canticles and traditional Christian creeds (fol. 146r–157v)—also featuring interlinear vernacular translations—and concludes with a Latin Litany of the Saints (fol. 157v–161r) that invokes local Anglo-Saxon and regional English venerated saints like Aethelwold, Oswald, Guthlac, Kyneburga, Kyneswitha, Tibba, and Sexburg. This evidence increases the likelihood that the manuscript was produced at Peterborough.

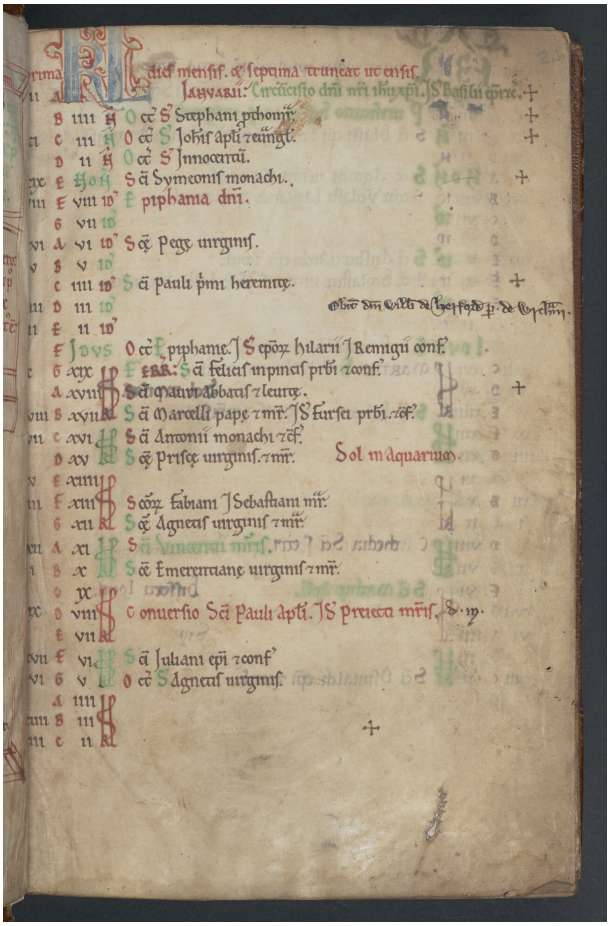
The volume expanded in the 13th century through the additions of a Part III (fol. 162–180), created between *c.*1200 and 1250, comprising the Latin Office of the Dead with musical notation. The presence of additional excerpts from Philippe de Thaon's *Comput* in the final section of the manuscript strongly suggests that these leaves originally formed part of a larger group of quires appended to the Psalter. There is, moreover, a strong possibility that this arrangement originated at the abbey of Peterborough, where a medieval book list records the presence of Philippe de Thaon's vernacular poem (to be discussed in a different publication).

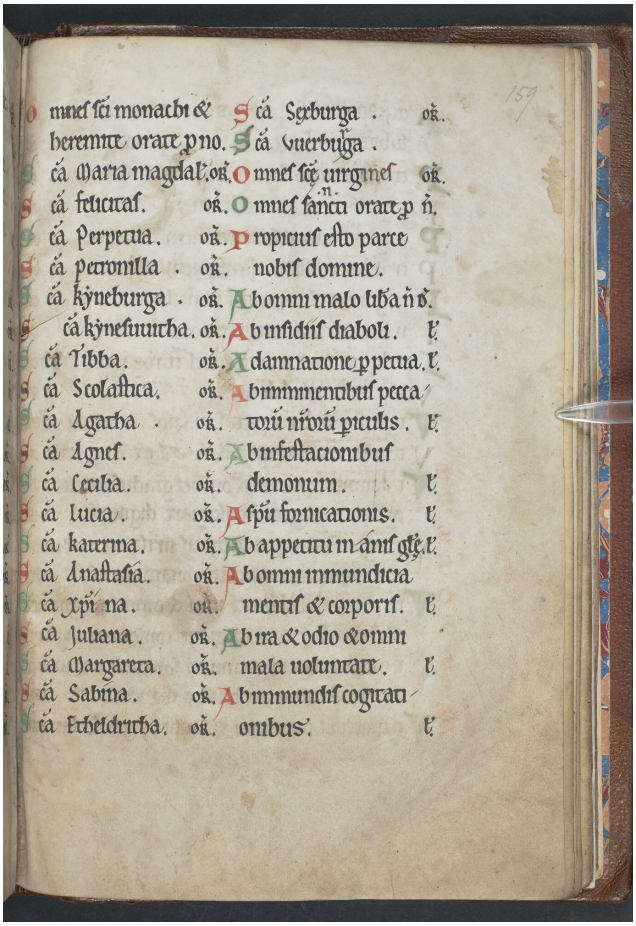
Throughout the 14th and 15th centuries, scribes and owners continued to augment the manuscript with local obit notices, prayers, and liturgical antiphons entered on blank leaves and in the margins. These additions testify to the manuscript's long and active use, showing that it remained a living book rather than a static artefact. Not all of these interventions, however, belong to the later Middle Ages. A number of annotations appear to be considerably earlier and may date to periods much closer to the manuscript's production. Taken together, these successive layers of additions provide valuable evidence for its use and reception. The following pages examine this material in order to shed light on the functions the manuscript fulfilled and the ways in which it was adapted by its users over time.

The first leaf of the Comput *poem (fol. 1r), Latin astronomical texts (fol. 1v), beginning of the calendar (fol. 2r), and folio from the litany section (fol. 159r) in the Arundel Psalter.*
From the British Library collection, MS Arundel 230.









uers mei/ lut a iceste en deu tutesures
at. semper. uersum me. ℣ lus ipsi in deo eus.
mult dient a la meie anime nen est sa=
Multa dicunt anime mee: non est sa
mais tu Sire les miens escus enuirun mei.
Tu autem domine susceptor meus es:
la meie glorie e eshalsans mun chief
gta mea & exaltans caput meum.
par ma voiz a nostre seignur crierai e il orrat
Voce mea ad dnm clamaui: & exau
mei de sun saint munt tutesures.
at. exaudiet diuit me de monte sancto suo. semper.
Lo dormi e si sumellai io esuellai
Ego dormiui & soporatus sum & exur
kar nostre Sire sustint mei
rexi: quia dominus suscepit me.
nient ne crendrai milliers de peuple ki auirunerent
Non timebo milia populi circundan
mei esdresce tei Sire salf me
tis me: exurge domine saluum me
fai miens deus luns cumbruissas
fac deus meus. ℣ omnes contriuisti.
kar tu as ferut masselé de tuz
Quoniam tu percussisti omes aduersan
miens enemis les denz des fe=
tes michi sine causa: dentes pecca
de nostre seignur est saluz sur tuen peuple
at. additur [semper] Domini est salus: & sup populum
la tue benecicun [tutesures]
tuum benedictio tua. Ps DD.
Apellant oth mei
Cum inuocarem exaudiuit me
deus de la meie iustice en tribulatiun
4 deus iusticie mee: in tribula
purluignas a mei
tione dilatasti michi. ℣ miseram.
aies merci de mei e oi la mei uresun
Miserere mei: & exaudi orationem
li fil de barun deslquanz serez uos de gref
Filii hominum usquequo graui

MARGINAL AND INTERLINEAR ANNOTATIONS AS SCRIBAL STAGES OF THE PSALTER IN MS ARUNDEL 230 (VA)

To understand the role of the Old French interlinear gloss in the Arundel Psalter and to determine at what stage of the manuscript's production it was added, it is necessary to undertake a detailed analysis of the Gallicanum text itself, the vernacular gloss, and the manuscript's other annotations. The main difficulty lies in establishing the beginning of this gloss. Leaving aside the marginal transcription on fol. 7r, already analysed in the preceding pages, the first folios containing the interlinear gloss are in fact written by a modern hand, raising the question of where and how the medieval gloss originally began.

There are no traces of erasure on fol. 7r–8r, where the Psalter begins, and the interlinear gloss on these folios is indeed entirely modern. By fol. 8v, however, the situation changes somewhat. The first two lines of the folio appear never to have contained a medieval interlinear gloss, but from line 3 onwards clear traces of an earlier interlinear text become visible beneath the modern additions.

Line 3: four ascenders of the Latin *s* have been erased and restored in modern ink at *susceptor meus es*. Traces of medieval glossing are visible above *-us-* of *susceptor*.

Line 4: traces of a medieval gloss survive beneath the modern gloss above *exaltans*.

Line 5: traces are visible throughout the interlinear space.

Line 6: traces survive above *monte sancto tuo*.

Line 7: traces survive above *et soporatus sum*.

Line 8: traces are visible above *-rexi*, *Dominus*, *suscepit*, and *mei*.

Line 9: traces are visible throughout the interlinear space.

Line 10: traces are visible throughout; in addition, a clear remnant of *-nant* survives above the Latin *-tis*.

Line 11: traces are visible throughout the interlinear space.

Line 12: traces survive above *aduersan-*.

Line 13: traces are visible throughout, including *ant* above the Latin *-tes*; a *punctus elevatus* is preserved in the gloss above *causa*.

Line 14: traces are visible throughout the interlinear space.

Line 15: traces are visible throughout the interlinear space.

Line 16: traces are visible throughout the interlinear space.

Line 17: traces are visible throughout the interlinear space.

Line 18: traces are visible throughout the interlinear space.

Line 19: traces survive only above the *-is-* of *Miserere*.

Line 20: at this point the medieval gloss begins to survive continuously.

The most striking observation is that no traces of erasure or rewriting are visible above the first two lines of the Latin text. This suggests that the original medieval gloss began at the third line, and that not all Latin words in that line were provided with interlinear translations, at least not throughout its entirety.

It is also reasonable to conclude that the modern annotator initially attempted to replace what he regarded as erroneous readings in MS Arundel 230 with those of his antigraph. Once confronted with the extent of the task, however, he appears to have abandoned the effort, leaving the remainder of the medieval gloss largely untouched.

Another noteworthy point concerns the interlinear gloss of the final line, which introduces the beginning of Ps 4:3 and renders *filii hominum* as *li fil de barun*. This reading does not correspond to the text of MS Douce 320, which has *lí fíl des humes*, nor to the Winchester Psalter, which, although it uses *barun* for the first occurrence of *vir* in Ps 1:1, nevertheless reads here *li fil des humes*

This discrepancy raises the question of the source of the modern annotator's reading. It may derive from a now-lost copy of the Oxford Psalter, or it may have been independently introduced, perhaps under the influence of the Winchester Psalter, at a time when both relevant witnesses (MS Arundel 230 and MS Cotton Nero C.IV) could still have been consulted in the same library. However, it could equally derive from the underlying text of MS Arundel 230 itself or from a reading of its subsequent folios. This possibility is suggested by the fact that *viro* is glossed as *barun* on fol. 22r, line 2, while *uirum* receives the same gloss, *le barun*, on fol. 83v, line 7.

To clarify these issues, I examined all erasures and textual alterations in the Psalms within this section of the Arundel manuscript. The following is a folio-by-folio account of my findings.

Fol. 9r: erasure above *lęticiam in corde*. Judging by its appearance and the lighter colour of the parchment beneath, this is most likely a modern erasure made by the modern annotator himself.

Fol. 9v: possible corrective erasures above the two occurrences of *eorum* in the lower part of the folio, although this remains uncertain.

Fol. 10v: an apparent attempt to reorganise the word order at *de \mes/ lermes*.

Fol. 13r: the erasure of *ne* above *non* in the fourth line appears accidental rather than intentional.

Fol. 14v: it is evident that the gloss was copied from an antigraph that had an interlinear gloss text as well, since the scribe writes only *-cle* above *sclm*, omitting the initial *se-*.

Fol. 16r: in the interlinear space of line 7, *salble* has been expunctuated as an error, in anticipation of the following word *saluable*—another indication that the vernacular gloss derives from an earlier interlinear source.

Fol. 17v: the interlinear gloss was transcribed after the correction of the Latin text; see the gloss above *tu es hereditas mea mihi*.

Fol. 19v: another repetition indicative of an interlinear-gloss antigraph occurs in line 10, where the repetition *desuz desuz* appears above *sub pedibus*.

Fol. 19v, lines 12–14: the corrections to the gloss in the left-hand portion of the folio result from physical damage rather than deliberate correction. They appear to have been executed in the thirteenth century, judging from the form of the final minuscule *t*.

Fol. 22r, line 7: *semini* is provided with two glosses, *a sa semence* and *a la semence de lui*. The glossator appears to be experimenting with alternative formulations, much as

Beginning of medieval interlinear gloss in the Arundel Psalter. From the British Library collection, MS Arundel 230, fol. 8v.

the scribe of MS Douce 320 seems to have done, although here the interlinear format allows such variation in a way that a continuous text does not.

Fol. 23v: further evidence that the gloss was copied after the correction of the Latin text can be seen at *in saeculum saeculi*.

Fol. 27v, line 6: *le \te/stemonies* provides another indication of an interlinear gloss antigraph.

Fol. 29v, line 6: *domine* inserted in the interlinear space, again suggesting that the gloss was added after the correction of the Latin text.

Fol. 32r, line 6: *hoc* has been erased in the Latin text, but there is no trace of any corresponding gloss erasure above it. This suggests that the gloss was most likely added only during another phase in the manuscript's use.

Fol. 34v, line 5: extensive corrections at both the beginning and end of the line suggest difficulties in copying the antigraph.

Fol. 38r: in the first line of Ps 35, an erasure between *que il* and *mesfacet* suggests that two superfluous letters were accidentally written and subsequently removed.

Fol. 47r: correction of the Latin text at *opprobrium vicinis*, with the French interlinear gloss written afterwards.

Fol. 58v, line 8: a correction and cancellation of a verb were made during the transcription of the interlinear gloss, suggesting uncertainty in the formulation of the vernacular phrase.

Fol. 65r: in the lower portion of the folio, the illuminator mistakenly painted the title of Ps 66 three lines too high, subsequently erased it, and repainted it in the correct location. The interlinear gloss of Ps 65:20a partially overlaps with this erasure, thereby confirming that it was added after the preparation of the Latin main text, including its ornamental layout.

Fol. 66r, line 2: the apparent *r* following *a luj* is merely a feature of the parchment; there is no erasure.

Fol. 88v, line 7: another correction of the Latin text (*inferno appropinquavit*), with the gloss written afterwards.

Fol. 91v: in the antepenultimate line, *ne irasceris* has been corrected; the gloss postdates this intervention.

Fol. 93v: *tabernaculo tuo* is a correction; no gloss appears above it because the vernacular translation has been placed over the preceding word.

Fol. 101v, line 6: an erasure above *audiret*, preceding *que il oïst*. This was probably an immediate correction made by the scribe after writing an erroneous form.

Fol. 104r, line 1: although the first word (*Rigans*) has been corrected through erasure, it is clear that the gloss was written after this intervention.

Fol. 107v, final line: the preposition *in* was inserted where it had originally been omitted. Its ink differs from that of the surrounding text, but the insertion predates the interlinear gloss. Moreover, the broader pen nib used for the correction differs from that employed for the gloss, demonstrating that the gloss was added in a separate operation and did not form part of the manuscript's original production.

Fol. 105v, final two lines: The conclusion of Ps 105 contains the *Gloria Patri* in abbreviated form, whereas the gloss above it is fully written out. This suggests that the purpose of the gloss was not simply to provide an Old French translation of the Psalter, but rather to facilitate the reading and interpretation of Latin words and phrases more generally, irrespective of whether they belonged to the biblical text proper. This *Gloria* is identical in status to the other *Gloriae* marked throughout the manuscript in red, as though they were titles.

Fol. 115r: in the antepenultimate line from the bottom, a small erasure precedes *confermez*. This may represent either a corrected scribal error or accidental damage to the parchment. Nothing is written over the erasure itself.

Fol. 120v: at the initial, one again observes a tendency to mark the beginning of a French phrase in the margin. Whether this reflects the same logic as that observed at the *Beatus vir* of Ps 1:1 remains uncertain and deserves further investigation.

Fol. 122v, line 2: The glossator's phrase-based logic is particularly evident here. He attempts to connect *les tues … iustificatiuns*, despite the fact that the ascenders of the Latin script separate the glosses visually. This provides one of the clearest examples of his tendency to work in syntactic units rather than on isolated words.

Fol. 122v, final line: this passage demonstrates that the erasures were not always necessary. In the gloss *tes querrai*, the glossator simply strikes through a repetition. It appears that he initially misunderstood the function of the Latin verbal prefix and later corrected himself. This suggests that he was working from an earlier interlinear gloss and only subsequently recognised the error.

Fol. 123v: in the penultimate line and the fifth line from the bottom, the same phrase-based segmentation is apparent. The glossator writes *iustifi-* separately before *iustificationes*, indicating that the vernacular phrase was intended to cover at least half, if not the entirety, of the short verse Ps 118:71.

Fol. 124v: the opening lines contain no gloss for Ps 118: 81, an omission that merits further investigation.

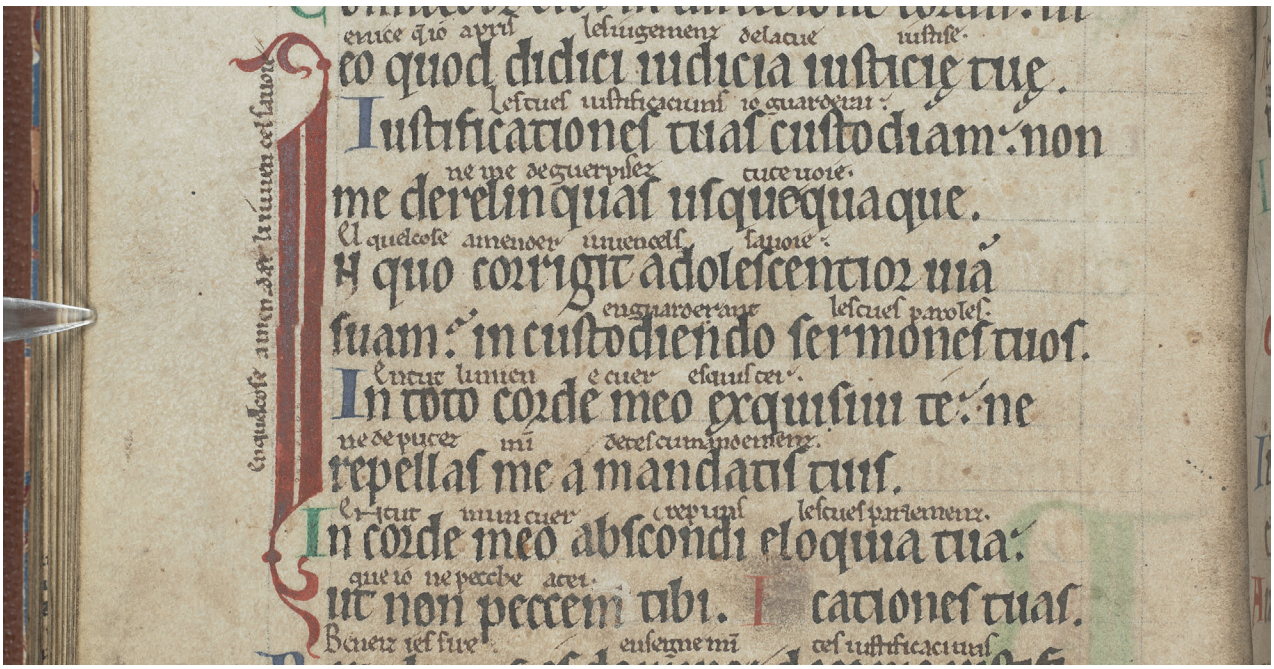
Fol. 127v: in the fifth line from the bottom, a corrective addition of *domine* precedes the transcription of the interlinear gloss.

Fol. 129r: corrective erasure and rewriting in the Latin text at *… tuum domine*. The interlinear French gloss was added after this intervention.

Fol. 136r: a notable change of strategy occurs here. The gloss moves into the margin and begins to function more like a genuine translation than a purely interlinear aid. The availability of marginal space may have encouraged this shift. On the same folio, *reges magnos* has been corrected through erasure and rewriting. The gloss is positioned adjacent to the correction and clearly postdates it. More interestingly, the final clause of Ps 135:20 (*et omnia regna Chanaan*) has been marked as a separate verse. Although omitted in some Vulgate traditions, it has here been cancelled while retaining its gloss. This suggests that the cancellation may have been made after the gloss was added and deserves closer examination.

Fol. 138v: a substantial note survives in the lower part of the folio, but it is now too faded to be read.

Fol. 140v: at the end of Ps 141, an erasure follows *a mei*, above the ascender of *mihi*. This may equally represent accidental damage or the correction of a duplicated word. Significantly, nowhere in Arundel do we encounter struc-



▲ *Change of gloss strategy in the Arundel Psalter.*
From the British Library collection, MS Arundel 230, fol. 136r.

tural erasures designed to remodel the text extensively.

Fol. 142v: a small erasure removes an unnecessary *et*.

Fol. 142v: the final five lines are of chief importance. No erasure is involved here; instead, a blank space was deliberately left and later filled by a corrector supplying omitted text. The hand of this corrector appears remarkably close to that of the interlinear glossator. The ink is likewise similar, even if the pen nib differs. This suggests that the person responsible for the major corrections to the Latin text may also have been responsible for the gloss.

Fol. 143v: a small erasure occurs before *perirunt* in the middle of the folio. It probably removes an abbreviated *et*. The error may only have become apparent during the glossing process.

Fol. 145r: the Latin text has been corrected through erasure and rewriting at *in sclm scli; pceptum*. The gloss above is written in the same ink as the rest of the folio's glosses and postdates the correction. This makes the situation on fol. 142v appear exceptional. One might wonder whether the missing Latin text there was supplied during the glossing phase, though the hypothesis remains difficult to substantiate.

Fol. 145r: a further argument for dating the vernacular gloss later than the Latin text is provided by a particularly revealing instance of smudging. At the verse beginning *Quia ipse*, the gloss *K---ar il dist* has been carefully positioned to avoid a smudge. The smudge itself appears secondary and therefore postdates the copying of the main text. This suggests that the gloss and the Latin text belong to distinct stages in the manuscript's history. Although other smudges occur throughout the manuscript, none is as revealing as this example.

Fol. 150r: erasure and correction of *es* in *Egressus es*. As elsewhere, the corrected text displays the same ink tint as the gloss. It is possible that the glossator used a broader nib when correcting the Latin text.

Fol. 153r: the folio is filled with corrections to the Latin text: a letter before *preter*; *me* on the same line (*in mea*); *percutiam* on the line below; then *et ego*; *arripuerit*, where the *t* is written over an erasure indicating that several superfluous letters originally stood there; *Reddam ultionem*; and the *a* in *mea* on the same line as *arripuerit*. None of these corrections affects the ink tint of the interlinear gloss, although the gloss itself is written in a somewhat darker ink. This suggests that it was added later, at some chronological distance from the corrections.

Fol. 153v–154r: The gloss ceases before *Benedicite*, yet the corrections continue in the same faded and diluted ink. This suggests that the erasures and corrections predate the gloss.

Fol. 154v: small erasure at the *a* of *terra*.

Fol. 155r: similar erasure in *Eterna*, where an *m* has been removed.

Fol. 155v: At *peccatorum eorum*, an *m* preceding the pronoun has been erased; similarly, in the final verse before the Athanasian Symbol, *ri* has been corrected.

Fol. 156r: addition of *omps* in the penultimate line.

Fol. 156v: a correction cancelled in red during the painting of the initials. Lower down, a *punctus elevatus* was added by the corrector in the fourth line from the bottom.

Fol. 157v: a legible addition survives in the lower margin. Such additions belong to a later stage of the manuscript's history, between the production of the glossed manuscript and the addition of the verse prologue. They are undoubtedly later than the earliest marginal annotations, and the hands do not appear to coincide.

The Psalter part of the manuscript reflects a sequence of three main scribal stages. First, the Latin Psalter was copied and subsequently subjected to a series of local corrections through erasure and rewriting, generally aimed at repairing copying errors or adjusting wording, with no evidence of systematic revision. Second, a vernacular interlinear gloss was added after these corrections and often clearly postdates them. It was copied from an earlier glossed

antigraph, as shown by duplication errors and structural inconsistencies. The glossator shows occasional revision and variation, indicating engagement with the translation process, but he usually operates at a phrase-based, syntactic level. Finally, the Psalter received later sporadic interventions, including additional corrections, marginal additions, and occasional layout adjustments. These belong to a subsequent phase of use in which the text was no longer systematically revised but continued to be annotated and refined.

The marginal notes to which I refer here are written in an early thirteenth-century hand. They provide vernacular language indications for usage:

Fol. 15v, at the start of Ps 12: \[---]*ke deus ait merci* [---] *die ceste Saume* [---*i*]*uement.*

Fol. 31v, at the start of Ps 31: \gra*nt mester auera a deu ceste Saume*/.

Fol. 55v, at the start of Ps 53: \[---*r*] *de sun lit* [---] *Saume trei* [---] *la pat*er *nost*e*r* . [---]*a le iur* [---]*brer*/.

Fol. 56r, at the start of Ps 54: *Ki auera uul aduen*[---] *deu uoldra ester deliu*[---]*nuz die ceste* . *p*saume *cent*[---]*tere od lermes* . *e sera* [---] *Si uu*us *auez ennui* . *V*[---] *en cors* . *v en curage* . [---] *quidez ke la grace de*[---]*guerpie si dites ceste* . [---]*piteus quor* ./.

Fol. 57v, at the start of Ps 55: \[---]*i crient destre en*[---]*e plus haut de lui* [---]*riblement ceste sa*[*ume*---] *senuz deuant ke* [---] *pleider* ./.

Fol. 59v, at the start of Ps 58: \[---]*taille deuera aller* [---]*e p*saume . *v hu*m*me pur* [---] *feiz* . *en apres* [*cest*]*e p*salme . *Exaudi d*eus [---] *e lautre Ex* [---] . *m*ichi . *si sentira* [---] *deu* ./.

Fol. 65v, at the start of Ps 67: \[---]*chaet en g*ra*nt* [---*e*] *die ceste* . *p*saume . [---]*ment od con*[---*i*]*un del seint* [---]*t sanz nule* [---] *ert deliuere* ./.

Fol. 67v, at the start of Ps 68: \[---]*nt cum uu*us *estes plus* [---*b*]*l'es plus tenez deu au*[---]*si dites ceste Saume* [---?] *uu*us *honura* ./.

Fol. 69v, at the start of Ps 69: \[---]*uu*us *deuez* [---*e*]*r acune gros*[---]*gne dites ceste* [*Saume*] *pur la deu aie* [---*a*] *uu*us *en vera di*[---]*ant le auter cinc* ./.

Fol. 81v, at the start of Ps 78: \[---*u*]*u*us *ne seez* [---] *umbrez de aduer*[*site*]*z de co mund se* [*uu*us] *cuchiez a tere* [*deu*]*ant la croiz si* [*uu*us *dit*]*es ceste* . *p*saume . *nof* [*foiz*] *e deu uu*us *deli*[*uer*]*a* ./.

Fol. 88v, at the start of Ps 87: \[---]*uu*us *estes en grein* [---]*tesce dunt uu*us [---]*a tere deuant la* [*croiz*] *dites ceste* . *p*saume . *e* [---]*es ke ci sunt en* [---] . *D*omi*ne refugium* . [---] *e lautre B*e*nedic* . [---]*basti me* . *e sanz* [---*d*]*utance serez deliuere* . [---]*e fin vendres* ./.

Fol. 92r, at the start of Ps 89: *Quant uu*us *estes en* [---] *v en angusee* . *si dit*[*es*] *ceste Saume* ./.

These indications, although in French, appear to concern the recitation of the Latin version of the Psalms, together with other Latin prayers. They do not, however, provide any evidence for the use of the vernacular interlinear gloss.

It is also difficult to envisage the practical use of the manuscript in the context of such rituals, in particular in a case such as that of Ps 78, described on fol. 81v, which prescribed recitation while lying prostrate on the ground with hands extended in the orant position. Under such conditions, the book itself could hardly have been used during the performance of the rite.

It is far more plausible to consider that the book functioned primarily as a guide. In such a context, the presence of the interlinear gloss may likewise have served a comparable purpose, perhaps as a form of devotional exercise, although there is nothing in the gloss itself that indicates how it was intended to be used in practice.

However, this does not preclude a liturgical use of the manuscript. A late thirteenth-century hand, possibly extending into the early fourteenth century, adds antiphons at the beginning of Ps 28 (fol. 30v), Ps 30 (fol. 31v), Ps 32 (fol. 34r), Ps 34 (fol. 36v), Ps 36 (fol. 39r), at the end of Ps 37:23 (fol. 42r), at the start of Ps 40 (fol. 44r), Ps 42 (fol. 46r), Ps 44 (fol. 49r), Ps 47 (fol. 50r), Ps 49 (fol. 52r), Ps 52 (fol. 55r), Ps 55 (fol. 57v), Ps 59 (fol. 60v), Ps 61 (fol. 61v), Ps 65 (fol. 64r), Ps 68 (fol. 67v), Ps 70 (fol. 70r), Ps 72 (fol. 72v), Ps 74 (fol. 75r), Ps 76 (fol. 76v), Ps 78 (fol. 81v), Ps 80 (fol. 83v), Ps 82 (fol. 84v), Ps 84 (fol. 86v), Ps 86 (fol. 88r), Ps 88 (fol. 89v), Ps 95 (fol. 87r), Ps 97 (fol. 98v), Ps 99 (fol. 99v), Ps 103 (fol. 103r), Ps 105 (fol. 107r), Ps 107 (fol. 112r), at the end of Ps 108 (fol. 114r), at the beginning of Ps 115 (fol. 118r), Ps 116 (fol. 118v), Ps 117 (fol. 118v), Ps 120 (fol. 129v), Ps 121 (fol. 130r), Ps 122 (fol. 120v), Ps 123 (fol. 130v), Ps 124 (fol. 131r), Ps 125 (fol. 131v), fol. 126 (fol. 131v), Ps 127 (fol. 132r), Ps 128 (fol. 132v), Ps 129 (fol. 133r), Ps 130 (fol. 133r), Ps 132 (fol. 134v), Ps 133 (fol. 134v), Ps 135 (fol. 134v), Ps 136 (fol. 136v), Ps 137 (fol. 137r), Ps 138 (fol. 138r), Ps 139 (fol. 139r), Ps 140 (fol. 139v), Ps 141 (fol. 140r), Ps 142 (fol. 140v), Ps 144 (fol. 142v), Ps 145 (fol. 143v), Ps 146 (fol. 144r), Ps 147 (fol. 144v), and Ps 148 (fol. 145r).

The transcription of antiphons does not, however, necessarily imply liturgical use, as it may equally reflect private interest or devotional curiosity. Accordingly, it is not surprising that the same hand of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century also wrote a prayer in the prayer section on fol. 161r, preceding what are likely additional prayers added by other hands on fol. 161v.

There are many other hands that contributed additional material to the manuscript, some of which also appear in its early sections. Consider, for instance, the late thirteenth-century hand that added the prologue of the First French Metrical Psalter and a list of perillous lunar days on the blank folio between the calendar and the Psalms. Subsequent scribes added further material on the verso of that folio, including prose instructions for masses and pious acts for each day of the week, intended for times of imprisonment, poverty, or illness. This material, however, is considerably later in date and reflects a degree of lay curiosity in liturgical matters. It is too distant chronologically to be used as evidence for the Arundel manuscript's function in the second half of the twelfth century, which is the period under consideration here.

Prologue of the First French Metrical Psalter and list of perillous lunar days in the Arundel Psalter.
From the British Library collection, MS Arundel 230, fol. 6r.

cl uerſ ſunt de ſalu. del riche rei ihū. Hoſtre duz auoe.

de ſa grehunt peſſum. de ſa reſurrexcum. de ſa aſcenſe

Cum dist le rei dehu. le bon fiz jſch. Li deu out ame

k ar umbes a mil rei. ne muſtrat tel ſecret. He cehuit de punt.

L ar deu a ſamuel. pſalt del uruenel. Jſſi a tel oer.

Q ue im eu out treuue. Rei a ſa uolunte. Li ere ſubiſt ſun quor.

o ut feſeit a pſer. Quſtunt deu lout ſi cher. Le il le deigna loer.

E uolet de ſun lin. Enchaeruer en la fin. pur le ſecle ſeruer.

J l le lesta ueit. en ſun pſfund ſaueir. del mch mal cum.

C um il remeindrat ſa gent. del enfer mal turment. pſr mort p peſſum.

A au quitant il remt. pſr le ſemt eſpert. Si erſuſt le ſauuer

J l le ſuſt al hoſtur. de ſun creſchet ſeignur. Si uuſt el uerſ pmer.

J l ut ſun auoe. oyl tuz q il ſuſt ne. Cum trat purement

P ur ceo out ſſuſt deſtr. Si dſt beatus uir. Tut al cumencement.

¶ A cumẽce la lune que fet a eſchiure p ebreum meſ. a gen e frere mchandie.

I e meſ de geneū. la pmere. el ſime. z le unzme lune.

I e meſ de feuerer. la dſe e noſime lune. z le duſte e treſime.

I e meſ de maez. la quinte lune. e la. xij. e la xxj.

I e meſ de auril la. xv lune. z le xvſt z le xxvj.

I e meſ de oyſ. la. vſt lune. z la. x. z la xxj.

I e meſ de ſuin. la. v. lune. z vj.

I e meſ de iuyl. la xv. lune. z la xxvj.

I e meſ de duſt. la xxvj. z la x. lune.

I e meſ de ſeteme. la xj. lune. z la xxuij.

I e meſ de octobre. la ſime lune. z la xxj.

I e meſ de Houeme. la xj. lune. e la xxuij.

I e meſ do Deceme. la. uj. lune. z la. vſt z la xxj.

¶ E n tel anent dit uuſ. Si aucū emmeſlade il ne eſpa mye. Si aucū ſeit ne. il ne eſt mẽ de une. Si aucū face eſpuſchyles. il ne fra pſr ſeuerance. Si aucū ſeit enchemne. il ne reſcherat mye. Si aucun noe. il aura pſt. Si aucū face gageure. il perdera. Si aucun ſeit en iugement. il en chaera. Si aucū face mchandie. il aura damage.

THE DOUBLE FOLDING OF DOUCE MS 320: A MATRIX FOR ANGLO-NORMAN BILINGUAL PSALTERS? (VA)

Careri, Ruby, Short 2011, p. 132, believe that 'the layout and frequency of accents would seem to indicate that the Oxford Psalter [*i.e.*, Douce MS 320] could be read aloud, and the wear and tear on the pages would support this theory' (*La mise en page et la fréquence des accents semblent indiquer que le Psautier d'Oxford pouvait être lu à haute voix, et l'usure des pages conforterait cette thèse*). Nevertheless, the damaged parts of the parchment do not show evident signs of careless handling. On the contrary, the damages are much more specific in nature.

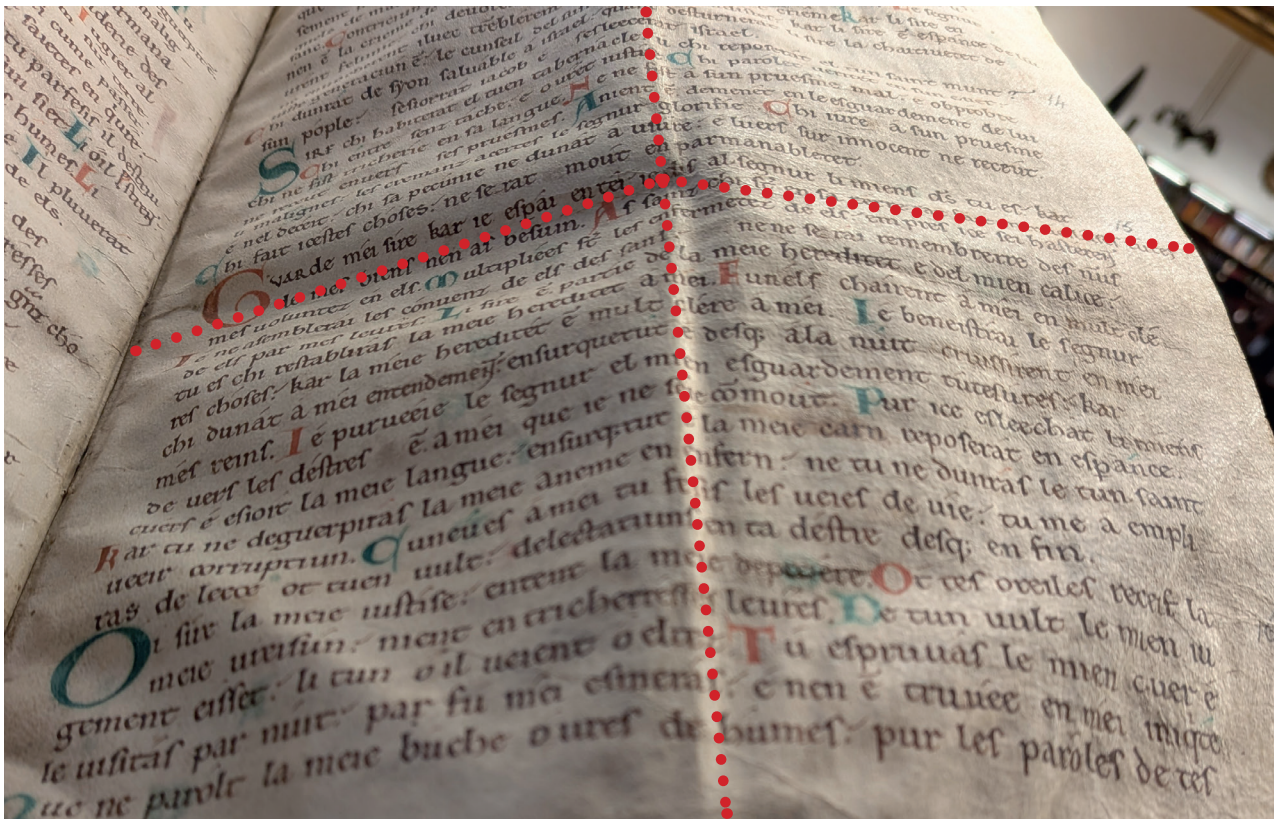
One of the features of MS Douce 320 that did not attract much attention is its double folding. The first folding was horizontal, more or less aligned with the horizontal axis of the folios. The second folding was vertical. The horizontal folding is rather straight, while the vertical one changes its position from one folio to the next, often reclining at an angle. This reclining imprint of the second folding results in a mirroring effect in the upper and lower segments of the folios, and the angle gradually accentuates towards the end of the manuscript. This suggests that the five quires were folded together. It is obvious that a double-folded stack of five quires would look like a handheld fan, thus explaining the reclining angle of the second folding.

This double folding is a precious clue for the understanding of the use of the manuscript prior to the beginning of the 14th century. The double folding is not present in the first part of MS Douce 320, on fol. 1r–36v, where a 13th–century Old French version of the *Rule of Saint Benedict* was transcribed. An ex-libris written by an early–14th century hand, reading: *In isto libro monasterii Montisburgi sunt Regula sancti Benedicti in gallico Psalterium in Gallico*, confirms that the two parts of MS Douce 320 had been assembled within the covers a of single book by that date. Consequently, the double folding of the five quires that comprise the Old French translation of the Psalms is an essential witness of the usefulness of the Psalm text in the first century and a half of its existence, before its arrival at the monastery of Our Lady of the Star in Montebourg (Manche department, Normandy).

It can also be argued that the double folding was either done immediately after (or soon after) the completion of the text, when the parchment leaves were still flexible, or that the manuscript remained folded for an extended period of time. Although it was bound with the *Rule of Saint Benedict* and shared the same covers with it for a period of seven centuries, the folios of the Psalm translation are still marked by the double folding to this day. Most of the damages to the vernacular text occur on the segments subject to the double folding, where it is often difficult to discern between erasures, on the one hand, and wear and tear, on the other.

When the hypothesis of the continuous reading (linked to the accents) was made, the wear and tear had to be explained as a consequence of the manuscript's use by (or

Close-up of the recto and general view of the verso of fol. 39. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320. The double folding. Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023-2026. Courtesy of the Imaging Services of The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Creative Commons licence CC-BY-NC 4.0.

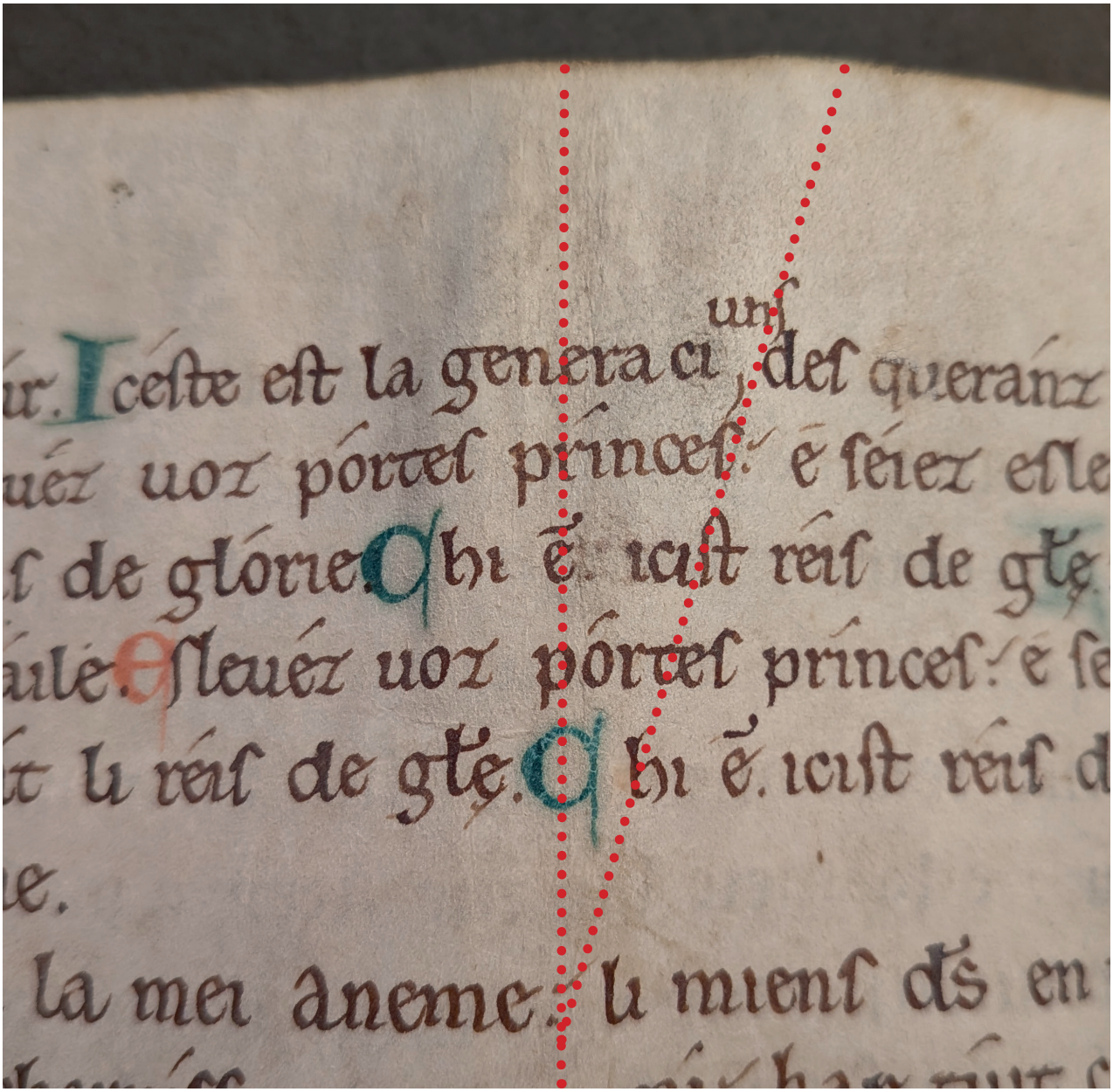


leuref ie guardai diuref uetef. Parfai lef mienf pāf ef tuef ſentef:
que ne ſeient mouef lef meief treſcef. Ie criai kar tu me oiſ ds: encline la tue
oreile a mei e ecoief mef paroief. Fai merueilluſef lef tuef miſericordef: chi ſalf faif
lef eſpanz en tei. Def contreſtanz a la tue deſtre: guarde mei ſi cū pupile de
oil. De ſuz le umbre de tef elef cuerre mei: de la face def feluns chi mei
afflaiſtrent. Li mien enemi, la meie aneme auirunerent: lur craiſſe encloſtrent: la
buche de elf parlat orguil. Dagetant mei ore auirunerent mei: lur oilz
eſtablirent decliner en terre. Receuerent mei ſicume leons apreſtet a preie: e ſi
cume chael de leon habitanz en repoſtaulef. Eſdrece tei ſire deuancſt lui e ſup
plante lui deliure, la meie aneme def felun: la tue eſpee def enemiſ de la tue main.
Sire def poiſ de terre deuiſe lef en la uie de elf: def tuef repoſtaulef. dem
plir eſt le uentre de elf. Saulez ſt def filz: e laiſerent lur remaſillef a lur enfanz.
Ie acertef en iuſtiſe apparaiſtrai al tun eſguardement: ie ſerai ſaulez cū apparaiſtrat
17 Ieq amerai tei ſire la meie uertut: li ſire li mienſ fir. la tue glorie.
mamenz. e li mienſ refugef. e li mienſ deliuerere. Li mienſ ds. li mienſ auere-
e ie eſperai en lui. Li mienſ defendere e la cornu de la meie ſalut: e li mienſ
receuerre. Loanz enuucherai le ſeignur: e de mef enemiſ ſerai ſalf. Aurune-
rent mei lef dulurſ de mort: e lef fluef de miqter conturberent mei. Lef du-
lurſ de enfern auirunerent mei: purpriſtrent mei li laz de mort. En la
meie tribulatiun ie apelai le ſeignur: e al mien deu criai. Et il oit de ſun
ſaint temple la meie uoiz: e la meie clamur en ſun eſguardement entrat
en ſef oreilef. Cōmoue e. e tremblat la terre: li fundement def munt ſt
conturbe. e ſe cōmoue kar il ert. ert a elf. Muntat li fumſ en la ſue ire: e fuſ
de ſa face arſt: li charbun ſt eſpiſ de lui. Enclinat lef cielf e deſcendit:
e chalim ſuz ſef piez. Et muntat ſur cherubin e uolat: uolat ſur lef pennef
def uenz. Et poſat tenebref ſa repoſtaile: en auirunement de lui ſun taber-
nacle: tenebruſe eue ef nuef del air. Pur la reſplendur en ſun eſguardement
lef nuef treſpaſſerent: greſille e charbunſ de fu. Et entunat del ciel li ſire: e
li altiſme dunat ſa uoiz: greſille e charbunſ de fu. Et enuerat ſef ſaiterf e
departit ielf: fuildref multipliat e conturbat elf. Et aparurent fontainef de
euef: e deſcauuert ſt li fundament del cercle def terref. Del tun encrepement
ſire: del aſpirement del eſpirt de la tue ire. Il enuerat dela ſouraineit e receuit
mei: e priſt mei de multef euef. Deliurat mei de mef enemiſ treſfort: de
cez chi hairent mei kar confortet ſunt ſur mei. Deuancerent mei el iurn de
la meie afflictiun: e fait li ſire mef defendere Et forſmenat mei en amplecet: ſalf
me fiſt kar il uolt mei. Et guerredurrat amei li ſire ſiluno la meie iuſti-
ſe: e ſiluno la purtet de mef mainſ guerredurrat a mei. Kar ie guardai
lef ueief del ſeignur: ne feluneſſement ne fiſ contre le mien deu. Kar tuit li ſun iuge-
ment el mien eſguardement: e ſef iuſtiſes ne deburai de mei. Et ie ſerai
nent maluez ot lui: e ie guarderai mei de la meie felunie. Et guerdun-

for) the community of Christina of Markyate. Nevertheless, the third chapter of this volume will argue that this conjecture is hardly credible and that the manuscript could have served many other purposes. The wear and tear must therefore be interpreted in light of the place occupied by MS Douce 320 in the manuscript tradition of the Old French psalters. Although it was certainly not an autograph translation but rather a rewriting of a previous gloss, there is strong evidence that MS Douce 320 influenced the evolution of bilingual double-column psalters such as Winchester Psalter (London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero C IV) and many others from the same family of texts. No proper analysis ever confirmed this conclusion, but the Latin text of those bilingual psalters presents different readings, while the Old French translation of the same verses stays more or less the same. As a result, it is possible to argue (until future research will prove or disprove it) that the Oxford Psalter copied in MS Douce 320 could have been the point of origin for most Old French psalters, particularly those with the Latin and French texts written on facing columns (cf. Ruby 2010, p. 183).

When these two features are combined (the double folding and the key role played by this particular text in the evolution of Old French psalters), the most obvious conclusion is that the five quires that form the second part of MS Douce 320 travelled extensively, in order to be used as an antigraph for various bilingual psalters, and that they were a mere matrix for other texts. There was no need to place them between two covers. When the manuscript was produced, a pouch would have been enough to transport it from one location to another.

The dirty aspect of its first folio (fol. 37r) suggests that MS Douce 320 was folded several times and served as the outer coating of the bundles of five quires. Nevertheless, there are some indications that the last folio (now lost) might have served as coating as well. This affected the horizontal folding, where the wear and tear is more significant and the flexibility of the fold goes both ways; the

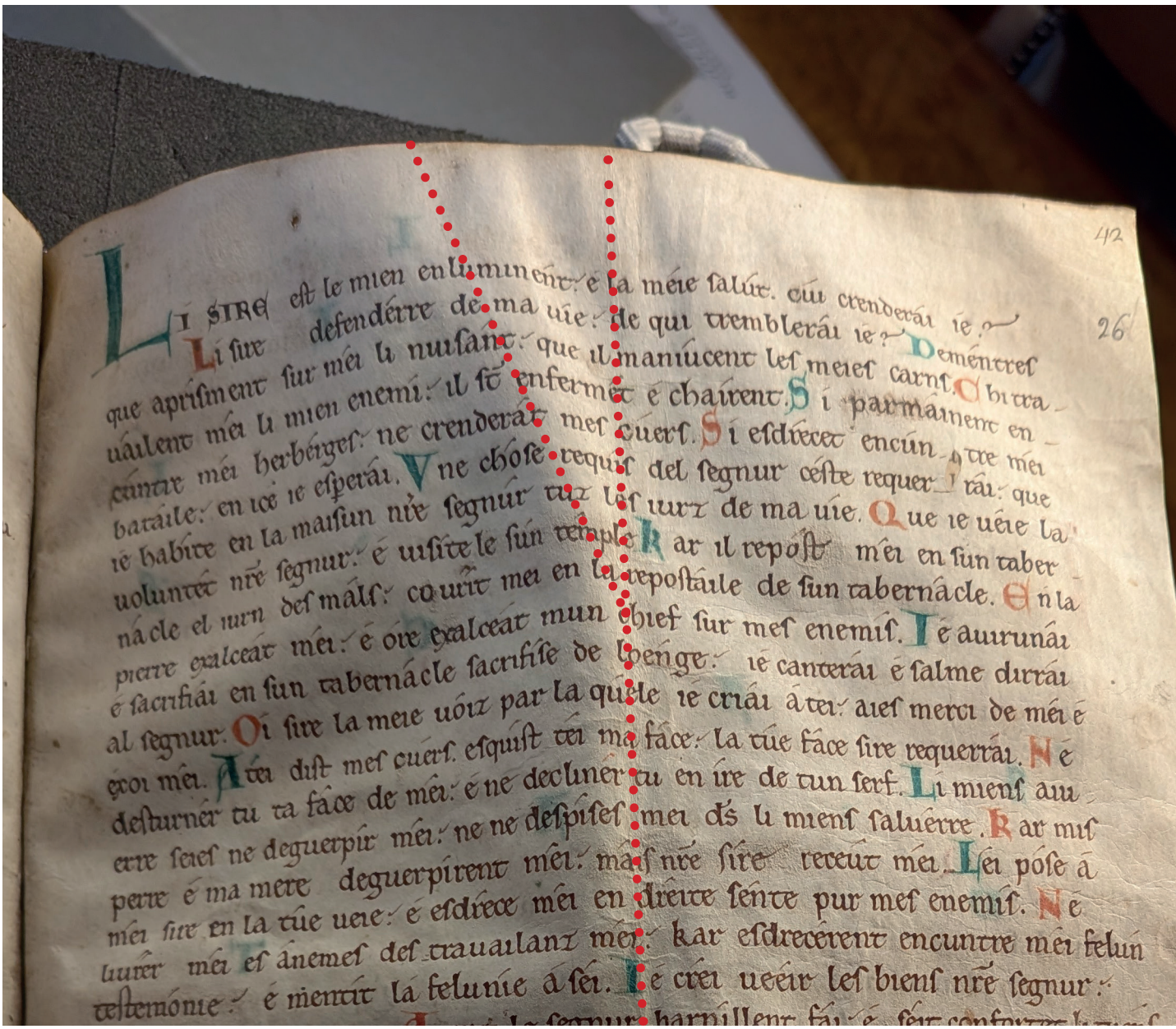


vertical folding stayed the same, leaving only a concave imprint into the folios. Unfortunately, the last original folio of the fifth quire is missing and it is difficult to ascertain if it was used in the same manner.

The reason why I speak of pouches and not slipcases (as in the case of 13th– and 14th–century bat books; see several slipcases in Gumbert 2016, p. 81, 96, 100, 118–119, 163, etc.) is the fact that the folios and quires of MS Douce 320 have not been folded separately, but together, as a bundle. This does not exclude the possibility that bat books could be an actual development of prior experiments such as the matrix-text of the Psalm translation analysed here. There is further proof that the Psalm quires of MS Douce 320 were not the only folded manuscript of this kind.

Another folded quire of the same type can be found in the miscellaneous manuscript Vatican, Apostolic Library, MS Reg.lat.1244, where the *Comput* of Philippe of Thaon occupies fol. 53ra-58rb. It was an independent quire, whose purpose was to transmit only the text of that poem, with one bifolium missing between fol. 55v and fol. 56r. The incomplete quaternion was bound with other texts at a modern date, but the dirty aspect of its folios suggests that it did not have covers at first. The folding of the quire is vertical, it affects all six folios, and the wear and tear is most evident on the initial one (fol. 53r). The quire is not a close witness of the original version of the text, but it is possibly the most thorough version in terms of rubrics and illustrations. It could have been intended as a matrix for other copies of the *Comput*, just as MS Douce 320 was not the starting point of its manuscript tradition, but rather a systemisation of a chaotic tradition of glosses (*vide infra*, third chapter).

▼ *Close-ups of fol. 41v and fol. 42r. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320. The reclining angle of the second (vertical) folding.*
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023-2026.
Courtesy of the Imaging Services of The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Creative Commons licence CC-BY-NC 4.0.



Addendum: the incomplete gloss of London, British Library, ms Harley 5102 (VA)

The witness examined below falls outside the scope of the present chapter, since the nature of its gloss is highly distinctive and its textual affiliations cannot yet be determined with certainty. It should nevertheless be mentioned here, as its formal organisation presents significant similarities with the gloss preserved in ms Arundel 230.

This rather large manuscript (310 x 220 mm; text 230 x 145 mm), well known to historians and art historians, has frequently been cited because of its two depictions of Thomas Becket: the burial of Becket on fol. 17r, alongside Ps 18, and his murder on fol. 32r, alongside Ps 34. The latter scene is particularly noteworthy for its precise depiction of the bear rampant on the shield of one of the killers, allowing him to be identified as Reginald FitzUrse (cf. Kauffmann 1975, p. 116).

The British Library catalogue dates the manuscript to the last quarter of the twelfth century or the first quarter of the thirteenth century. For unclear reasons, however, Hasenohr 1990, p. 320, assigns it to the first half of the thirteenth century. It is also absent from the analysis of Ruby 2010 and catalogue of Careri, Ruby, and Short 2011, despite the fact that the latter title includes manuscripts from the same chronological period, such as Harley 4070 (the First French Metrical Psalter). Furthermore, the vernacular gloss of ms Harley 5102 was not added at a later stage, but was produced at the same time as the manuscript itself. The decision to discontinue the glossing process appears to have been sudden, for reasons that remain unknown. The scribe never returned to complete the omitted passages or supply the missing letters.

Some measurements help clarify this point. On the very first folio where the gloss appears (fol. 1r), for instance, the height of the ruled line ranges between 10.5 and 11 mm. No additional ruling was provided for the interlinear gloss, which was accommodated within the available space above the Latin text, written in relatively large script. This arrangement continues until fol. 4v, where we encounter the first tentative attempt to introduce a specific ruling for the interlinear gloss.

On this folio, the main ruling for the Latin text, measuring between 10 and 11 mm in height, is clearly part of the original preparation of the quire and continues accross the surrounding folios. However, a second, extremely fine and now largely faded ruling appears in the upper part of each line, measuring between 2 and 2.5 mm (and occasionally up to 3 mm, as on certain lines of fol. 5r). This additional ruling served to align the text of the interlinear gloss. The difficulties involved in introducing this new arrangement are occasionally visible, suggesting that the additional ruling was added after the main ruling for the Latin text had already been completed.

This is particularly evident on fol. 5v, where, on the eleventh line from the top, an additional charcoal ruling appears that is not straight but rather oblique, joining the upper ruling of the main Latin line. Such cases should be understood as errors or adjustments belonging to the initial ruling of the Latin text itself, rather than as evidence of the ruling intended for the interlinear gloss. A similar situation occurs on fol. 8v, on the third line from the bottom, where the evidence is even clearer. Here, two more distinct rulings are visible: an incorrect one, identical to that observed on fol. 5v and clearly associated with the preparation of the Latin text, and a third, much fainter and finer line, corresponding to the additional ruling introduced for the interlinear gloss.

Interestingly, this additional ruling continues even after the interlinear gloss itself comes to an end on fol. 23r. Traces of the ruling intended for a gloss that was never written are still visible on fol. 24r. They disappear, however, on fol. 24v. This abrupt termination is noteworthy. Since a quire signature is visible on fol. 8v and catchwords occur on fol. 16v and fol. 25v (with fol. 17r being an inserted image of the Entombment of Thomas Becket), the evidence suggests that the gloss ended in the middle of a gathering. It appears that there was no longer any intention to continue the project beyond the third quire, and that the addition of the Old French interlinear gloss was abandoned before the manuscript was completed.

This may also explain the disappearance of the small uncial majuscules marking the beginning of each verse of the Old French gloss after the first two folios. The scribe clearly intended to provide such initials at the beginning of each glossed verse, but this practice ceases after the middle of fol. 2v (Ps 3:5). Taken together with the evidence provided by the ruling, this suggests that, by the time the scribe had reached the third quire and returned to complete the majuscules of the first quire, the decision to discontinue the interlinear gloss had already been made. Whether this decision was taken by the scribe himself, by a supervising figure, or by a prospective owner remains impossible to determine. What is clear, however, is that the process was abruptly interrupted and left unfinished.

A second point that deserves attention is that the interlinear gloss is not consistently present throughout these first twenty-three folios. On fol. 18v, it disappears for three verses, covering Ps 19:7a–Ps 19:8. Likewise, on fol. 19v, verse Ps 21:6 is left without a gloss, for reasons that remain unclear. The gloss then disappears entirely when the manuscript is turned to fol. 23v. The absence of the interlinear gloss in these passages of Ps 19 and Ps 21 cannot be satisfactorily explained and appears to represent an interruption in an otherwise continuous process of glossing.

A further point to consider is that this interlinear gloss was not composed independently, but copied from another manuscript. This is suggested by a series of erasures, repetitions, and corrections, which indicate that the scribe was working from an antigraph, the layout of which differed significantly from that of the ms Harley 5102. More specifically, the evidence suggests that the scribe was adapting a prose version of the vernacular Psalter (or perhaps an already glossed text derived from such a version) to a new format, in which the spatial organization and material constraints differed from those of the source manuscript.

Several examples illustrate this process: fol. 4v, penultimate line (Ps 6:9): *la ~~t~~e uoiz de men plurement*. Fol. 5v, sixth line (Ps 7:8): *pur iceste en halt ~~en ha~~ repaire*. Fol. 9r, fourth line from below (Ps 10:5): *en ~~temple~~ sun saint temple*; and last line (Ps 10:5): *regardant les ~~pla~~ palpres*

i fiz des hommes desq*ue* aquant serrez uus de gref quor pur quai amez uanite e querez menchunge ; **Ps 4:3**
Filii hominu*m* usq*ue* q*uo* graui corde ⁝ ut quid diligitis uanitate*m et* quaeritis mendaciu*m* ?
e sachez que nostre a fait merueillus sun saint nostre seignur me orat quant io crieray a lui ; **Ps 4:4**
Et scitote quoniam mirificauit dominus sanctum suum ⁝ do*m*in*u*s exaudiet me cum clamauero ad eum .
rascez uus e ne uolez peccher les choses que nus dites en uos cuers e en uos liz aiz conpunctiun ; **Ps 4:5**
Irascimini *et* nolite peccare ⁝ que dicitis in cordibus uestris *et* in cubilibus uestris compungimini .
acrifiez sacrifise de iustise e esperez el seignur mut dient qui a nus muste*r*at bones choses ; **Ps 4:6**
Sacrificate sacrificium iusticie *et* sperate in domino ⁝ multi dicunt quis ostendit nobis bona ?
egnez est sur nus la lumere de tun uult sire tu donas letice en mun quor ; **Ps 4:7**
Signatum est super nos lumen uultus tui do*m*ine ⁝ dedisti leticiam in corde meo .
el fruit de frument de uin e de sun olei sunt multipliez **Ps 4:8**
A fructu frumenti uini *et* olei sui ⁝ multiplicati sunt .
[e]n pais en ice meisme dormiray e reposeray **Ps 4:9**
[fol. 3v] In pace in idipsu*m* ⁝ dormia*m et* requiescam .
[k]ar tu seignur senglement en speraunce stablis moi ; **Ps 4:10**
Quoniam tu domine ⁝ singulariter in spe constituisti me ;

de lui. Fol. 11v, last line (Ps 15:4): *apres ico se ~~se~~ hasterent*. Fol. 12r, seventh line from below (Ps 15:9): *e la may carez reposerat en ~~se~~ speranuce*. Fol. 12v, fifth line from below (Ps 16:6): [-]*o ~~cria~~ criai kar tu me ois*. Fol. 15v, eighth line from above (Ps 17:36): *la tue dicipline mes ~~diciplin~~e may enseignat*. Fol. 20r, fifth line from above (Ps 21:13): [-]*uirunerent may mut ~~taur~~ gars tors pursisterent may*. Here, the form *gars tors* appears to derive from the reading *cras tor* found in Douce; the scribe may at times have produced variants spontaneously before returning to his source. Fol. 21r, fourth line from below (Ps 22:4): [-]*ar et ia seit ico que ~~in~~ irray en miluy umbre de la mort*. This passage also shows that the scribe copied *ico* incorrectly from a *ieo* in the antigraph. Fol. 21v, second line from above (Ps 22:5): *en ꝑ craissas en oliee*. Fol. 22r, sixth line from the top (Ps 23:9): *esleuez seize portes per ~~mabl~~ entrat li rays de glorie*. Fol. 22v, third line from the top (Ps 24:7): *la tue bunte ~~sie~~ sire*.

These traces demonstrate not only that interlinear glosses continued to be copied long after the creation of the prose version of MS Douce 320, but also that this practice coexisted with the tradition of bilingual two-column Psalters. Rather than disappearing, the interlinear format remained available as a textual resource and could reappear in richly produced manuscripts when the chosen layout was no longer that of a bilingual parallel text. The evidence also reveals a degree of awareness among scribes of the relationship between the two formats: prose translations and interlinear glosses were not fixed, independent traditions, but adaptable textual forms that could be transformed according to the spatial and visual requirements of a given manuscript.

The reason for this assumption lies in the comparison I made between the texts of Arundel and Douce in the passage corresponding to Ps 4:3–Ps 4:10, where the interlinear medieval gloss first appears in MS Arundel 230. The example transcribed above makes clear that the text of MS Harley 5102 cannot be considered a direct apograph of Arundel; rather, it represents a rewriting of the prose tradition preserved in MS Douce 320. However, it cannot be ruled out that the adaptation of this prose text into an interlinear format had already taken place in the antigraph from which MS Harley 5102 was copied, rather than being carried out directly by the scribe responsible for the surviving manuscript.

This conclusion must nevertheless remain preliminary. The surviving evidence raises many further questions concerning the relationship between antigraphs, copying practices, and the transmission of vernacular Psalm translations, which require additional investigation.

The manuscript is also peculiar in several other respects. Unlike the other Psalters containing Anglo-Norman texts, whether arranged in columns or in an interlinear format, it preserves proper Psalm titles written in red ink for almost all of its Psalms. This feature sets it apart from the manuscripts discussed in this volume.

The end matter of the manuscript raises further questions as well. It is impossible to determine with certainty what material originally followed, or whether the manuscript ever contained a litany. The surviving sequence is nevertheless unusual. The manuscript preserves *Confitebor* on fol. 136v, followed by *Ego dixi* on fol. 137r. On fol. 137v, it begins the first two verses of *Exultauit cor meum*, but the remainder of the text is missing, as is the following *Cantemus*. Fol. 138r resumes directly with Hab 3:5, following *Domine audiui*, while the final line of fol. 138v announces the title of the next text, now lost: *Canticum Moysi hominis Dei* (i.e. the *Audite celi*). Fol. 139r begins in the middle of Dt 32:32, corresponding to the end of the *Audite celi*, and the final folio of the manuscript, fol. 139v, ends with the beginning of the hymn of the three children, *Benedicite*.

The manuscript is therefore acaudate: its surviving coda is incomplete, and a substantial portion of the original final material has been lost. As a result, it is impossible to determine whether it originally contained additional customary Psalter material, such as a litany or other devotional texts. As will be shown later in this volume, these additional texts are essential for understanding the development of the Anglo-Norman Psalter tradition.

At present, the only conclusion that can be drawn with certainty concerning MS Harley 5102 is that its interlinear gloss ultimately depends on an earlier glossed translation derived from the prose version preserved in MS Douce 320. Whether this intermediary source was directly the monolingual prose text of Douce 320, a text derived from it, or a bilingual double-column psalter based on the same tradition cannot be established at this stage. A proper and comprehensive analysis of the textual relationships between these witnesses is still required.

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afflíſtrent. Lí mien

The Semi-Diplomatic Transcription of the Douce Version

ement cume la

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& le pőple pur

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punt les lux

The following section presents a complete transcription of the French text of the Psalms and Canticles in MS Douce 320, preserving the original accentuation and indicating the precise location of all erasures. It is preceded by an examination of the manuscript's accentual system.

This semi-diplomatic transcription may be used in any Open Access or Open Source project, provided that the two researchers who produced it for the *PSalteRATIO* project (Alessia Chapel and Vladimir Agrigoroaei) are credited by name. It is intended to facilitate the reading of the online facsimile, not to replace it. Readers are encouraged to consult the facsimile together with the printed text. The images have been reproduced at a smaller scale, in parallel with the text, to facilitate identification. The facsimile is accessible for consultation and download at the following address:

https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/00f9f687-77e8-4099-ac49-8c94a6555125/surfaces/5754009d-9c98-474c-88dc-e4c2df967bfd/

Alternatively, at: **https://tinyurl.com/Oxford-Psalter**

Our transcription prioritizes structural over formal features, since the goal is not to produce a literal facsimile. Our aim was never to produce a copy of the manuscript; for this reason, we have expanded all abbreviations in cursive and have not marked any line breaks. We are publishing this transcription so that other researchers can work with the same material we used—including our identification of erasures and insertions. By making this information available, we hope others can engage with our findings, correct or refine them where needed, and build on the research further.

We have marked the beginning of each psalm verse according to the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate, last avatar of the Gallicanum Psalter. The previous edition (Short 2015) numbered every phrase preceded by a capital letter in the manuscript, giving the misleading impression that these corresponded to verses and thereby creating potential confusion when aligning the vernacular text with the Latin source. Our approach is intended to help researchers identify the familiar verses more reliably. In addition, we have distinguished between the separations of textual units in the manuscript and the divisions of psalms and their verses, as these two systems do not coincide. Subdivisions within psalms are occasionally present; these have been indicated simply through the use of large capital letters.

Passages highlighted in yellow mark the extent of the erasures. We still have doubts about some of them, and therefore decided to mark only those whose existence we can confirm with certainty.

Close-up of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320, f. 39v, showing erasures and accents. Photo: Alessia Chapel, 2024.

Close-up of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320, f. 37r, showing the first use of a double accent.
Photo: Vladimir Agrigoroaei, 2026.

Courtesy of the Imaging Services of The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Creative Commons licence CC-BY-NC 4.0.

Square brackets **[ ]** indicate letters that are not visible, either because they have been damaged or are obscured by stains, but whose presence is still discernible.

Only the most evident insertions have been recorded with \ /, specifically those written at a clearly separate stage. This category includes letters or words placed above or between the lines. Insertions do not include erasures. It was not feasible to record every cramped letter or word written over an erasure, as marking each instance individually would be excessive; in such cases, noting the erased spaces is sufficient. Insertions or additions that extend beyond the line margins often follow erasures, since they were usually written on unused portions of parchment without traces of prior correction. These are therefore marked with the same \ /. The same notation is used for marginal notes and for inversions of words or phrases indicated by the scribe.

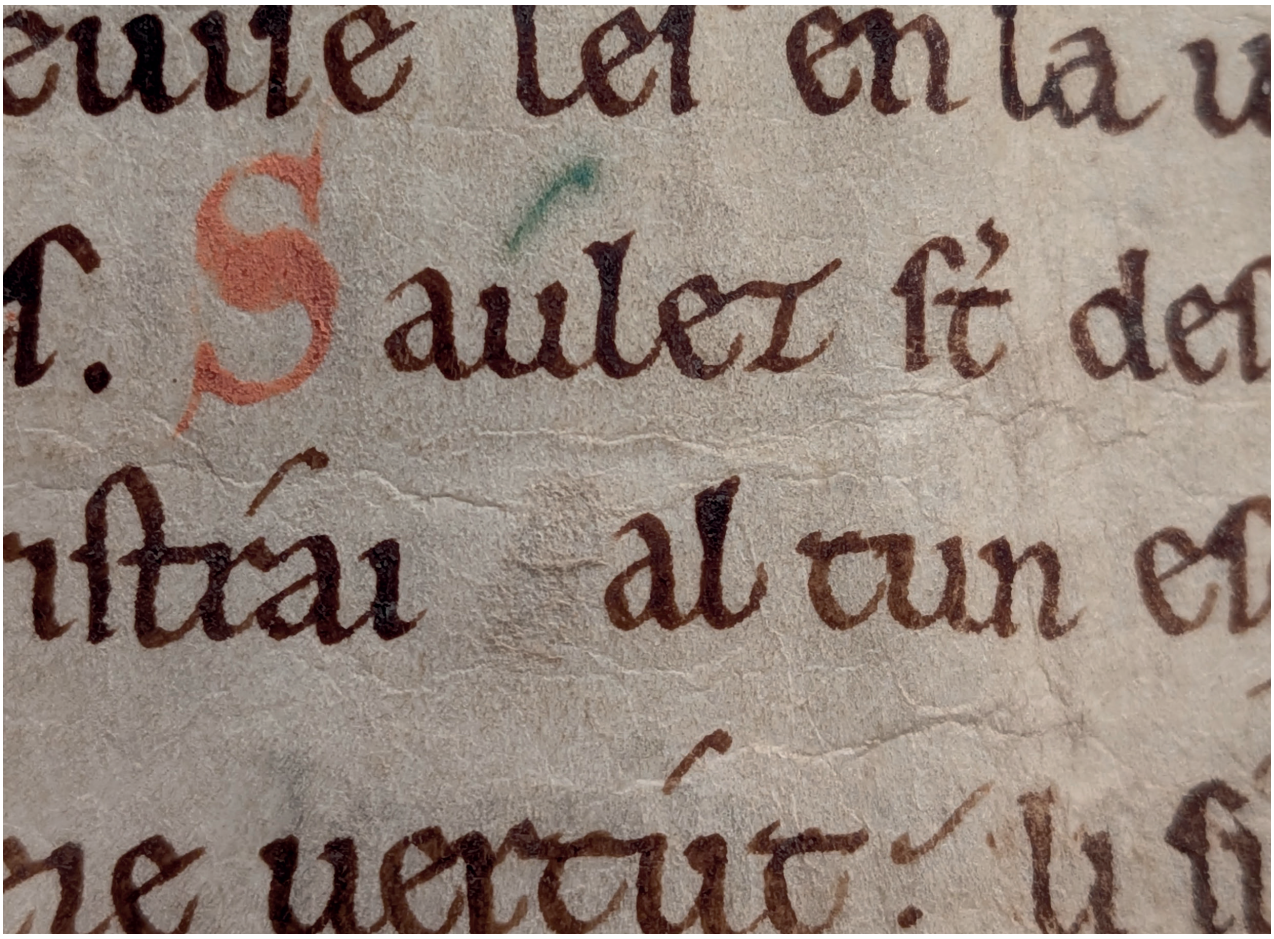
Medieval punctuation—*punctus* (·) and *punctus elevatus* (⁖)—has been retained, as it has no clear equivalent in contemporary punctuation. In contrast, the *punctus interrogativus*, having the same value as the modern question mark, has been rendered as such. The guiding principle of our transcription is not to reproduce the manuscript verbatim but to reflect the structure and presentation of the text.

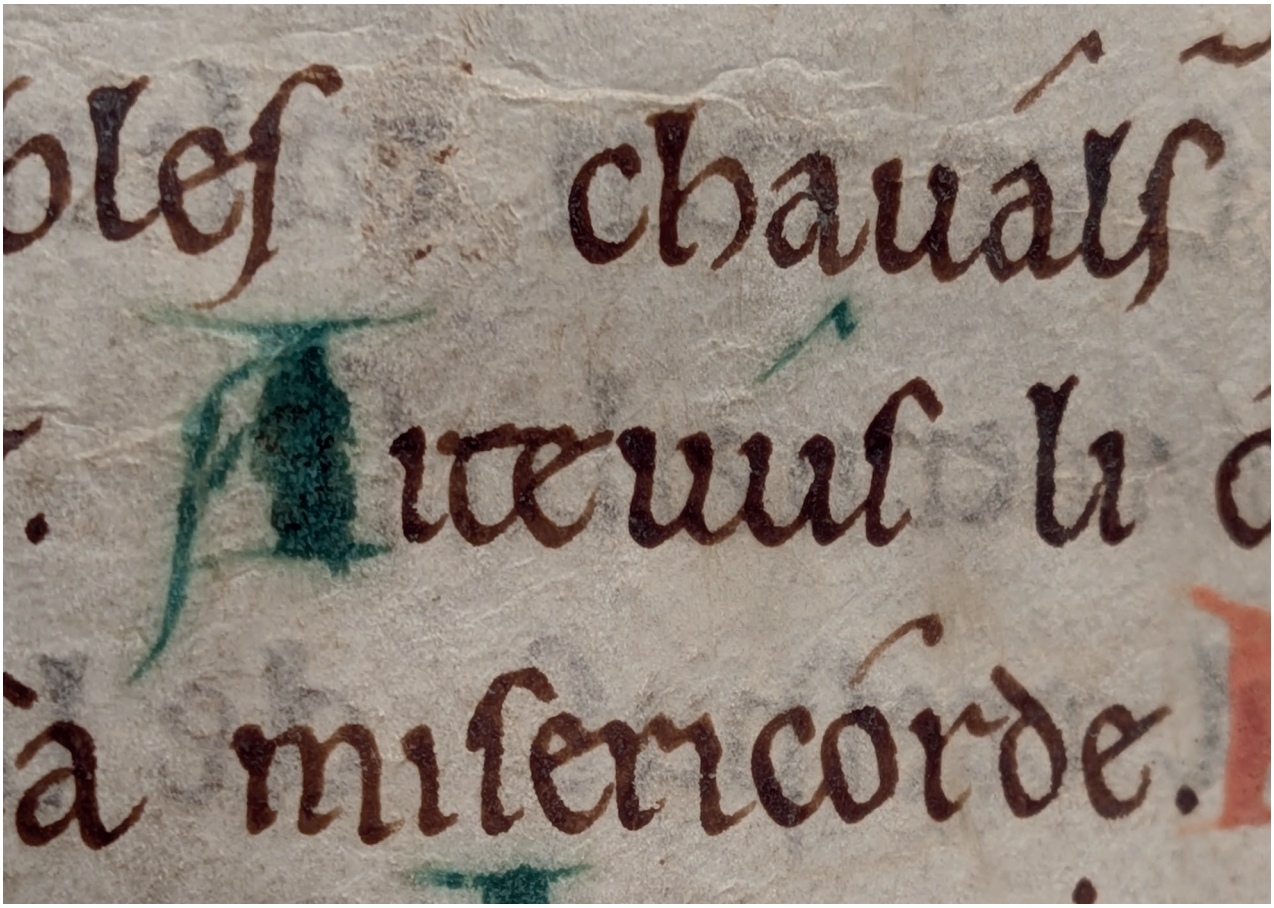
We have introduced word separation only where it was absolutely necessary, particularly in the case of prepositions and conjunctions: *achescun* > *a chescun*; *ádepartír* > *á departír*; *éagenuillúms* > *é agenuillúms*; *amangiér* > *a mangiér*, and so on. We did not, however, separate words in cases of simple elisions. Similarly, compound words were left separate if the scribe transcribed them as such, whereas long unhyphenated words split for various reasons (most often to fill space) were transcribed as single words, since these splits are formal rather than structural.

The scribe made changes during all the stages of the transcription. See, for instance, an elision marked by an underscore in red ink: *E el co_uřement* (Ps 62:8b); it was probably written contemporaneously with the scribe's restoration of the letter ***g*** in *se gloríent* (Ps 48:7). Therefore, documenting his idiosyncratic inventions and conventions was essential to understanding how the text evolved. Accordingly, we indicated connections between letters joined by the scribe using an underscore (_). Such ligatures sometimes occur through the extension of the horizontal arm of the letter ***t***, which we marked consistently with the use of the underscore. However, we did not mark underscores used to hyphenate words at line ends, or where gaps or damage in the parchment necessitated a visual connection. In these cases, the scribe was addressing formal, not structural, issues in the text.

Single acute accents: tonic stress, hiatus, vowel qualities, and specific diphtongs.

The green accents, which were added at a later stage, plainly indicate that several phases of accentuation were involved. See, for instance: *Saúlez* (Ps 16:14c); *cuneút* (Ps 31:5a); *Aite uús* (Ps 32:18); *Séient fáit* (Ps 34:5); *Séit fáite* (Ps 34:6); and *semblánce* (Ps 49:2). In many cases,





accents on small majuscule letters (placed at the upper right corner next to the letter) were added either before or after the transcription of the capital itself. This can be inferred from the ink intensity of the accent, which sometimes matches that of the following letters, while in other cases it appears either darker or more diluted.

It should be noted that the scribe did not accentuate individual letters but rather groups of letters or parts of a certain word (cf. Sneddon 1972, p. 81, who argues that "it is often difficult to tell which letter really carries the accent"). Lincke 1886 interpreted this as evidence that the scribe was marking syllable stress rather than tonic stress. To avoid decisions that might be problematic, our transcription places accents above the letter on which they appear. When a letter was erased but its accent remained (serving to mark the relevant part of the word), we transcribed it as _´, since the scribe, fortunately, also employed an underscore to join the two parts of said word. In cases where the accent occurs between two or more letters, a decision was made to associate it with either the vowel or the sonant, depending on the context (*vide infra* for the issue of ***–ue–***).

Many of the accents are redundant. In fact, the use of different colours (mostly green) or varying ink intensities suggests that the scribe became somewhat obsessed with them, likely out of hypercorrect grammatical concerns, leading him to accentuate and re-accentuate excessively. If this stems from the fact that French was not the native language of the Anglo-Norman scribe—a plausible, though speculative, assumption given that Anglo-Norman scribes counted many English-speakers as well (cf. Beaulieux 1927, p. 14-15)—it nevertheless remains evident that his chief concern in marking tonic accents was to ensure that the text sounded continental.

Several attempts have been made to systematize the logic of accentuation in Anglo-Norman manuscripts, beginning with Curtius 1911 and continuing through Careri and Lacanale 2015. The difficulty, however, lies in the fact that although these systems share certain features, they ultimately reveal a highly variable practice in which each scribe follows his own approach. Consider, for example, the claim of Curtius 1911, p. xcii, that in biblical translations accents appear only in the Anglo-Norman manuscripts and that they could be linked to other Anglo-Norman works, such as the *Romance of Horn*. Yet a significant difference emerges when comparing the accentuation of the Oxford Psalter with that of the Four Books of Kings, where scribes marked only plain front vowels such as ***a***, ***e***, and ***i*** (cf. Sneddon 1972, p. 80).

The primary function of single acute accents in MS Douce 320 to guide pronunciation. They generally indicate tonic stress, being placed on the specific letter, syllable, or part of the word that the scribe intended to emphasize. However, accents are sometimes written over two neighbouring vowels in order to mark hiatus: *ááron*, *isáác*, *canáán*, *filistíim*, etc., but also *esleuéés*, *lééce*, *benééiz*, and so on. Last but not least, a less common, though notable, use of single acute accents is to indicate specific vowel qualities, which could present challenges in terms of correct pronunciation. This can lead to the accentuation of two parts of a longer word (cf. Brachet 1870, p. 258). Most instances of these three types have been observed and discussed in previous research (Brachet 1870; Lincke 1886; cf. Sneddon 1972; Careri 2008; Careri, Lacanale 2015).

Short, Careri, Ruby 2010, p. 43, noted that the question of the use of certain accents is problematic and remains unresolved. At the same time, they suggest that the numerous accents along with the clear division and spacing of words, the use of the question mark, and the rare use of abbreviations, suggest the manuscript was intended for monastic recitation during the collective reading.

Some phenomena can indeed be associated with reading, albeit not necessarily in a public context. For example, the presence of accents on monosyllabic words suggests that they were intended to be fully pronounced (cf. Sneddon 1972, p. 81). It is, however, rather puzzling that the issue of these accents is connected to spelling and the scribe's obsessive hypercorrections to adjust to continental pronunciation, which suggests that their purpose aligns with reading in general, rather than specifically with public reading, given the multiplicity of systems employed for rendering the same sounds. Therefore, it seems far more plausible that the accents were simply intended for clarity.

The scribe's application of these accents is far from systematic. His idiosyncratic usage means that in some instances he omits such markings altogether, in favour of the tonic accent, such as in *aarón*. This variability underscores the interpretive challenge of determining whether the accents consistently reflect phonetic distinctions, or merely the scribe's personal orthographic habits.

A case study: ***–ue–***

Nevertheless, a discernible logic can be observed in the way he applied accent marks to particular segments of words or syllables. For example, one may consider the treatment of the Old French diphthong ***–ue–***. In the majority of cases, the accentuation follows a consistent pattern, reflecting an underlying system or set of principles guiding the scribe's choices. The diphthong can be found in the strong (stressed) Old French possessive pronominal adjectives *tue(n)(s)* and *sue(n)(s)*. The masculine second-person singular form is spelled predominantly as *túen(s)*, which occurs 189 times. The anomalous variant *tuén(s)*, with the accent placed on the second part of the vowel cluster (***–ué–***), is attested only 37 times (Ps 5:9; Ps 8:2; Ps 18:12; Ps 36:6; Ps 41:11; Ps 42:3; Ps 43:4; Ps 43:13; Ps 43:26; Ps 44:8; Ps 44:13; Ps 49:14; Ps 50:13; Ps 50:20; Ps 51:11; Ps 53:8; Ps 55:12; Ps 64:8; Ps 64:12; Ps 67:8; Ps 68:37; Ps 71:7; Ps 72:15; Ps 77:43; Ps 78:1b; Ps 80:11; Ps 83:2; Ps 83:4; Ps 87:8; Ps 88:14; Ps 105:23; Ps 105:47; Ps 118:108; Ps 118:118; Ps 118:125; Ps 118:140; Ps 118:148). The feminine form *túe(s)* is even more frequent, with 401 occurrences, and there is no trace of an alternative

Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320. Green accents in Ps 16:14c and Ps 32:18.
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023-2026.
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spelling *tué(s)*. This provides evidence that the scribe regarded ***u*** as the focal point of the syllable.

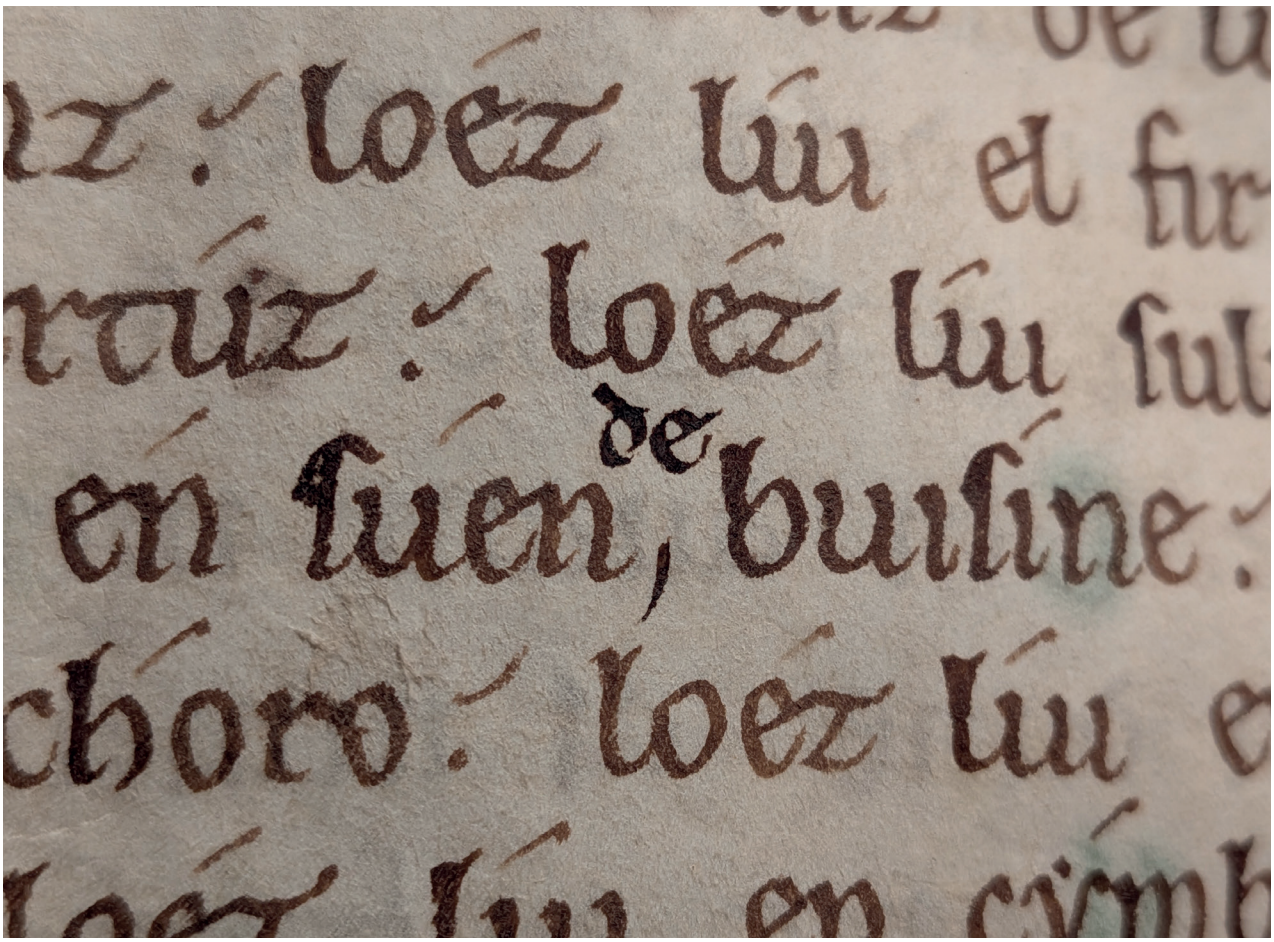
A similar distribution is observed for the third-person singular possessives: *súen(s)* occurs 22 times and *súe(s)* 50 times, whereas the variant *suén(s)*, with accentuation of the second letter of the vowel cluster, is extremely rare (attested only twice—Ps 77:43; Ps 105:23) and entirely absent in the feminine form.

Significantly, the scribe never writes *tué(s)* or *sué(s)*; instead, he consistently employs the forms *túe(s)* and *súe(s)*, in order to avoid any contact of the accent mark with the letter ***e***. That mark is frequently placed immediately after or even above the initial consonant (***t***– or ***s***–), which indicates a deliberate effort to prevent ambiguity. Consequently, the 37 anomalous instances of *tuén(s)* are likely the result of negligent or mechanical writing, where the accent appears to mark the stressed syllable. This implies that all instances in which the scribe placed the accent between the letters ***u*** and ***e*** should be interpreted as representing –***úe***–.

Interestingly, in Ps 150:3 the scribe originally wrote *Loéz lui én súen buisíne* ("praise him in his trumpet"), but later corrected the line to *Loéz lui én súen \de/ buisíne* ("praise him with the sound of the trumpet"). It is evident that he initially misread the word *son* or *sun* in his source as the possessive pronoun rather than the noun meaning "sound", thus explaining the accent on the ***u*** of *súen*. The confusion was further reinforced by additional coincidences: when he recognized his error, there was no accent to correct, since Latin *sonus* would in any case have yielded Old French *súen*. Other instances in which the scribe translates Latin *sonus* pose various other problems. For example, in Ps 64:8 he writes le *suén de ses flúez* (Latin *sonum fluctuum eius*), with the accent on ***e***, and in Ps 76:18 *multitúdene del sóen des éwes* (Latin *multitudo sonitus aquarum*), where he chooses a different digraph altogether.

A similar case concerns the accented spellings of the word *huem* (Latin *homo*). In at least 16 instances the accent is clearly written above the letter ***u*** (*húem*—Ps 21:7; Ps 24:12; Ps 33:9; Ps 38:7; Ps 38:12; Ps 40:10; Ps 48:8; Ps 83:6; Ps 103:23; Ps 126:5; Ps 127:4; Ps 139:12; Ps 143:3; Ps 143:4; 1 Sa 2:9; and Ex 15:3). By contrast, the alternative spelling *huém* appears only 4 times (Ps 39:5; Ps 54:14; Ps 87:5; and Ps 91:7), and even in these cases the placement of the accent may be explained by the proximity of the mark to the second minim of the letter ***u***. The remaining 18 accented occurrences of *huem* place the accent squarely between ***u*** and ***e***. This pattern suggests that the scribe highlighted the letter ***u***, implying a pronunciation difficulty analogous to that observed in the

Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320. Correction in Ps 150:3; accentuation of huém *in Ps 21:7.*
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023-2026.
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forms *túen(s)* and *súen(s)*.

This is further supported by two spellings of the word *bues* (Latin *boves*), both of them in Ps 65:15 (*offerrái á téi búes ot búes* < *offeram tibi boves cum hircis*). They most likely substantiate that this type of accentuation concerned a certain type of sound. It is therefore unsurprising that, in all the cases discussed above, the diphthong ***–ue–*** consistently reflects the result of the diphthongisation process applied to the **[ŏ]** vowel, resulting in a falling diphthong (cf. Chaussée 1977).

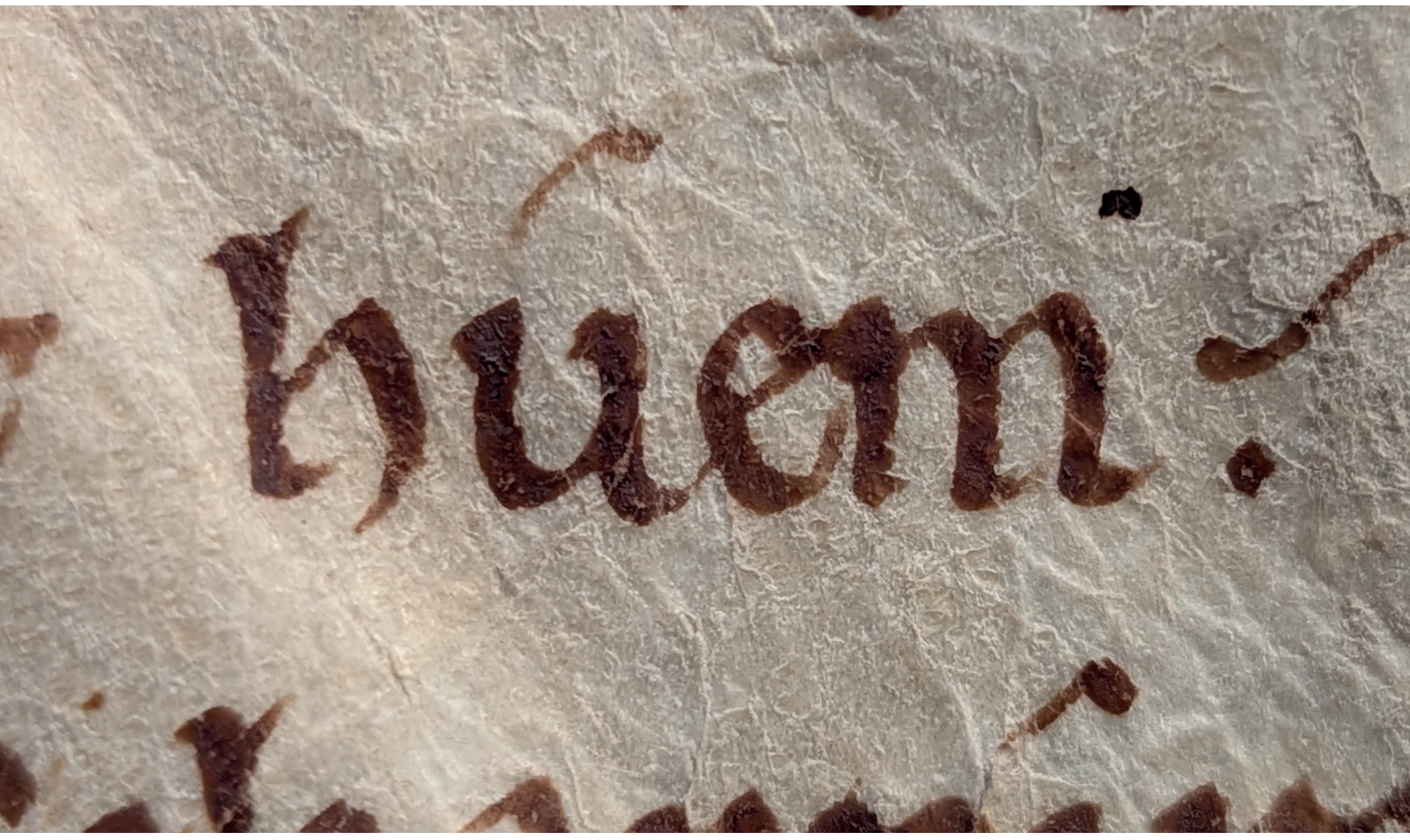
The general conclusion is that, despite the scribe's lack of systematic understanding of the relationships between phonemes and letter (or syllables and word segments), natural pronunciation directed him to accentuate certain parts of of those words or syllables. Consequently, we refrained from taking drastic measures, aiming to respect the text's original accentuation while allowing future scholars the possibility of reevaluating the same passages.

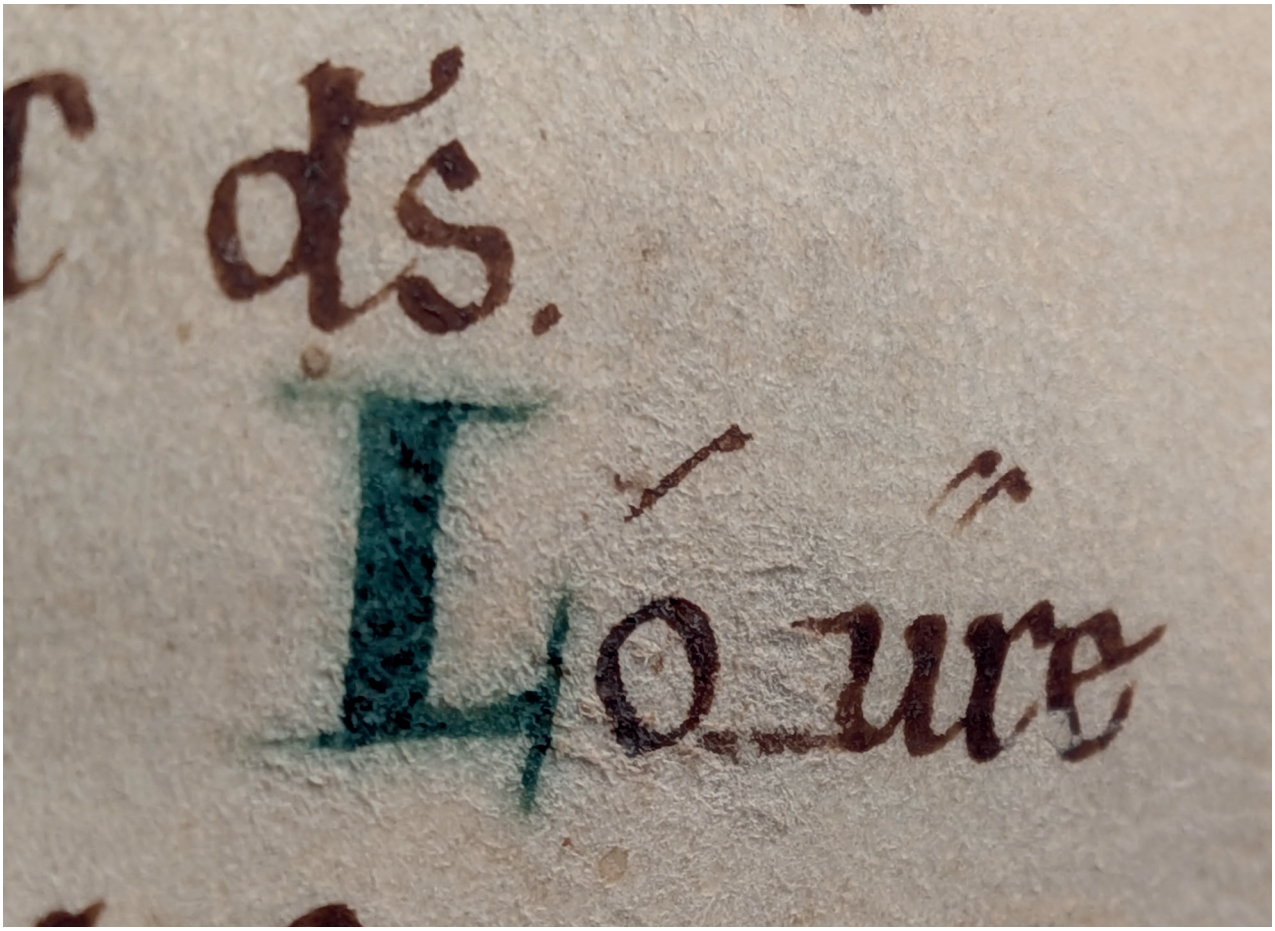
Double acute accents: differentiation of non-graphemic sounds

The only instance in which we diverge from the manuscript concerns the transcription of double acute accents. These markings are better understood as formal rather than structural features. Structurally speaking, it is well known that the Douce scribe used double acutes for purposes entirely different from those of the regular accents, resorting to them simply because he lacked a more appropriate sign with which to indicate these particular situations. Our analysis confirmed and clarified the conclusions of Lincke 1886, p. 23-42; for a summary of the previous research, see Sneddon 1972, p. 82-83.

Consider that fact that many double acute accents appear over unaccented moras, indicating a phonetic peculiarity rather than tonic stress. Taken together with the fact that double acute accents are applied to parts of words or clusters of letters rather than to individual letters, these instances suggest that the scribe was marking distinctive sounds for which no dedicated letter existed—most often the pronunciation of fricatives and affricates such as ***v***, ***ch***, ***j***, and others. Our decision to transcribe these letters with breves (***ŭ***, ***č***, ***ĭ***) rather than double acutes is purely typographical, dictated by the practical constraint that the double acute on the letter ***c*** is not yet available in Unicode fonts. Furthermore, retaining the double acute accents in their original positions from the manuscript would have risked creating misunderstandings in our transcription. To address this, we chose to simplify the presentation, prioritize structural features, and adopt a practical solution by reassigning the marked elements to the letters affected by the non-graphemic distinctions. The following section explains the rationale behind each of these decisions.

THE ***V*** FRICATIVE [v]. Most double-acute accents consistently fall on consonant clusters where an ***r*** follows a ***v***-sound (***–vr–*** written as ***–ur–***). It is unnecessary to enumerate all the verbal and nominal forms derived from the roots of





Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320. Double acute of Ló_ŭre *in Ps 43:2b; of* chaleñianz *in Ps 118:121; and of* ŏlie *in Ps 4:8 and Ps 44:8.*

Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023-2026.

Courtesy of the Imaging Services of The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Creative Commons licence CC-BY-NC 4.0.

aoŭrer 'to open', *oŭrer* 'to work' (including *óŭres* 'works'), or *(de)liŭrer* 'to deliver'; nor the numerous instances of the adjective *poŭre* 'poor' (including *poŭreté* 'poverty') or of the noun *leŭre* 'lip'. We have counted the occurrences of several other relevant forms, as follows: *coŭrir* 'to cover', including *cuŭrement* 'coverage' and *descóŭre* for Latin *revelare* (x 16); *des(s)e(i)ŭrer* for Latin *discedere, discernere, distinguere, amovere*, and *separare* (x 8); *soŭra(i)n–* 'sovereign' (x 7); *uiŭre* 'to live' (x 6); *des(s)eŭr–* (x 4); *abeŭr–* 'to drink' (x 3); *aŭras* or *aŭrad* 'to have' (future tense) (x 3); *beiŭr(r)e* 'beverage' (twice); *eníŭras* and *eníŭranz* 'to make drunk' (twice), *líŭre* 'book' (twice); *rece(i)ŭr–* 'to receive' (twice); and only once for words like *íŭre* 'drunken' or *quiŭre* 'quiver'. This line of evidence invites the hypothesis that the double acute on ***–ur–*** indicates the consonantal ***v*** value of the letter ***u***. It is scarcely surprising that in many instances, the double acute is actually placed on ***u*** (e.g., *Ló_ŭre* in Ps 43:2b).

Further support for the idea that the double marking relates to the consonantal ***v*** value of the letter ***u*** comes from several instances in which the double acute appears on letter groups where ***u*** represents ***v*** in the absence of ***r***: *salŭ–* 'to save', including *salŭedur* 'saviour' (x 5); *coŭert* 'covered' and *descuŭert* (x 4); *uédŭe(s)* 'widow(s)' (twice); *(nun)sáŭanz* for Latin *scientes* and *insipientes*, as well as *nient aŭanz* for Latin *non habens*; not to mention the single occurrences *aŭoiltres* for Latin *adulteri*; *encurŭerent* for Latin *incurvaverunt*; *iuŭente* 'youth'; *malŭaistiét* for Latin *nequitia*; *múeŭet* for Latin *moveat*; *repróŭai* for Latin *reprobavi*; *purŭers* 'pervert'; and *ŭenques* for Latin *vincas*. Last but not least, double acutes placed on the second part of the preposition *enŭers* (x 10 times) also mark a ***v***-sound.

THE ***Ð*** FRICATIVE [ð]. There are instances in which the double-acute ***r*** does not follow a ***v***-sound. This occurs three times in consonantal clusters where the marked ***r*** follows the letter ***d***, as in *adŕece* (for Latin *dirige*), *uendŕa* (for Latin *veniet*), and *uoldŕa* (for Latin *volet*). It is plausible that this reflects patterns found in the English language. The English letter ***ð***, representing a voiced dental fricative, appears throughout the Douce text in positions where the scribe also uses a standard ***d***, particularly in feminine participles ending in *–ede(s)* or *–eðe(s)*, whether accented or not. The manner in which the scribe otherwise writes the same words as *–éé(s)* to mark hiatus (cf. *méésme, benééiz*) suggests that ***d*** and ***ð*** mark an approximant rather than an actual voiced dental fricative. Old English attests the inverse pattern in contexts of assimilation and dissimilation (cf. Campbell 1959, p. 172). Nevertheless, Brunner 1960, p. 379, notes a Middle English phenomenon comparable to the one discussed here.

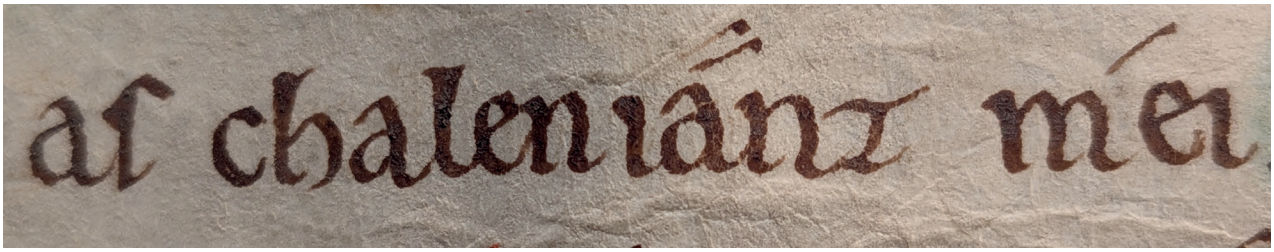
THE ***C/CH*** AFFRICATE [ts/tš]. Another context in which the scribe employs double-acute accents involves the

treatment of the affricate represented by both ***ch*** and ***c***. This type of double acute is placed either above the relevant letter or above an adjacent one, and it appears most often when the scribe writes ***c*** in place of the more common ***ch***. He also uses it, however, in instances where ***ch*** is written, suggesting uncertainty about the pronunciation or spelling (cf. Sneddon 1972, p. 82-83, who references Howarth's suggestion that the ***h*** was not a marker of hardening). This tendency can also be a hypercorrection, with the scribe marking both ***ch*** and the double acute simultaneously, thereby over-representing the same phonetic feature, but also as an indication, perhaps, of moments of phonetic hesitation or instability.

By far, the more frequent spellings from among the 107 uses of double-acute accents in connection with this affricate can be found in *č(h)ose* 'thing' (x 13); *dreč–* 'to raise' and its derivatives (x 10: *drečanz*, *sesdrečowent*, *esdrečanz*, *adrečeat*, *drečanz*, *nadrečai*, *mesdrečowe*, *mesdrečai*); *esledeč–* 'to rejoice, cheer' (x 9: *esledečastes*, *mesledečai*, *esledečanz*, *esledečad*, *esle(d)ečums*, *sesledečad*, *esledeča*); *čar(n)* 'flesh', including *esčarnir* (x 8); *čamp* 'field', also written *čams* (x 5); *čaual* 'horse' and *čaua(il)lérs* 'riders' (x 5); *escerč–* 'to search' (x 5: *escerčherái*, *escerčhad*, *escerčherent*, *escerčhant*, *escerčhement*); *exalčad* and *exalčai* 'to raise, lift' (x 3); *rečut* 'to receive' (x 3); *čant* 'song' and *čanterúms* 'to sing' (twice); *častieras* and *častiá* 'to chastise' (twice); *esčamel* and *sčamél* 'stool' for Latin *scabellum* (twice); *puruočanz* and *puruoča* 'to encourage, incite' (twice); *purnunčai* 'to utter' and *annunčai* 'to announce'; *račated* and *račatá* 'to redeem' (twice); *trenče* and *trenčad* 'to cut' (twice). Less common forms are attested only once in *assečha* 'dry out' for Latin *exarvit*; *cačhassent* 'to chase, pursue'; *čaírent* 'to fall'; *čaitiuetéd* 'captivity'; *čalcement* 'footwear' for Latin *calciamentum*; *čalím* 'fog'; čambres 'chambers'; *čarbúns* 'charcoal'; *dečalcherás* 'to trample on' for Latin *conculcabis*; *empedečad* 'to impede, obstruct' for Latin *impedivit*; *esčables* 'shoulders'; *escerčowe* 'to search, seek'; *esforčad* 'to urge, press' for Latin *corroboravit*; *fiančusement* 'confidently' for Latin *fiducialiter*; *parčunier* 'partner' for Latin *particeps*; *pečcames* 'to sin'; *reproče* 'to reproach'; *sučast* 'to suck up' for Latin *sugeret*; *tračhas* 'to track' for Latin *investigasti*. I would single out the scribe's pronunciation of the vernacular developments of the Latin suffixes ***–tio***/***–sio***, and ***–cius***: *beneičun* 'benediction' (x 4); *male(i)čun* 'curse' (twice); *heričuns* 'hedgehog'; *menčungiers* 'liar'; *plančun* 'seedling'; *raenčun* 'resentment'; *tenčun* 'dispute'; and *torčunerie* 'sinfulness, wickedness'. We therefore standardized the representation of this affricate in our transcription. As a general principle, our decision to render this type of double acute accent as ***č*** has led to its reassignment from the letter on which it appears in the manuscript to the nearest ***c***. Take the example of *čar* from Ps 77:39 (for Latin *caro*), where the accent is transcribed close to the letter ***r***. In this particular situation, the double acute most likely applies to the monosyllabic word as a whole, although it is also clear that the letter ***c*** is the only one which is assigned the phonetic value [ts/tš].

THE ***J*** AFFRICATE [DŽ]. Another case to consider is the small group of double acute accents used to indicate the ***j***-sound. The scribe never marks it in initial position and only rarely in medial position, presumably because this sound occurs quite frequently in his pronunciation of Latin words as well. He resorts to placing the double acute on the letter ***i*** only in five instances, all of which appear to indicate the consonantal value of the letter ***i***. Consider for instance the spelling *chaleníanz* (Ps 118:121). There, the double acute marking on the second part of the word indicates the distinctive phonetic value ***j***. There are four more situations in which the double acute accent marks the same affricate: *forías* 'to forge, form' for Latin *fabricatus es*; *ueníanz* 'to avenge' for Latin *ulciscens*; *iuíanz* 'to judge' for Latin *iudicans*; and *maníowe* 'to eat' for Latin *manducabam*.

CERTAIN INSTANCES OF ***O***. Our transcription retains the double-acute accentuation in certain situations, as these cases present distinct phenomenona. They pertain not to fricative or affricate pronunciation, but to vowel quality and the presence of diphthongs, in words where the same vowel is often rewritten as ***o*** after the erasure of a previous spelling. Instances that point to a probable diphthongisation occur in: *ólie* 'oil' for Latin *oleum* (twice, in Ps 4:8 and Ps 44:8); *ól* 'eyes' for Latin *oculi* (Ps 10:5). Other instances document a hiatus, such as *óeltét* for Latin *equitatem* (Ps





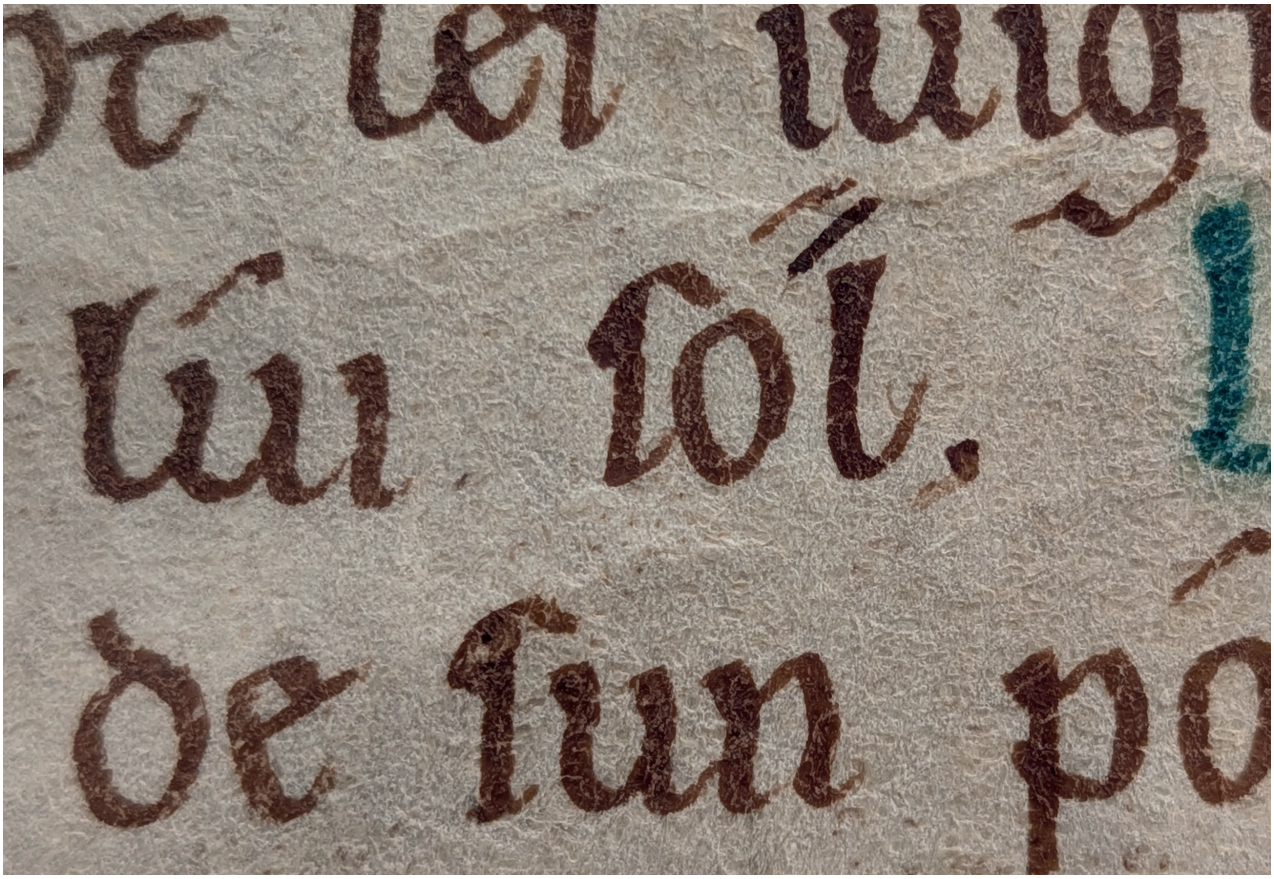
lement cume la
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51:5), a word which is written with a single accent in its twelve other occurrences: *óelté(t/d)*. However, there is also the obscure situation of *őbliez* 'to forget' for Latin *obliviscimini* (Ps 49:22). A similar type of ***o*** can be found in *dőlur* (Ps 7:17), also accentuated with a double acute. Nevertheless, this can also be a slip of the pen, since the lower acute is so faint and tiny that the scribe felt compelled to add a second, longer, and properly visible accent above it. In the latter situation, a decision was made to retain the use of a single (plain) accent.

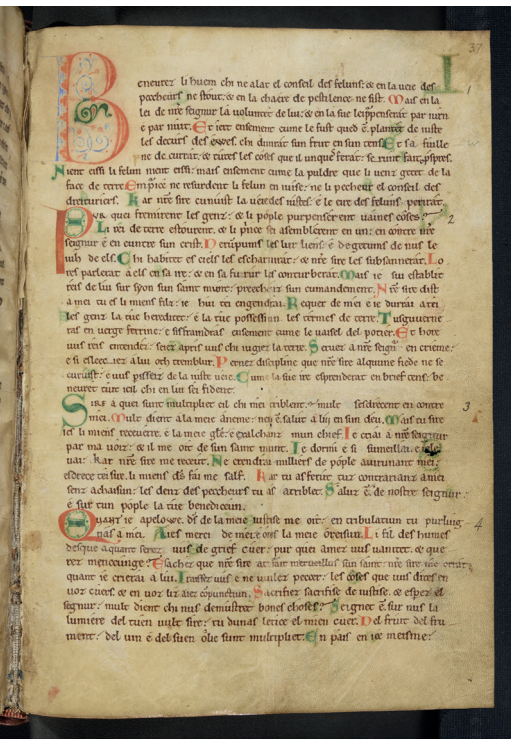
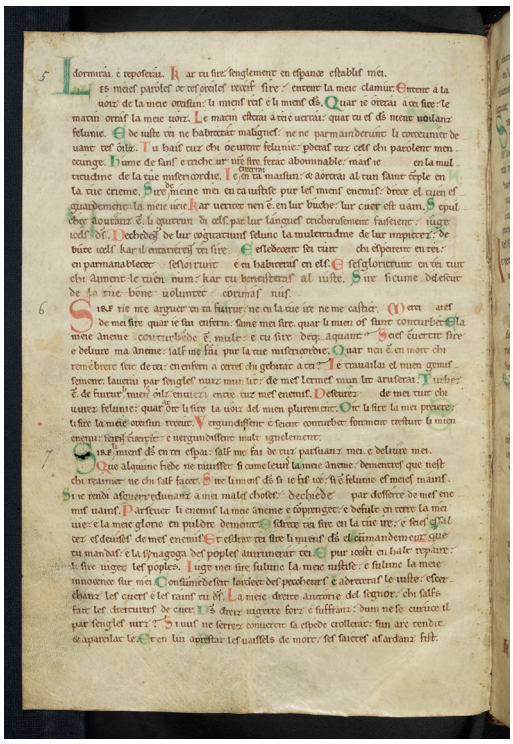
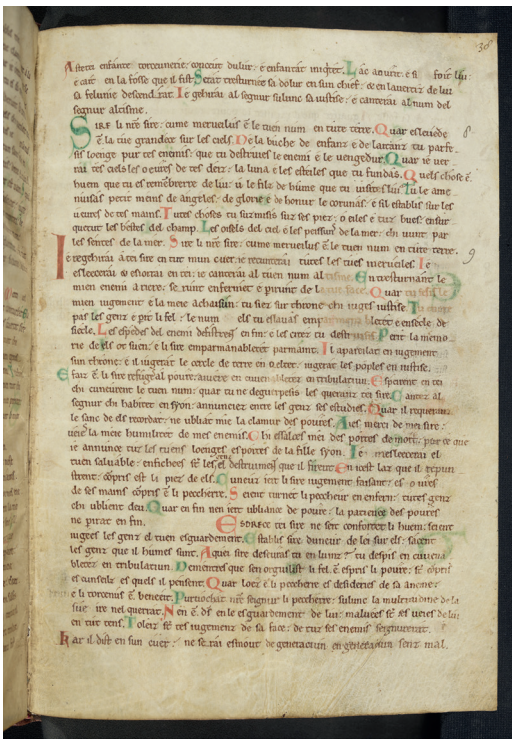
We kept the double accent in its most intriguing occurrence: *pőple* (Ps 2:1), on the very first folio of the manuscript (f. 37r). That vowel is the same as the one from the beginning of *őlie* and *őil*. Beaulieux 1927, p. 17, believed that this case indicated the diphthongisation of the vowel, but his analysis appears unsystematic, picking and choosing examples without a consistent method. For us, this is the also the first time when the scribe actually employed the double acute accent, with a second use in the same line, where he wrote the first double-acute spelling of *čoses*. Given that the word 'people' is consistently written as *pőple(s)* in all its remaining 128 occurrences, with only a single instance of unaccented spelling (*pople*), it is reasonable to assume that the early use of the double acute on f. 37r predates the scribe's adoption of the general spelling rule that he adhered to throughout the remainder of the text. We retained this initial double accent, as its function appears to be unclear.

FALSE DOUBLE ACUTES. Double acute accents also appear in a few additional contexts that we have excluded for various reasons. In Ps 9:35, for example, the letter bearing the marker is the ***e*** of *quế*. In reality, this double acute is a remnant from a word which was altered during a correction phase, its initial letter having been tranformed into the letter ***q***. The double acute is now faded, as is the single accent above an ***e*** from the proposition *én* used in the same sentence: *pur ce quế tus líŭres én tés maíns* (where *én tés maíns* is written upon erasure). We have therefore chosen to suppress both the double acute accent as it now appears on *quế* in the manuscript and the plain accent on *én*, since both are relics of words no longer present in the current version of the text.

Last but not least, in the case of *cuneűrent* (Ps 9:11), *eriterűnt* (Ps. 36:9), and *sől* (Ps 148:13), the double acute accents are the result of two separate transcriptions of single-acutes and should therefore count as a reiterated use of the same accent. In these instances, one of the marks is almost faded and it is clear that they were written at different moments, as their angles of inclination differ noticeably and the ink tints differ as well. In the case of *sől*, where the first accent was applied with one type of ink, while the second is noticeably darker, it is also possible that the mark is not a true double-acute accent at all, but merely the result of an accidental slip of the pen. We chose to retain these double-acute accents in their original form, thereby allowing future scholars the opportunity to reassess or reinterpret them.



Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320. Double acute of pőple *in Ps 2:1; and* sől *in Ps 148:13.*
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023-2026.
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▲ *Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320, fol. 37r, 37v, and 38r.* Source: https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/
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f. 37r

Beneurez lí huem chi ne alat el conseil des feluns ⁝ *et* en la ueie des peccheurs ne stóut ⁝ *et* en la chaére de pestilence ne sist · Ps 1:2Mais en la lei de nostre seignur lá uoluntét de lui ⁝ *et* en lá sue lei purpenserát par iúrn é par núit · Ps 1:3Et ìert ensement cume le fust queð est · plantét de iuste les decúrs des éwes · chi dunrát sun frut en sun tens · Et sá fúille ne de_currát ⁝ *et* tútes les čoses que il unque\s/ ferát ⁝ se_rúnt fait próspres · Ps 1:4Nient eissi li felun nient eissi ⁝ mais ensement cume la puldre que li uenz getet de la face de terre · Ps 1:5Empurícé ne resurdent li felun en iuíse ⁝ ne li pecheur el conseil des dreiturìers · Ps 1:6Kar nostre sire cunúist la uéie des iústes ⁝ é le eire des felúns perirát ·

PPs 2:1VR quei fremírent les genz ⁝ *et* li pṓple purpensérent uáines čoses ? Ps 2:2Li réi de terre estóurent · *et* li prínce sei asemblérent en un ⁝ en cóntre nostre seignur é en cuntre sun crist · Ps 2:3Derumpums les lur lieńs ⁝ é degetums de nus le iúh de els · Ps 2:4Chi habítet es ciéls les escharnirát ⁝ *et* nostre sire les subsannerát · Ps 2:5Lores parlerat á els en sa ire ⁝ *et* en sa fu_rúr les conturberát · Ps 2:6Mais ié sui establít réis de lúi sur sẏon sun sáint múnt ⁝ preech[ań]z sun cumandement · Ps 2:7Nostre sire dist á mei tu es li miens filz ⁝ ie húi téi engendrai · Ps 2:8Requer de méi é ie durrái a téi les genz la túe hereditet ⁝ é la túe possessiun les tẽrmes de terre · Ps 2:9Tus guuerneras en uerge ferríne ⁝ e sis fraindrás ensement cume le uaisel del potiér · Ps 2:10Et hore uus réis entendéz ⁝ seiéz aprís uus chi iugiez la terre · Ps 2:11Seruez á nostre seignur en criéme ⁝ e si esleec_iez á lui oth tremblur · Ps 2:12Pernez disciplíne que nostre sire alquune fieðe ne se curúist ⁝ é uus perisseíz de la iúste uéie · Ps 2:13Cume la súe íre esprenderat en brief tens ⁝ beneurét túit icil chi en lúi séi fident ·

SPs 3:2IRE á quei sunt multipliet cil chi méi tríblent ? mult sesdrécent en contre méi · Ps 3:3Mult díent á la meie áneme ⁝ nen est · salút a lúj en sun déu · Ps 3:4Máis tu sire íes li miens receuérre · é la meie glorie ⁝ é exalchánz mun chíef · Ps 3:5Ié criái á nostre seignur par ma uóiz ⁝ *et* il me oít de sun saint munt · Ps 3:6Ié dormí é si sumeillái · e releuai ⁝ kar nostre sire me receút · Ps 3:7Ne crendrai milliérs de póple auirunant méi ⁝ esdrece téi sire · li miens deus fái me salf · Ps 3:8Kar tu as ferút tuz contrarianz á méi senz achaisun ⁝ les denz des peccheurs tu ás atriblet · Ps 3:9\de nostre seignur ·/ Saluz est ⁝ é sur tun póple la túe benedicéun ·

QPs 4:2UANT ie apelowe · deus de la meie iustise me oít ⁝ en tribulatiun tu purlúignás á méi · Áies merci de méi ⁝ é óies la meie óreisun · Ps 4:3Lí fíl des humes desque aquant serez uús de griéf cúer ⁝ pur qúei amez uus uanitet · *et* querez menceúnge ? Ps 4:4E sachéz que nostre sire at fáit merueillus sun sáint ⁝ nostre sire ṁe orrát quant ié crierái á lúi · Ps 4:5Iraissez uús é ne uuilez peccer ⁝ les čoses que uus dítes en uoz cúers · *et* en uoz líz · aiez compunctiun · Ps 4:6Sacrifiez sacrifíse de iustíse · *et* esperez el segnur ⁝ mult díent chi

nus demústret bones chóses ? [Ps 4:7]Seignet e*st* · sur nus la lumiére del túen uult síre ⁝ tu dunas letíce el mien cúer · [Ps 4:8]Del frúit del frument ⁝ del uin é del suen ől*i*e sunt multipliet · [Ps 4:9]En páis en icé meisme ⁝ [f. 37v] dormirái · é reposerái ·[Ps 4:10]Kar tu sire ⁝ senglement en esp*er*ance establís méi · f. 37v

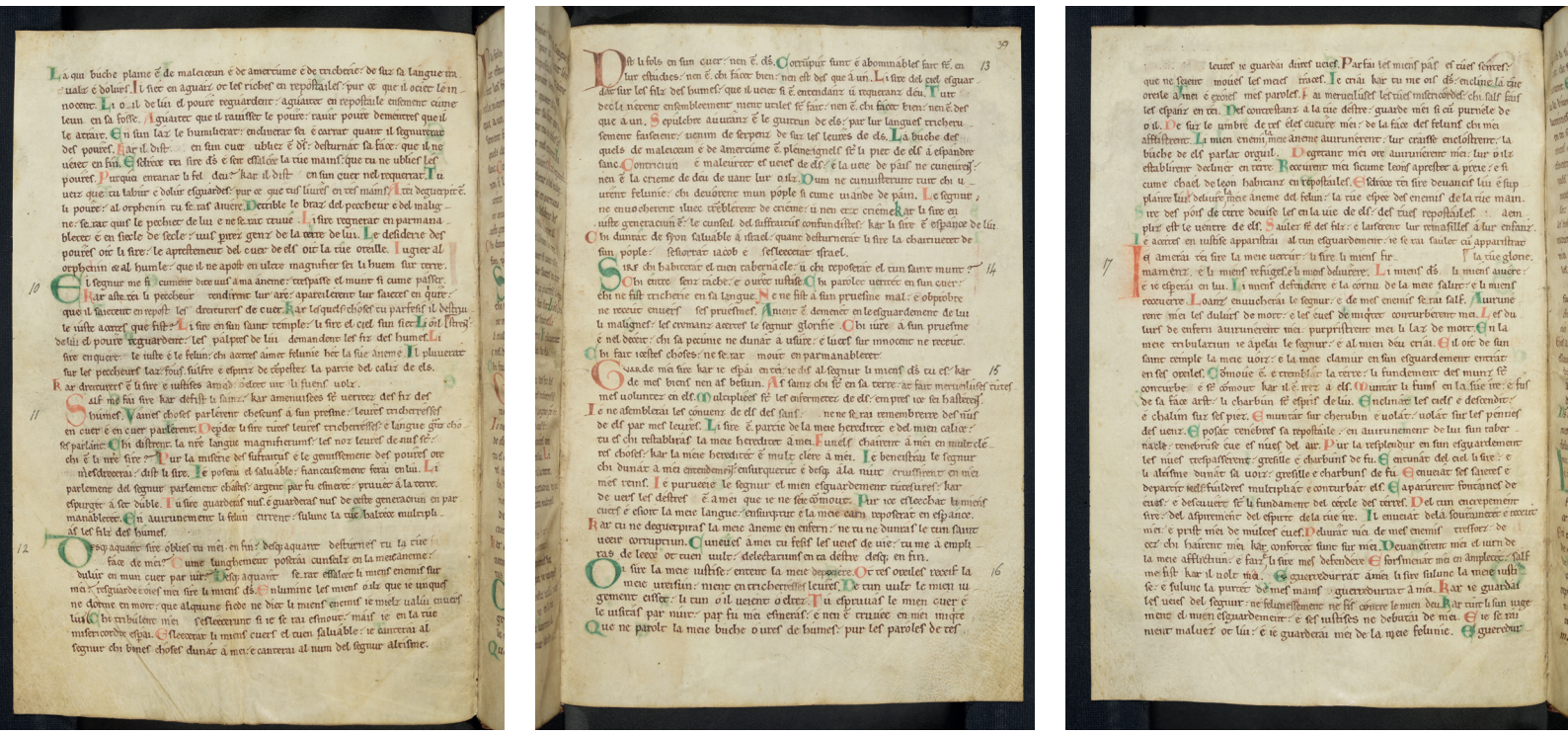
L[Ps 5:2]ES méies paróles ot tés oréiles recéif síre ⁝ entent la méie clamúr · [Ps 5:3]Entent á la uóiz de la meie oreisún ⁝ li miens réis é li miens d*eu*s · [Ps 5:4]Quar ié órerái á téi sire ⁝ le matín orrás la meie uóiz · [Ps 5:5]Le matín esterái á téi é uerrái ⁝ quar tu es d*eu*s nient uóilanz feluníe · [Ps 5:6]E de iúste téi ne habiterát malígnes ⁝ ne ne parmainderúnt li torceuníer deuant tes óilz · [Ps 5:7]Tu haís tuz chi óeurent feluníe ⁝ p*er*derás tuz cels chi parólent menceúnge · Húme de sáns é triche_úr n*ost*re sire ferát abominable ⁝ [Ps 5:8]máis ie en la multitudine de la túe misericordie · Ié \enterrái/ en ta maisun ⁝ *et* aórerái al tun saint te*m*ple en la túe crieme · [Ps 5:9]Sire \de/ méine méi en ta iustíse pur les miens enemís ⁝ dírece el tuén esguardement la méie uéie · [Ps 5:10]Kar ueritét nen e*st* · en lur búche ⁝ lur cúer est uáin · [Ps 5:11]Sépúlchre aoŭranz e*st* · li guitrún di cels · par lur lángues tricherusemeńt faiseient ⁝ iúge icéls d*eu*s · Dechédent de lur cogitatiuńs selunc la multitúdine de lur impietez ⁝ debúte icels kar il entariérent téi síre · [Ps 5:12]Esleðecent séi túit chi espéirent en téi ⁝ en parmanabletet sesioiruńt é tu habiterás en els · E sesglorierúnt en téi túit chi aiment le túen núm ⁝ [Ps 5:13]kar tu beneisterás al iúste · Síre sicume · dél escút de la túe bóne uoluntét córunás nús ·

S[Ps 6:2]IRE ne me arguer en tá fuirúr ⁝ ne en la túe íre ne me castiér · [Ps 6:3]Merci áies de mei sire quar ié sui enferm ⁝ sáine mei sire · quar li mien ós sunt conturbét · [Ps 6:4]E lá meie áneme conturbéde e*st* · mult ⁝ é tu síre deq*ue* aquant ? [Ps 6:5]Seies co*n*uertit síre é delíure ma aneme ⁝ salf me fái pur la tue misericordie · [Ps 6:6]Quar nen e*st* · en mort chi reme*m*brere séit de tei ⁝ en enfern á certes chi gehirát a téi ? [Ps 6:7]Ié trauailái el mien gemissement · lauerái par sengles nuiz mun lít ⁝ de mes lermes mun lit aruserái · [Ps 6:8]Turbéz est · de fuirur \li/ mien\s/ óilz ⁝ enuiezí entre tuz mes enemís · [Ps 6:9]Deseŭrez de mei túit chi úurez felunie ⁝ quar \at/ oít li síre la uóiz del mien pluremént · [Ps 6:10]Oít li sire la mei preiere ⁝ li sire la meie oreisun receút · [Ps 6:11]Vergundissent é seient conturbet fortment trestuit li mien enemi ⁝ seient c*un*uertít é uergundissent mult ignelement ·

S[Ps 7:2]IRE \li/ miens d*eu*s en tei esp*er*ai ⁝ salf me fai de tuz parsuanz mei · é deliŭre méi · [Ps 7:3]Que alqúune fieðe ne rauísset si cúme leún\s/ la meie aneme ⁝ deméntres que nest chi reáimet ne chi salf fácet · [Ps 7:4]Síre li miens d*eu*s si ié fis icé ⁝ si e*st* · feluníe és meies máins · [Ps 7:5]Sí ie rendí as guerredunanz á mei males chóses ⁝ dechiéðe par dessérte de mes enemis uains · [Ps 7:6]Parséuet li enemís la meie aneme é co*m*prenget ⁝ é defult en terre la méi uíe ⁝ é la meie glórie en púldre deméint · [Ps 7:7]Esdréce téi sire en la túe íre ⁝ é seies essalcez es deuíses de mes enemís · [Ps 7:8]Ét esdrece téi síre li miens d*eu*s el cu*m*mandement que tu mandas ⁝ é la sỳnagoga des póples auirunerát téi · E pur icestí en halt repáire ⁝ [Ps 7:9]li sire iúget les póples · Iúge mei sire sulunc la meie iustise ⁝ é sulunc la meie innocénce sur méi · [Ps 7:10]Consu*m*méðe séit lórdeet des peccheurs é adreceras le iuste ⁝ escerchanz les cúers é les ráins tu d*eu*s · [Ps 7:11]Lá meie dréite aiutórie del segnór ⁝ chi salfs fáit les dreiturers de cuer · [Ps 7:12]D*eu*s dréiz iugérre forz é suffranz ⁝ dum ne se curúce il par sengles iúrz ? [Ps 7:13]Si uus ne serrez conuertit sa espéðe crollerát ⁝ sun arc tendit · *et* apareilat lé · [Ps 7:14]Et en lúi aprestát les uaissels de mort ⁝ ses saiétes as ardanz fist · [f. 38r] [Ps 7:15]Astetéi enfánte torceunerie ⁝ conceút dulúr ⁝ é enfantát iniq*ui*tét · [Ps 7:16]Lác aoŭrit · é si foít \lúi :/ é caít en la fósse que íl fist · [Ps 7:17]Serát tresturnée sá dólur en sun chief ⁝ *et* en la uertíz de lúi sa feluníe descend_´rat · [Ps 7:18]Ié gehirái al segnur sulunc sa iustíse ⁝ é canterái al num del segnur altísme · f. 38r

S[Ps 8:2]IRE li n*ost*re síre ⁝ cume merueilús e*st* le tuén núm en túte térre · Quar esleuéðe e*st* · la túe grandéce sur les ciels · [Ps 8:3]Dé la búche de enfanz é de laitańz tu parfesis loénge pur tes enemís ⁝ que tu destŕuies le enemí é le uengeður · [Ps 8:4]Quar ié uerrái tés ciels les oeŭres de tes déiz ⁝ la luna é les estéiles que tu fundás · [Ps 8:5]Quels chóse e*st* · huem que tu es reme*m*brerre de lúi ⁝ ú le filz de húme que tu uisítes lúi ? [Ps 8:6]Tú le amenúisás petít méins de ángeles ⁝ de glorie é de honur le corunás ⁝ [Ps 8:7]é sil establís sur les úeures de tes mains · [Ps 8:8]Tutes chóses tu suzmisís suz ses piez ⁝ ó eiles é tuz bues ⁝ ensurquetut les béstes del champ · [Ps 8:9]Les oiséls del ciel é les peissun\s/ de la mer ⁝ chi uunt par les séntes de la mér · [Ps 8:10]Sire li n*ost*re sire ⁝ cume merueilus e*st* · le tuen num en túte terre ·

I[Ps 9:2]é regehirái á téi sire en tut mun cuer ⁝ ie recunterái tútes les túes meruéiles · [Ps 9:3]Ié esleecerái *et* esiorrái en téi ⁝ ie canterái al túen num altisme · [Ps 9:4]En tresturnańt le mien enemí áriere ⁝ se_rúnt enfermét é p*er*iruńt de la tue face · [Ps 9:5]Quar tu fesis le mien iugement é la meie achaisún ⁝ tu siez sur thŕone chi iuges iustíse · [Ps 9:6]Tu encrepás les genz é p*er*ít li fél ⁝ le num els tu eslauás emparmenabletét é en sécle de siécle · [Ps 9:7]Les espédes del enemí defístrent en fin ⁝ é les citéz tu destruisis · Perít la memorie de els ot súen ⁝ [Ps 9:8]é li sire emparmanabletét parmáint · Íl apareilat en iugement sun thŕone ⁝ [Ps 9:9]e il iúgerát le cercle de terre én oeltet ⁝ iugerát les póples en iustíse · [Ps 9:10]E faiz e*st* · li síre refúge\s/ ál póure ⁝ aiuére en cuuenabletéz en tribulatiun · [Ps 9:11]Espéirent en



▲ *Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320, fol. 38v, 39r, and 39v.* Source: https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/
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téi chi cuneűrent le tuen num ⁝ quar tu ne deguerpesís les queránz téi sire · Ps 9:12Cantez al segnur chi habítet en sÿón ⁝ annunciez entre les genz ses estúdies · Ps 9:13Quar il requeranz le sanc de els recordát ⁝ ne ubliát míe la clamur des póűres · Ps 9:14Aies merci de mei sire ⁝ uéie\s/ la méie humilitét de mes enemís · Ps 9:15Chí essálces méi des pórtes de mort ⁝ pur cé qúe ié annúnce túz les túens loénges es pórtes de la fílle sÿon · Ps 9:16Ié mesleecerái el tuen saluáble ⁝ enfichees s*unt* les \génz/ el destruiment que il fírent · En icest laz que il repunstrent ⁝ co*m*pris est lí piéz de els · Ps 9:17Cuneúz íert li sire iugement faisant ⁝ es oűres de ses mains co*m*pris e*st* li pecchérre · Ps 9:18Seient turnét li peccheúr en enfern ⁝ tútes genz chi ublíent deu · Ps 9:19Quar en fin nen íert ubliánce de poűre ⁝ la patience des poűres ne p*er*irat en fin · Ps 9:20ESDRECE téi sire ne séit confortet li huem ⁝ seient iugées les genz el tuen esguardement · Ps 9:21Establís síre duneúr de léi sur els ⁝ sácent les genz que il húmes sunt · Ps 9:22A qúei sire deseűras tu en luinz ? tu despís en cuuenabletéz en tribulatiun · Ps 9:23Deméntres que sen orguilist li fel · e*st* · espris li poűre ⁝ s*unt* co*m*pris es cunseilz es quels il pénsent · Ps 9:24Quar loéz e*st* · li peccherre es desidéries de sa aneme ⁝ é li torcenús e*st* · beneéit · Ps 9:25Puruóchát nostre seignur li pecchérre ⁝ sulunc la multitudine de la súe íre nel querrát · Ps 9:26Nen e*st* · de*us* en le esguardement de lúi ⁝ maluées s*unt* ses ueies de lúi en tút tens · Toléiz s*unt* tes iugemenz de sa fáce ⁝ de tuz ses enemís seignurerát · Ps 9:27Kar il díst en sun cúer ⁝ ne se_rái
f. 38v esmóut de generaciún en generaciun senz mal · f. 38v Ps 9:28Lá qui búche plaíne e*st* de maleiceún é de amertúme é de tricherie ⁝ de suz sa lángue tra ualz é dólúrs · Ps 9:29Íl siét en aguaíz ot les ríches en repostáiles ⁝ pur cé que íl ocíet lé innocent · Ps 9:30Li ó_il de lúi el poűre reguárdent ⁝ agúaitet en repostáile ensement cúme leun en sa fósse · Agúaitet que il rauísset le poűre ⁝ rauír poűre deméntres que íl le atráit · Ps 9:31Eń sun láz le humilierat ⁝ enclinerat sei é carrat quant il segnurerat des poűres · Ps 9:32Kár il dist en sun cuer ubliez e*st* de*us* ⁝ desturnát sa fáce ⁝ que il ne uéiet en fín · Ps 9:33Esdréce tei sire de*us* é seit essalcée la túe mains ⁝ que tu ne ublíes lés poűres · Ps 9:34Purqúei entariát li fel deu ? kar il dist en sun cuer nel requerrat · Ps 9:35Tú ueiz qué tu labúr é dolúr esguárdes ⁝ pur ce que tus líűres en tés maíns · A téi deguerpít e*st* · li poűre ⁝ al orphenín tu seras aiuére · Ps 9:36Detríble le braz del peccheur é del maligne ⁝ serat quis le pechiet de lui e ne serát truué · Ps 9:37Lí síre regnerát en parmanabletet é en siecle de secle ⁝ uus p*er*iréz genz de la terre de lúi · Ps 9:38Le desiderie des poűres oít li sire ⁝ le aprestement del cuer de els oít la túe oréille · Ps 9:39Iugiér al orphenín *et* al humle ⁝ que il ne apost en últre magnifier sei li huem sur terre ·

É Ps 10:2l segnur me fí cument dite uus a ma áneme trespásse el múnt si cume pásser · Ps 10:3Kar astetéi li peccheúr tendírent lur arc ⁝ apareilérent lur saietes en q*uiű*re ⁝ que il saietent en repóst les dreiturers de cuer · Ps 10:4Kár lesquels chóses tu parfesís íl \destrui/\strent ⁝/ le iúste a certes que fist ? Ps 10:5Lí sire en sun

saint témple ⁝ li sire el ciel sun siet · Lí ŏil de lúi el poŭre reguardent ⁝ les pálpres de lúi demándent les fiz des húmes · Ps 10:6Lí síre enquért le iuste é le felún ⁝ chi acértes aímet feluníe hét la súe ánemé · Ps 10:7Íl pluuerát sur les peccheurs laz ⁝ fóus · súlfre é espiríz de tempestéz la partíe del calíz de els · Ps 10:8Kár dreiturers est li sire é iustíses amád ⁝ óeltet uít li suens · uólz ·

Ps 11:2ALf me fái sire kar defist li saínz ⁝ kar amenuisées sunt ueritez des fiz des húmes · Ps 11:3Váines choses parlérent chescuns á sun présme ⁝ leŭres tricherrésses en cuer é en cuer parlérent · Ps 11:4Depérdet li síre tútes leŭres tricherrésses ⁝ é lángue \granz chó/ses parlant · Ps 11:5Chí dístrent · la nostre lángue magnifierums ⁝ les noz leŭres de nus sunt ⁝ chi est li nostre síre ? Ps 11:6Pur la misérie des sufraitús é le gemissement des poŭres ore mesdrecerái ⁝ dist li síre · Ié poserái el saluáble ⁝ fianceúsement ferái en lúi · Ps 11:7Lí parlement del segnur parlement chástes ⁝ argent par fu esmerét ⁝ pruuét á la terre · espurgét á set dúble · Ps 11:8Tú síre guarderás nus · é guarderas nus de ceste generaciún en parmanabletét · Ps 11:9Eń auirunement li felún éirrent ⁝ sulunc la túe haltéce multipliás les filz des húmes ·

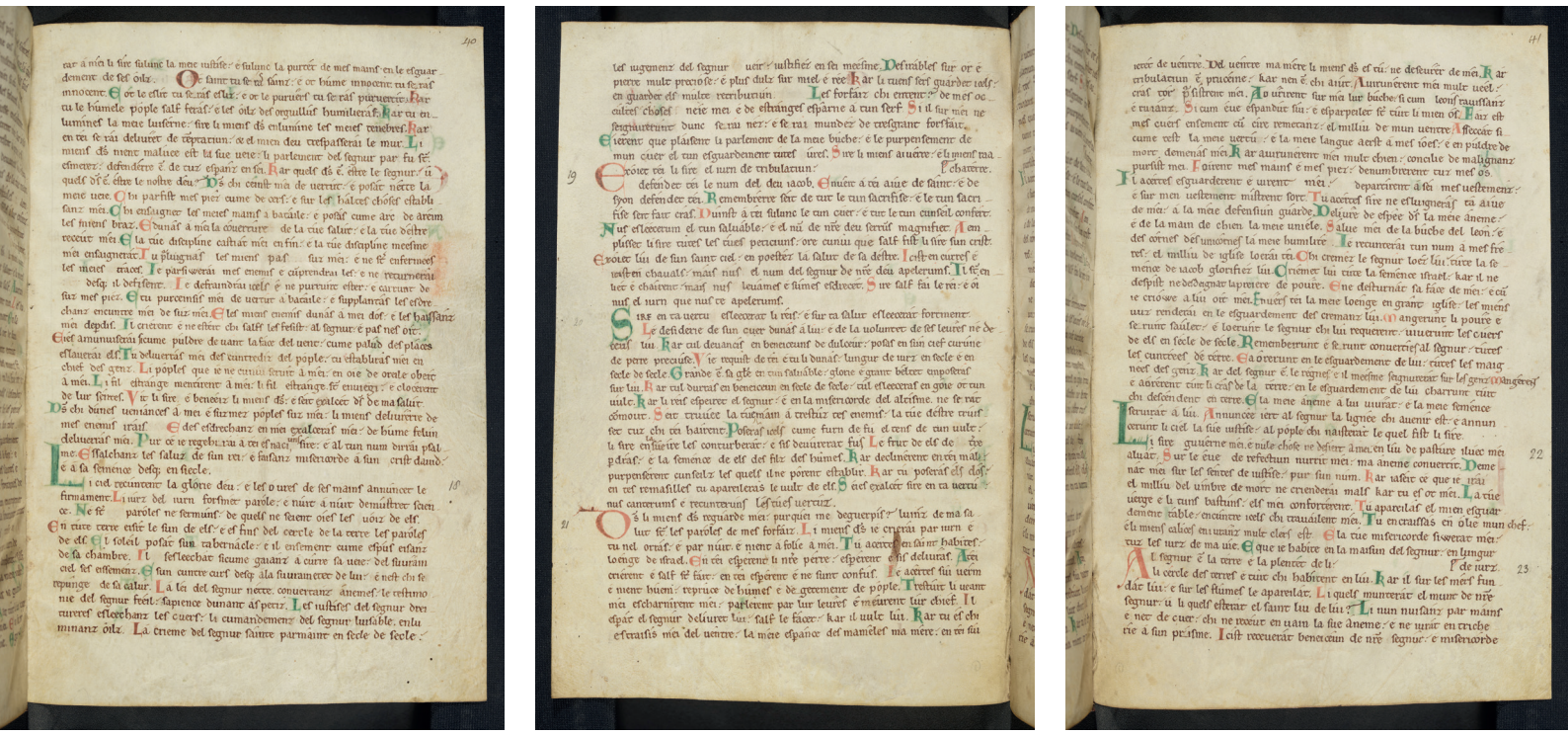
Ps 12:1ESque aquańt síre óblíes tu méi· en fín ⁝ desque aquant destúrnes tu la túe fáce de méi ? Ps 12:2Cume lunghemént poserái cunséilz en la meie áneme ⁝ dulúr en mun cuer par iúr ? Ps 12:3Desque aquańt se_rat essalcét lí miens enemís sur méi ? Ps 12:4resgúarde é óies méi síre li miens deus · Enlumíne les miens óilz que ié uńques ne dórme en mort ⁝ Ps 12:5que alquune fiéde ne díet li miens enemis ié miélz ualúi \enuerś/ lúi · Chi tribúlent méi sesléécerunt si ie serai esmoút ⁝ Ps 12:6máis ié en la túe misericordie esperái · Esleecerát li miens cuers el túen saluáble ⁝ ie canterái ál segnur chi bones chóses dunát á mei ⁝ e canterai al num del segnur altísme ·

f. 39r Ps 13:1Dist li fols en sun cuer ⁝ nen est · deus · Corrumpút sunt é abominábles fait sunt · en lur estúdies ⁝ nen est · chi fácet bien ⁝ nen est des que á uń · Ps 13:2Lí síre del ciel esguardát sur les filz des humes ⁝ que il ueiet si est · entendánz ú requeranz déu · Ps 13:3Túit decli_nérent ensembleement nient utiles sunt fáit ⁝ nen est · chi fácet bien ⁝ nen est · des que á un · Sepúlchre aúŭranz est le guitrun de els ⁝ par lur lángues tricherusement faiseient ⁝ uenim de serpenz de suz les leŭres de els · Lá búche des quels de maleiceun é de amertúme est · pléine ⁝ ignels sunt li piet de els á espándre sanc · Contriciún é maleúrtet es ueies de els ⁝ é la ueie de páis ne cuneúrent ⁝ nen est la crieme de déu deuant lur óilz · Ps 13:4Dum ne cunúisterunt tuit chi uŭrent feluníe ⁝ chi deuórent mun póple si cume uiánde de páin · Ps 13:5Le segnúr ne enuocherent iluec tremblérent de crieme ⁝ ú nen eŕ_t crieme · Ps 13:6Kar li sire en iúste generaciún est ⁝ le cunseil del suffraitús confundístes ⁝ kar li síre est esperánce \de lúi ·/Ps 13:7Chi dunrát de sỳon saluáble á israel ⁝ quant desturnerát li sire la chaitiuetet de sun póple ⁝ sesiórrát iacob é sesleecerát israel ·

Ps 14:1SIRE chi habiterát el tuen tabernácle ⁝ ú chi reposerát el tun saint munt ? Ps 14:2Chi éntre senz táche ⁝ e oŭret iustíse · Ps 14:3Chi parólet uerité en sun cuer ⁝ chi ne fist tricherie en sa langue · Ne ne fist á sun pruesme mal ⁝ é obpŕobre ne receút enuerś ses prúesmes · Ps 14:4A nient est · demenét en le esguardement de lui li malígnes ⁝ les cremanz acertes le segnur glorifíe · Chi iúre á sun pruesme é nel decéit ⁝ Ps 14:5chi sa pecúnie ne dunát á usúre ⁝ é lúers sur innocent ne receút · Chi fait icéstes chóses ⁝ ne serat moút en parmanabletet ·

Ps 15:1GVARde méi síre kar ie esperái en téi ⁝ Ps 15:2ie dis al segnur li miens deus tu es ⁝ kar de mes biens nen as besuín · Ps 15:3Ás sainz chi sunt en sa térre ⁝ at fáit merúeilú\ses tútes/ mes uoluntez én els · Ps 15:4Multipliées sunt les enfermetez de els ⁝ empres ice sei hastérent · Ps 15:4Ié ne asembleráí les cónuenz de els des sans ⁝ ne ne se_rái remembrerre des nums de els par mes leŭres · Ps 15:5Lí síre est · partíe de la meie heredité é del mien calíce ⁝ tu es chi restablirás la meie hereditet á méi · Ps 15:6Funéls chaírent á méi en mult c\lé/res chóses ⁝ kar la méie heredité est mult clére á méi · Ps 15:7Ié beneistŕai le segnur chi dunát á méi entendement ⁝ ensurquetút é desque á la núit cruissírent en m\éi/ més reins · Ps 15:8Ié purueéie le segnur el mien esguardement tútes úres ⁝ kar de uers les déstres est · a méi que ie ne séie commoút · Ps 15:9Pur ice esleechát li mí\ens/ cuérs é esioít la meie langue ⁝ ensurquetut é la meie carn reposerát en esperánce · Ps 15:10Kar tu ne deguerpirás la meie aneme en enfern ⁝ ne tu ne dunrás le tun saint ueeir corruptiun · Cuneúes á méi tu fesis les ueies de uíe ⁝ tu me áempliras de leece ot tuen uult ⁝ delectatiuns en ta déstre desque en fin ·

Ps 16:1Ói síre la meie iustíse ⁝ entent la meie depreiére · Ót tes oreiles recéif la meie ureisún ⁝ nient en tricherrésses leŭres · Ps 16:2De tun uult le mien iugement eísset ⁝ li tun ŏil ueient óeltez · Ps 16:3Tú espruuás le mien cúer é le uisitás par núit ⁝ par fú méi esmerás ⁝ é nen est truuée en méi iniquité · Ps 16:4Que ne parólt la meie búche óures de húmes ⁝ pur les paróles de tes f. 39v leŭres ie guardái dúres uéies · Ps 16:5Parfái lés mieńs pás es tútes séntes ⁝ que ne seient moúes les meies tráces · Ps 16:6Ié criái kár tu me ois deus ⁝ enclíne lá t\úe/ oreile á mei é exóies més paroles · Ps 16:7Fái merueilúses lés túes misericórdes ⁝ chi sals fá\is/ les esperańz en téi · Ps 16:8Des f. 39v



Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320, fol. 40r, 40v, and 41r. Source: https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/
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contrestanz á la túe déstre ⁝ guarde méi si cu*m* purnéle de óil · De suz le umbre de tes éles cueŭre méi ⁝ [Ps 16:9]de la fáce des feluns chi méi afflístrent · Lí mien enemí \la/ meie áneme auirunérent ⁝ [Ps 16:10]lur cráisse enclóstrent ⁝ la búche de els parlat orguil · [Ps 16:11]Degetant méi ore auirunérent méi ⁝ lur óilz establírent declinér en térre · [Ps 16:12]Receúrent méi sicume leóns aprestet á préie ⁝ é si cume chaél de león habitanz en repostáiles · [Ps 16:13]Esdréce téi síre deuancís lúi é supplánte lúi ⁝ delíŭre \la/ méie áneme del felún ⁝ la tue espée [Ps 16:14]des enemís de la túe main · Sire des póis de térre deuíse les en la uíe de els ⁝ des túes repostáiles · aemplíz est le uéntre de els · Saúlez s*un*t des filz ⁝ é laisérent lur remasílles á lur enfań\z/ · [Ps 16:15]Ié acértes en iustíse apparistrái al tun esguardement ⁝ ie se rai saúlet cu*m* apparistrat la túe glorie ·

I[Ps 17:2]É amerái téi sire la meie uertút ⁝ [Ps 17:3]li síre li míens firmamenz · é li miéns refúges · é li miens deliŭrere · Lí miens d*eus* li miéns aiuére ⁝ é ié esp*er*erái en lui · Lí miens defendérre é la córnu de la meie salut ⁝ é li miens receuére · [Ps 17:4]Loańz enuucherái le segnur ⁝ é de mes enemís serái salf · [Ps 17:5]Auirunérent méi les dulúrs de mort ⁝ é les éues de iniq*ui*tet conturbérent mei · [Ps 17:6]Les dulurs de enfern auirunérent méi ⁝ purprístrent mei lí laz de mort · [Ps 17:7]Eń lá meie tribulatiun ie ápelái le segnur ⁝ é al míen déu críai · E íl oít de sun saint temple la meie uóiz ⁝ é la meie clamúr en sun esguardement entrát en sés oréiles · [Ps 17:8]Co*m*moúe e*st* é tremblát la térre ⁝ li fundement des munz s*un*t contúrbe é s*un*t co*m*mout kár il e*st* · irez á els · [Ps 17:9]Muntát li fúms en la súe íre ⁝ é \fus/ de sa fáce arst ⁝ li charbún s*un*t esprís de lúi · [Ps 17:10]Enclinát les ciels é descendít ⁝ é chalím suz ses piéz · [Ps 17:11]E muntát sur cherubin é uolát ⁝ uolát sur les pénnes des uenz · [Ps 17:12]E posát tenébres sa repostáile ⁝ en auirunement de lui sun tabernácle ⁝ tenebrúse éue es núes del áir · [Ps 17:13]Pur la resplendúr en sun esguardement les núes trespassérent ⁝ gresílle é charbúns de fu · [Ps 17:14]E entunát del ciel li sire ⁝ é li altísme dunát sa uoiz ⁝ gresílle é charbuns de fú · [Ps 17:15]E enueiát ses saietes é departít icéls ⁝ fúildres multipliát é conturbát els · [Ps 17:16]E aparúrent fontáines de éues ⁝ é descuŭert s*un*t li fundament del cércle des térres · Del tun encrepemént sire ⁝ del aspiremeńt del espirít de la túe íre · [Ps 17:17]Íl enueiát de lá soŭrainetét é re\ceút/ méi ⁝ é prist méi de múltes éues · [Ps 17:18]Deliŭrat méi de mes enemís tresforz ⁝ de cez chi haírent méi kár confortét sunt sur méi · [Ps 17:19]Deuancírent méi el iurn de la meie afflictiún ⁝ é faiz \est/ · li síre mes defendére · [Ps 17:20]E forsmenát méi en ampletét ⁝ \salf/ me fist kar il uolt méi · [Ps 17:21]E guerredúrrát á méi li sire sulunc la meie iustíse ⁝ é sulunc la purtét de mes mains guerredurrat á méi · [Ps 17:22]Kar ié guardái les uéies del segnur ⁝ ne felunessement ne fís cóntre le mien deu · [Ps 17:23]Kar túit li sun iugement el mién esguardemeńt ⁝ é ses iustíses ne debutái de méi · [Ps 17:24]E ie serái nient maluéz ot lúi ⁝ é ié guarderái méi de la meie feluníe · [Ps 17:25]E gueredur[f. 40r]rat á méi li síre sulunc la meie iustíse ⁝ é sulunc la purtét de mes mains en le esguardement de ses óilz · [Ps 17:26]Ót saint tu

f. 40r

será\s/ sáinz ⁝ é ot húme innocenṫ · tu se_rás innocent · [Ps 17:27]E ót le eslít tu se_rás esliz ⁝ é ot le purŭers tu se rás puruertít · [Ps 17:28]Kár tu le húmele póple salf ferás ⁝ é les óilz des orguillús humilierás · [Ps 17:29]Kár tu enlumínes la meie luisérne ⁝ sire li miens deus enlumíne les meies tenebres · [Ps 17:30]Kar en téi se rái deliŭret de temptatiun ⁝ *et* el mien deu trespasserái le mur · [Ps 17:31]Lí miens deus nient malúee est la sue ueie ⁝ li parlement del segnur par fu sunt · esmerez ⁝ defendérre est · de tuz esperañz en séi · [Ps 17:32]Kar quels deus est · éstre le segnur ⁝ ú quels deus est · éstre le nostre déu ? [Ps 17:33]Deus chi ceínst méi de uertút ⁝ é posát nétte lá meie ueie · [Ps 17:34]Chi parfíst mes piéz cume de cers ⁝ é sur les háltes chóses establisanz méi · [Ps 17:35]Chi ensaignet les meies mains á batáile ⁝ é posás cume arc de aréim les miens braz · [Ps 17:36]E dunás a méi la cóuertúre de lá túe salút ⁝ é la túe déstre receút méi · E la túe disciplíne castiát méi en fín ⁝ é la túe disciplíne meésme méi ensaignerát · [Ps 17:37]Tu purluignás les miens pás suz méi ⁝ é ne sunt enferméés les meies tráces · [Ps 17:38]Ié parsiwerái mes enemis é cumprendrai les ⁝ é ne returnerái desque il defísent · [Ps 17:39]Ié defraindrái icéls é ne purrunt estér ⁝ é carrúnt de suz mes piéz · [Ps 17:40]E tu purceinsís méi de uertút á batáile ⁝ e supplantás les esdrechanz encuntre méi de súz méi · [Ps 17:41]E les miens enemís dunás á mei dós ⁝ é les haissañz méi deperdís · [Ps 17:42]Íl criérent é ne estéit chi salfs les fesist ⁝ al segnur ⁝ é pas nes oít · [Ps 17:43]E iés amunuiserái sicume púldre de uánt la fáce del uent ⁝ cume palúd des pláces eslauerái els · [Ps 17:44]Tú deliuerrás méi des cuntredíz del póple ⁝ tu establirás méi en chief des genz · [Ps 17:45]Lí póples que ié ne cunúi seruít á méi ⁝ en oíe de oreile obeít á méi · [Ps 17:46]Li fil estránge mentírent á méi ⁝ li fil estrañge · sunt enuiegi ⁝ é clocérent de lur séntes · [Ps 17:47]Vít li síre é beneéiz li miens deus ⁝ é séit exalcét deus de ma salút · [Ps 17:48]Deus chi dúnes ueniánces á méi é suzmez póples suz méi ⁝ li miens deliŭrerre de mes enemís iráis · [Ps 17:49]E des esdrechanz en méi exalcerás méi ⁝ de húme felún deliuerrás méi · [Ps 17:50]Pur cé ie regehi rái á téi és naci\uns/ síre ⁝ é al tun num dirrái psalme · [Ps 17:51]Essalchanz les saluz de sun rei ⁝ é faisanz misericorde á sun crist dauid ⁝ é á sa seménce desque en siecle ·

L[Ps 18:2]í ciel recúntent la glórie déu ⁝ é les óures de ses mains annúncet le firmament · [Ps 18:3]Lí iúrz del iurn forsmét paróle ⁝ é núit á núit demústret sciénce · [Ps 18:4]Né sunt paróles ne sermúns ⁝ de quels ne seient oíes les uóiz de els · [Ps 18:5]Eń túte terre eisít le sun de els ⁝ é es fins del cercle de la terre les paróles de els · [Ps 18:6]Él soléil posát sun tabernácle ⁝ é il ensement cume espús eisañz de sa chámbre · Il sesleechát sicume gaiañz á cúrre sa ueie ⁝ [Ps 18:7]del suŭrain ciel ses eisseménz · E sun cuntre curs desque á la suurainetet de lui ⁝ e nest chi se repúnge de sa calúr · [Ps 18:8]Lá léi del segnur nétte · conuertañz ánemes ⁝ le testimonie del segnur feéil ⁝ sapience dunant ás petíz · [Ps 18:9]Les iustíses del segnur dreitureres esleechanz les cuers ⁝ li cumandemenz del segnur luisáble · enluminanz óilz · [Ps 18:10]Lá crieme del segnur sainte parmáint en secle de secle ⁝ [f. 40v] les iugemenz f. 40v
del segnur ueír ⁝ iustifiéz en sei meésme · [Ps 18:11]Desirábles suŕ ór é pierre mult precióse ⁝ é plus dulz sur miel é rée · [Ps 18:12]Kar li tuéns sérs guárdet ic\éls ⁝/ en guardér els múlte retributiún · [Ps 18:13]Les forfáiz chi entent ? de més \oc/cúltes chóses neíe mei [Ps 18:14]é de estránges espárne á tun serf · Sí il sur méi \ne/ seignurerúnt dunc se_rái néz ⁝ é se_rái mundéz de tresgrant forsfáit · [Ps 18:15]É ierent que pláisent li parlement de la meie búche ⁝ é le purpensement de mun cúer el tun esguardement tútes úres · Sire li miens aiuérre ⁝ é li miens raachatérre ·

E[Ps 19:2]xóiet téi li síre el iurn de tribulatiun ⁝ deféndet téi le num del deu iacob · [Ps 19:3]Enuéit á téi aiúe de saínt ⁝ é de sÿon deféndet téi · [Ps 19:4]Remembrérre séit de tut le tun sacrifíse ⁝ é le tun sacrifíse seit fait crás · [Ps 19:5]Duínst á téi sulunc le tun cúer ⁝ é tut le tun cunséil confeŕt · [Ps 19:6]Nus esléécerum el tun saluáble ⁝ é el num de nostre deu serrums magnifiet · [Ps 19:7]Aemplísset lí sire túres les túes peticiuns ⁝ ore cunúi qué salf fist li síre sun críst · Exóiet lúi de sun saint ciel ⁝ en poestéz lá salut de sa déstre · [Ps 19:8]Icist en cúrres é icist eń chauals ⁝ máis nús el num del segnur de nostre déu apelerúms · [Ps 19:9]Íl sunt · enliét é chaírent ⁝ máis nús leuámes é súmes esdrecét · [Ps 19:10]Sire salf fái le réi ⁝ é ói nus el iurn que nus te apelerums ·

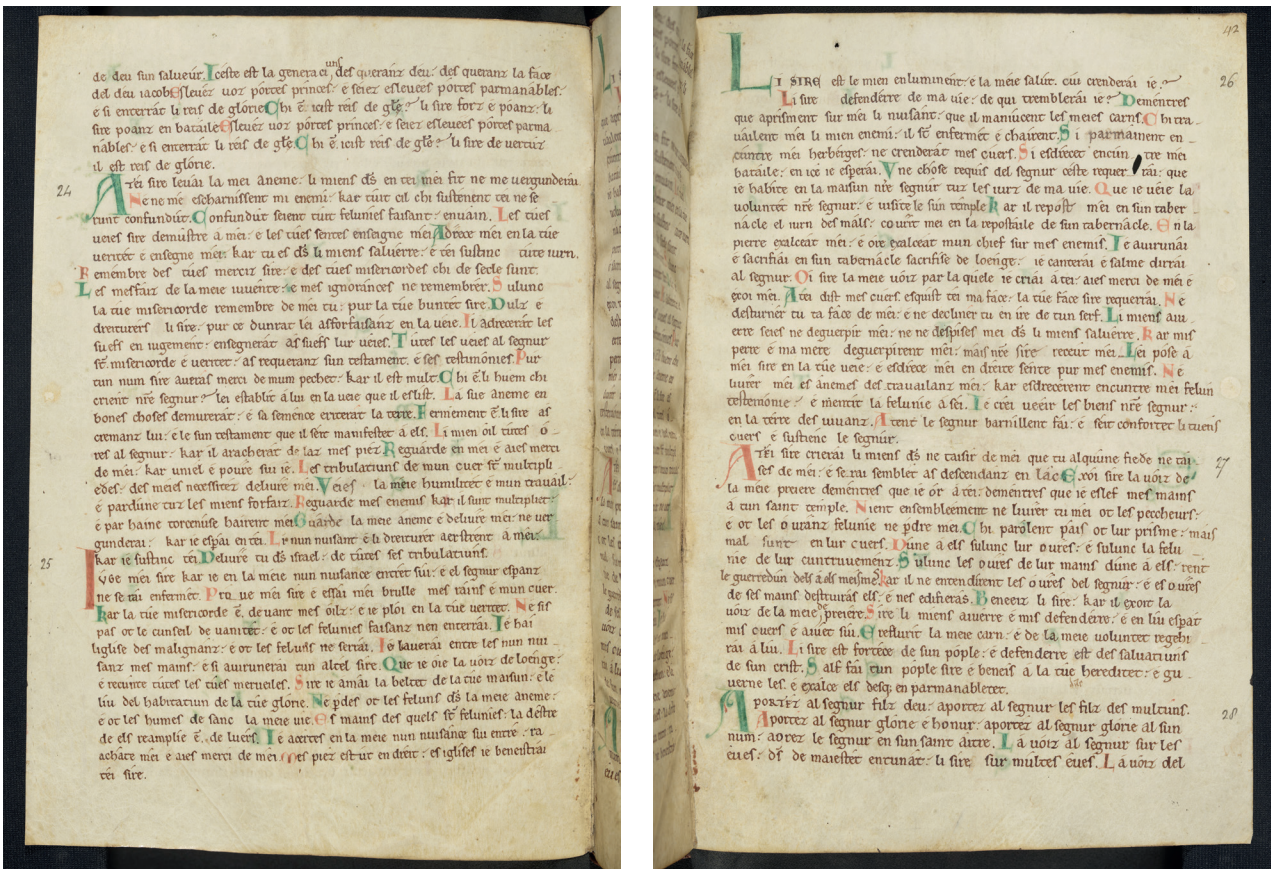
S[Ps 20:2]ire en ta uertu esleecerat li réis ⁝ é sur ta salut esleecerát fortmént · [Ps 20:3]Lé desidérie de sun cuer dunás á lúi ⁝ é de la uoluntet de ses leŭres né \de/ceús lúi · [Ps 20:4]Kar tul deuancís en beneiceuns de dulceúr ⁝ posas en sún cief curúne de perre preciúse · [Ps 20:5]Víe requíst de téi é tu li dunás ⁝ lungur de iurz en secle é en secle de secle · [Ps 20:6]Gránde est · sa glorie en tun saluáble ⁝ glorie é grant béltet emposerás sur lúi · [Ps 20:7]Kar tul durrás en beneiceun en sécle de sécle ⁝ túl esleeceras en góie ót tun uúlt · [Ps 20:8]Kar li réis espeiret el segnur ⁝ é en la misericorde del altísme · ne se rát commout · [Ps 20:9]Séit truuée la tú\e/ máin á trestúz tes enemís ⁝ la túe déstre trúisset tuz chi téi haírent · [Ps 20:10]Poseras icéls cume furn de fú el tens de tun uult ⁝ li sire en \la/ súe íre les conturberát ⁝ é sis deuúrerat fús · [Ps 20:11]Lé frut de els de terre perdrás ⁝ é la seménce de els des filz des húmes · [Ps 20:12]Kar declinérent en téi mál ⁝ purpensérent cunseilz les quels il ne pórent establír · [Ps 20:13]Kar tú poserás éls dós ⁝ en tes remasílles tu apareilerás le uult de els · [Ps 20:14]Séies exalcét síre en ta uertú ⁝ nus canterums é recunterúns lés túes uertúz ·

D[Ps 21:2]*eus* li miens d*eus* reguárde méi ⁝ pur quéi me deguerpís ? luińz de ma salut s*unt* · les paróles de mes forfáiz · [Ps 21:3]Lí miens d*eus* ié crierái par iurn é tu nel orrás ⁝ é par núit · é nient á folíe á méi · [Ps 21:4]Tú acértes en sáint habítes ⁝ loénge de israel · [Ps 21:5]Eń tei esp*er*érent li n*ostr*e pérre ⁝ esp*er*érent e sis deliŭras · [Ps 21:6]A téi criérent é salf s*unt* fáit ⁝ en téi esp*er*érent é ne sunt confús · [Ps 21:7]Ié acértes súi ueŕm é nient húem ⁝ reprúce de húmes é de_getement de póple · [Ps 21:8]Trestúit lí ueant méi escharnírent méi ⁝ parlérent par lur leŭres é méurent lúr chiéf · [Ps 21:9]Il esp*er*át el segnúr delíuret lúi ⁝ salf le fácet ⁝ kar il uult lúi · [Ps 21:10]Kar tu és chi estraisís méi dél
f. 41r uéntre ⁝ la méie esp*er*ánce des maméles ma mére ⁝ [Ps 21:11]en téi súi [f. 41r] ietét de uéntre · Del ueńtre ma mére li miens d*eus* es tú ⁝ [Ps 21:12]ne deseŭrer de méi · Kár tribulatiun e*st* prucéine ⁝ kar nen e*st* · chi aiút · [Ps 21:13]Auirunérent méi mult ueél ⁝ crás tór p*ur*sístrent méi · [Ps 21:14]Ao ŭrirent sur méi lur búche ⁝ si cum leońs rauissańz é ruiánz · [Ps 21:15]Sí cum éue espandút súi ⁝ é esparpeilét s*unt* túit lí mien ós · Fáiz est mes cuérs ensement cu*m* círe remetańz ⁝ el millíu de mun uéntre · [Ps 21:16]Asseccát sicume test la meie uertú ⁝ é la meie langue aerst á mes ióes ⁝ é en púldre de mort demenás méi · [Ps 21:17]Kar auirunérent méi mult chien ⁝ concilie de malignanz pursíst mei · Foírent mes máins é mes piez ⁝ [Ps 21:18]denumbrérent tuz mes ós · Íl acértes esguarderent é uirent méi ⁝ [Ps 21:19]departírent á séi mes uestemeńz ⁝ é sur men uestement místrent sort · [Ps 21:20]Tú acértes síre ne esluignerás tá aiúe de méi ⁝ á la méie defensiún guárde · [Ps 21:21]Delíŭre de espée d*eus* la meie áneme ⁝ é de la main de chien la meie uniéle · [Ps 21:22]Sálue méi de la búche del león ⁝ é des córnes dés unicórnes lá meie humilité · [Ps 21:23]Ié recunterái tun num á mes fréres ⁝ el millíu de iglíse loerái téi · [Ps 21:24]Chi creméz le segnúr loéz lúi ⁝ túte la seménce de iacob glorifiéz lúi · [Ps 21:25]Criémet lúi túte la seménce israel ⁝ kar il ne despíst ne desdeignat la preiere de poŭre · E ne desturnát sa fáce de méi ⁝ é cu*m* ie criówe a lúi oít méi · [Ps 21:26]Enŭers téi la meie loeńge en grán iglíse ⁝ les miéns uuz renderái en le esguardement des cremanz lúi · [Ps 21:27]Mangeruńt li poŭre é se_ruńt saúlet ⁝ é loeruńt le segnur chi lúi requérent ⁝ uiueruńt les cúers de els en sécle de sécle · [Ps 21:28]Rememberrúnt é se_runt conuertíes al segnur ⁝ túte les cuntŕees dé térre · E aórerunt en le esguardemeńt de lúi ⁝ túte les maignées des génz · [Ps 21:29]Kar del segnur e*st* · le régnes ⁝ é il meésme seignurerát sur les geńz · [Ps 21:30]M\angérent/ é aórérent túit li crás dé la térre ⁝ en le esguardement de lúi charrunt túit chi descéndent en terre · [Ps 21:31]E la meie áneme á lui uiŭrat ⁝ é la meie seménce seruirát á lúi · [Ps 21:32]Annuncée íert al segnur la lignée chi a uenír est ⁝ é annuncerúnt li ciél la súe iustíse ⁝ al póple chi naisterát le quel fist li síre ·

L[Ps 22:1]í sire guuérne méi · é núle chóse ne desíert a mei ⁝ [Ps 22:2]en lúi de pastúre ilúec méi aluát · Sur le éue de refectiun nurrít méi ⁝ [Ps 22:3]ma áneme conuertít · Demenát méi sur les séntes de iustíse ⁝ pur sun núm · [Ps 22:4]Kar ia séit cé que ié irái el millíu del umbre de mórt ne crienderái mals kar tu es ot méi · Lá túe uérge é li tuns bastúns ⁝ els méi confortérent · [Ps 22:5]Tú apareilás el mien esguardement táble ⁝ encúntre icels chi trauáilent méi · Tú encraissás eń ólie mun \chéf :/ é li miens calíces eniurańz mult clérs est · [Ps 22:6]E la túe misericorde siwerat méi ⁝ tuz les iurz de ma uíe · E que ié habíte en la maisun del segnur ⁝ en lungur de iurz ·

A[Ps 23:1]l segnur e*st* la térre é la plentét de li ⁝ li cércle des terres é túit chi habítent en lúi · [Ps 23:2]Kar íl sur les mérs fundát lúi ⁝ é sur les flúmes le apareilát · [Ps 23:3]Lí quels munterát el munt de n*ostr*e segnur ⁝ ú li quels esterát el saint líu de lúi ? [Ps 23:4]Lí nun nuisańz par máins é net de cuer ⁝ chi ne recéut en uain la sue áneme ⁝ é ne iurát en tricherie á sun pr_isme · [Ps 23:5]Icíst receuerát benei céun de n*ostr*e segnúr ⁝ e misericórde
f. 41v [f. 41v] de deu sun salueúr · [Ps 23:6]Icéste est la generaci\uns/ des querańz déu ⁝ des queranz la fáce del déu iacob · [Ps 23:7]Esleuéz uoz pórtes prínces ⁝ é séiez esleuéés pórtes parmanábles ⁝ é si enterrát li reis de glórie · [Ps 23:8]Chi e*st* · icist réis de gl*ori*ę ? li sire forz é póanz ⁝ li sire poanz en batáile · [Ps 23:9]Esleuéz uoz pórtes prínces ⁝ é seiez esleuéés pórtes parmanábles ⁝ é si enterrát li réis de gl*ori*ę · [Ps 23:10]Chi e*st* · icist réis de gl*ori*e ? li sire de uertúz il est reis de glórie ·

A[Ps 24:1] Téi sire leuái la mei aneme ⁝ [Ps 24:2]li miens d*eus* en tei méi fit ne me uergunderái · [Ps 24:3]Né ne mé escharníssent mi enemí ⁝ kar túit cil chi susténent téi ne serunt confundút · [Ps 24:4]Confundút seient túit feluníes faisant ⁝ enuáin · Les túes ueies sire demústre á méi ⁝ é les túes sentes enseigne méi · [Ps 24:5]Adŕece méi en la túe ueritét é ensegne méi ⁝ kar tu es d*eus* li miens saluérre ⁝ é téi sustinc túte iurn · [Ps 24:6]Remémbre des túes merciz síre ⁝ é des túes misericordes chi de secle sunt · [Ps 24:7]Les mesfáiz de la meie iuuénte ⁝ é mes ignoránces ne remembrér · Sulunc la túe misericorde remembre de méi tu ⁝ pur la túe buntét sire · [Ps 24:8]Dulz é dreiturérs li síre ⁝ pur cé dunrat léi as forfaisańz en la uéie · [Ps 24:9]Íl adrecerát les suefs en iugemeńt ⁝ ensegnerát ás suéfs lur uéies · [Ps 24:10]Tútes les uéies al segnur s*unt* · misericorde é ueritet ⁝ as requeranz sun testament · é ses testimónies · [Ps 24:11]Púr tun num síre auerás merci de mum pechet ⁝ kar il est mult · [Ps 24:12]Chi e*st* · li húem chi crieńt n*ostr*e segnur ? lei establít á lui en la ueie que il eslíst · [Ps 24:13]Lá sue aneme en bones choses demurerát ⁝ é sa seménce eriterát la terre · [Ps 24:14]Fermement e*st* · li sire ás cremanz lui ⁝ é le sun testament que il séit manifestet á els · [Ps 24:15]Lí mien óil tútes óres al segnur ⁝ kar íl aracherát de laz mes piéz · [Ps 24:16]Reguárde en méi é aies merci de



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méi ⁝ kar uniél e poŭre sui ié · [Ps 24:17]Les tribulatiuns de mun cuer sunt multiplieões ⁝ des méies necéssitéz deliŭre méi · [Ps 24:18]Véies la méie humilitét é mun trauáil ⁝ é pardúne tuz les miens forfaiz · [Ps 24:19]Reguarde mes enemis kar íl sunt multipliet ⁝ é par haíne torcenúse haírent méi · [Ps 24:20]Guárde la meie áneme e deliŭre méi ⁝ ne uergunderai ⁝ kar ié esperái en téi · [Ps 24:21]Lí nun nuisant é li dreiturér aerstrént á méi ⁝ kar ié sustinc téi · [Ps 24:22]Deliŭre tu deus israel ⁝ de tútes ses tribulatiuńs ·

I[Ps 25:1]Vge méi síre kar ie en la méie nun nuisance entrét súi ⁝ é el segnur esperanz ne serái enfermét · [Ps 25:2]Pró_ue méi síre é essái méi brulle mes ráins é mun cúer · [Ps 25:3]Kar la túe misericorde est · de uant mes óilz ⁝ é ie plói en la túe ueritet · [Ps 25:4]Né sis pas ot le cunseil de uanitét ⁝ é ot les feluníes faisanz nen enterrái · [Ps 25:5]Ié haí liglíse des malignánz ⁝ é ot les feluns ne serrái · [Ps 25:6]Ié lauerái entre les nun nuisanz mes mains ⁝ é si auirunerái tun altél síre · [Ps 25:7]Que ié óie la uóiz de loénge ⁝ é recúnte tútes les túes merueiles · [Ps 25:8]Sire ie ámái la beltet de la túe maisun ⁝ é lé líu del habitatiun de la túe glórie · [Ps 25:9]Né perdes ot les feluns deus la meie aneme ⁝ é ot les humes de sanc la meie uíe · [Ps 25:10]Es mains des quels sunt feluníes ⁝ la déstre de els reamplíe est · de luérs · [Ps 25:11]Ié acértes en la meie nun nuisánce sui entré ⁝ raacháte méi é aies mercí de méi · [Ps 25:12]Mes piéz estút en dréit ⁝ es iglíses ié beneistrái téi síre ·

L[f. 42r][Ps 26:1]Í SIRE est le mien enluminent ⁝ é la méie salút · cúi crenderái ié ? Lí sire defendérre de ma f. 42r
uíe ⁝ de qui tremblerái ié ? [Ps 26:2]Deméntres que aprísment sur méi li nuisánt ⁝ que il maniúcent les meies carns · Chi trauáilent méi li mien enemí ⁝ il sunt enfermét é chaírent · [Ps 26:3]Si parmáinent encúntre méi herbérges ⁝ ne crenderát mes cúers · Sí esdrécet encúntre méi batáile ⁝ en icé ie esperérai · [Ps 26:4]Vne chóse requís del segnur céste requerrái ⁝ que ié habíte en la maisun nostre segnúr tuz les iurz de ma uíe · Que ie uéie la uoluntét nostre segnur ⁝ é uisíte le sún témple [Ps 26:5]Kar il repóst méi en sun tabernácle el iurn des máls ⁝ co urít mei en la repostáile de sun tabernácle · [Ps 26:6]Eń la pierre exalceát méi ⁝ é óre exalcéat mun chief sur mes enemís · Ié auirunái é sacrifiái en sun tabernácle sacrifíse de loenge ⁝ ié canterái é salme dirrái al segnur · [Ps 26:7]Ói sire la meie uóiz par la qúele ié criái á tei ⁝ aies merci de méi é éxoi méi · [Ps 26:8]A téi dist mes cuérs · esquíst téi ma fáce ⁝ la túe fáce sire requerrái · [Ps 26:9]Né desturnér tu ta fáce de méi ⁝ é ne declinér tu en íre de tun serf · Lí miens aiuerre seies ne deguerpír méi ⁝ ne ne despíses mei deus li miens saluérre · [Ps 26:10]Kar mis perre é ma mere deguerpírent méi ⁝ máis nostre

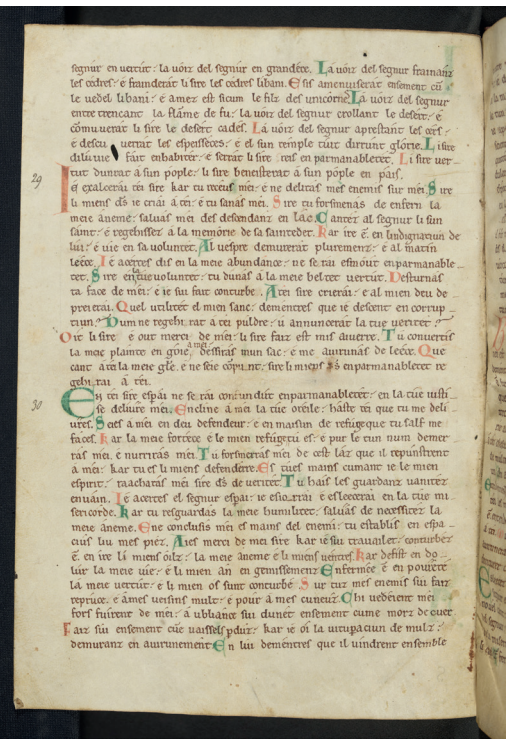
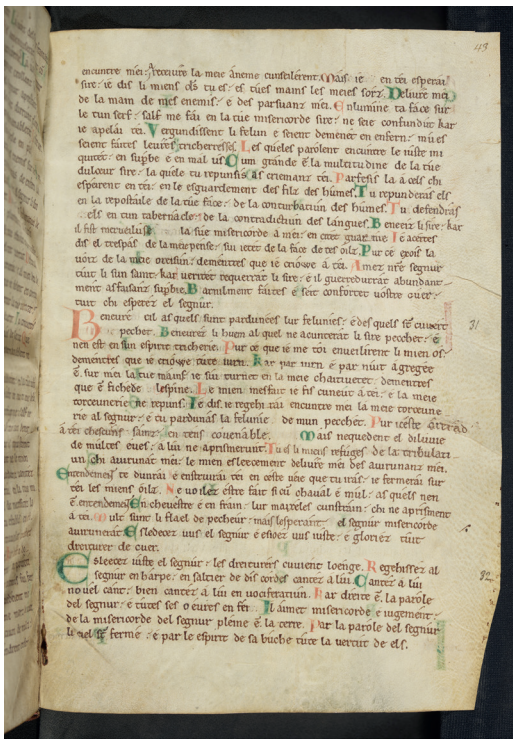
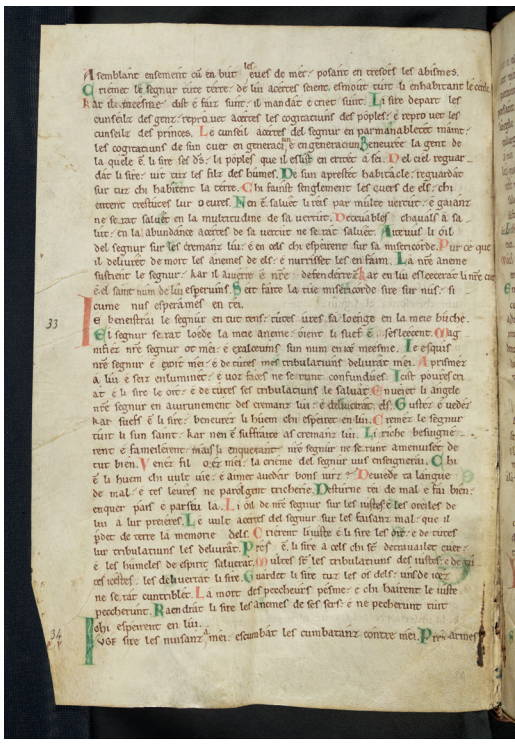
síre receút méi · Ps 26:11Léi póse á méi sire en la túe ueie ⁝ é esdŕece méi en dréite sénte pur mes enemís · Ps 26:12Né liŭrer méi es ánemes des _trauailanz méi ⁝ kar esdrecérent encuntre méi felún testemónie ⁝ é mentít la feluníe á séi · Ps 26:13Ié créi ueéir les biens nostre segnur ⁝· en la térre des uiuanz · Ps 26:14Atent le segnur barníllent fái ⁝ é séit confortet li t\ueńs/ cuers é sustieńc le segnúr ·

A Ps 27:1 TÉi síre crierái li miens deus ne taisír de méi que tu alquúne fieðe ne táises de méi ⁝ é se_rai semblét as descendánz en lác · Ps 27:2Exói síre la uóiz de la méie preiere deméntres que ié ór á téi ⁝ deméntres que ié eslef mes mains á tun saint temple · Ps 27:3Nient ensembleément ne liŭrer tu méi ot les peccheúrs ⁝ é ot les óŭranz feluníe ne perdre méi · Chi parólent páis ot lur prísme ⁝ \máis/ mal sunt en lur cuers · Ps 27:4Dúne á els sulunc lur oŭres ⁝ é sulunc la feluníe de lur cuntruueménz · Sulunc les oŭres de lur mains dúne á els ⁝ reńt le guerredún dels á els méisme\s/ · Ps 27:5Kar il ne entendírent les óŭres del segnúr ⁝ é es oŭres de ses mains destruirás els ⁝ é nes edifierás · Ps 27:6Beneeiz li síre ⁝ kar il exoit la uóiz de la meie \de/preiére · Ps 27:7Síre li míens aiuérre é mis defendérre ⁝ é en lúi esperát mis cuers é aiuét suí · E reflurít la meie carn ⁝ é de la meie uoluntet regehirái á lúi · Ps 27:8Lí sire est fortéce de sun póple ⁝ e defendérre est des saluatiuńs de sun crist · Ps 27:9Salf fái tun póple sire é beneís á la túe hereditet ⁝ é guuerne les · é exálce els desque en parmanabletet ·

A Ps 28:1PORTÉZ al segnur filz deu ⁝ aportez al segnur les filz des multúns · Ps 28:2Aportéz al segnur glórie é honur ⁝ aportéz al segnur glórie al sun num ⁝ aorez le segnur en sun saint áitre · Ps 28:3Lá uóiz al segnur
f. 42v sur les éues ⁝ deus de maiestét entunát ⁝ li síre sur múltes éues · Ps 28:4Lá uóiz del f. 42v segnúr en uertút ⁝ la uóiz del segnúr en grandéce · Ps 28:5Lá uóiz del segnur frainańz les cédres ⁝ é frainderát lí sire les cédres líbani · Ps 28:6E sis amenuiserát ensement cum le ueðel libaní ⁝ é amez est sicum le filz des unicórne\s/ · Ps 28:7Lá uóiz del segnur entre trencant la flamme de fu ⁝ Ps 28:8la uóiz del segnur crollant le desért ⁝ é commuuerát li síre le desért cadés · Ps 28:9Lá uóiz del segnur aprestańt les cérs ⁝ é descuuerrát les espeisséces ⁝ é el sun témple túit dirrúnt glórie · Ps 28:10Lí sire dilúuie fáit enhabitér ⁝ é serrát li síre reis en parmanabletét · Ps 28:11Lí sire uertut dunrat á sun póple ⁝ li sire beneisterat á sun póple en páis ·

I Ps 29:2É exalcerái téi sire kar tu recéus méi ⁝ é ne délitás mes enemís sur méi · Ps 29:3Sire li miens deus ie criái á téi ⁝ é tu sanás méi · Ps 29:4Sire tu forsmenás de enfern la meie áneme ⁝ saluás méi des descendańz en lác · Ps 29:5Cantéz al segnur li sun sáint ⁝ é regehissez á la memórie de sa sainteðet · Ps 29:6Kar íre est · en lindignatiún de lúi ⁝ é uíe en sa uoluntét · Al uéspre demurerát plurementz ⁝ é al matín lééce · Ps 29:7Ié acértes dis en la meie abundánce ⁝ ne se_rái esmoút en parmanabletet · Ps 29:8Sire én \la/ túe uoluntét ⁝ tu dunás á la meie beltet uertút · Desturnás ta face de méi ⁝ é ié sui fait conturbe · Ps 29:9A téi sire crierái ⁝ e al mien deu depreierái · Ps 29:10Quel utilitét el mien sanc ⁝ deméntres que ié descent en corruptiun ? Dum ne regehi_rát á téi púldre ⁝ ú annuncerát la tue uerité ? Ps 29:11Oít li síre é out merci de méi ⁝ li sire faiz est mis aiuerre · Ps 29:12Tú conuertís la meie plainte en góie \á méi :/ dessirás mun sac ⁝ e me auirunás de leéce · Ps 29:13Qué cant á téi la meie glorie · é ne séie compu_nt ⁝ sire li miens [d]eus enparmanabletet regehi_rai á téi ·

E Ps 30:2Ń téi síre esperái ne se_rái confundút en parmanabletét ⁝ en la túe iustíse delíŭre méi · Ps 30:3Enclíne á méi la túe oréile ⁝ háste téi que tu me delíŭres · Seies á méi en deu defendeur ⁝ é en maisun de refú\ge/ que tu salf me fáces · Ps 30:4Kar la meie fortéce é le mien refú\ge/ tú es ⁝ é pur le tun num demerrás méi · e nurrirás méi · Ps 30:5Tú forsmerrás méi de cest láz que il repúnstrent á méi ⁝ kar tu es li miens defendérre · Ps 30:6Es túes mains cumant ie le mien espirit ⁝ raachatás méi síre deus de uerité · Ps 30:7Tu haís les guardanz uanitéz en uáin · Ié acertes el segnur esperai ⁝ Ps 30:8ie esio_rrái é esleecerái en la túe misericórde · Kar tu resguardás la meie humilitet ⁝ salŭas de necessitéz la meie áneme · Ps 30:9E ne conclusís méi es mains del enemí ⁝ tu establís en espaciús liu mes piéz · Ps 30:10Aies merci de mei síre kar ié sui trauailet ⁝ conturbéz est · en íre lí miens óilz ⁝ la meie áneme é li miéns uéntres · Ps 30:11Kar defíst en dolúr la meie uíe ⁝ é li mien án en gemissemenz · Enfermée est en poŭreté lá meie uertút ⁝ é li mien ós sunt conturbé · Ps 30:12Sur tuz més enemís súi faiz reprúce · é ámes ueisins mult ⁝ é poúr á mes cuneúz · Chi ueðéient méi fors fuírent de méi ⁝ Ps 30:13á ubliańce sui dunét ensement cume morz de cuer · Faiz súi ensement cume uaissels perdúz ⁝ Ps 30:14kar ié oí la uituperaciun de mulz ⁝ demuranz en auirunemént ·
f. 43r En lúi deméntres que il uíndrent ensemble f. 43r encuntre méi ⁝ \a/ receiŭre la meie áneme cunseilérent · Ps 30:15Máis ié en téi esperái sire ⁝ ié dis lí miens deus tu es ⁝ Ps 30:16es túes mains les meies sorz · Delíŭre méi de la main de mes enemís ⁝ é des parsuanz méi · Ps 30:17Enlumíne ta fáce sur le tun serf ⁝ salf me fái en la túe misericorde sire ⁝ Ps 30:18ne seie confundút kar ie apelái téi · Vergundíssent li felun é seient demenét en enfern ⁝ Ps 30:19múes seient fáites leŭres tricherrésses · Les qúeles parólent encúntre le iúste iniquitét ⁝ en superbe é en mál ús · Ps 30:20Cum gránde est · la multitudine de la túe dulceur sire ⁝ la quéle tu repunsís as criemanz téi · Parfesís la á cels chi espéirent en téi ⁝ en le esguardement des filz des húmes · Ps 30:21Tu repunderás els en la repostáile de la túe

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fáce ⁊ de la conturbatiún des húmes · Tu defendrás éls en tun tabernácle ⁊ de la contradictiún des lángues · Ps 30:22Beneeíz li síre ⁊ kár il fist merueilúse la súe misericórde á méi ⁊ en citét guar_níe · Ps 30:23Ié acértes dis el trespás de la méie pénse ⁊ sui ietét de la fáce de tes óilz · Pur cé exoís la uoiz de la meie oreisún ⁊ deméntres que ié criówe á téi · Ps 30:24Amez nostre segnur túit li sun saint ⁊ kar uerité requerrát li sire ⁊ é il guerredurrát abundantmeńt as faisańz superbie · Ps 30:25Barnilment fáites é séit confórtet uóstre cúer ⁊ tuit chi esperéz el segnúr ·

Ps 31:1Beneuré cil as quels sunt pardunées lur feluníes ⁊ é des quels sunt cuuért pechet · Ps 31:2Beneuréz li huem al quel ne acunterát li sire pecchet ⁊ é nen est en sun espirit tricherie · Ps 31:3Pur cé que ié me tói enueilírent li mien ós ⁊ deméntres que ié criówe túte iurn · Ps 31:4Kar par iurn é par núit ágregée est · sur méi la tue máin\s/ ⁊ ie súi turnet en la meie chaitiuetet ⁊ dementres que est fichéde lespíne · Ps 31:5Le mien mesfait ié fis cuneút á téi ⁊ é la meie torceunerie ne repuns · Ié dis · ie regehi_rái encuntre méi lá meie torceunerie al segnur ⁊ é tu pardunás la feluníe de mun pecchét · Ps 31:6Pur icéste órerád á téi chescúns sáinz en téns cóuenáble · Máis nequedent el dilúuie de multes éues ⁊ á lúi ne áprismeruńt · Ps 31:7Tú és lí miens refúges de la tribulatiun chi aouirunát méi ⁊ le mien esleecement deliüre méi des auirunanz méi · Ps 31:8Entendement té dunrái é enstruirái téi en céste uéie que tu irás ⁊ ie fermerái sur téi les miens óilz · Ps 31:9Ne uoilez éstre fáit si cum chauál é múl ⁊ as quéls nen est · entendement · Eń cheuéstre é en fráin ⁊ lur maixéles cunstráin ⁊ chi ne aprísment á téi · Ps 31:10Mult sunt li flael de pecheúr ⁊ máis lesperánt el segnúr misericórde auirunerát · Ps 31:11Esledecez uus el segnúr é esioéz uus iúste ⁊ é gloriéz túit dreiturer de cuer ·

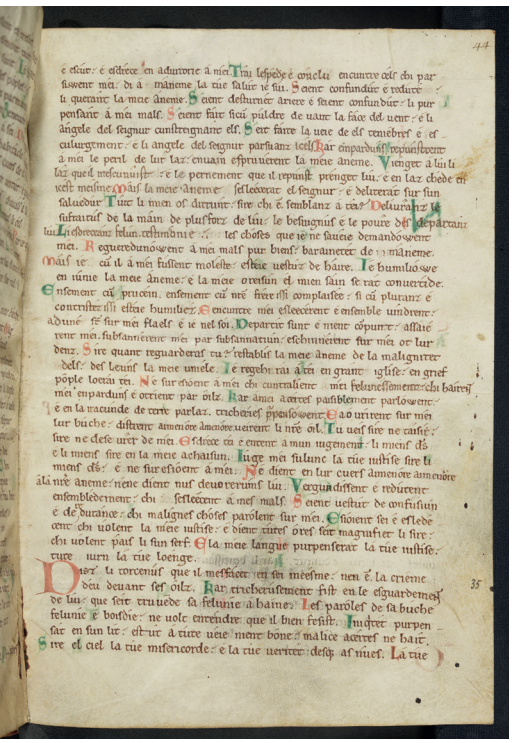
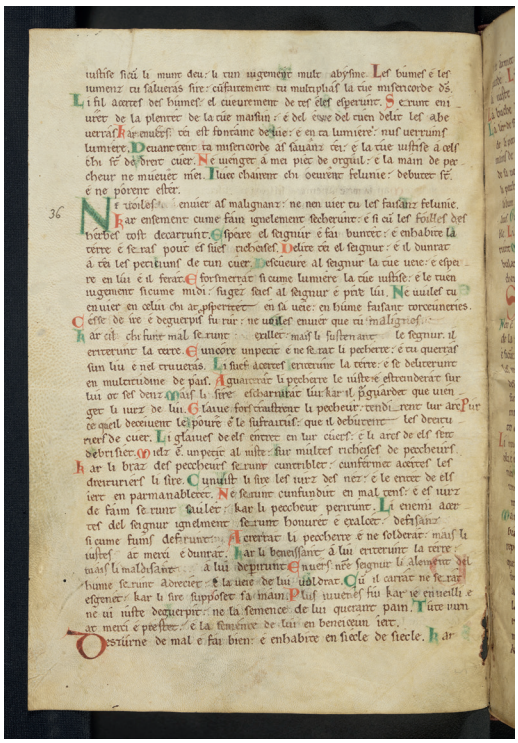
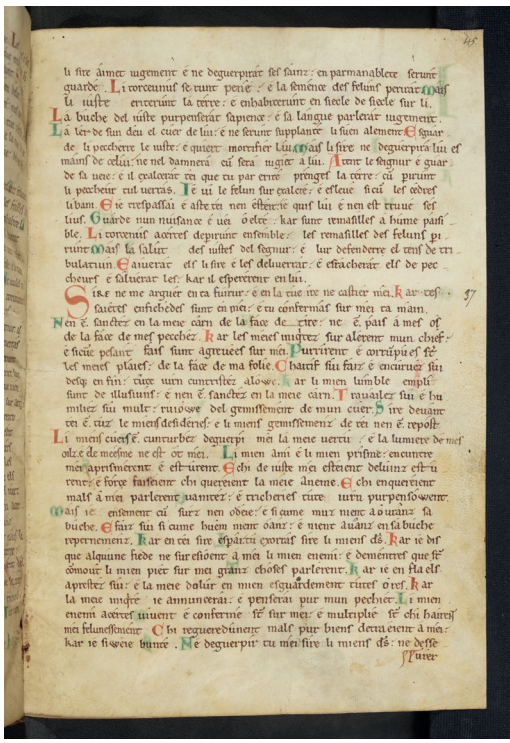
Ps 32:1SLeecez iúste el segnúr ⁊ les dreiturérs cuuiént loénge · Ps 32:2Regehisséz al segnúr en hárpe ⁊ en saltier de dís córdes cantéz á lúi · Ps 32:3Cantéz á lúi nouél cánt ⁊ bien cantéz á lúi en uociferatiún · Ps 32:4Kar dréite est · la paróle del segnur ⁊ é túte ses oéures en féi · Ps 32:5Íl aímet misericorde é iugemént ⁊ de la misericorde del segnur pléine est · la terre · Ps 32:6Par la paróle del segnúr li ciel sunt fermé ⁊ e par le espirit de sa búche túte la uertút de els · f. 43v Ps 32:7Asemblánt ensemeńt cum en bút \les/ éues de mér ⁊ posańt en tresórs les abísmes · Ps 32:8Criémet le segnur túte térre ⁊ de lúi acértes seient esmoút túit li enhabilant \lé cércle ·/ Ps 32:9Kar íl meésme dist é fáiz sunt ⁊ il mandát é criet súnt · Ps 32:10Lí sire depart les cunséilz des genz ⁊ repró_uet acértes les cogitatiúns des póples ⁊ é reprouet les cunseilz des prínces · Ps 32:11Lé cunséil ácértes del segnur en parmanabletét máint ⁊ les cogitatiuns de sun cuer en generaci\un/ é en generaciun · Ps 32:12Beneurée la gent de la qúele est · li sire ses deus ⁊ li póples que il eslíst en erité á séi · Ps 32:13Del ciél reguardát li síre ⁊ uít tuz les filz des húmes · Ps 32:14Dé sun aprestét habitácle ⁊ reguardát sur tuz chi habítent la térre · Ps 32:15Chi faińst senglement les cuers de els ⁊ chi entent trestútes

lur oeures · Ps 32:16Nen est · salũet li réis par múlte uertút ⁝ é gaiánz ne se_rat salũet en la multitudine de sa uertút · Ps 32:17Deceuábles chauáls á salút ⁝ en la abundánce acértes de sa uertút ne se rát salũet · Ps 32:18Aite uús li óil del segnur sur les cremańz lúi ⁝ é en cels chi espéirent sur sa misericórde · Ps 32:19Pur \cé que/ il delíũret de mort les ánemes de els ⁝ é nurrísset les en fáim · Ps 32:20Lá nostre aneme sustieńt le segnur ⁝ kar il aiuérre é nostre defendérre · est Ps 32:21Kar en lúi esleecerát \lí nostre cuér/ é el saínt núm de lúi espererums · Ps 32:22Séit fáite la túe misericórde sire sur nús ⁝ sicume nus esperámes en téi ·

IPs 33:2É beneistrái le segnúr en tut tens ⁝ túres úres sá loénge en la meie búche · Ps 33:3Él segnur se_rat loéðe la meie aneme ⁝ óient li suef é sesleécent · Ps 33:4Magnifiéz nostre segnur ot méi ⁝ é exalceúms sun num en icé meésme · Ps 33:5Ié esquís nostre segnúr é exoít méi ⁝ é de túres mes tribulatiúns deliũrat méi · Ps 33:6Aprisméz á lúi é seiz enluminét ⁝ é uoz fáces ne se runt confundúes · Ps 33:7Icíst póũres criát é li sire le oít ⁝ é de túres ses tribulatiuns le salũat · Ps 33:8Enuéiet li ángele nostre segnur en auirunemeńt des cremanz lúi ⁝ e deliuerrát els · Ps 33:9Gustéz é uedéz kar suefs est li síre ⁝ beneuréz li húem chi espéiret en lúi · Ps 33:10Creméz le segnur túit li sun saínt ⁝ kar nen est · suffráite as cremańz lúi · Ps 33:11Lí ríche besuignérent é fameilérent ⁝ máis li enquerańt nóstre segnúr ne se ruńt amenuisét de tut bién · Ps 33:12Venéz fil o_éz méi ⁝ la criéme del segnúr uus enseignerái · Ps 33:13Chi est li huem chi uult uíe ⁝ é aímet auedéir bons iúrz ? Ps 33:14Deuiéðe ta lángue de mal ⁝ e tes léũres ne parólgent tricheríe · Ps 33:15Destúrne téi de mal é fái bién ⁝ enquer páis é parféu lá · Ps 33:16Lí óil de nostre segnur sur les iústes ⁝ é les oréiles de lui á lur preiéres · Ps 33:17Lé uult acértes del segnur sur les faisanz mal ⁝ que il perdet de terre lá memorie dels · Ps 33:18Criérent lí iúste é li sire les oít ⁝ e de túres lur tribulatiuns les deliũrat · Ps 33:19Prés est · li sire á cels chi sunt de trauailet cúer ⁝ é les húmeles de espirit saluerát · Ps 33:20Múltes sunt les tribulatiuns des iústes ⁝ e de \tú/tes icéstes les deliuerrát li síre · Ps 33:21Guárdet li síre tuz les ós dels ⁝ úns de icéz ne se_rát cuntriblét · Ps 33:22Lá mort des peccheúrs pésme ⁝ é chi haírent le iúste peccherúnt · Ps 33:23Raendrát li sire les anemes de ses sers ⁝ e ne pecherunt túit chi espéirent en lúi ·

f. 44r IPs 34:1ÚGE sire les nuisańz \á/ méi ⁝ escumbát les cumbatańz cóntre méi · Ps 34:2Prén ármes f. 44r é escút ⁝ e esdŕece en adiutorie á méi · Ps 34:3Trái lespéde é cónclu encuntre céls chi parsiwent méi ⁝ di á máneme la túe salút ié súi · Ps 34:4Seient confundút é reduté ⁝ li querańt la meie áneme · Séient desturnét ariere é seient confundút ⁝ li purpensańt á méi mals · Ps 34:5Séient fáit sicum púldre de uant la fáce del uent ⁝ é li ańgele del seignur cunstreignańt els · Ps 34:6Séit fáite la ueie de els teniébres é esculurgement ⁝ é li angele del seignur parsuanz icéls · Ps 34:7Kár emparduńs repuństrent á méi le peril de lur laz ⁝ en uaín espruuérent lá méie aneme · Ps 34:8Viénget á lúi lí láz que íl mescunúist ⁝ é le pernement que il repúnst prénget lúi ⁝ é en laz chéde \en/ icést méisme · Ps 34:9Máis · la meie aneme sesleécerat el seignur ⁝ é deliterát sur sun saluédúr · Ps 34:10Túit li mien os dirruńt ⁝ sire chi est semblanz á téi ? Delíũrańz le sufraitús de la máin de plus forz de lúi ⁝ le besuignús é le poũre des de\partańz/ \lui ·/ Ps 34:11Lí esdreceánz felún · testimónie ⁝ les chóses que ié ne sauéie demandówent méi · Ps 34:12Regueredunówent á méi mals pur biens ⁝ barainetét de máneme · Ps 34:13Máis ié cum il á méi fússent moléste ⁝ estéie uestúz de haíre · Ié humiliówe en iúnie la meie áneme ⁝ é la méie oreisún él mien sáin se rát conuertíde · Ps 34:14Ensement cum prucéin · ensement cum nostre frére issí complaisée ⁝ si cum pluranz é contristéz issí estéie humiliéz · Ps 34:15E encuntre méi esleecérent é ensemble uíndrent ⁝ \a/duné sunt sur méi flaels é ié nel sói · Ps 34:16Departít sunt é nient compun_t ⁝ assaié rent méi · subsannérent méi par subsannatiún ⁝ eschinnérent sur méi ot lur denz · Ps 34:17Síre quant reguarderas tu ? restablís la meie aneme de la malignitet déls ⁝ des leúns la meie uniéle · Ps 34:18Ié regehi_rái á téi en gránt iglíse ⁝ en grief póple loerái téi · Ps 34:19Né sur esióent á méi chi cuntralíent méi felunéssement ⁝ chi \haírent/ méi en pardúns é otríent par óilz · Ps 34:20Kar á méi acértes paisiblement parlówent ⁝ é en la iracúnde de terre parlaz · tricheríes purpensówent · Ps 34:21E aóurírent sur méi lur búche ⁝ dístrent aimenóre amenóre · ueírent li nostre óil · Ps 34:22Tú ueís síre ne táisír ⁝ sire ne dese ũrer de méi · Ps 34:23Esdŕece téi é entent á mun iugement ⁝ li miens deus é li miens sire en la meie achaisun · Ps 34:24Iúge méi sulunc lá túe iustíse sire li miens deus ⁝ é ne suresióent á méi · Ps 34:25Né díent en lur cuers aimenóre aim\enóre/ \á lá/ nostre aneme ⁝ néne díent nus deuorerúms lúi · Ps 34:26Vergundíssent é redútent ensemblédement ⁝ chi sesleécent á mes mals · Seient uestút de confusiún é de \re/dutánce ⁝ chi malígnes chóses parólent sur méi · Ps 34:27Esíoient sei é esledécent chi uólent la méie iustíse ⁝ é díent túres óres séit magnifiet li sire ⁝ chi uólent páis li sun serf · Ps 34:28E la méie lángue purpenserat lá túe iustíse ⁝ tute iurn lá túe loénge ·

DPs 35:2IST li torcenús que il mesfácet en sei meésme ⁝ nen é · la criéme déu deuant ses óilz · Ps 35:3Kar tricherúsement fist en le esguardement de lúi ⁝ que séit truuéde sa feluníe á haíne · Ps 35:4Les paróles de sa búche feluníe é boisdíe ⁝ ne uolt enténdre que il bien fesíst · Ps 35:5Iniquitét purpensát en sun lít ⁝ est_út á túte uéie nient bóne ⁝
f. 44v malíce acértes ne haít · Ps 35:6Sire el ciel la túe misericorde ⁝ é la túe ueritét desque as núes · Ps 35:7Lá túe f. 44v iustíse sicum lí munt deu ⁝ li tun iugemént mult abýsme · Les húmes é les iumenz tu sáluerás síre ⁝ Ps 35:8cumfaitement tu

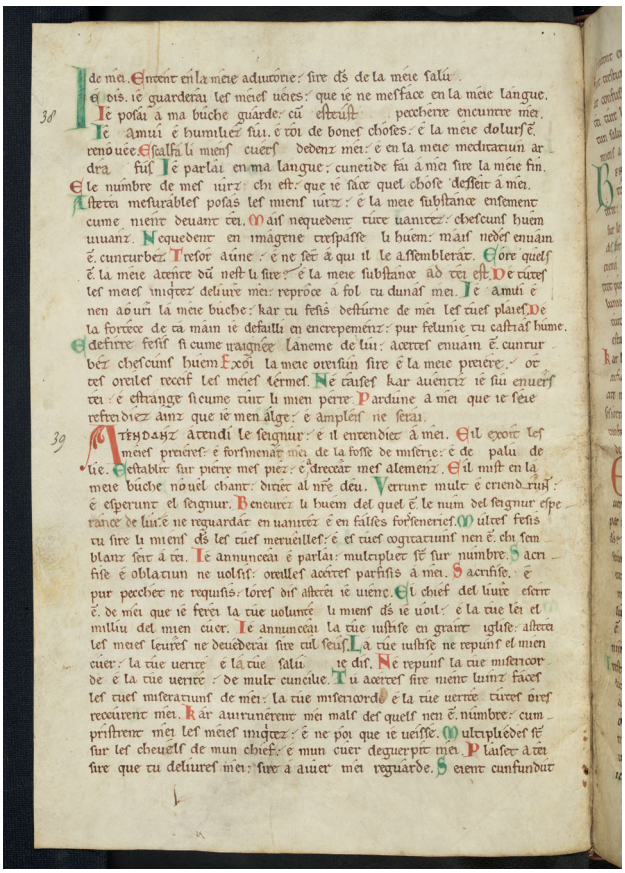




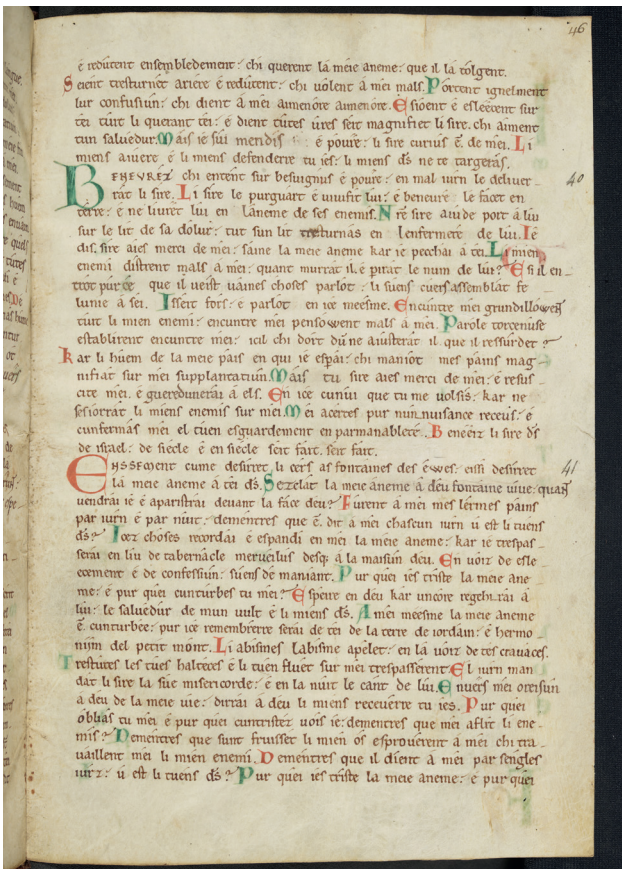
▲ *Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320, fol. 44r, 44v, and 45r.* Source: https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/
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multipliás lá túe misericorde d*eus* · Lí fil acertes des húmes ⁝ el cuéurement de tes éles esp*er*erúnt · [Ps 35:9]Se_runt eníŭret de la plentét de la túe maisún ⁝ é del éwe del túen delít les abeuerrás · [Ps 35:10]Kár enŭers téi est fontáine de uíe ⁝ é en ta lumiére ⁝ nus uerrúms lumiére · [Ps 35:11]Deuant teńt ta misericorde ás sáŭanz téi ⁝ é la túe iustíse á cels chi s*un*t de dreit cúer · [Ps 35:12]Ne uiénget á mei piét de orgúil ⁝ é la máin de peccheur ne múeŭet méi · [Ps 35:13]Ilúec chaírent chi óeŭrent feluníe ⁝ debutet s*un*t · é ne pórent estér ·

[Ps 36:1]NE uóiles enuíer as malignanz ⁝ ne nen uíer tu les faisanz feluníe · [Ps 36:2]Kar ensement cume fáin ignelement secherúnt ⁝ é si cu*m* les fóilles d\es/ hérbes tost decarruńt · [Ps 36:3]Espéire el seignúr é fái buntét ⁝ é enhabíte la térre é se_ras poút és súes richéises · [Ps 36:4]Delíte téi el seignur ⁝ é il dunrat á téi les peticiuns de tun cúer · [Ps 36:5]Descúeure al seignur la túe ueie ⁝ é espeire en lúi é il ferát · [Ps 36:6]E forsmerrát sicume lumiére la túe iustíse ⁝ é le tuén iugement sicume midí ⁝ [Ps 36:7]sugéz seies ál seignur é príe lúi · Né uóiles tu enuíer en celúi chi at p*ros*peritét én sá uéie ⁝ en húme faisant torceúneríes · [Ps 36:8]Césse de íre é deguerpís fu_rúr ⁝ ne uóiles enuíer que tú malígnes · [Ps 36:9]Kár cíl chi funt mál se_runt exillét ⁝ maís lí sustenant le segnur · íl eriterúnt la térre · [Ps 36:10]E uncóre un petít é ne se_rat lí pechérre ⁝ é tu querrás sun líu é nel truuerás · [Ps 36:11]Lí suéf acertes eriterúnt la térre ⁝ é se deliterúnt en multitúdine de páis · [Ps 36:12]Aguaiterát lí pechérre le iúste ⁝ é estreinderát sur luí ot ses denz · [Ps 36:13]Máis li síre escharnirát lúi ⁝ kar il p*ur*guárdet que uiénget li iúrz de lúi · [Ps 36:14]Gláiue fors t́raistent li pecheúr ⁝ tendí_rent lur aŕc · \Púr/ cé qúe il decéiuent le póŭre é le sufraitús ⁝ que il debútent_ les dreituriers de cúer · [Ps 36:15]Lí gláiues de els éntret en lur cúers ⁝ é li aŕcs de els séit debrisiét · [Ps 36:16]Mielz e*st* · un petít al iúste ⁝ sur múltes richéises de peccheúrs · [Ps 36:17]Kar li bráz des peccheúrs se_runt cuntriblet ⁝ cunférmet acértes les dreituriérs lí sire · [Ps 36:18]Cunuist li sire les iúrz des néz ⁝ e le eritét de els íert en parmanabletét · [Ps 36:19]Né se_rúnt cunfundút en mal tens ⁝ é es iúrz de fáim se_runt saúlét ⁝ [Ps 36:20]kar li peccheúr perirúnt · Lí enemí acertes del seignur ignelment se_runt honurét é exalcét ⁝ defisańz sicume fuńs defirúnt · [Ps 36:21]Acrerrát lí peccherre é ne solderát ⁝ máis \li/ iústes_át mercí é dunrát · [Ps 36:22]Kar lí beneissańt á luí eriterúnt la térre ⁝ máis lí maldisańt á luí dep*er*iruńt · [Ps 36:23]Enŭers nostre seignur lí alemént \del/ húme se_rúnt adrecíet ⁝ é la ueie de luí uoldrat · [Ps 36:24]Cu*m* il carrát ne se_rát esgenét ⁝ kar li sire suppóset sá máin · [Ps 36:25]Plus iuueńes fúi kar ié enueillí · é ne uí iúste deguerpít ⁝ ne lá semence de luí querant páin · [Ps 36:26]Túte iurn at mercí e préstet ⁝ é la seménce de luí en beneíceún íert ·

[Ps 36:27]DESTúrne de mal é fái bíen ⁝ é enhabíte en siécle de siécle · [Ps 36:28]Kár [f. 45r] li sire áimet iugement é ne [f. 45r]
deguerpirát ses sáinz ⁝ en parmanablete_ seruńt guardé_ · Lí torceunús se_runt pené ⁝ é la seménce des felúns perirát · [Ps 36:29]M\áis/ li iúste_eriterúnt lá térre ⁝ é enhabiteruńt en siecle de siecle sur lí · [Ps 36:30]Lá búche





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del iúste purpenserát sapience ⁝ é sa lángue parlerát iugement · [Ps 36:31]Lá léi de sun déu el cuér de lúi ⁝ é ne seruńt supplanté li súen alement · [Ps 36:32]Esguárde lí pecchérre le iuste ⁝ é quíert mortifiér lúi · [Ps 36:33]Máis li síre ne deguérpirá lúi \es/ maíns de celúi ⁝ ne nel damnerá cu*m* será iugiét a lúi · [Ps 36:34]Atent le seignur é guárde sa ueie ⁝ é il exalcerát téi que tu par erité prénges la térre ⁝ cu*m* p*er*irúnt li peccheúr tul uerrás · [Ps 36:35]Ié uí le felun sur exalcié ⁝ é esleué sicu*m* les cédres líbani · [Ps 36:36]E ié trespassái é astetéi nen éstéit ⁝ ié quis lúi é nen est truué sés líus · [Ps 36:37]Guárde nun nuísance é uéi óelté ⁝ kar sunt remasílles á húme páisíble · [Ps 36:38]Lí torcenús acértes dep*er*irúnt ensemble ⁝ les remasilles des feluns p*er*irúnt · [Ps 36:39]Máis lá salút des iústes del segnur ⁝ é lur defenderre el tens \de tri/bulatiún · [Ps 36:40]E aiúerát els li sire é les deliuerrát ⁝ é esrácherát els de peccheurs é sáluérat les ⁝ kar il esperérent en lúi ·

[Ps 37:2]SÍRE ne me arguér en ta fuírur ⁝ é en la túe íre ne castiér méi · [Ps 37:3]Kar tes saiétes enfichédes sunt én méi ⁝ é tu cónfermás sur méi ta máin · [Ps 37:4]Nen e*st* · sanctéz en la meie čarn de la fáce de__tíre ⁝ ne e*st* · páis á mes ós de la fáce de mes pecchéz · [Ps 37:5]Kar les méies iniq*ui*tez sur alérent mun chiéf ⁝ é sicu*me* pesańt fáis sunt agreuées sur méi · [Ps 37:6]Purrírent é corru*m*púes s*unt* les meies pláies ⁝ de la fáce de ma folíe · [Ps 37:7]Chaitíf súi fáiz é encúruéz súi desq*ue* en fín ⁝ túte iurn cuntristéz alówe · [Ps 37:8]Kar li mien lúmble emplí sunt de illusiuńs ⁝ é nen e*st* · sanctéz en la meie cárn · [Ps 37:9]Trauáilez súi é humiliéz súi mult ⁝ ruiówe del gemissemént de mun cúer · [Ps 37:10]Síre deuánt téi e*st* · túz le míens desidéries ⁝ é li miens gemissemeńz de téi nen e*st* · repóst · [Ps 37:11]Lí miéns cúers e*st* · cunturbéz deguerpí méi lá meie uertú ⁝ é la lumiere dé \més/ oílz · é éle meésme ne est ót méi · [Ps 37:12]Lí mien amí é li mien prísme ⁝ encuntre méi aprismérent é est_úrent · E chí de iúste méi estéient delúinz est_úrent ⁝ é fórce faiséient chi queréient la méie áneme · [Ps 37:13]E chi enqueréient mals á méi parlérent uanitéz ⁝ é tricheríes túte iurn purpensówent · [Ps 37:14]Máis ié ensement cu*m* surz nen oðéie ⁝ é si cume muz nient aóŭranz sa búche · [Ps 37:15]E fáiz súi si cume húem nient óańz ⁝ é nient aŭanz en sá búche repernemeńz · [Ps 37:16]Kár en téi sire esp*er*ái ⁝ tú exorrás síre li miens d*eus* · [Ps 37:17]Kar ié dis que alqúune fiéde ne suresióent á méi li mien enemí ⁝ é deméntres que s*unt* co*m*moút li mien piét sur mei granz chóses parlérent · [Ps 37:18]Kar ié en flaéls aprestéz súi ⁝ e la meie dolúr en mien esguardement túte óres · [Ps 37:19]Kar la meie iniq*ui*té ie annuncerái ⁝ é penserái pur mun pechiét · [Ps 37:20]Lí mien enemí acértes uíuent é confermé s*unt* sur méi ⁝ é

multiplié s*un*t chí haírent méi felunessemént · [Ps 37:21]Chi regueredúnent mals pur biens detraéient á méi ⁝ kar ié siwéie bunté · [Ps 37:22]Né deguerpír tu méi síre li miens d*eus* ⁝ ne desseuŕer [f. 45v] de méi · [Ps 37:23]Entént eń la méie adiutórie ⁝ sire d*eu*s de la méie salú · f. 45v

I[Ps 38:2]É DÍS · ié guarderái les méies uéies ⁝ que ié ne mesfáce en la méie lángue · Ié posái á ma búche guárde ⁝ cu*m* esteúst pecchérre encuntre méi · [Ps 38:3]Ié amuí é humiliéz súi · é tói de bones chóses ⁝ é la méie dolurs e*st* · renóuée · [Ps 38:4]Escalfá lí miéns cuérs dedenz méi ⁝ é en la meie meditatiún ardrá fús · [Ps 38:5]Ié parlái en ma lángue ⁝ cuneúde fái á méi sire la méie fín · E le númbre de mes iúrz chi est ⁝ que ié sáce quel chóse desséit á méi · [Ps 38:6]Astetéi mesurábles posás les miens iúrz ⁝ é la meie substánce ensement cume nieńt deuant téi · Máis nequedent túte uanitéz ⁝ chescuns húem uiuańz · [Ps 38:7]Nequedent en imágene trespásse li húem ⁝ máis nedés enuáin e*st* · cunturbéz · Tresór aúne ⁝ é ne sét á qui íl le assemblerát · [Ps 38:8]E óre qúels e*st* · lá méie ateńte du*m* nest li sire ? é la meie substánce ad téi est · [Ps 38:9]Dé túte les meies iniq*ui*tez delíüre méi ⁝ reproče á fol tu dunás ḿei · [Ps 38:10]Ié amuí é nen aóurí lá méie búche ⁝ kar tu fesís [Ps 38:11]destúrne de méi les túes pláies · [Ps 38:12]Dé la fortéce de tá máin ié defaillí en encrepeménz ⁝ pur feluníe tu castiás húme · E defírre fesís si cume iraignée láneme de lúi ⁝ acertes enuáin e*st* · cunturbéz chescúns húem · [Ps 38:13]Exói la meie oreisún sire é la meie preiére ⁝ ót tes oréiles receíf les méies lérmes · Né táises kar auéntíz ié suí enŭers téi ⁝ é estránge si cume túit li mien pérre · [Ps 38:14]Pardúne a méi que ie séie refreidiéz áinz que ié men_álge ⁝ é ampléis ne serái ·

A[Ps 39:2]TENDAŃZ átendí le seignúr ⁝ é il entendíet á méi · [Ps 39:3]E il exoít les méies preiéres ⁝ é forsmenát méi de la fosse de misérie ⁝ é de palú de líe · E establít sur piérre mes piéz ⁝ é \a/drečeat mes alemeńz · [Ps 39:4]E íl mist en lá meie búche nóuél chánt ⁝ ditiét al n*ost*re déu · Verrunt mult é criend_ŕunt ⁝ é esp*er*erunt el seignur · [Ps 39:5]Beneuréz li huém del quel e*st* · le núm del seignur \espe/ránce de lúi ⁝ é ne reguardát en uanitéz é en fálses for\s/seneríes · [Ps 39:6]Múltes fesís tu sire li miéns d*eus* les túes meruéilles ⁝ é es túes cogitatiuńs nen e*st* · chi semblanz séit á téi · Ié annunceái é parlái ⁝ multipliet s*un*t sur númbre · [Ps 39:7]Sacrifíse é oblatiun ne uolsís ⁝ oreilles acértes parfisis á méi · Sacrifíse · é pur pecchét ne requisís ⁝ [Ps 39:8]lóres dís astetéi ié uiénc · Él chíef del líüre escrít e*st* · de méi [Ps 39:9]que ié feréi la túe uolunté li miens d*eus* ié uóil ⁝ é la túe léi el millíu del mien cúer · [Ps 39:10]Ié annunceái la túe iustíse en grańt iglíse ⁝ astetéi les meies léüres ne deuéderái síre túl seús · [Ps 39:11] Là túe iustíse ne repúns el míen cúer ⁝ la túe uerité é lá túe salú ie dís · Né repúns la túe misericorde é la túe uerité ⁝ de mult cuncílie · [Ps 39:12]Tú acértes sire niént luínz fáces les tues miseratiuns de méi ⁝ la túe misericord[e] é la túe uerité tútes óres receúrent méi · [Ps 39:13]Kár auirunérent méi mals des quels nen e*st* · nú*m*bre ⁝ cumprístrent méi les méies iniq*ui*tez ⁝ é ne pói que ié ueíssé · Multipliédes s*un*t sur les cheuéls de mun chíef ⁝ é mun cúer deguerpít méi · [Ps 39:14]Pláiset a téi sire que tu delíures méi⁝ sire á aiúer méi reguárde · [Ps 39:15]Seient cunfundút [f. 46r] é redútent ensembledement ⁝ chí querent lá méie aneme ⁝ que il lá tólgent · Seieńt tresturnét ariére é redútent ⁝ chi uólent á méi mals · [Ps 39:16]Pórtent ignelment lur confusiún ⁝ chi dient á méi aimenóre aimenóre · [Ps 39:17]Esióent é esléécent sur téi túit li querant téi ⁝ é dient túte úres séit magnifiet lí sire · chi aíment tun saluédur · [Ps 39:18]Máis ié súi mendís é póŭre ⁝ li sire curiús e*st* · de méi ·Lí miens aiúere é li miens defenderre tu íes ⁝ li miens d*eus* ne te targerás · f. 46r

B[Ps 40:2]ENEVRÉZ chi entént sur besuigńus é poŭre ⁝ en mal iúrn le deliuerrát li síre · [Ps 40:3]Lí síre le purguárt é uiuifít lúi ⁝ é beneuré lé fácet en térre ⁝ é ne líüret lúi en láneme de ses enemís · [Ps 40:4]N*ost*re sire aiúde port á lúi sur le lít de sa dólur ⁝ tut sun lít tresturnás en lenfermeté de lúi · [Ps 40:5]Ié dis · síre aíes merci de méi ⁝ sáine la meie aneme kar ié pecchái á téi · [Ps 40:6]Lí míen enemí dístrent mals á méi ⁝ quant murrát íl · é p*er*irát le num de lúi ? [Ps 40:7]E si \íl en/trót púr cé que il ueíst uáines chóses parlót ⁝ li súens cúers assemblát feluníe á séi · Isséit fors ⁝ é parlót en icé meésme · [Ps 40:8]Encúntre méi grundillówent túit li mien enemí ⁝ encuntre méi pensówent mals á méi · [Ps 40:9]Paróle torcenúse eslablírent encuntre ḿei ⁝ icil chi dórt du*m* ne aiústerát il que il ressúrdet ? [Ps 40:10]Kar li húem de la meie páis en qui ié esp*er*ái ⁝ chi maniót mes páins magnifiát sur méi supplantatiún · [Ps 40:11]Máis tu sire aies merci de méi ⁝ é resuscite méi · é gueredunerái á els · [Ps 40:12]Eń icé cunúi que tu me uolsís ⁝ kar ne sesiórrát li míens enemís sur méi · [Ps 40:13]Méi acértes pur núnnuisance receús ⁝ é cunfermás méi el túen esguardement en parmanableté · [Ps 40:14]Benéeiz li sire d*eus* de israel ⁝ de siécle é en siécle séit fáit · seit fáit ·

E[Ps 41:2]NS SEMent cume desírret li cérs as fontáines des éwes ⁝ eissí desírret lá meie aneme á téi d*eus* · [Ps 41:3]Sezelát la meie áneme á déu fontáine uíue ⁝ \quant/ uendrái ié é aparistrái deuant la fáce déu ? [Ps 41:4]Fúrent á méi mes lérmes páins par iurn é par núit ⁝ deméntres que e*st* · dit á méi chascun iurn ú est lí túens d*eus* ? [Ps 41:5]Icez chóses récordái é espandí en méi la méie aneme ⁝ kar ié trespasserái en líu de tabernácle meruéilús desq*ue* á la maisún déu · Eń uóiz de esleecement é de confessiún ⁝ súens dé maníant · [Ps 41:6]Pur qúei iés tríste la méie aneme ⁝ é pur qúei cuntúrbes tu méi ? Espéire en déu kár uncóre regehi_rái á lúi ⁝ le saluédúr de mun uult

Ps 41:7é li miéns deus · A méi méésme la meie aneme est · cunturbée ⁝ pur icé remembrérre serái de téi de la terre de iordáin ⁝ é hermoníjm del petít mónt · Ps 41:8Lí abísmes labísme apélet ⁝ en lá uoiz de tés crauáces · Trestútes les túes haltéces é li túen fluét sur méi trespassérent · Ps 41:9Él iurn mandát li sire la súe misericorde ⁝ é en la núit le cańt de lúi · Enŭers méi oreis\ún/ á déu de la meie uíe ⁝ Ps 41:10dirrái á déu li miéns receuérre tu íes · Pur qúei óbliás tu méi é pur qúei cuntristéz uoís ié ⁝ dementres que méi aflít lí enemís ? Ps 41:11Demeńtres que sunt fruissét li mién ós esprouérent á méi chi trauáillent méi li mién enemí · Demeńtres que il díent á méi par seńgles iurz ⁝
f. 46v ú est li tuéns deus ? Ps 41:12Pur qúei íes tríste la meie aneme ⁝ e pur qúei f. 46v cuntúrbes méi ? Espéire en déu kár uncóre regehirái á lúi ⁝ le sáluedúr de mun uult é li miéns deus ·

IPs 42:1VGE méi deus é desseíŭre lá meie acháisun de gent nient sáinte ⁝ de húme torcenús é tricherús ⁝ delíure méi · Ps 42:2Kar tu íes deus lá meie fortéce ⁝ pur qúei méi debutás tú é pur qúei uóis ié trístes ⁝ dementres que afflít méi li enemís ? Ps 42:3Mét fors ta lumiére é la túe ueritét ⁝ éles mé demenérent é amenérent el túen saínt mont · é és tuéns tabernácles · Ps 42:4E ié enterrái al altél déu ⁝ a déu chi esléécet la méie iuuénte · Ié regehirái á téi en hárpe deus li miens deus ⁝ Ps 42:5pur qúei íes tríste la meie áneme ⁝ é pur qúei cuntúrbes méi ? Espéire en déu kar uncóre regehirái á lúi ⁝ le saluédur de mun uult é li miéns deus ·

DPs 43:2euS ot nóz oréilles oímes ⁝ li nostre pére annunciérent á nus · Ló_ŭre que tu o_ŭras en lur iurz ⁝ é es iurz anciéns · Ps 43:3Lá túe máin les genz deperdiét é plantás éls ⁝ aflisís les póples · é debutás els · Ps 43:4Kár nieńt en lur espée pursístrent la térre ⁝ é le lúr braz ne salŭat els · Máis la túe déstre é li túens braz é lenluminemént del tuén uult ⁝ kar tú ploús en els · Ps 43:5Tú medésme íes li miéns réis é li miens deus ⁝ chi mándes salúz á iacob · Ps 43:6En téi les nóz enemís demerrúms par córne ⁝ é el túen núm despí_rums les esdreceánz en nús · Ps 43:7Kár el míen arc né esperérai ⁝ é li miéns gláiues né salŭerát méi · Ps 43:8Kar tu nús salŭas des affliańz nús ⁝ é les haanz nús confundiés · Ps 43:9Eń déu serúms loé túte iúrn ⁝ é el túen num regehirúms eń siécle · Ps 43:10Óre acértes rebutás é confundiés nús ⁝ é tu deus neist_rás es nóz uertúz · Ps 43:11Tú desturnás nús ariére á prés nóz enemís ⁝ e chi haírent nús departéient á els · Ps 43:12Tú dunás nús sicume berbíz de uiańdes ⁝ é es génz departís nús · Ps 43:13Tú uendíes tuén póple sanz prís ⁝ é ne fút multitudine es chángemenz déls · Ps 43:14Tú posás nús repróce á noz uéisińs ⁝ subsannatiún é escháarn · á icéls chi en nostre auirunemént sunt · Ps 43:15Tú posás nús en semblánce á genz ⁝ cummouemeńt de chiéf en póples · Ps 43:16Túte iurn la meie uergúine encuntre méi est ⁝ é la confusiún de ma face courít méi · Ps 43:17Dé la uóiz del esprouańt é del deparlańt ⁝ de la fáce del enemí é del parsúant · Ps 43:18Tútes icez chóses uíndrent sur nús é ne obliámes téi ⁝ e felunessemént ne fesímes el túen testamént · Ps 43:19E né returnát ariere lí nostre cúers ⁝ é tu declinás les nóz séntes de la túe uéie · Ps 43:20Kar tu humiliás nús en líu dafflictiún ⁝ é co_urít nús úmbre de mórt · Ps 43:21Sí nus obliámes le num de nostre deu ⁝ é si nus espandímes noz máins á estránge déu · Ps 43:22Dum ne requerrát deus icéstes chóses ? il acértes cunuíst lés repóstes chóses de cúer · Kár pur téi súmes mortifiét tute iurn ⁝ áásmé súmes sicume berbiz doccisiún · Ps 43:23Esdréce téi pur qúei dorz tu síre ⁝ esdrece téi é ne rebútes en fín · Ps 43:24Pur qúei destúrnes tu ta fáce ⁝ oblíes la nostre su_ffráite · é la nostre tribulatiún ? Ps 43:25Kár humiliéde est · en púldre la nostre áneme ⁝ englutíz est en terre nostre uéntre · Ps 43:26Esdŕece téi sire aiúde nus ⁝ é raíem nus pur le tuén num ·

f. 47r FPs 44:2ORMíst li mien\s/ cúer\s/ bóne paróle ⁝ ié dí les meies ó_ŭres al réi · Lá f. 47r méie lángue chalemeáls descriuáng ⁝ ignelmént escriuánt · Ps 44:3Beáls par fórme deuant les filz dés homes ⁝ espandúde est · gŕace en tes leŭres ⁝ empuricé beneisquit téi deus en parmanabletét · Ps 44:4Séies ceínt de tun glaíue ⁝ sur ta quísse mult póantment · Ps 44:5Par ta semblánce é par ta beáltet entént ⁝ prospremént uá auánt é régne · Pur uéritét · é suatúme · e iustíse ⁝ é demerrát téi merueilúsement lá túe déstre · Ps 44:6Lés túes saiétes agúes ⁝ li pople suz téi carrúnt es cúers des enemís le réi · Ps 44:7Lí túens siéges deus en siécle de siécle ⁝ uérge de drecemeńt la uérge dél túen régne · Ps 44:8Tú amás iustíse é haís felunie ⁝ pur icé oínst téi deus li tuéns deus de ólie de ledéce deuańt tés cumpáinuns · Ps 44:9Mírra · é gútta é cásia de tes uestemeńz de máisuns íuorínes ⁝ des quels delitérent téi · Ps 44:10les fílles des réis en la túe honúr · Estút la reíne de uérs les túes déstres ⁝ en uestemént doré ⁝ auirunéde de uarieté · Ps 44:11Ói fille é uéi é enclíne la túe oréille ⁝ é oblíe le túen póple · é lá máisun tun pére · Ps 44:12E coueíterá li réis la túe beáltét ⁝ kar il est · síre lí tuens deus · é si aórerunt lúi · Ps 44:13E les fílles de týre en duńs ⁝ le tuén uúlt depreíerunt li ríche del póple · Ps 44:14Túte la glórie de lúi á la fílle del réi dedeńz ⁝ en fránges orínes ⁝ Ps 44:15enuirún couérte de uarietéz · Seruńt amenédes al réi les uirgines aprés li ⁝ les prócéines de lí serúnt offertes a téi · Ps 44:16Aportédes íerent en leðece é en esióðement ⁝ serúnt amenédes el temple del réi · Ps 44:17Pur les túens péres néd sunt á téi fíl ⁝ establirás els prínces sur túte térre · Ps 44:18Remembredúr íerent del túen num síre ⁝ en túte generatiun é generatiun · Pur icé li póple regehirunt á téi ⁝ en parmanableté é én siécle de siécle ·

LPs 45:2í nostre deus refúges é uertú ⁝ aiuére es tribulatiuns chi trúuérent nús mult · Ps 45:3Empuricé ne crienderúms deméntres que será turbéde la térre ⁝ é serúnt tresporté li munt el cúer de la mér · Ps 45:4Sunérent é turbédes

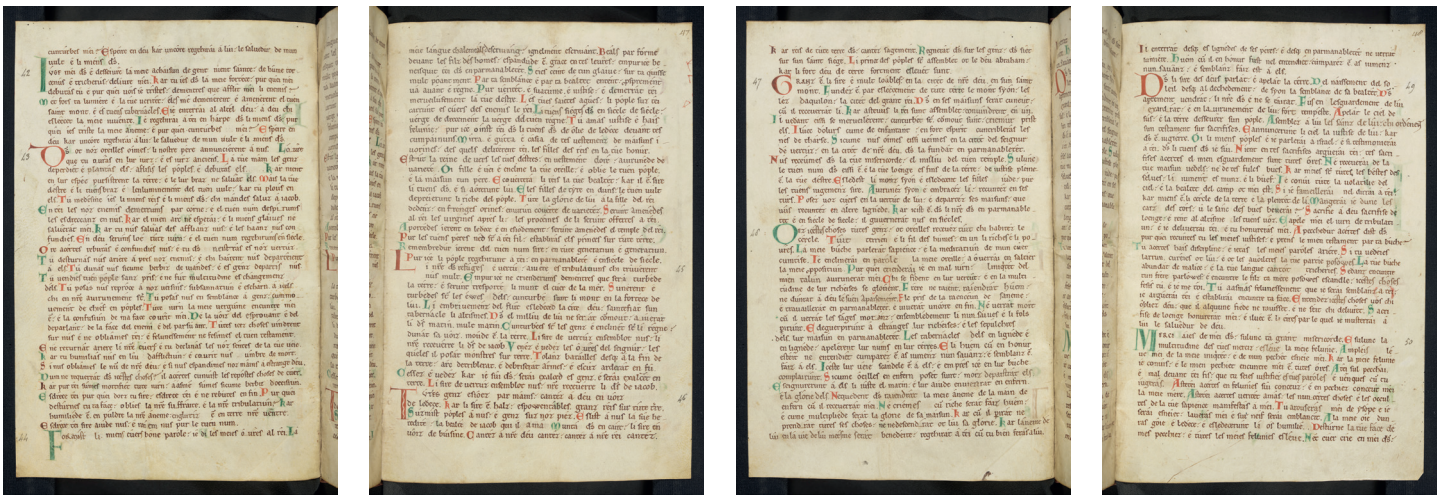
sunt les éwes déls ⁝ cunturbé sunt lí mont en la fortéce de lúi · Ps 45:5Lí embríuemeńz del flút esledéced la cité déu ⁝ saintefiát sun tabernácle li altísmes · Ps 45:6Deus el millíu de lúi ne se_rát commoút ⁝ a_iúerát lí deus matiń · mult matín · Ps 45:7Cunturbées sunt les genz é enclinét sunt lí régne ⁝ dunát sa uóiz · moúde est · la térre · Ps 45:8Lí sire de uertúz ensemblot nús ⁝ lí nostre receuérre li deus de iacób · Ps 45:9Venéz é uedéz les ó ũres del seignúr ⁝ les quéles il posát mónstres sur térre · Ps 45:10Tolánz batáilles desque á la fín de la terre ⁝ arc detriblerat · é debriserát arḿes ⁝ e escúz arderát en fú · Ps 45:11Cessez é uedéz kar ié súi deus ⁝ serái exalced es genz · é serái exalcét en terre · Ps 45:12Lí sire de uertúz ensemblot nus ⁝ nostre receuérre li deus de iacob ·

TPs 46:2VTES genz esióez par máins ⁝ cantéz á déu en uóiz de leðece · Ps 46:3Kar li síre est · halz ⁝ espowentábles · granz réis sur túte terre · Ps 46:4Súzmíst póples á nus ⁝ e genz suz nóz piéz · Ps 46:5Eslíst á nus lá súe heredité ⁝ la bealté de iacob qui íl amá ⁝ Ps 46:6Muntá deus en cańt ⁝ lí síre eń uóiz de búisíne · Ps 46:7Cantéz á nostre déu cantéz ⁝ cantéz á nostre réi cantéz · f. 47v Ps 46:8Kár réis de túte terre deus ⁝ cantéz sagemeńt · Ps 46:9Regnerát deus sur les génz ⁝ deus siét sur sun sáint siége · Ps 46:10Lí prínce des póples sunt assemblét ot le déu abraham ⁝ kar li fort déu de terre fortment esleuét sunt · f. 47v

GPs 47:2RANZ est · li síre é mult loábles ⁝ en la citét de nostre déu · en suń sáint mónt · Ps 47:3Fundéz est · par esléécemeńt de túte térre le mónt sẏón ⁝ lés léz daquilón ⁝ la citét del gránt réi · Ps 47:4Deus en ses máisuns serát cuneút ⁝ cum il receuerrát lí · Ps 47:5Kar asteuús li réi sunt assemblét ⁝ conuíndrent én ún · Ps 47:6Íl ueðant eíssi se merueilérent ⁝ cunturbét sunt · commoút suńt ⁝ Ps 47:7criemúr prist els · Ilúec dólurs cume de enfantańt ⁝ Ps 47:8en fort espirít cuntriblerás les nés de thárse · Ps 47:9Sicume nús oímes eissí ueímes en la citét del seignur dé uertúz ⁝ en la citét de nostre déu · deus la fundát en parmanabletét · Ps 47:10Nús receúmes deus la túe misericorde ⁝ el millíu del túen témple · Ps 47:11Suluńc le túen núm deus eissí est · é la túe loénge es fins de la térre ⁝ de iustíse pléine est · la túe déstre · Ps 47:12Esleðest lí mońz sẏón é esledécent les fílles iúde ⁝ púr les túens iugemeńz síre · Ps 47:13Auirunéz sẏon é embracéz lí ⁝ recuntéz en ses túrs · Ps 47:14Poséz uoz cúers en la uertút de lúi ⁝ é departéz ses maísuns ⁝ que uús recuntéz en áltre lignéde · Ps 47:15Kár icíst est · deus li nostre deus en parmanabletet é en siécle de siecle ⁝ il guuernerát nús en siécles ·

OPs 48:2ÉZ icéstes chóses tútes geńz ⁝ ot oréilles receuéz túit chi habitéz le cércle · Ps 48:3Túit terrién é li fil des húmes ⁝ en un li ríches é li poũres · Ps 48:4Lá meie búche parlerát sapiénce ⁝ é la meditatiún de mun cúer cuintíse · Ps 48:5Ié enclinerái en paróle la meie oréille ⁝ aóuerrái en saltíer la meie propositiún · Ps 48:6Pur qúei crienderái ié en mal iúrn ⁝ liniquitét del mien talún auirunerát méi · Ps 48:7Chi se fídent en lur uertút ⁝ é en la multitúdine de lur richéises se gloríent · Ps 48:8Frére ne raiént · raíendrát húem ⁝ ne dúnrat á déu lé súen apaisemént · Ps 48:9E le prís de la raencéun de sáneme ⁝ e trauaillerát en parmanabletét · Ps 48:10e uiuerát uncóre en fín · Ps 48:11Né uerrát mórt cum il uerrát les ságes mor_ánz ⁝ ensemblédement lí nun_sáiues é li fols perirúnt · E deguerpirúnt á estránges lur richéises ⁝ Ps 48:12é les sepúlchres · déls · lur maisún en parmanabletét · Les tabernácles déls en lignéde é en lignéde ⁝ apelérent lur nuḿs en lur térres · Ps 48:13E lí húem cum en honúr estéit ne entendiét cumparéz est · as iumeńz nun sauánz ⁝ é semblanz est · fáiz á els · Ps 48:14Icéste lur uéie scándele est · á els ⁝ é emprés icé en lur búche complairúnt · Ps 48:15Sicume óeilles en enfern posét sunt ⁝ mórz depaistrát els · E seignurerunt á els li iúste él matín ⁝ é lur aiúde enuiezirát en enfern · é la glórie dels · Ps 48:16Nequedent deus raiendrát la meie áneme de la máin de enfern cum il receuerrát méi · Ps 48:17Né criémes cum ríche serát fáiz húem ⁝ é cume multipliéde serát la glorie de sa maísun · Ps 48:18Kar cum íl perirát ne prend_rat túte ses chóses ⁝ ne ne descend_rat ot lúi sa glórie · Ps 48:19Kar lánem\e dé/ \lúi/ en lá uie de lúi meésme serát benedéite ⁝ regehirát á téi cum tu bién ferás a lúi · f. 48r Ps 48:20Íl enterrát desque es lignédes de ses péres ⁝ é desque en parmanabletét ne uerrát lumiére · Ps 48:21Húem cum il en hónur fust nel entendiét ⁝ cumparéz est · as iumeńz nun_saũanz ⁝ é semblánz fáiz est á els · f. 48r

DPs 49:1euS li síre des déus parlát ⁝ é apelát la térre · Del náissement del soléil desque al dechedement ⁝ Ps 49:2de sẏon la semblánce de sa bealtét · Ps 49:3Deus apertement uendrát ⁝ li nostre deus é né se táirat · Fús en lesguardement dé \lúi/ exard_rat ⁝ é en la_uirunemént de lúi ⁝ fórt tempéste · Ps 49:4Apelát le ciél dé sús ⁝ é la térre desseũrer sun póple · Ps 49:5Asembléz á lúi les sáinz de lúi ⁝ chi or\dénent/ sun testament sur sacrifises · Ps 49:6E annuncerúnt li ciél lá iustíse de lúi ⁝ kar deus est · iugiérre · Ps 49:7Ói li miens póples é ié parlerái á israel ⁝ é si testimonierái á téi · deus li tuens deus ié súi · Ps 49:8Níent en tes sacrifises argúerái téi ⁝ tes sacrífises acertes el mien esguardement sunt túres óres · Ps 49:9Né receuerái de la túe maisun ueðels ⁝ ne de tes fúlcs búcs · Ps 49:10Kar méies sunt túres les béstes des sélues ⁝ lí iumeńt es munz · é li búef · Ps 49:11Ié conúi túte la uolatílie dél ciél ⁝ é la beáltet del camp ot méi est · Ps 49:12Sí ié fameillerái nel dirrái á téi ⁝ kar miens est · li cércle de la terre é la plentét de lí · Ps 49:13Mangerái ié dunc les carz des tórs ⁝ ú le sańc dés búcs beuerái ? Ps 49:14Sacrifíe á déu sacrifíse dé loenge ⁝ é rént al altísme les tuéns uóz · Ps 49:15E apéle méi el iurn de tribulatiun ⁝ é ié deliuerrái téi · é tu honurerás méi · Ps 49:16A pecchedúr acértes dist deus · pur qúei recuńtes tu les méies iustíses ⁝ é preńs le mién



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testament par ta búche ? [Ps 49:17]Tú acertes haís disciplíne ⁊ é ietás les meies paróles ariére · [Ps 49:18]Sí tu uedéies larrun · curéies ot lúi ⁊ e ot les aŭoiltres la túe partíe posówes · [Ps 49:19]Lá túe búche abundát de malíce ⁊ é la túe lángue cantót tricheríes · [Ps 49:20]Seðanz encuntre tun ffére parlówes ⁊ é encuntre le filz ta mére posówes escándle ⁊ [Ps 49:21]icéstes chóses fesís tú · é ié me tói · Tú aasmás felunessement que ié serái semblanz a téi ⁊ ie argúerái téi é establirái encuntre ta fáce · [Ps 49:22]Entendéz icéstes chóses uós chi őbliez déu ⁊ que íl alquune fiéde ne rauísset · é ne séit chi deliŭret · [Ps 49:23]Sacrifíse de loenge honurerát méi ⁊ é ilúec est · li éires par lequel ie musterrái á lúi le salŭedur de déu ·

[Ps 50:3]MERCI Áies de méi deus ⁊ sulunc tá gránt misericórde · E sulunc la multitudine des túes merciz ⁊ esléue la méie feluníe · [Ps 50:4]Ampléis léue méi de la meie iniquitét ⁊ é de mun pechét esnéie méi · [Ps 50:5]Kar la méie feluníe ié conúis ⁊ e le mien pechíet encuntre méi est · túres óres · [Ps 50:6]A téi sul pecchái · é mal deuant téi fís ⁊ que tu seies iustifiéz es túes paróles é ŭenques cum tu iúgerás · [Ps 50:7]Astetéi acértes en feluníes súi conceúz ⁊ é en pechiéz conceút méi la meie mére · [Ps 50:8]Astetéi acertes uerité amás ⁊ les nun_cértes chóses é les occultes de la túe sapiénce manifestás á méi · [Ps 50:9]Tú arouserás méi de ỳsópe e ié serái esneíet ⁊ lauerás méi é sur neíf serái emblancít · [Ps 50:10]A la meie oíe dunras góie e ledéce ⁊ é esledeceruńt lí ós humilié · [Ps 50:11]Destúrne la túe fáce
f. 48v d\é/ mes pecchiéz ⁊ é túres les méies feluníes esléue · [Ps 50:12]Nét cúer críe en méi deus ⁊ f. 48v \lé d/reituriér espirít renouéle es meies entráiles · [Ps 50:13]Ne ietér méi de la túe fáce ⁊ é le tuén saint espirit ne tólges de méi · [Ps 50:14]Reńt á méi la ledéce del túen saluedur ⁊ é pár espirít principél conferme méi · [Ps 50:15]Ié enseignerái ás torcenús les túes uéies ⁊ é li felún á téi serunt cunuertít · [Ps 50:16]Deliŭre méi de sańs deus · deus de la meie salút ⁊ é exalcerat ma lángue la túe iustíse · [Ps 50:17]Síre les meies leŭres tú aóuerrás ⁊ é la meie búche annuncerát la túe loénge · [Ps 50:18]Kar si tu uolsísses sacrifíse dunásse ⁊ acertes eń sacrifíses tu ne deliterás · [Ps 50:19]Sacrifíse á deu espiríz trauailliéz ⁊ cúer contriblét é humiliet deus tu ne despirrás · [Ps 50:20]Benignement fái síre en la túe bóne uoluntet á sỳon ⁊ é seiént edifiét li múr de ierusalem · [Ps 50:21]Lóres receuerás tu sacrifíse de iustíse ⁊ oblatiuńs é sacrifíses ⁊ dunc emposerúnt sur \le/ tuén altél ueðels ·

[Ps 51:3]PUR qúei te gloríes tu en malíce ⁊ chi póanz íes en feluníe ? [Ps 51:4]Túte iúrn torcéunerie pensát la túe langue ⁊ sicum nouácle agú fesís tricherie · [Ps 51:5]Tú amás malíce sur benignitét ⁊ feluníe plusque parler őeltét · [Ps 51:6]Tú amás túres les paróles de trebuchement ⁊ lángue tricherúse · [Ps 51:7]Pur icé deus destruirát téi en fín ⁊ esracerát téi é forsmeterát téi de tabernácle ⁊ é la túe racíne de la terre des uiuánz · [Ps 51:8]Verrunt li iúste é crend_runt ⁊ é sur lúi rírunt · é dirrunt ⁊ [Ps 51:9]astetéi li húem chi ne posát déu sun aiúedúr · Máis esperát en la multitudine de ses richéises ⁊ é miélz ualút en sá uanitét · [Ps 51:10]Máis ié sicume olíue frúit portánt en la máisun déu ⁊ ié esperái en la misericorde déu en parmanabletét é en siécle de siécle · [Ps 51:11]Ié regehirái á téi en siécle kar tu fesís ⁊ é atenderái le tuén num ⁊ kar est · bóne chóse én lesguardemeńt de tes sáinz ·

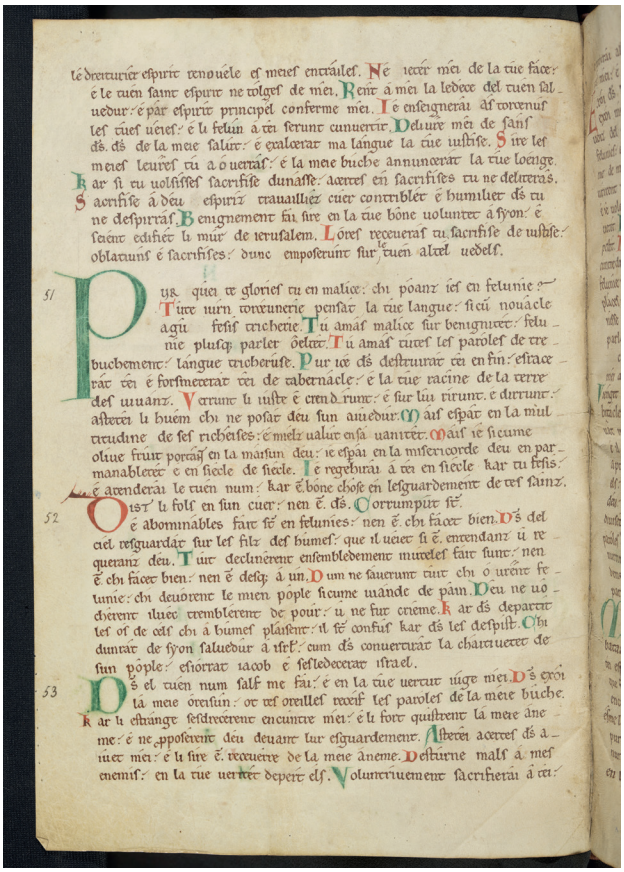
[Ps 52:1]DIST li fols en sun cúer: nen est · deus · [Ps 52:2]Corrumpút sunt · é abominábles fáit sunt en feluníes ⁊ nen est · chi fácet bíen · [Ps 52:3]Deus del ciél resguardát sur les filz des húmes ⁊ que il uéiet si est · entendanz ú requerańz déu · [Ps 52:4]Túit declinérent ensembledement inúteles fáit sunt ⁊ nen est · chi fácet bien ⁊ nen est desque

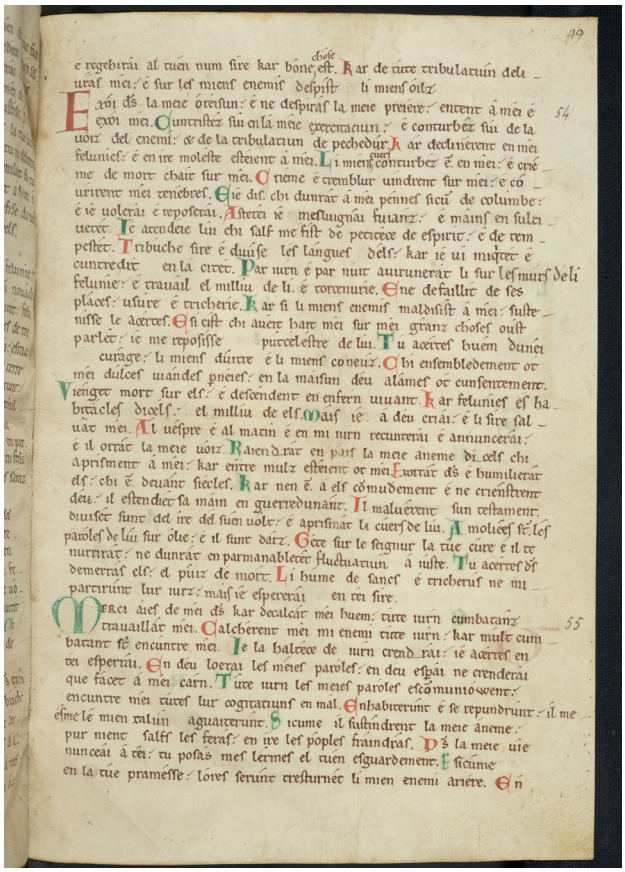
á ún · Ps 52:5Dum ne sáuerunt túit chi ó ŭrent feluníe ⁝ chí deuórent le mien póple sicume uiánde de páin · Ps 52:6Déu ne uóchérent ilúec tremblérent de poúr ⁝ ú ne fut criéme · Kar deus departít les ós de céls chi á húmes pláisent ⁝ il sunt confús kar deus les despíst · Ps 52:7Chi dunrát de sÿon saluedúr á israel ⁝ cum deus conuertirát la cháitiuetet de sun póple ⁝ esiórrat iacob é sesledecerat israel ·

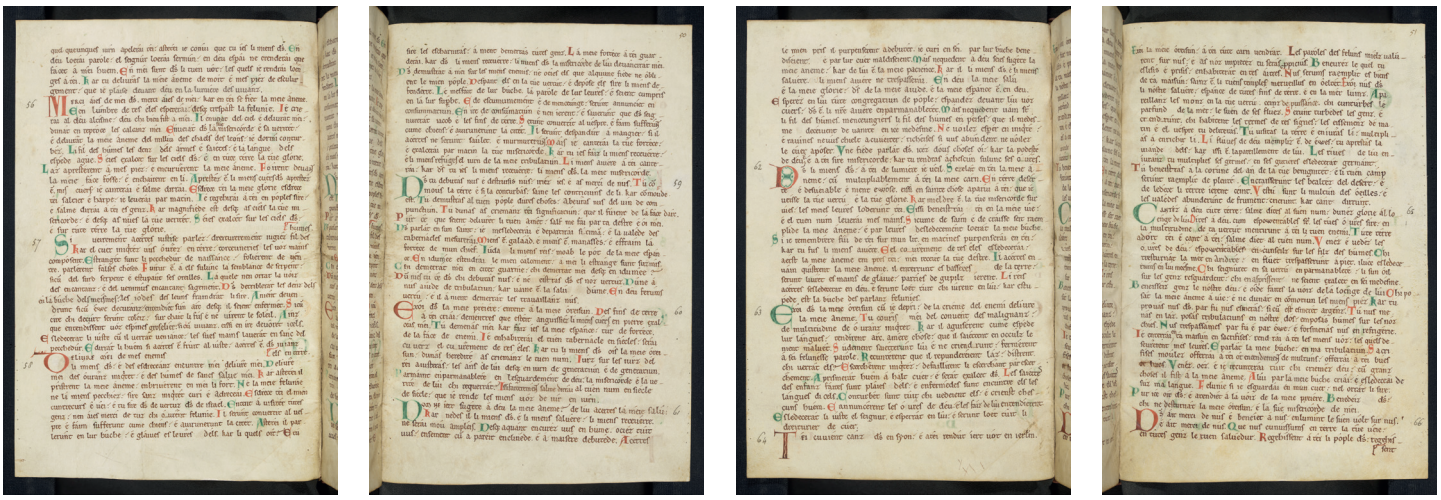
Ps 53:3*Deu*S el túen num salf me fái ⁝ é en la túe uertut iúge méi · Ps 53:4Deus exói lá meie óreisún ⁝ ot tes oreilles recéif les paróles de la méie búche · Ps 53:5Kar li estránge sesdrecérent encúntre méi ⁝ é li fort quístrent lá meie áneme ⁝ é ne proposérent déu deuant lur esguardement · Ps 53:6Astetéi acertes deus aíuet méi ⁝ é li síre est · receuérre de la meie áneme · Ps 53:7Destúrne mals á mes enemís ⁝ en la túe ueritét depeŕt éls · Ps 53:8Voluntríuement sacrifierái á téi ⁝ f. 49r é regehirái al tuén num síre kar bóne \chóse/ est · Ps 53:9Kar de túte tribulatiún deliŭras méi ⁝ f. 49r
é sur les miens enemís despíst lí miens óilz

Ps 54:2Exói deus la meie óréisun ⁝ é ne despírás la meie preiére ⁝ Ps 54:3entent á méi é exói méi · Cuntristéz súi en lá méie exercitaciun ⁝ Ps 54:4é conturbéz súi de la uoiz del enemí ⁝ *et* de la tribulatiun de pechedúr · Kár declinérent en méi feluníes ⁝ é en íre moléste estéient á méi · Ps 54:5Lí míens \cúers/ conturbéz est · en méi ⁝ é criéme de mort chaít sur méi · Ps 54:6Criéme é tremblur uíndrent sur méi ⁝ é có uŕirent méi tenébres · Ps 54:7E ié dis · chi dunrát á méi pénnes sicum de colúmbe ⁝ é ié uolerái é reposerái · Ps 54:8Astetéi ié mesluignái fuiańz ⁝ é máins en sultiuetét · Ps 54:9Ié atendéie lúi chi salf me físt de petitéce de espirít ⁝ é de tempestét · Ps 54:10Tribúche sire é diuíse lés lángues déls ⁝ kar ié uí iniquitét é cuntredít en lá citét · Ps 54:11Par iúrn é par núit auirunerát li sur les múr\s dé lí/ feluníe ⁝ é trauáil el millíu de lí · Ps 54:12e torcenuríe · E ne defaillít de ses pláces ⁝ usúre é tricheríe · Ps 54:13Kar si li miens enemís maldisíst á méi ⁝ sustenísse le acértes · E sí císt chi auéit hait méi sur méi gŕanz chóses oúst parlét ⁝ ié me reposísse púrcéléstre de lúi · Ps 54:14Tú acértes huém dunéi curáge ⁝ li miens dúitre é li miens coneúz · Ps 54:15Chí ensembledement ót méi dúlces uiándes perméies ⁝ en la máisun déu alámes ót cunsentement · Ps 54:16Viénget mort sur els ⁝ e descéndent en enfeŕn uiuant · Kar feluníes és habitácles dicéls ⁝ el millíu de els · Ps 54:17Máis ié á deu criái ⁝ é li síre salŭat méi · Ps 54:18Ál uéspre é al matín é en mi iúrn recunterái é annuncerái ⁝ é il orrát la meie uóiz · Ps 54:19Raiend_rát en páis la meie áneme dí_cels chi aprísment á méi ⁝ kar eńtre mulz estéient ot méi · Ps 54:20Exorrát deus é humiliérat els ⁝ chi est · deuánt siécles ·

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320, fol. 48v and 49r. Source: https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/
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▲ *Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320, fol. 49v, 50r, 50v, and 51r.* Source: https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/
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Kár nen e*st* · a els co*m*muõement é ne crieństrent déu ⁝ [Ps 54:21]li estendiét sa máin en guerredunańt · Il maluérent sun testament · [Ps 54:22]diuisét sunt del íre dél súen uólt ⁝ é aprismát li cúers de lúi · Amoliées s*unt* · lés paróles de lúi sur ólie ⁝ e il sunt dárz · [Ps 54:23]Géte sur le seignur la túe cúre é il te nurrirát ⁝ ne dunrát en parmanabletét fluctuatiún á iúste · [Ps 54:24]Tú acértes d*eus* demerrás els ⁝ el púiz dé mort · Lí húme de sancs é tricherús ne mipartirúnt lur iurz ⁝ máis ié espererái en téi síre ·

[Ps 55:2]MERCI áies de méi d*eus* kar decalcát méi huem ⁝ túte iurn cumbatańz trauaillát méi · [Ps 55:3]Calchérent méi mi enemí túte iurn ⁝ kar múlt cumbatant s*unt* encúntre méi · [Ps 55:4]Ie la haltéce de iurn crend_rái ⁝ ié acértes en téi esperrái · [Ps 55:5]En déu loerai les méies paróles ⁝ en déu esp*er*ái ne crenderái que fácet á méi carn · [Ps 55:6]Túte iurn les meies paróles esco*m*muniówent ⁝ encuntre méi túres lur cogitatiuns en mál · [Ps 55:7]Enhabiterúnt é se repundrúnt ⁝ \íl me/\és/me lé mien talún aguaiterúnt · Sicume íl sustíndrent la meie áneme ⁝ [Ps 55:8]pur nient salfs les ferás ⁝ en íre les póples fráindrás · [Ps 55:9]D*eu*S la meie uíe nunceái á téi ⁝ tu posás mes lérmes el túen esguardemeńt · E sicúme en la túe pramésse ⁝ [Ps 55:10]lóres seruńt tresturnét lí mien enemí ariére ·
f. 49v Eń [f. 49v] quelqueuńques iurn apelerái téi ⁝ astetéi ie conúi que tu íes li miens d*eus* · [Ps 55:11]Eń déu loerái paróle ⁝ el seignúr loerái sermún ⁝ en déu esp*er*ái ne crenderái que fácet á méi huem · [Ps 55:12]Eń méi sunt d*eus* li tuén uót ⁝ les quels ié rendrái loénges á téi · [Ps 55:13]Kar tu deliũras la méie áneme de mort é mes piéz de esculurgement ⁝ que ié pláise deuant déu en la lumiére dés uiuańz ·

[Ps 56:2]MERCI áies de méi d*eus* · merci áies de méi ⁝ kar en téi se fiet la meie áneme · E én lúmbre de tes éles espererái ⁝ desq*ue* trespást la feluníe · [Ps 56:3]Ié crierái al déu altísme ⁝ déu chi bién fist á méi · [Ps 56:4]Íl énueiat del ciél é deliũrat méi ⁝ dunát en repróce les calcańz méi · Eńueiát d*eus* lá \súe/ misericórde é sa uerité ⁝ [Ps 56:5]é deliũrat la meie áneme del millíu des chaéls des leóns ⁝ ié dormí conturbéz · Lí fíl des húmes les denz déls ármes é saiétes ⁝ é lá lángue déls espéde agúe · [Ps 56:6]Séies exalcet sur les ciéls d*eus* é en túte térre la túe glórie · [Ps 56:7]Láz aprestérent á mes piéz ⁝ é encurũerent la meie áneme · Foírent deuant la méie fáce fósse ⁝ é enchaírent en lí · [Ps 56:8]Aprestéz e*st* · li miens cuérs d*eus* aprestéz e*st* · mis cúers ⁝ ié canterái é sálme dirrái · [Ps 56:9]Esdŕece téi la meie glórie esdŕece téi saltier é hárpe ⁝ ié leuerái par matín · [Ps 56:10]Ié regehirái á téi en póples síre ⁝ é sálme dirrái á téi es genz · [Ps 56:11]Kar magnifiéde est desq*ue* as ciéls la túe misericórde ⁝ é desq*ue* as núes lá túe uerité · [Ps 56:12]Séies exalcét sur les ciéls d*eus* ⁝ é sur túte térre la túe glórie ·

[Ps 57:2]I ueiremeńt acértes iustíse parléz ⁝ dreirureremént iugiéz fíl dés húmes · [Ps 57:3]Kar el cúer iniq*ui*téz uús oũrez en térre ⁝ torceuneríes les uóz maíns compósent · [Ps 57:4]Estrangét sunt li pecchedúr de naissánce ⁝ foliérent de uéntre · parlérent fálses chóses · [Ps 57:5]Fuírur e*st* · á els sulúnc la semblánce de serpeńt ⁝ sicu*m* del súrd serpent é estupańt ses oréilles · [Ps 57:6]Lá quéle nen orrat la uóiz des encantánz ⁝ é del uenimús encantant sagemeńt · [Ps 57:7]D*eus* detriblerát les dén\z dels/ \én l/á búche dels meísmes ⁝ les iódes des leúns fraindrát li síre · [Ps 57:8]A niént deuendrúnt sicu*m* éwe decuránz ⁝ entendiét sún arc desq*ue* il seient enfermét · [Ps 57:9]Sicu*m* círe chi decúrt serúnt toléiz ⁝ sur chaít li fús é ne uírent le soléil · [Ps 57:10]Aínz que entendíssent uóz espínes groseliér ⁝ sicu*m* uiuanz · eissí en íre deuóret icéls · [Ps 57:11]Esledecerat lí iúste cu*m* il uerrát ueniánce ⁝ les súes máins lauerát en sańc del pecchedúr · [Ps 57:12]E dirrát li húem si acértes e*st* · frúit al iúste ⁝ acértes e*st* · d*eus* iuŭanz els en térre ·

Ps 58:2 DELÍURE MÉI de mes enemis li miens deus ⁝ é des esdreceánz encuntre méi delíŭre méi · Ps 58:3 Delíŭre méi des óŭranz iniquitet ⁝ e des húmes de sancs sálue méi · Ps 58:4 Kár astetéi íl prístrent la meie áneme ⁝ enbriuérent en méi li fort · Ps 58:5 Né la méie feluníe ne lí miens pecchíez ⁝ síre sanz iniquitét curí e adreceái · Ps 58:6 Esdrece téi el mién cuntrecúrs é uéi ⁝ é tu síre deus de uertúz deus de israél · Entent á uisitér túte genz ⁝ nen áies mercí de tuz chi ó_ŭrent feluníe · Ps 58:7 Íl serúnt conuertít al uespre é fáim sufferunt cume chiéns ⁝ é auirunerunt la citét · Ps 58:8 Astetéi íl parleruńt en lur búche ⁝ é gláiues es leŭres déls · kar li quels oít ? Ps 58:9 E tú f. 50r síre les escharnirás ⁝ á nient demerrás túte genz · Ps 58:10 Lá meie fortéce á téi guarderái · kar deus lí miens receuérre ⁝ Ps 58:11 lí miens deus la misericórde de lúi deuáncirát méi · Ps 58:12 Deus demustrát a méi sur les miens enemís ⁝ né ocíes els · que alqúune fiéde ne óblient le míen póple · Despant els en la túe uertút ⁝ é depóse éls síre li miéns defendérre · Ps 58:13 Lé mesfáit de lur búche · lá paróle de lur leŭres ⁝ é seient cumprís en lá lur superbe · E de escumuniemént é de menceúnge ⁝ Ps 58:14 serúnt annuncíet en consummatiún · Eń íre de consummatiún é nien íerent ⁝ é saueruńt que deus seignurerát iacob é les fińs de térre · Ps 58:15 Seruńt conuertít al uéspre · é fáim sufferúnt cume chiens ⁝ é auirunerúnt lá citét · Ps 58:16 Íl seruńt despandút á mangíer ⁝ si il acértes ne seruńt saúlet · e murmurerúnt · Ps 58:17 Máis ié canterái la túe fortéce ⁝ é exalcerái par matín la túe misericórde · Kár tu íes fáiz li míens receuérre ⁝ é li miens refúge\s/ el iurn de la meie tribulatiún · Ps 58:18 Lí miens aiuére á téi canterái ⁝ kar deus tu íes li miens receuérre ⁝ lí miens deus · la meie misericorde ·

Ps 59:3 DeuS tu debutás nus é destrúisis nús ⁝ iriéz íes é as mercí de nús · Ps 59:4 Tú commoús la térre é si la conturbás ⁝ sáine les contriciuńs de li · kar commoúde · est · Ps 59:5 Tú demustrás al túen póple dúres chóses ⁝ abeŭras nus del uín de compunctiún · Ps 59:6 Tú dunás ás criemánz téi significatiún ⁝ que il fúient de lá fáce \darc ·/ Púr cé que seient deliŭret li túen amét ⁝ Ps 59:7 salf me fái par ta déstre é ói méi · Ps 59:8 Deus parlát en sun saínt ⁝ ié mesledecerái é departirái sí_cimam ⁝ é la ualéde des tabernácles mesurerái · Ps 59:9 Mieńs est · galáád · é miens est · manassés ⁝ é effraím lá fortéce de mun chiéf · Iúda li miens réis ⁝ Ps 59:10 moáb le pót de la meie esperánce ⁝ Eń idumée estendrai le mien cálcemént ⁝ á méi li estránge sunt suzmís · Ps 59:11 Chi demerrát méi en citét guarníe ⁝ chi demerrát méi desque en idumée ? Ps 59:12 Dum níes tú cé deus chi debutás nus ⁝ e né eíst_rás deus es nóz uertúz · Ps 59:13 Dúne á nús aíude de tribulatiun ⁝ kar uáine est · la salú dúme · Ps 59:14 Eń déu ferúms uertú ⁝ é il á nient demerrát les trauaillánz nús ·

Ps 60:2 EXÓI deus la meie préiére ⁝ entent á la meic óreisún · Ps 60:3 Des fińs de terre á téi criái ⁝ deméntres que estéit anguíssiéz lí miéns cuérs en piérre exalcéas méi · Tú demenás méi Ps 60:4 kar fáiz íes la meie esperańce ⁝ túr de fortéce · de la fáce de enemí · Ps 60:5 Ié enhabiterái el túen tabernácle en siécles ⁝ serái cu uerz el cu_ŭrement de tes éles · Ps 60:6 Kar tu li miens deus ois la meie óreisun ⁝ dunás heredité as criemánz le tuen núm · Ps 60:7 Iúrz sur les iurz dél réi aiusterás ⁝ les ańs de lúi desque en iurn de generatiún é de generatiun · Ps 60:8 Parmáint en parmanableté en lesguardemént de déu ⁝ la misericórde é lá uerité de lúi chi requerrát ? Ps 60:9 Issifaiteremént sálme dirrái al túen num en siécle de siécle ⁝ que ié rénde les miens uóz de iúr en iurn ·

Ps 61:2 DVM NÉ íert sugéte á deu la meie aneme ? de lúi acertes lá méie s\alú ⁝/ Ps 61:3 Kar nedes il li miens deus · e li miens saluére ⁝ li miens receuérre · Ne serái moú ampléis · Ps 61:4 Desque aquánt encuréz uus en húme · ociéz túit uus ⁝ ensement cum a paréit enclinéde · é á maisére débutéde · Ps 61:5 Acértes f. 50v lé mien prís f. 50v il purpensérent a debutér · ié curí en séi · par lur búche benediséient · é par lur cuér maldiséient · Ps 61:6 Máis nequedent á deu séies sugéte la méie áneme ⁝ kar de lúi est · la méie paciénce · Ps 61:7 Kar íl lí miens deus · é li miens saluére · li miens aiuére ne trespasserái · Ps 61:8 Eń deu la méie salú é la meie glórie ⁝ deus de la meie aíude · é la meie esperánce est · en deu · Ps 61:9 Esperéz en lúi túte congregatiún de póple ⁝ espandéz deuant lúi uóz cúers ⁝ deus est · li nostre aiuére en parmanabletét · Ps 61:10 Máis nequedent uáin sunt li fil des húmes · menceungiérs li fíl des húmes eń péises ⁝ que il medésme decéiuent de uanité en icé medésme · Ps 61:11 Né uóilez esperér en iniquité ⁝ é rauínes ne uús chielt a cuúeiter ⁝ richéises si uus abúndent · ne uóilez le cúer apóser · Ps 61:12 Vne fiéde parlát deus · icéz dóus chóses oí ⁝ kar lá podesté de déu \est ·/ é a téi síre misericorde ⁝ kar tu rendras á chescún sulunc ses ó_ŭres ·

Ps 62:2 DeuS li miens deus ⁝ á téi de lumiére ié uéil · Sezelát en téi la meie áneme ⁝ cum multipliablement á téi la meie cařn · Ps 62:3 Eń térre desérte é desuéiable é nient ewóse · eissi en sáinte chóse aparúi á téi ⁝ que ié ueísse la túe uertú é la túe glórie · Ps 62:4 Kar miéldre est · la túe misericórde sur uíes ⁝ les meies leŭres loderúnt téi · Ps 62:5 Eissí beneist_rái téi en la méie uíe ⁝ é el tuen núm leuerái mes máins · Ps 62:6 Sicume de saím é de cráisse séit raemplíde la meie áneme ⁝ é par leurés desledecemént loerát la meie búche · Ps 62:7 Sí ie remembrere fúi de téi sur mun lít · en matínes purpenserái en téi ⁝ Ps 62:8 kar tu fus li miens aiuére · E el co_ŭrement de tes éles esledecerái ⁝ Ps 62:9 aerst la meie áneme em prés téi ⁝ méi receút la túe déstre · Ps 62:10 Íl acértes enuáin quístrent la meie aneme · il enterrunt és basséces de la terre ⁝ Ps 62:11 serunt liŭret es mains de gláiue ⁝ partíes de gupilz

íerent · Ps 62:12Lí réis acértes sesledecerat en déu · é serunt loét túit chi iúrent en lúi ⁝ kar estupéde est la búche des parlanz feluníes ·

Ps 63:2Exói deus la meie óreisun cum ié depŕi ⁝ de la criéme del enemí delíure la meie aneme · Ps 63:3Tu coŭris méi del conueńt des malignanz ⁝ de multitúdine de ó ŭranz iniquitét · Ps 63:4Kar il aguisérent cume espéde lur lángues ⁝ tendírent arc · amére chóse ⁝ Ps 63:5que il saiéttent en occúlz le nient maluét · Ps 63:6Súdement saiétteruńt lúi é ne criend_runt ⁝ fermérent á séi felunésse paróle · Recuntérent que il repunderéient láz ⁝ dístrent · chi uerrát éls ? Ps 63:7Escerčherent iniquitéz⁝ defaillírent li escerčhant pár escerčhement · Aprismerát húem á hált cuér ⁝ Ps 63:8é serát exalcet deus · Les saiétte\s/ des enfanz fáites sunt pláies déls ⁝ Ps 63:9é enfermédes sunt encúntre els les lángues di céls · Conturbét sunt túit chi uedeient els ⁝ Ps 63:10é crienst chescuns húem · E annuncérent les ó ŭres de déu ⁝ é les faíz de lúi entendíerent · Ps 63:11Esledecerát li iúste el seignur · é esperrát en lúi ⁝ e serunt loét túit li dreiturier de cúer ·

f. 51r Ps 64:2ÉI cuuiént cańz deus en sỳon ⁝ é a téi rendút íert uót en ierusalem · f. 51r Ps 64:3\Exó/i la méie óreisún ⁝ á téi túte cań uendrát · Ps 64:4Les paróles des felúns miélz u\alú/rent sur nús ⁝ é ás nóz impietéz tu serás propiciús · Ps 64:5Beneuréz le quél tu eslisís é prisís ⁝ enhabiterát en tes áitres · Nus serúms raemplít es biéns de tá máisún ⁝ saínz est · li túens témples ⁝ Ps 64:6merueillús en óeltét · Exói nús deus li nóstre saluére ⁝ esperánce de tútes fińs de térre · é en la mér lúinz · Ps 64:7Apareillańz les mónz en la túe uertú · ceínz de puissańce · Ps 64:8chi cuntúrbes lé parfúnd de la mér ⁝ le suén de ses flúez · Seruńt turbédes les genz · Ps 64:9é cr_end_rúnt chi · habítent les térmes de tes sígnes ⁝ les eissemeńz dé matin é el uéspre tu deliterás · Ps 64:10Tú uisitás la térre é eníŭras lí ⁝ multipliás á enrichír lí · Lí flúues de déu raemplíz est · de éwes ⁝ tu aprestás la uiánde déls ⁝ kar issi est · lapareillement de lúi · Ps 64:11Les ríues de lúi eníŭranz tu multiplíes ses gérmes ⁝ en ses gutiéres esledecerát germánt · Ps 64:12Tú beneist_rás á la corúne del ań de la túe benignitét ⁝ é li tuén camp serúnt raemplít de plenté · Ps 64:13Encraisserúnt les bealtéz del desért ⁝ é de ledéce li tértre íerent céint · Ps 64:14Vestú sunt li multún des óeilles ⁝ é les ualédes abunderúnt de frumént ⁝ crierúnt · kar cańt dirruńt ·

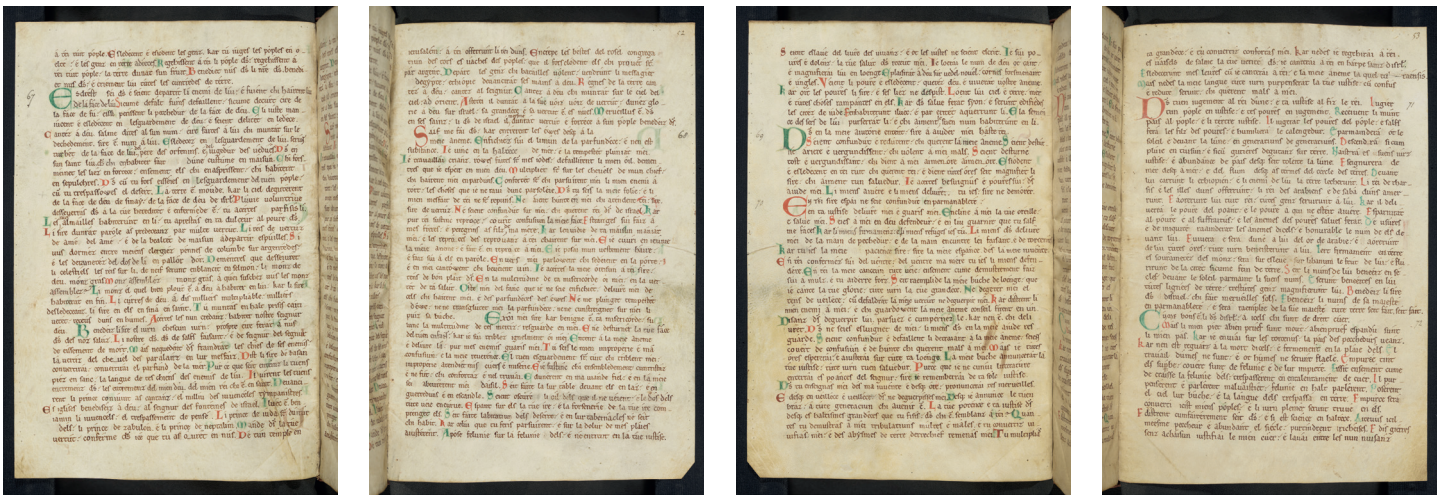
Ps 65:1CANTÉZ á déu túte térre ⁝ Ps 65:2sálme dítes al súen num ⁝ dunéz glórie ál loeńge de lúi · Ps 65:3Dítes á déu · cum espowentábles sunt · les túes óŭres síre ⁝ en la multitudine de ta uertút mentirunt á téi li túen enemí · Ps 65:4Túte térre adórt téi é cant á téi ⁝ sálme díet al túen núm · Ps 65:5Venéz é uedéz les ó_ŭres de déu ⁝ espowentábles en cunséilz sur les filz des húmes · Ps 65:6Chi tresturnát la mér en aridité ⁝ en flúet trespasseruńt á píet · ilúec esledeceruńs én lúi meésme · Ps 65:7Chi seignúret en sa uertú en parmanableté ⁝ li sun óil sur les génz resguárdent ⁝ chi enaspríssent ne seient exalcét en séi medésme · Ps 65:8Beneisséiz genz le nóstre déu ⁝ é oíde fáites la uóiz de lá loénge de lúi · Ps 65:9Chí posát la meie áneme á uíe ⁝ é ne dunát en commotiun lés miéns piéz · Ps 65:10Kar tú prouás nus deus · par fú nús esmerás ⁝ sicum est esmerét argénz · Ps 65:11Tú nus menás en láz · posás tribulatiuns en nóstre dós ⁝ Ps 65:12emposás húmes sur les nóz chíes · Nus trespassámes par fú é par éwe ⁝ é forsmenás nús en refrigérie · Ps 65:13Ié enterrái \én/ tá maisún en sacrifíses ⁝ rend rái á téi les miens uóz ⁝ Ps 65:14les qúels deseŭrerent mes leŭres · E parlát la meie búche ⁝ en ma tribulatiún · Ps 65:15Sacrifíses moúlez offerrái á téi ót encendemént de multúns ⁝ offerrái á téi búes ot búes · Ps 65:16Venéz · oéz · é ié recunterái túit chi crieméz déu ⁝ cum gránz choses il fist á la meie áneme · Ps 65:17A lúi par lá meie búche criái ⁝ e esledeceái \de/súz ma lángue · Ps 65:18Feluníe si ié esguardái en mun cuér ⁝ nel orrát li sire · Ps 65:19Pur icé oít deus ⁝ e atendiét á lá uóiz de la meie preiére · Ps 65:20Benedeíz deus ⁝ chi ne desturnát la meie óreisun ⁝ é lá súe misericórde de méi ·

Ps 66:2DeuS áit merci de nús é beneíet á nús ⁝ enlumínt le súen uólt sur nus · é áit merci de nús · Ps 66:3Que nus cunuíssums en térre la túe uéie ⁝ en tútes geńz le tuen saluédur · Ps 66:4Regehíssent á téi li póple deus ⁝
f. 51v regehíssent f. 51v á téi túit póple · Ps 66:5Esledécent é esiódent les genz · kar tú iúges les póples eń óelté ⁝ é lés genz en térre adréces · Ps 66:6Regehíssent á téi li póple deus ⁝ regehíssent á téi túit póple ⁝ Ps 66:7la térre dunát sun fruit · Benedíet nús deus li nostre deus · Ps 66:8benedíet nus deus ⁝ é criément lúi tútes les cuntŕedes de térre ·

Ps 67:2Sdrést séi deus é seíent departít lí enemí de lúi ⁝ é fuiént chi haíre\nt lúi/ de lá fáce de lúi · Ps 67:3Sicume defált fuńs defáillent ⁝ sicume decuŕt círe de la fáce de fú ⁝ eissi periśsent li pecchedúr de la fáce de déu · Ps 67:4E lí iúste maniúcent é esledécent en lesguardement de déu ⁝ é seient delitét en ledéce · Ps 67:5Cantéz á déu · sálme dítes al sun núm ⁝ éire fáites á lúi chi muntát sur lé dechédemént · síre est · num á lúi · Esledecéz en lesguardement de lúi · serúnt turbét de la fáce de lúi · Ps 67:6\del/ pére des orfeniń · é \del/ iugedúr des uédŭes · Deus eń sun saínt líu · Ps 67:7deus chi enhabitér fáit dúne custúme en máisún · Chí forsméinet les liéz en fortéce ⁝ ensement els chí enaspríssent ⁝ chí habítent en sepúlchres · Ps 67:8Deus cum tu fors eisséies en lesguardement del tuén póple ⁝ cum tu trespassówes el deserŕ · Ps 67:9Lá térre est · moúde · kar li ciél degutérent de la fáce de déu de sinaý ⁝ de la fáce de déu de israel · Ps 67:10Plúuie uoluntríue desseuerrás deus á la túe heredité

é enferméde *est* ⁝ tú acértes parfisís lí · Ps 67:11Lés \túes/ almaílles habiterúnt en lí ⁝ tu aprestás en ta dulceúr al poŭre *deus* · Ps 67:12Lí síre dunrát paróle ás predeceañz par múlte uertút · Ps 67:13Lí réis de uertúz de amé del amé ⁝ e de la bealtét de maísun á departír espúilles · Ps 67:14Sí uus dorméz entre meiéns clergiéz pénnes de colúmbe sur argentédes ⁝ é les derainetéz del dos de lí en pallór dór · Ps 67:15Deméntres que desséiŭret li celestiéls les réis sur li · de néif serunt enblancít en selmón ⁝ Ps 67:16li mónz de déu · mónz grás · Monz assembléz moñz grás · Ps 67:17á qúei susché uús les monz assemblez ? Lí mónz él quel bien ploút *est* · á déu á habiter en lúi ⁝ kar li síre habiterát en fín · Ps 67:18Lí cúrres de déu · á dís milliérs multipliáble ⁝ milliérs \d/esledeceañz · lí síre en éls en siná eń saint · Ps 67:19Tú muntás en halt prisís caítiuetét ⁝ receús duńs en húmes · Acértes les nun credañz ⁝ habitér nóstre seignúr déu · Ps 67:20Benedéiz lí síre el iuŕn chescún iuŕn ⁝ próspre éire ferát á nús *deus* des nóz salúz · Ps 67:21Lí nostre *deus* · *deus* de salfs fáisant ⁝ é de seignúr del segnúr de eíssement de moŕt · Ps 67:22Máis nequedént *deus* fraindrát les chíes de ses enemís ⁝ lá uertíz del che_uél des paralañz en lur mesfáiz · Ps 67:23Dist li síre dé basán conuertirái ⁝ conuertirái el parfúnd de la mér · Ps 67:24Púr cé que seít entéinz li túens piéz en sañc ⁝ la lañgue de tes chiéns des enemís de lúi · Ps 67:25Íl uírent les túens entremeńz *deus* ⁝ les entremenz del míen déu · dél mién réi chi *est* · en saint · Ps 67:26Deuancírent li prínce coniúint as cantañz ⁝ el millíu des iuuencéles tympanístres · Ps 67:27Ês iglíses benediséiz á déu ⁝ al seignur des fontéines de israél · Ps 67:28Illúec *est* · beniamin li iuuencéls ⁝ el trespassemeńt de pensé · Lí prínce de iúda *sunt* · dúitúr déls ⁝ li prínce de zabulón · é li prínce de neptalím · Ps 67:29Mańde *deus* la túe uertút ⁝ conferme *deus* icé qué tú as ó_ŭret en nús · Ps 67:30Dé tún témple en f. 52r ierusalém ⁝ á téi offerrunt lí réi dúns · Ps 67:31Encrépe f. 52r
lés béstes del rosél congregatiún des tórs es uáches des póples ⁝ que il forsclódent els chi prouét *sunt* · pár argeńt · Depárt les geńz chi batáilles uólent ⁝ Ps 67:32uendrúnt li messagíer degýpte ⁝ ethiópie deuancirát sés máins á déu · Ps 67:33Régnes de la térre cantéz a déu ⁝ cantéz al seignúr · Cantez á déu Ps 67:34chi muntát sur lé cíel del ciel ⁝ ád órient · Astetéi il dunrát á la súe uóiz uóiz de uertút ⁝ Ps 67:35dunéz glorie á déu sur israel ⁝ sa grandéce é sa uertút *est* · es núes · Ps 67:36Meruéillus *est* · *deus* en ses saínz ⁝ li *deus* de israel íl \meesme/ dunrát uertút é fortéce á sun póple benedéiz *deus* ·

Ps 68:2ÁLF me fái *deus* ⁝ kar entŕerent les éwes désq*ue* á la meie aneme · Ps 68:3Eńfichiéz súi el limún de la parfundéce ⁝ é nen est substánce · Ié uínc en la haltéce de mér ⁝ é la tempestét plúniát méi · Ps 68:4Ié trauaillái criañz · rówes fáites *sunt* mes iódes ⁝ defaillírent li mien óil · dementres que ié espéir en mién déu · Ps 68:5Multipliét *sunt* sur les cheuéls de mun chiéf ⁝ chi haírent méi en pardúns · Confortét *sunt* chi parsuírent méi li mien enemí á tórt ⁝ les chóses que ié ne rauí dunc parsoléie · Ps 68:6*Deus* tu séis la meie folíe ⁝ é li mien mesfáit de téi ne *sunt* repuńs · Ps 68:7Ne áient húnte eń méi chi aténdent téi ⁝ síre · síre de uertúz · Né seient confundút sur méi ⁝ chi quérent téi *deus* de israel · Ps 68:8Kar pur téi sustińc repŕoce ⁝ co urít confusiún la méie fáce · Ps 68:9Estránges súi fáiz á mes fréres ⁝ é peregríns as filz \de/ ma mére · Ps 68:10Kar lenuídie de ta máisun mańiát méi ⁝ é les repró_ces des reprouañz á téi chaírent sur méi · Ps 68:11E ié cúuŕi en ieú\nie/ la méie aneme ⁝ é fáit *est* · en repró_ce á mei · Ps 68:12E ié posái mun uestement háire ⁝ é fáiz súi á els en paróle · Ps 68:13Enuérs méi parlówent chi sedéient en la pórte ⁝ é en méi cantówent chi beuéient uín · Ps 68:14Ié acértes la meie óreisuń á téi síre ⁝ teńs de bón pláit *deus* · En la multitúdine de ta misericórde ói méi ⁝ en la uertét de tá salút · Ps 68:15Óste méi del fańc que ié ne seie enfichiét ⁝ deliŭre méi de cels chi haírent méi · é dés parfundéces des éwes · Ps 68:16Né me plúnget tempestét déwe ⁝ ne ne transglútet méi la parfúndéce ⁝ ne ne cunstreígnet sur méi li puíz sa búche · Ps 68:17EXÓI méi síre kar benígne *est* · ta misericórde ⁝ sulunc la multitúdine de tes mercíz ⁝ resguárde en méi · Ps 68:18E né desturnér la túe \fáce/ dél túen enfant ⁝ kar ié suí tribléz ignelment ói méi · Ps 68:19Eńtent á la meie aneme é delíure lí ⁝ pur mes enemís guarís méi · Ps 68:20Tú séis le mien impropérie é má confusiuń ⁝ é la meie reuerénce · Ps 68:21Él tuen esguardement *sunt* · tuit chi tŕiblent méi ⁝ impropérie atendiét mís cúers é misérie · E ié sustińc chí ensemblédement cuntristáz é ne fút ⁝ chi confortáz é nel truuái · Ps 68:22E dunérent en ma uiañde fiél ⁝ é en lá méie séi abeŭrerent méi daísil · Ps 68:23Séit fáite la lur táble deuant els en láz ⁝ é en guerredúns é en escándle · Ps 68:24Seient oscuré li oíl déls que il ne uéient ⁝ é le dós \déls/ túte uéie encúrue · Ps 68:25Espant sur els la túe íre ⁝ é la forsenerie de la túe íre cómprénget els · Ps 68:26Séit fáite labitatiun déls desérte ⁝ é en lur tabernácles né séit chi habít · Ps 68:27Kar celúi que tu ferís parsuírent ⁝ é sur la dolúr de mes pláies aiustérent · Ps 68:28Apóse feluníe sur lá feluníe déls ⁝ é né entrent en lá túe iustíse · f. 52v Ps 68:29Seient eslaué del liŭre des uiuañz ⁝ é ot les f. 52v
iústes ne seiént escrít · Ps 68:30Ié súi poŭres é doleńz ⁝ la túe salút *deus* receút méi · Ps 68:31Ié loerái le num de déu ót cánt ⁝ é magnifierái lúi en loénge · Ps 68:32E plaisirát á déu súr uedél nouél ⁝ córnes forsmenánt é úngles · Ps 68:33Véient li poŭre é esledécent ⁝ queréz déu · é uiuérat uóstre aneme · Ps 68:34Kar oít les poŭres li síre ⁝ é ses liéz ne despíst · Ps 68:35Lóent lúi ciél é térre ⁝ mér · é tútes chóses rampántes en els · Ps 68: 36Kár *deus* sálue ferát sỳon ⁝ é serúnt edifié\ des/ les citéz de iúde · E énhabiterúnt ilúec ⁝ é par eritét aquerrunt lí · Ps 68:37E la seménce des sérs de lúi purserrát li ⁝ é chi aíment \le/ suén núm habiterúnt en lí ·



▲ *Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320, fol. 51v, 52r, 52v, and 53r.* Source: https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/
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Ps 69:2 DeuS en la meie aiutórie entént ⁝ síre á aiudér méi háste téi · Ps 69:3 Séient confundút é redútent ⁝ chi quérent lá meie áneme · Ps 69:4 Séient \destúr/né áriere é uergondíssent ⁝ chi uólent á méi mals · Seient desturné tost é uergondissánt ⁝ chi díent á méi aímen_óre aímen_óre · Ps 69:5 Esiódent é esledécent en téi túit chi quérent téi ⁝ é díent tútes óres séit magnifiét li síre ⁝ chi áiment tun saluedúr · Ps 69:6 Ié acértes besuignús é póũres súi ⁝ deus aiúde méi · Lí miens aiuére é li miens deliũre tu íes ⁝ síre ne demórér ·

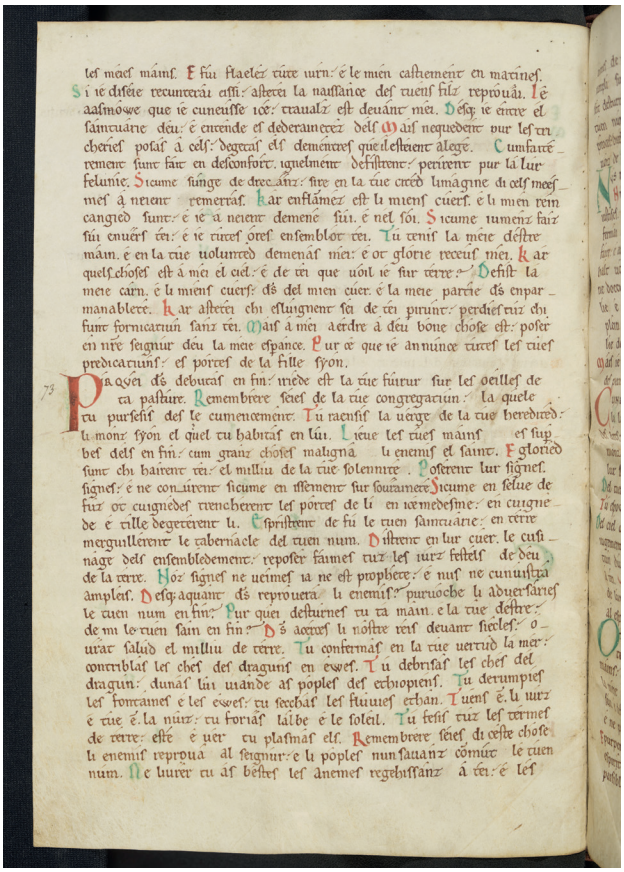
Ps 70:1 N TÉI síre esperái ne séie confundút en parmanableté ⁝ Ps 70:2 en ta iustíse delíũre méi é guarís méi · Enclíne á méi la túe oréille ⁝ e sálue méi · Ps 70:3 Séies á méi en déu defendeúr ⁝ é en líu guarnít que tu sálf me fáces · Kár lí mieńs firmameńz ⁝ é lí miens refúges íes tú · Ps 70:4 Lí mieńs deus delíũre méi de la máin de pechedúr ⁝ é de la máin encúntre léi faisańt · é de torcenús · Ps 70:5 Kar tu íes la méie pacieńce síre ⁝ síre la méie esperánce · dés lá meie iuũente · Ps 70:6 Eń téi conforméz súi del uéntre ⁝ del uéntre ma mére tu íes li miens defendére · Eń téi la meie canceún túte uéie ⁝ Ps 70:7 ensement cume demustrement faíz súi á múlz · é tu aidérre fořz · Ps 70:8 Séit raemplíde la méie búche de loénge ⁝ que ié cánte la túe glórie ⁝ túte iurn la túe grandéce · Ps 70:9 Ne degetér mei el tens de uéiléce ⁝ cum defaldrát lá méie uertút ne deguerpír méi · Ps 70:10 Kár dístrent lí mién enemí á méi ⁝ é chi guardówent lá meie aneme conséil fírent en ún · Ps 70:11 Disánz deus deguerpít lúi · parsuéz é cumpernéz le · kar nen est · chi delíũret · Ps 70:12 Deus ne seies esluígnet de méi ⁝ li miens deus en la meie aiúde resguárde · Ps 70:13 Seient confundút é defáillent li detraiánt á la meie áneme ⁝ seient coũert de confusiún é de húnte chi quérent mals á méi · Ps 70:14 Máis ié tútes óres espererái ⁝ é aiusterái sur túte ta loénge · Ps 70:15 Lá méie búche annuncerát lá túe iustíse ⁝ túte iurn túen saluédúr · Purcé que ié ne cunúi litteratúre Ps 70:16 enterrái es poánces del seignur ⁝ síre ié rememberrái de ta sóle iustíse · Ps 70:17 Deus tu enseignás méi dés ma iuuénte é desque óre ⁝ pronuncerái tes meruéilles · Ps 70:18 E désque en uéilléce é ueilléce ⁝ deus ne deguerpísses méi · Desque ié annúnce le túen bráz ⁝ á túte generaciun chi auenír est · Lá túe poténce Ps 70:19 é tá iustíse deus desque es haltísmes grandéces que tu fisís ⁝ deus chi est · semblanz á téi ? Ps 70:20 Quántes tu demustrás á méi tribulatiuńs múltes é máles · é tu conuertíz uiuifiás méi ⁝ e des abýsmes de térre
f. 53r derrechiéf remenás méi · Ps 70:21 Tú multipliá\s/ f. 53r ta grandéce ⁝ é tu conuertíz confortás méi · Ps 70:22 Kar nedés ié regehirái á téi · es uáisels de sálme la túe uerité deus ⁝ ié canterái á téi en hárpe sáinz disrael · Ps 70:23 Esledecerúnt mes leũres cum ié canterái á téi ⁝ é la meie áneme la quel tu ra\énsís ·/ Ps 70:24 Maís nedés la meie lángue túte iúrn purpenserát la túe iustíse ⁝ cum confús é reduté seruńt ⁝ chi quérent máls á méi ·

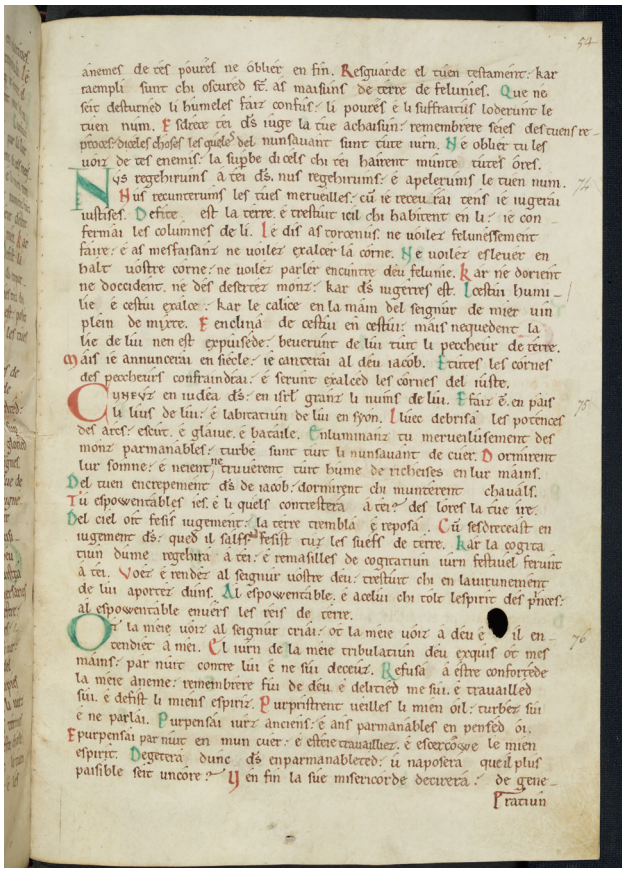
Ps 71:2 DeuS túen iugement al réi dúne ⁝ é tá iustíse al fíz le réi · Iugiér tun póple en iustíse ⁝ é tes poũres en iugemént · Ps 71:3 Recéiuent li múnt páis al póple ⁝ é li tértre iustíse · Ps 71:4 Íl iugerát les poũres del póple ⁝ é sálfs ferá les filz des poũres ⁝ e humilierá le calengedúr · Ps 71:5 E parmainderá ót le soléil é deuańt la lúne ⁝ en generatiúns de generatiuńs · Ps 71:6 Descend_rá sicum plúie en túisún ⁝ é sicum gutiéres degutańz sur térre · Ps 71:7 Náist_rá es súens iúrz iustíse ⁝ é abundánce de páis desque séit toléite lá lúne · Ps 71:8 E seignurerá de mér desque á mér ⁝ e del flúm désque ás tármes del cércle des térres · Ps 71:9 Deuańt lúi carrúnt li ethiopién ⁝ é li enemí de lúi la térre lecheruńt · Ps 71:10 Lí réi de tharsís é les ílles duńs offerrúnt ⁝ li réi des arabieńs é de sabá dúns amerruńt · Ps 71:11 E áorerunt lúi túit réi ⁝ tútes geńz seruiruńt á lúi · Ps 71:12 Kar il deliuerra le póũre del poańt ⁝ é le póũre á qui ne estéit aiuére · Ps 71:13 Esparnirát al póũre é al suffraitús ⁝ é les ánemes des póũres sálues ferát · Ps 71:14 Dé usúres é de iniquité raainderát les ánemes dicéls ⁝ é honuráble le núm de éls deuańt lúi ·

Ps 71:15E uiuerá é será duné á lúi del ór de arábie ⁊ é aórerúnt de lúi tútes óres ⁊ túte iúrn beneisterúnt á lúi · Ps 71:16Íert firmameńt en térre es soũraninetéz des mónz ⁊ será sur esleue sur líbanum le frút de lúi ⁊ é flúriruńt de la citét sicume féin de térre · Ps 71:17Séit lí núms de lúi beneéiz en sécles ⁊ deuánt le soléil parmáint li suens núms · E seruńt beneéites en lúi tútes lignées de térre ⁊ trestútes geńz magnifieruńt lúi · Ps 71:18Benedéiz lí síre deus disrael ⁊ chi fáit meruéilles sols · Ps 71:19E beneéiz li nuḿs de sa maiesté en parmanableté ⁊ é será raeḿplíe de la súe maiesté túte térre séit fáit · \séit fáit ·/

Ps 72:1CÚME bóns est · li deus disrael ⁊ á icels chi sunt de dréit cúer · Ps 72:2Máis li mién piet a bién prúef sunt moút ⁊ a bién prúef espandú sunt li mien pás · Ps 72:3Kar ié enuiái sur les torcenús ⁊ la páis des pecchedúrs ueańz · Ps 72:4Kar nen est reguárz á la mort dicéls ⁊ é fermemeńt en la pláie déls · Ps 72:5El trauáil dúmes ne sunt ⁊ é ot húmes ne seruńt flaelé · Ps 72:6Empurcé tińt els supẽrbe ⁊ couért sunt de feluníe é de lur impieté · Ps 72:7Eissít ensemeńt cume de cráisse la feluníe déls ⁊ trespassérent én entalentamént de cuér · Ps 72:8Íl purpensérent é parlérent malũaistiét ⁊ feluníe en hált parlérent · Ps 72:9Posérent el ciél lur búche ⁊ é la lángue déls trespassá en térre · Ps 72:10Empúrce será cónuertí icíst míens póples ⁊ é li iuŕn pleniér seruńt truué en éls · Ps 72:11E dístrent cumfáitérement séit deus ⁊ é si est sciénce en haltéce · Ps 72:12Aiteuús icilmeésme peccheúr é abundańt el siécle ⁊ purtíndrent richéises · Ps 72:13E dís giérres senz acháiun iustifiái le mién cúer ⁊ é lauái eńtre les nun nuisańz f. 53v les méies f. 53v
máins · Ps 72:14E fúi flaeléz túte iuŕn ⁊ é le mién castiemént en matínes · Ps 72:15Sí ié diséie recunterái eissí ⁊ astetéi la naissańce des tuéns fílz reprốũai · Ps 72:16Ié aasmówe que ié cuneússe icé ⁊ traválz est deuánt méi · Ps 72:17Désque ié éntre él sáintuárie déu ⁊ é enténde es dederainetéz déls · Ps 72:18Máis nequedeńt pur les tricheríes posás á céls ⁊ degetás éls deméntres qúe il estéient alegé · Ps 72:19Cumfaitérement sunt fáit en desconfort · ignelmént defístrent ⁊ perírent pur lá lúr feluníe · Ps 72:20Sicume súnge de dreč_anz ⁊ sire en la túe citéd limágine di cels meésmes á neient remerrás · Ps 72:21Kár enflámméz est li miens cúers · é li mién réin cangiéd sunt ⁊ Ps 72:22é ié á neient demené súi · é nél sói · Ps 72:23Sicume iumeńz faíz sui enũers téi ⁊ é ié tútes óres ensemblót téi · Ps 72:24Tú tenís la méie déstre máin · é en la túe uoluntéd demenás méi ⁊ é ot glorie receús méi · Ps 72:25Kár quels_chóses est á méi él ciél ⁊ é de téi que uóil ié sur térre ? Ps 72:26Defíst lá meie cárn · é li miéns cuérs ⁊ deus del mien cúer · é la meie partíe deus enparmanableté · Ps 72:27Kar astetéi chi eslúignent séi de téi perirúnt ⁊ perdiés túz chi

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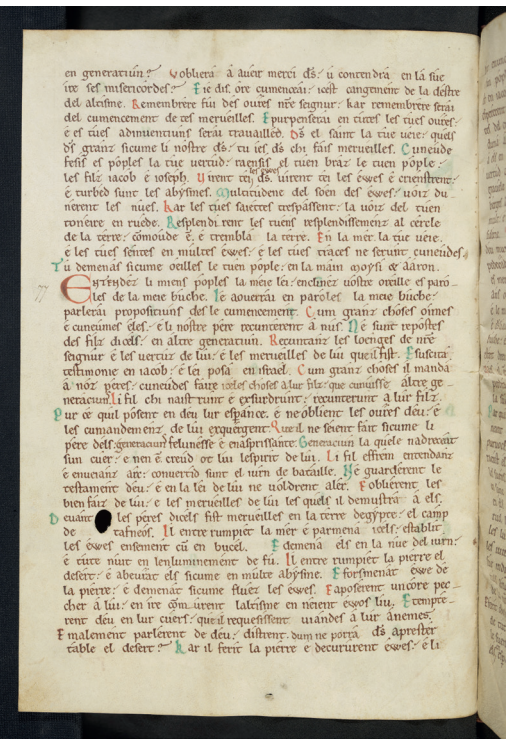
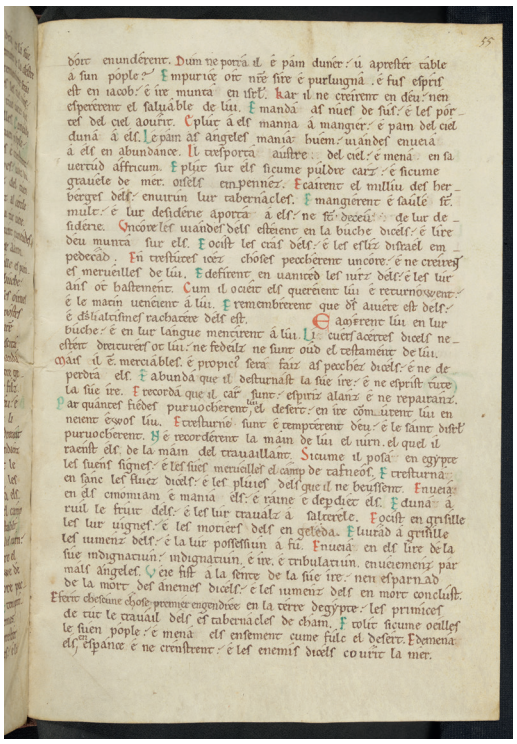
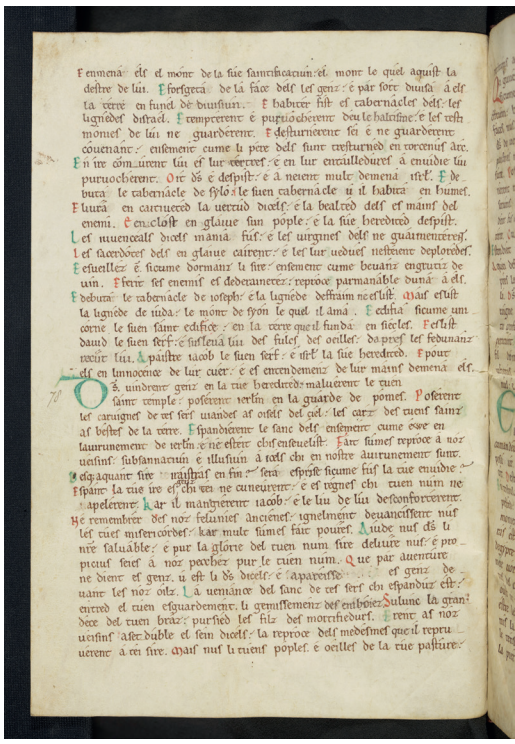
fúnt fornicatiún sańz téi · Ps 72:28Máis á méi aérdre á déu bóne chóse est ⁝ posér én nostre seignúr déu la méie esperánce · Pur cé que ié annúnce túres les túes predicatiuńs ⁝ es pórtes de la fílle sẏón ·

Ps 73:1PÚR QVEI deus debutás en fín ⁝ iriéde est la túe fúirur sur les oéilles de ta pastúre · Ps 73:2Remembŕere séies de la túe congregatiún ⁝ la qúele tu pursesís des le cumencemént · Tú raensís la uérge de la túe hereditéd ⁝ li mónz sẏón el quel tu habitás en lúi · Ps 73:3Liéue les túes máins es supérbes déls en fín ⁝ cum grańz chóses maligná li enemís el sáint · Ps 73:4E gloriéd sunt chi haírent téi ⁝ el millíu de la túe solennité · Posérent lur sígnes · sígnes ⁝ Ps 73:5é ne con_úrent sicume en issement sur soŭraineté · Sicume en sélue de fúz ót cuignédes Ps 73:6trenchérent les pórtes de lí en icé medésme ⁝ eń cuignéde é tílle degetérent li · Ps 73:7Esprístrent de fú le tuen saintuárie ⁝ en térre merguillérent le tabernácle del tuen num · Ps 73:8Dístrent en lur cuér · le cusináge dels ensemblédement ⁝ reposér fáimes tuz les iúrz festéls de déu de la térre · Ps 73:9Nóz sígnes ne ueímes ia ne est prophéte ⁝ é nus ne cunúistrá ampléis · Ps 73:10Desque aquánt deus repróuerá li enemís ? puruóche li aduersáries le tuen num en fín ? Ps 73:11Pur qúei destúrnes tu ta máin · é la túe déstre ⁝ de mi le túen saín en fín ? Ps 73:12Deus acértes li nóstre réis deuant siécles ⁝ óŭrat salúd el millíu de térre · Ps 73:13Tu confermás en la túe uertúd lá mér ⁝ contriblás les chés des draguńs en éwes · Ps 73:14Tú debrisás les chés dél dragún ⁝ dunás lúi uiánde as póples des ethiopiéns · Ps 73:15Tu derumpiés les fontáines é les éwes ⁝ tu secchás les flúuies ethán · Ps 73:16Túens est · li iúrz é túe est · la núiz ⁝ tu forĭas lálbe é le soléil · Ps 73:17Tú fesís túz les térmes de térre ⁝ esté é uér tu plasmás els · Ps 73:18Remembrére séies di céste chóse · li enemís reprouá al seignúr ⁝ e li póples nunsauańz commút
f. 54r lé túen núm · Ps 73:19Ne liŭrer tu ás béstes les anemes regehissánz á téi ⁝ e lés f. 54r ánemes de tes póŭres ne óbliér en fín · Ps 73:20Resguárde el túen testamént ⁝ kár raempli sunt chi oscuréd sunt · ás maisúns de térre de feluníes · Ps 73:21Que né séit desturnéd lí húmeles fáiz confús ⁝ li póŭres é li suffraitús loderuńt le túen núm · Ps 73:22Esdréce téi deus iúge la túe achaisún ⁝ remembŕere séies des \tuens re/próces ⁝ dicéles chóses les qúeles del nunsauańt sunt túte iúrn · Ps 73:23Né obliér tu les uóiz de tes enemís ⁝ la supérbe di céls chi téi haírent múnte túres óres ·

Ps 74:2NÝS regehirúms á téi deus · nus regehiruńs ⁝ e apelerúms le túen núm · Nús recunteruńs les túes meruéilles ⁝ Ps 74:3cum ié receu_řai teńs ié iugerái iustíses · Ps 74:4Defíte est la térre · é trestúit icíl chi habítent én li ⁝ ié confermái les colúmnes de lí · Ps 74:5Ié dís as torcenús · ne uóilez felunéssemeńt fáire ⁝ é as mesfaisańz ne uóiléz exalcér lá córne · Ps 74:6Ne uoiléz esleuér en hált uóstre córne ⁝ ne uoiléz parlér encúntre déu feluníe · Ps 74:7Kár né dorieńt ne doccideńt · né dés desertéz mónz ⁝ Ps 74:8kar deus iugérres est · Icestúi humílie é cestúi exálce ⁝ Ps 74:9kar le calíce en la máin del seignúr de míer uín pléin de míxte · E encliná de cestúi eń cestúi ⁝ máis nequedent la líe de lúi nen est expúiséde ⁝ beuerúnt de lúi túit li peccheúr de térre · Ps 74:10Máis ié annuncerái en siécle ⁝ ié canterái al déu iacób · Ps 74:11E túres les córnes des peccheúrs confraíndrái ⁝ é seruńt exalcéd les córnes del iúste ·

Ps 75:2CUNEÝZ en iudéa deus ⁝ en israel grańz li numńs de lúi · Ps 75:3E fáiz est · en páis li líus de lúi ⁝ é labitatiún de lúi en sẏón · Ps 75:4Ilúec debrisá les poténces des arcs ⁝ escút · é gláiue · é batáile · Ps 75:5Enluminańz tu merueilúsement des mónz parmanábles ⁝ Ps 75:6aturbé sunt túit li nunsauánt de cuér · Dormírent lur soṁne ⁝ é neient \ne/ truuérent túit húme de richéises en lur máins · Ps 75:7Del tuen encrepemént deus de iacób ⁝ dormírent chi muntérent chauáls · Ps 75:8Tú espowentábles íes · é li quéls contresterá á téi ? des lóres la túe íre · Ps 75:9Del ciél oít fesís iugemént ⁝ la térre tremblá é reposá · Ps 75:10Cum sesdreceást en iugement deus ⁝ queð il sálfs fesíst túz les suéfs de térre · Ps 75:11Kár la cogitatiún dúme regehirá á téi ⁝ é remasílles de cogitatiún iúrn festiuél feruńt á téi · Ps 75:12Voéz é rendéz al seignúr uóstre déu ⁝ trestúit chi en lauirunemént de lúi aportéz dúns · Ál espowentáble · Ps 75:13é acelúi chi tólt lespirít dés prínces ⁝ ál espowentáble enŭers les réis de térre ·

Ps 76:2ÓT la méie uóiz al seignúr criái ⁝ ót la méie uóiz á déu é íl entendiét á méi · Ps 76:3Él iúrn de la méie tribulatiún déu exqúis ót mes máins ⁝ pár núit contre lúi é ne súi deceúz · Refusá á éstre confortéde la méie aneme ⁝ Ps 76:4remembrére fúi de déu · é delitiéd me súi · é trauailléd súi · é defíst li miéns espiríz · Ps 76:5Purprístrent uéilles li mién óil ⁝ turbéz súi é ne parlái · Ps 76:6Purpensái iúrz ancieńs ⁝ e ańs parmanábles en penséd ói · Ps 76:7E purpensái par núit en mun cuér ⁝ é estéie trauailliez · é escerčowe le mién espirít · Ps 76:8Degeterá duńc deus en parmanabletéd ⁝ ú naposerá que íl plús paisíble séit uncóre ? Ps 76:9Ú én fín la súe misericórde decirerá ⁝
f. 54v de generatiún f. 54v en generatiún ? Ps 76:10V oblierá á auéir mercí deus ⁝ ú contendrá en lá súe íre ses misericórdes ? Ps 76:11E ié dis · óre cumenceái ⁝ icést cangemént de la déstre del altísme · Ps 76:12Remembrére fúi dés oŭres nostre seignur ⁝ kar remembrére serái del cumencement de tes meruéilles · Ps 76:13E purpenserái en túres les túes oŭres ⁝ é es túes adinuentiúns serái trauailléd · Ps 76:14Deus el sáint la túe uéie ⁝ quéls deus gránz sicume lí nóstre deus ? Ps 76:15tu íes deus chi fáis meruéilles · Ps 76:15Cuneúde fesís es póples la túe uertúd ⁝ Ps 76:16raensís el túen bráz le tuen póple ⁝ les fílz iacób é ioséph · Ps 76:17Uírent téi \les ewes/ deus uírent téi les

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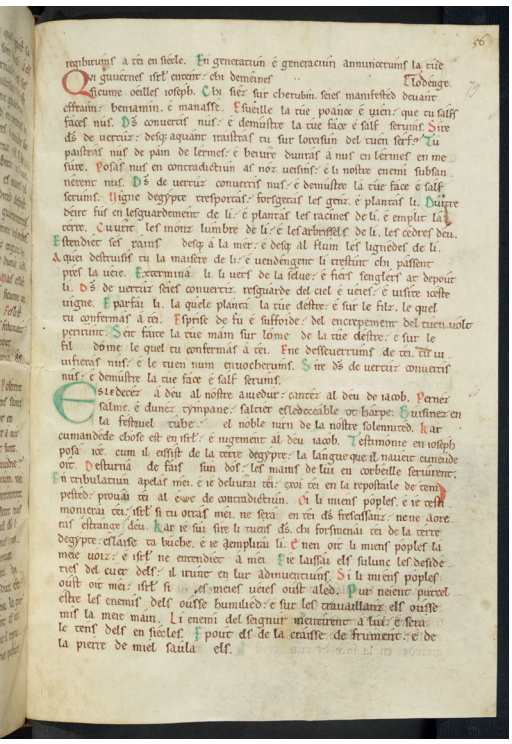
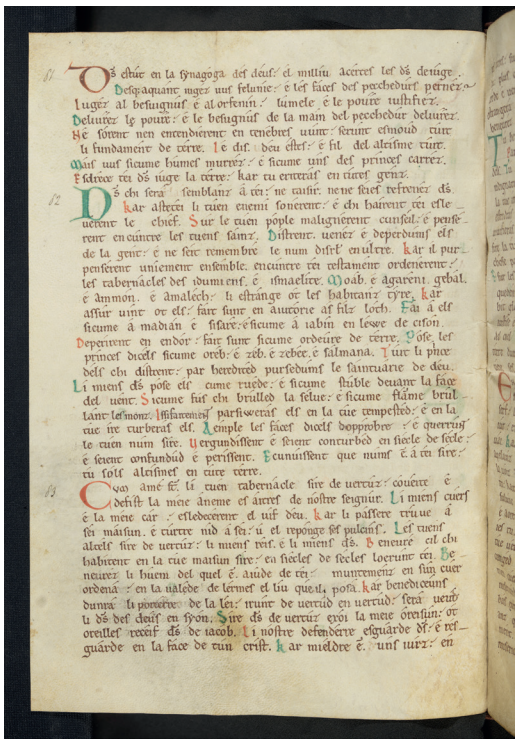
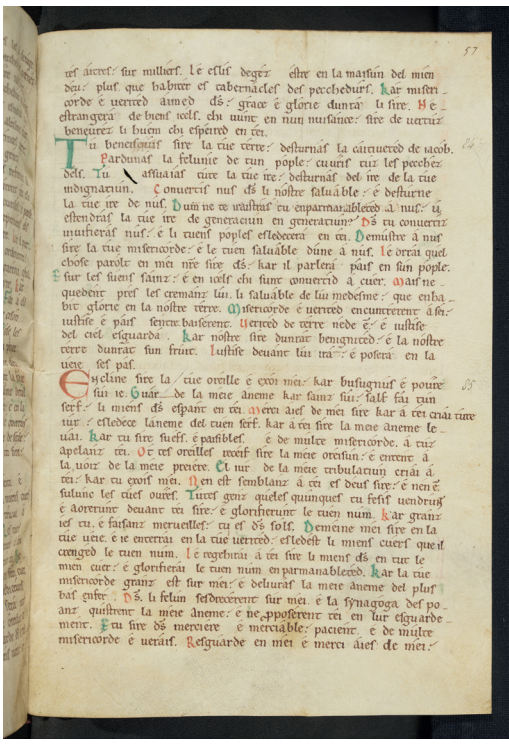
éwes é criénstrent ⁝ é turbéd sunt les abýsmes · Ps 76:18Multitúdene del sóen des éwes ⁝ uóiz dunérent les núes · Kar les túes saiéttes trespássent ⁝ Ps 76:19la uóiz del túen tonéire en ruéde · Resplendí_rent les túens resplendísseménz al cércle de la térre ⁝ co*m*móude e*st* · é tremblá la térre · Ps 76:20Eń la mér · la túe uéie · é les túes séntes en múltes éwes ⁝ é les túes tráces ne seruńt cuneúdes · Ps 76:21Tú demenás sicume óeilles le túen póple ⁝ en la máin moỳsí *et* ááron ·

EPs 77:1NTENdéz li miens póples la méie léi ⁝ enclinéz uóstre oréille es paróles de la meie búche · Ps 77:2Ié aouerrái en paróles la meie búche ⁝ parlerái propositiúns des le cumencemeńt · Ps 77:3Cum grańz chóses oímes é cuneúmes éles ⁝ é li nóstre pére recuntérent á nús · Ps 77:4Né sunt repóstes des fílz dicéls ⁝ en áltre generatiún · Recuntańz les loénges de no*st*re seignúr é les uertúz de lúi ⁝ é les meruéilles de lúi que íl fist · Ps 77:5E suscitá testimonie en iacób ⁝ é léi posá en israél · Cum gránz chóses íl mandá á nóz péres ⁝ cuneúdes fáire icéles chóses a lur filz ⁝ Ps 77:6que cunúisse áltre generáciun\s/ · Lí fil chi nais*t*_rúnt é exsurdrúnt ⁝ recunteruńt á lúr fílz · Ps 77:7Pur cé quíl pósent en déu lur esp*er*ánce · é ne óblíent les oũres déu ⁝ é les cumandeménz de lúi exquérgent · Ps 77:8Que il ne séient fáit sicume li pére déls ⁝ generaciun\s/ felunésse é enasprissánte · Generaciún la quéle nadreceát sun cuér ⁝ e nen e*st* · creúd ot lúi lespirít de lúi · Ps 77:9Lí fil effrém entendańz é enueiańz arc ⁝ conuertíd sunt el iurn de batáille · Ps 77:10Né guardérent le testameńt déu ⁝ é en la léi de lúi ne uóldrent alér · Ps 77:11E obliérent les bienfáiz de lúi ⁝ e les meruéilles de lúi les quéls il demustrá á els · Ps 77:12Deuańt les péres dicéls fist meruéilles en la térre degýpte ⁝ el camp de tafneós · Ps 77:13Íl entre rumpiét la mér é parmená icéls ⁝ establít les éwes ensemeńt cu*m* en bucél · Ps 77:14E demená éls en la núe del iúrn ⁝ é túte núit en lenluminemént de fú · Ps 77:15Íl entre rumpiét la piérre el desért ⁝ é abeũrat éls sicume en múlte abýsme · Ps 77:16E forsmenát éwe dé la piérre ⁝ é demenát sicume flúez les éwes · Ps 77:17E aposerént uncóre peccher á lúi ⁝ en íre co*m*m_úrent laltísme en néient éwos líu · Ps 77:18E temptérent déu en lur cuérs ⁝ qué íl requesíssent · uiándes á lúr ánemes · Ps 77:19E malemént parlérent de déu ⁝ dístrent · dum ne porrá d*eu*s aprestér táble el desert ? Ps 77:20Kar il ferít la piérre é decurúrent éwes ⁝ é li f. 55r dóit enundérent · Dúm ne porrá il é páin dunér ⁝ ú aprestér táble á sun póple ? Ps 77:21Empuricé oít no*st*re síre f. 55r
é purluigná · é fus espris est en iacob ⁝ é íre muntá en isr*ae*l · Ps 77:22Kar il ne creírent en déu ⁝ nén esperérent el saluáble de lúi · Ps 77:23E mandá as núes de sús ⁝ é les pórtes del ciel aoũrit · Ps 77:24E plút á els manna á mangiér ⁝ e pain del ciél duná á éls · Ps 77:25Lé páin as ańgeles maniá húem ⁝ uiándes enueiá á éls en abundánce · Ps 77:26Íl tresportá aústre del ciél ⁝ é mená en sa uertúd áffricum · Ps 77:27E plút sur éls sicume púldre caŕz ⁝ é sicume grauéle de mér · oiséls em_pennéz · Ps 77:28E caírent el millíu des herbérges déls ⁝ enuirún lur tabernácles · Ps 77:29E mangiérent é saúlé s*un*t · mult ⁝ é lur desidérie aportá á els ⁝ Ps 77:30ne s*un*t deceú de

lur desidérie · Vncóre lés uiándes déls estéient en la búche dicéls ⁝ [Ps 77:31]é líre déu muntá sur els · E ocíst les crás déls ⁝ é les eslíz disraél empedečad · [Ps 77:32]Eń trestútes icéz chóses pecchérent uncóre ⁝ é ne creírent es meruéilles de lúi · [Ps 77:33]E defírent en uanitéd les iúrz déls ⁝ é les lúr ańs ót hastemeńt · [Ps 77:34]Cum il ociéit els queréient lúi é returnówent ⁝ é le matín uenéient á lúi · [Ps 77:35]E remembŕerent que *deus* aiuére est déls ⁝ é *deus* lí altísmes rachatére déls est · [Ps 77:36]E amérent lúi en lur búche ⁝ é en lur lángue mentírent á lúi · [Ps 77:37]Lí cuérs acértes dicels ne_\e/stéit dreiturérs ot lúi ⁝ ne fedeílz ne sunt oúd el testamént de lúi · [Ps 77:38]Máis íl *est* · merciábles · é propici*us* será fáiz as pecchéz dicéls ⁝ e ne deperdrá els · E abundá que il desturnást la súe íre ⁝ é ne espríst túte la súe íre · [Ps 77:39]E recordá que il čar sunt ⁝ espiríz alańz é ne repairańz · [Ps 77:40]Par quántes fiédes puruochérent \lúi/ el deseŕt ⁝ en íre co*m*_múrent lúi en neient éwos líu · [Ps 77:41]E tresturné sunt é temptérent déu ⁝ e le sáint disr*ael* puruochérent · [Ps 77:42]Né recordérent la máin de lui el iúrn · el quel íl raeńst éls de la máin del trauaillańt · [Ps 77:43]Sicume il posá en egỳpte les suéns sígnes ⁝ é les súes meruéilles el čamp de tafneós · [Ps 77:44]E tresturná en sańc les fluéz dicéls ⁝ é les plúies déls que il ne beússent · [Ps 77:45]Enueiá en éls cinómiam é maniá éls ⁝ é ráine é dep*er*diét éls · [Ps 77:46]E duná á ruíl le frúit déls ⁝ é les lúr trauálz á salteréle · [Ps 77:47]É ocíst en grisílle les lur uígnes ⁝ e les moriérs dels en geléda · [Ps 77:48]E liŭrad á grisílle les iumeńz déls ⁝ e la lúr possessiún á fú · [Ps 77:49]Enueiá en els líre dé la súe indignatiún ⁝ indignatiún · é íre · é tribulatiún · enuéiemeńz pár máls ángeles · [Ps 77:50]Véie fist á la sénte de la súe íre ⁝ nen esparn_ad de la mort des ánemes dicéls ⁝ é les iumeńz dels en mort conclúst · [Ps 77:51]\E f/erít chescúne čhose premiér engendrée en la térre degýpte ⁝ les primíces de túte le trauáil déls es tabernácles de chám · [Ps 77:52]E tolít sicume oéilles le súen póple ⁝ é mená els ensement cume fúlc el desért · [Ps 77:53]E demená éls \en/ esp*er*ánce é ne crénstrent ⁝ é les enemís dicéls coŭrit
f. 55v la mér · [f. 55v] [Ps 77:54]E enmená éls el mónt de la súe saintificatiún ⁝ él mont le quél aquíst la déstre de lúi · [Ps 77:54]E forsgetá de lá fáce déls les geńz ⁝ é pár sórt diuisá á els la térre en funél de diuisiún · [Ps 77:55]E habitér físt es tabernácles déls ⁝ les lignédes disraél · [Ps 77:56]E temptérent é puruóchérent déu le haltísme ⁝ é les testimónies de lúi ne guardérent · [Ps 77:57]E desturnérent séi é ne guardérent cóuenańt ⁝ ensemeńt cume li pére déls sunt tresturnéd en torcenús arc · [Ps 77:58]Eń íre co*m*m_úrent lúi és lur tértres ⁝ é en lur entáilledúres á enuídie lúi puruochérent · [Ps 77:59]Oít *deus* é despíst ⁝ é á neient mult demená isr*ael* · [Ps 77:60]E debutá le tabernácle de sỳló ⁝ le suen tabernácle ú íl habitá en húmes · [Ps 77:61]E liŭra en caitiuetéd la uertúd dicéls ⁝ e la bealtéd dels es máins del enemí · [Ps 77:62]E en_clóst en gláiue sun póple ⁝ e la súe heredited despíst · [Ps 77:63]Les iuuencéals dicels maniá fús ⁝ é les uírgines déls ne guáimentérent · [Ps 77:64]Les sacerdótes déls en gláiue caírent ⁝ é les lur uedués nestéient deplorédes · [Ps 77:65]E esueilléz e*st* · sicume dormánz li síre ⁝ ensement cume beuańz engrutíz de uín · [Ps 77:66]E ferít ses enemís es dederainetéz ⁝ repróce parmanáble duná á éls · [Ps 77:67]E debutá le tabernácle de ioseph ⁝ é la lignéde deffraím né eslíst · [Ps 77:68]Máis eslíst la lignéde de iúda ⁝ le mónt de sỳón le quel il amá · [Ps 77:69]E edifiá sicume unicórne le suen sáint edifíce ⁝ en la térre que il fundá en siécles · [Ps 77:70]E eslíst dauid le suen seŕf ⁝ e susleuá lúi des fúlcs des oéilles ⁝ dapŕes les fedunańz rečut lúi · [Ps 77:71]Apáistre iacób le suen seŕf ⁝ é isr*ael* la súe heredited · [Ps 77:72]E póut els en linnocénce de lúr cuér ⁝ é es entendemeńz de lúr máins demená éls ·

[Ps 78:1]D*eu*S · uíndrent geńz en la túe heredited ⁝ maluérent le tuén sáint témple ⁝ posérent ier*usal*em en la guárde de pómes · [Ps 78:2]Posérent les caruígnes de tes seŕs uiańdes as oiséls del ciél ⁝ les caŕz des tuens sáinz as béstes de la térre · [Ps 78:3]Espandiérent le sanc déls ensemeńt cume éwe en lauirunement de ier*usal*em ⁝ é né estéit chis enseuelíst · [Ps 78:4]Fáit súmes repróce á nóz uéisins ⁝ subsannatiún é illusiún á icéls chi en nóstre auirunement sunt · [Ps 78:5]Desq*ue* aquańt síre iráistrás en fín ? será espríse sicume fús la túe enuídie ? [Ps 78:6]Espánt la túe íre es \genz/ chi téi ne cuneúrent ⁝ é es régnes chi tuen núm ne apelérent · [Ps 78:7]Kar il mangiérent iacób ⁝ é le líu de lúi desconfortérent · [Ps 78:8]Né remembrér des nóz feluníes anciénes ⁝ ignelmént deuancíssent nús lés túes misericórdes ⁝ kar mult súmes fáit poŭres · [Ps 78:9]Aiúde nus *deus* lí nostre saluáble ⁝ é pur la glórie del tuen núm sire deliŭre nús ⁝ e propicius seíes á nóz pecchéz pur le túen núm · [Ps 78:10]Que pár auentúre ne díent es genz · ú est li *deus* dicéls ⁝ é aparéisse es geńz deuańt les nóz óilz · Lá veniánce del sanc de tes seŕs chi espandúz ést ⁝ [Ps 78:11]eńtred el túen esguardemeńt · li gemisseménz des embóiez · Suluńc la grandéce del tuen bráz ⁝ pursiéd les fílz des mortifiedúrs · [Ps 78:12]E reńt as nóz uéisins asetdúble el séin dicéls ⁝ la repróce dels medésmes que íl
f. 56r repruuérent á téi sire · [Ps 78:13]Mais nus li túens póples · é oéilles de la túe pastúre ⁝ [f. 56r] regihirúms a téi en siécle · Eń generatiún é generaciún annuncerúms la túe lodénge ·

[Ps 79:2]Q[Ps 79:3]VI guuérnes isr*ael* enteńt ⁝ chi deméines sicume oéilles ioséph · Chi siéz súr cherubín · séies manifestéd deuańt effraím ⁝ beniamín · é manassé · Esuéille la túe poánce é uién ⁝ que tu sálfs fáces nús · [Ps 79:4]D*eus* conuertís nús ⁝ é demústre la túe fáce é sálf seruńs · [Ps 79:5]Síre *deus* de uertúz ⁝ desq*ue* aquánt iráistrás tu sur loreisún del tuén seŕf ? [Ps 79:6]Tú paistrás nús de páin de lérmes ⁝ é beiŭrre dunrás á nus en lérmes en mesúre · [Ps 79:7]Posás nus en contradictiún as nóz ueisiń́s ⁝ é li nostre enemí subsannérent nus · [Ps 79:8]D*eu*S de uertúz conuertís nus ⁝ é demústre lá túe fáce é sálf serúms · [Ps 79:9]Uígne degýpte tresportás ⁝ forsgetás les geńz · é plantás li ·

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Ps 79:10Dúitre déire fús en lesguardemént de lí ⁝ é plantás les racínes de lí · é emplít lá térre · Ps 79:11Cuŭrit les mónz lúmbre de lí ⁝ é les arbrissels de lí · les cédres déu · Ps 79:12Estendiét sés ráins desque á la mér ⁝ é desque al flúm lés lignédes de lí · Ps 79:13A quéi destruisís tu la maisére de li ⁝ é uendéngent lí trestúit chi pássent prés la uéie · Ps 79:14Exterminá li · li uérs de la sélue ⁝ é fiérs senglérs at depoút lí · Ps 79:15DeuS de uertúz seíes conuertíz · resguárde del ciel é uéies ⁝ é uisíte icéste uígne · Ps 79:16E parfái li · la quéle plántá la túe déstre ⁝ é suŕ le filz · le quel tu confermás á téi · Ps 79:17Esprise de fú é suffoíde ⁝ del encrepement del túen u\ólt/ perirúnt · Ps 79:18Séit fáite la túe máin sur lóme de la túe déstre ⁝ é sur le fíl dóme le quel tu confermás á téi · Ps 79:19E ne desseuerruṁs de téi · tú uiuifierás nús ⁝ é le tuen num enuocheruṁs · Ps 79:20Síre deus de uertúz conuertís nús ⁝ é demústre la túe fáce é sálf seruṁs ·

Ps 80:2SLEdecéz á déu al nóstre aiuedúr ⁝ cantéz al déu de iacob · Ps 80:3Pernéz sálme · é dunéz týmpane ⁝ saltiér esledeceáble ot hárpe · Ps 80:4Búisinez \en/ la féstiuel túbe ⁝ el nóble iúrn de la nóstre solennitéd · Ps 80:5Kár cumandéde chóse est en israel ⁝ é iugemént ál déu iacób · Ps 80:6Testimónie en ioséph posá icé · cum il eissíst de la térre degýpte ⁝ la lángue que il nauéit cuneúde oít · Ps 80:7Desturná de fáis sún dós ⁝ les máins de lúi en corbéille seruírent · Ps 80:8Eń tribulatiún apelás méi · é ié deliŭrai téi ⁝ exoí téi en la repostáile de tempesté ⁝ prouái téi al éwe de contradictiún · Ps 80:9Oí li miéns póples · e ié testimonierái téi ⁝ israel si tu orrás méi · Ps 80:10ne será en téi deus frescissańz ⁝ ne ne aorerás \déu/ estránge · Ps 80:11Kar ié súi síre li tuéns deus · chi forsmenái téi de la térre degýpte ⁝ esláise ta búche · é ie aemplirái lí · Ps 80:12E nen oít li miens póples lá meie uóiz ⁝ é israel ne entendiét á méi · Ps 80:13E ié laissái els sulunc les desidéries del cuér déls ⁝ il irúnt en lur adinuentiúns · Ps 80:14Sí li miéns póples oúst oít méi ⁝ israel si es méies uéies oúst aléd · Ps 80:15Pur neíent putcelést̃re les enemís dels oússe humiliéd ⁝ é sur les trauaillańz els oússe mís la meie máin · Ps 80:16Lí enemí del seignúr mentírent á lúi ⁝ é será le téns dels en siécles · Ps 80:17E poút els de la cráisse de frumeńt ⁝ é de la piérre de miél saúlá els ·

f. 56v Ps 81:1DeuS estút en la sỳnagóga dés déus ⁝ él millíu acértes les deus deiúge · Ps 81:2Desque aquánt iugéz uus feluníe ⁝ é lés fáces des pecchedúrs pernéz ? Ps 81:3Iugéz al besuignús é al orfenín ⁝ lúmele é le poŭre iustifiéz · Ps 81:4Deliŭrez le poŭre ⁝ e le besugnús de la maín del pecchedúr deliŭrez · Ps 81:5Né sórent nen entendiérent en tenébres uúnt ⁝ serúnt esmoúd túit li fundameńt de térre · Ps 81:6Ié dis · déu éstes ⁝ é fil del altísme túit · Ps 81:7Máis uus sicume húmes murréz ⁝ é sicume uńs des prínces carréz · Ps 81:8Esdréce téi deus iúge la térre ⁝ kar tu eriterás en túres geńz · f. 56v

Ps 82:2 *eu*S chi será semblánz á téi ⁝ ne taisír · ne ne séies refrenéz d*eus* · Ps 82:3 Kar astetéi li túen enemí sonérent ⁝ é chi haírent téi esleuérent le chiéf · Ps 82:4 Súr le túen póple malignérent cunséil ⁝ é pensérent encúntre les tuens sáinz · Ps 82:5 Dístrent · uenéz é deperdúms éls de la geńt ⁝ é ne séit remembré le num disr*ael* en últre · Ps 82:6 Kar íl purpensérent uniement enseḿble · encúntre téi testamént ordenérent ⁝ Ps 82:7 les tabernácles des idumiens · é ismaelíte · Moáb · é agaréni · Ps 82:8 gebál · é ammón · é amaléch ⁝ li estránge ót les habitańz týre · Ps 82:9 Kár assúr uínt ot els ⁝ fáit sunt en aiutórie ás fílz lóth · Ps 82:10 Fái á els sicume á madián é sisaré ⁝ é sicume á iabín en léwe de cisón · Ps 82:11 Deperírent en endór ⁝ fáit sunt sicume ordeúre de térre · Ps 82:12 Póse les prínces dicéls sicume oréb ⁝ é zéb · é zebée · é sálmaná · Túit li *pri*nce déls Ps 82:13 chi dístrent ⁝ par heredité pursedúms le sáintuárie de déu · Ps 82:14 Lí miens d*eus* póse éls cume ruéde ⁝ é sicume stúble deuant la fáce del uént · Ps 82:15 Sicume fús chi brúlled la sélue ⁝ é sicume flá*m*me brúllánt les monz · Ps 82:16 Issifaitement parsiwerás els en la túe tempesté ⁝ é en la túe íre turberás els · Ps 82:17 Aeḿple les fáces dicéls dopprobre ⁝ é querrúnt le túen núm síre · Ps 82:18 Uergundíssent é seient conturbéd en siécle de sécle ⁝ é seient confundúd é periśsent · Ps 82:19 E cunuíssent que núms e*st* · á téi síre ⁝ tú sóls altísmes en túte térre ·

Ps 83:2 CVM amé *sunt* · lí túen tabernácle síre de uértúz ⁝ Ps 83:3 cóuéite é defíst la méie áneme es aítres de nóstre seignúr · Lí miéns cuérs é la méie cár ⁝ esledecérent el uíf déu · Ps 83:4 Kar li pássere trúue á séi máisun · é túrtre nid á séi ⁝ ú el repónge ses pulciń̀s · Lés tuéns altéls síre de uertúz ⁝ li miéns réis · é li miéns d*eus* · Ps 83:5 Beneuré cil chi habítent en la túe maisun síre ⁝ en siécles de sécles loerúnt téi · Ps 83:6 Beneuréz li húem del quel e*st* · aiúde de téi ⁝ muntemeńz en sún cuér ordená ⁝ Ps 83:7 en la ualéde de lérmes el líu qué il posá · Ps 83:8 Kár benediceúns dunrá li portérre de la léi ⁝ iruńt de uertúd en uertúd ⁝ será ueút\d/ li d*eus* des deús en sẏón · Ps 83:9 Síre d*eus* de uertúz exói la meie oreisún ⁝ ót oreilles recéif d*eus* de iacób · Ps 83:10 Lí nóstre defendérre
f. 57r esguárde d*eus* ⁝ é résguárde en la fáce de tún críst · Ps 83:11 Kar miéldre e*st* · úns iúrz ⁝ eń f. 57r tés áitres ⁝ sur milliérs · Lé eslís degéz éstre en la maisún del mién déu ⁝ plus que habitér es tabernácles des pecchedúrs · Ps 83:12 Kár misericórde é ueritéd áimed d*eus* ⁝ gŕace é glórie dunrá li síre · Ps 83:13 Né_estrangerá de biens icéls · chi uúnt en nun nuisánce ⁝ síre de uertúz beneuréz li húem chi espéired en téi ·

Ps 84:2 TÚ beneisquís síre la túe térre ⁝ desturnás la cáitiuéted de iacób · Ps 84:3 Pardunás la feluníe de tun póple ⁝ cuŭris túz les pecchéz déls · Ps 84:4 Tú assuaiás túte la túe íre ⁝ desturnás del íre de la túe indignatiún · Ps 84:5 Conuertís nus d*eus* li nóstre saluáble ⁝ é destúrne la túe íre de nús · Ps 84:6 Dum ne te iraistrás tu enparmanabletéd á nus ⁝ ú estendrás la túe íre de generaciún en generatiún ? Ps 84:7 D*eu*S tu conuertíz uiuifierás nús ⁝ é li tuens póples esledecerá en téi · Ps 84:8 Demústre á nus síre la túe misericórde ⁝ é le túen saluáble dúne á nús · Ps 84:9 Ié orrái quél chóse parólt en méi n*ostr*e síre d*eus* ⁝ kar il parlerá páis en sún póple · E sur les súens sáinz ⁝ é en icéls chi sunt conuertíd á cuér · Ps 84:10 Mais nequedeńt prés les cremańz lúi · li saluáble de lúi medésme ⁝ que enhabít glórie en la nóstre térre · Ps 84:11 Misericórde é ueritéd encuntrérent á séi ⁝ iustíse é páis séntrebaisérent · Ps 84:12 Ueritéd de térre néde e*st* ⁝ é iustíse del ciél esguardá · Ps 84:13 Kar nóstre síre dunrát benignitéd ⁝ é la nóstre térre dunrát sun frúit · Ps 84:14 Iustíse deuánt lúi irá ⁝ é poserá en la uéie ses pás ·

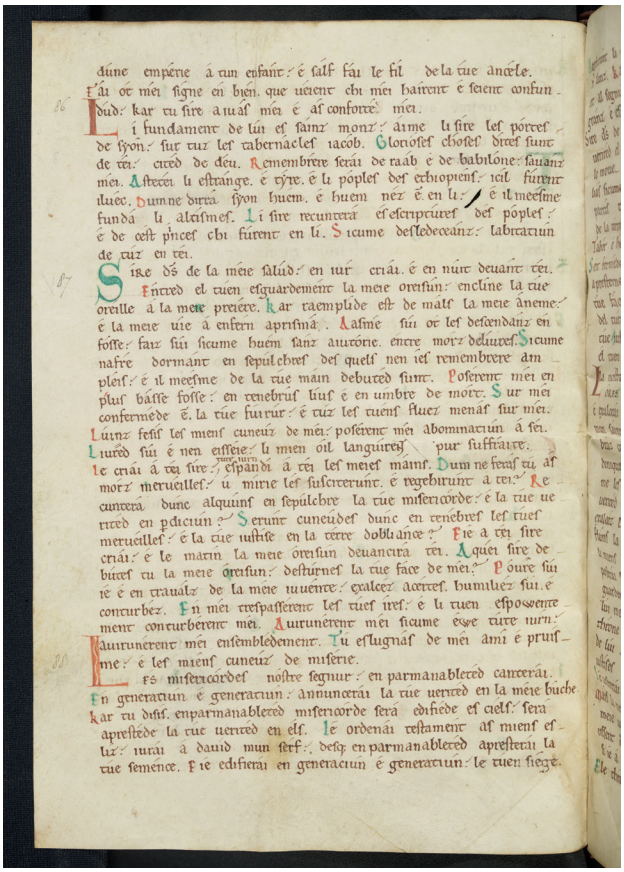
Ps 85:1 ENclíne síre la túe oréille é exói méi ⁝ kar busugnús é poŭre súi ie · Ps 85:2 Guárde la méie áneme kar sáinz súi ⁝ salf fái tún seŕf ⁝ li miéns d*eus* esp*er*ańt en téi · Ps 85:3 Mérci áies de méi síre kar á téi c\riái túte/ iúr ⁝ Ps 85:4 esledéce láneme del túen seŕf · kar á téi síre la meie aneme leuái · Ps 85:5 Kar tu síre suéfs · é paisíbles · é de múlte misericórde · á túz apelańz téi · Ps 85:6 Ót tes oreílles recéif síre la méie oréisún ⁝ é enteńt á la uóiz de la méie preiére · Ps 85:7 Él iuŕ de la méie tribulatiún criái á téi ⁝ kar tu exoís méi · Ps 85:8 Nen est semblańz á téi es déus síre ⁝ é nén e*st* · sulunc les túes oŭres · Ps 85:9 Tútes geńz qúeles quúnques tu fesís uendrúnt é aoreruńt deuant téi síre ⁝ é glorifieruńt le túen núm · Ps 85:10 Kar gránz íes tu · é fáisanz merueilles ⁝ tu es d*eus* sóls · Ps 85:11 Deméine méi síre en la túe uéie · é ie enterrái en la tue ueritéd ⁝ esledést li miens cuérs que \il/ crengéd le tuen núm · Ps 85:12 Ié regehirái á téi síre li miens d*eus* en tut le mien cúer ⁝ é glorifierái le tuen núm en parmanableté d · Ps 85:13 Kar la túe misericórde grańz est sur méi ⁝ é deliŭras la meie aneme del plus bás enfeŕ · Ps 85:14 D*eus* · li felún sesdrecérent súr méi · é la sẏnagóga des poanz quístrent la méie aneme ⁝ é ne pr*o*posérent téi en lur esguardemeńt · Ps 85:15 E tu síre d*eus* merciére é
f. 57v merciáble ⁝ pacieńt · é de múlte misericórde é ueráis · Ps 85:16 Resguárde en méi é merci áies de méi ⁝ f. 57v dúne empérie á tun enfańt ⁝ é sálf fái le fíl de la túe ancéle · Ps 85:17 Fái ót méi sígne én bién · que uéient chi méi haírent é seient confundúd ⁝ kar tu síre aiuás méi é ás conforté méi ·

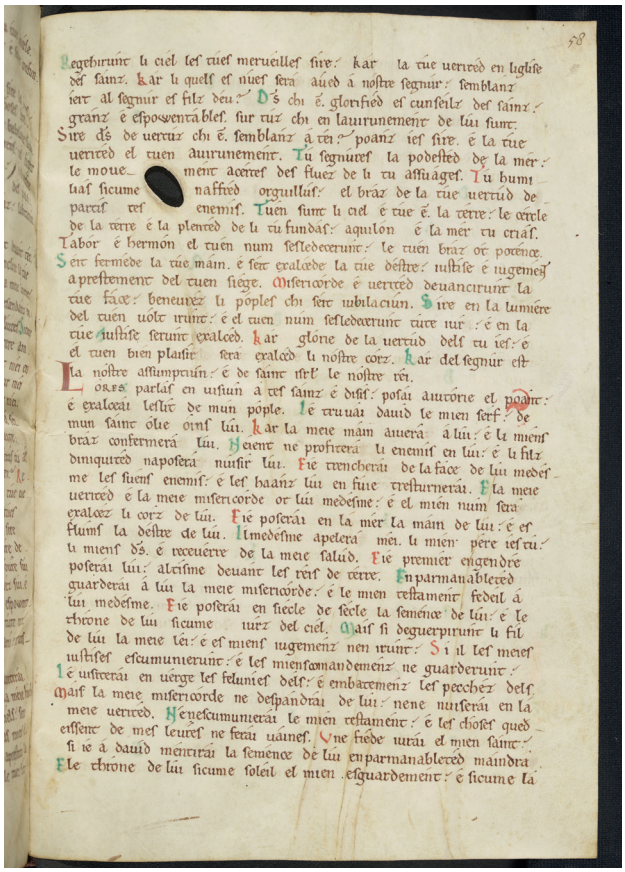
Ps 86:1 LÍ fundament de lúi es sáinz monz ⁝ Ps 86:2 áime li síre les pórtes de sẏón ⁝ sur tuz les tabernácles iacób · Ps 86:3 Glorióses chóses dítes sunt de téi ⁝ citéd de déu · Ps 86:4 Remembrére serái de raáb é de babilóne ⁝ sauańz méi · Astetéi li estránge · é týre · é li póples des ethiopiéns ⁝ icíl fúrent ilúec · Ps 86:5 Dum ne dirrá sẏon húem · é huem néz e*st* · en li ⁝ é il meésme fundá li altísmes · Ps 86:6 Lí sire recunterá és escriptúres dés póples ⁝ é de cést *pri*nces chi fúrent en lí · Ps 86:7 Sicume desledeceánz ⁝ labitatiún de túz en téi ·

Ps 87:2ÍRe d*eu*s de la méie salúd ⁝ en iurá criái · é en núit deuánt téi · Ps 87:3Eńtred el túen esguardemént la meie oreisún ⁝ enclíne la túe oréille á la meie preiére · Ps 87:4Kar raemplíde est de máls la meie áneme ⁝ é la meie uíe á enfern aprismá · Ps 87:5Aasmé súi ót les descendánz én fósse ⁝ faiz súi sicume huém sańz aiutórie · Ps 87:6éntre mórz delíures · Sicume nafré dormánt en sepúlchres des quels nen íes remembrere ampléis ⁝ é il meésme de la túe máin debutéd sunt · Ps 87:7Posérent méi en plús básse fósse ⁝ en tenebrús líus é en úmbre de mórt · Ps 87:8Sur méi conferméde e*st* · la túe fuírur ⁝ é túz les tuéns fluez menás sur méi · Ps 87:9Lúinz fesís les miens cuneúz de méi ⁝ posérent méi abominatiún á séi · Liŭred súi e nen eisséie ⁝ Ps 87:10li mien oíl languírent pur suffráite · Ie criái á téi síre ⁝ \túte iúrn/ espandí á téi les meies máins · Ps 87:11Dum ne ferás tú ás mórz meruéilles ⁝ ú mírie lés susciteruńt · é regehiruńt á téi ? Ps 87:12Recunterá dúnc alquúns en sepúlchre la túe misericórde ⁝ é la túe ueritéd en p*er*diciún ? Ps 87:13Seruńt cuneúdes duńc en tenébres les túes meruéilles ⁝ é la túe iustíse en la térre dobliańce ? Ps 87:14E ié a téi sire criái ⁝ é le matín la meie óreisún deuancirá téi · Ps 87:15A quéi síre debútes tu la meie óreisun ⁝ destúrnes la túe fáce de méi ? Ps 87:16Póŭre súi ié é en trauálz de la méie iuuénte ⁝ exalcéz acértes · humiliéz súi · é conturbéz · Ps 87:17Eń méi trespassérent les túes íres ⁝ é li tuen espowentement conturbérent méi · Ps 87:18Auirunérent méi sicume éwe túte iurn ⁝ auirunérent méi ensemblédement · Ps 87:19Tú eslugnás de méi amí é pruísme ⁝ é les miéns cuneúz de misérie ·

Ps 88:2LÉS misericórdes nóstre segnur ⁝ en parmanableted canterái · Ps 88:2Eń generatiún é generatiún ⁝ annuncerái la túe ueritéd en la méie búche · Ps 88:3Kar tu disís · en parmanableted misericórde será edifiéde es ciéls ⁝ será aprestéde la túe ueritéd en éls · Ps 88:4Ié ordenái testamenŕ as miens eslíz ⁝ iurái á dauíd mun serf ⁝ Ps 88:5desq*ue* en parmanableted apresterái la túe seménce · E ié edifierái en generaciún é generatiún ⁝ le túen siége · f. 58r Ps 88:6Regehiruńt li ciél les túes meruéilles síre ⁝ kár la túe ueritéd en liglíse dés sáinz · Ps 88:7Kár li quels es núes será aŭed á nóstre segnúr ⁝ semblańz íert al segnúr es filz déu ? Ps 88:8D*eu*s chi e*st* · glorifiéd es cunséilz des sáinz ⁝ grańz é espowentábles · sur túz chi en lauirunemeńt de lúi sunt · Ps 88:9Sire d*eu*s de uertúz chi e*st* · semblańz á téi ? poańz íes síre · é la túe ueritéd el tuen auirunemént · Ps 88:10Tú segnúres la podestéd de la mér ⁝ le mouemént acértes des fluez de li tu assuáges · Ps 88:11Tú humiliás sicume naffréd orguillús ⁝ el bráz de la túe uertúd de partís tes enemís · Ps 88:12Túen sunt li ciel é túe e*st* · la térre ⁝ le cércle de la térre é la plentéd de li tú fundás ⁝

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Ps 88:13aquilón é la mér tu criás · Tabór é hermón el túen num sesledeceruńt ⁝ Ps 88:14le tuén bráz ót poténce · Séit ferméde la túe máin · é séit exalcéde la túe déstre ⁝ Ps 88:15iustíse é iugemént aprestement del tuen siége · Misericórde é ueritéd deuanciruńt la túe fáce ⁝ Ps 88:16beneuréz li póples chi séit iubilaciún · Síre en la lumiére del túen uólt iruńt ⁝ Ps 88:17é el tuen núm sesledeceruńt túte iuŕ ⁝ é en la túe iustíse seruńt exalcéd · Ps 88:18Kár glórie de la uertúd dels tu íes ⁝ é él tuen bién plaisír será exalcéd li nóstre córz · Ps 88:19Kár del segnúr est la nóstre assumptiún ⁝ é de sáint isr*a*el le nóstre réi ·

LPs 88:20ÓRES parlás en uisiún á tes sáinz é disís ⁝ posái aiutórie el poánt ⁝ é exalceái leslít de mún póple · Ps 88:21Ié truuái dauíd le mien seŕf ⁝ de mun sáint ólie óins lúi · Ps 88:22Kar la meie máin aiuerá á lúi ⁝ é li miéns bráz confermerá lúi · Ps 88:23Neíent ne profiterá li enemís en lúi ⁝ é lí filz diniquitéd naposerá núisír lúi · Ps 88:24E ié trencherái de la fáce de lúi medésme les súens enemís ⁝ é les haańz lúi en fúie tresturnerái · Ps 88:25E la meie ueritéd é la meie misericórde ot lúi medésme ⁝ é el mién núm será exalcéz li coŕz de lúi · Ps 88:26E ié poserái en lá mér la máin de lúi ⁝ é es flúms la déstre de lúi · Ps 88:27Íl medésme apelerá méi · li mién pére íes tú ⁝ li miens d*eu*s · é receuérre de la meie salúd · Ps 88:28E ié premiér engendré poserái lúi ⁝ altísme deuańt les réis de térre · Ps 88:29En parmanabletéd guarderái á lúi la meie misericórde ⁝ é le mien testameńt fedéil á lúi medésme · Ps 88:30E ié poserái en siécle de sécle la seménce de lúi ⁝ é le thŕone de lúi sicume iúrz del ciél · Ps 88:31Maís si deguerpiruńt li fíl de lúi la meie léi ⁝ e es miens iugemeńz nen irúnt ⁝ Ps 88:32Sí il les meies iustíses escumunierúnt ⁝ é les mien\s co/mandeménz ne guarderuńt ⁝ Ps 88:33Ié uisiterái en uérge les feluníes déls ⁝ é embatemeńz les pecchéz dels · Ps 88:34Máis la meie misericórde ne despándrái de lúi ⁝ ne ne nuiserái en lá meie ueritéd · Ps 88:35Né nescumunierái le mién testamént ⁝ é les chóses queð_eissent de mes leũres ne ferái uáines · Ps 88:36Vne fiéde iurái el mien sáint ⁝ si ié a dauíd méntirái Ps 88:37la seménce de lúi en parmanabletéd maíndra · Ps 88:38E le thŕone de lúi sicume soléil el
f. 58v mien esguardemeńt ⁝ é sicume lá f. 58v lúne parfíte en parmanabletéd ⁝ é testimónie él ciél fedéilz · Ps 88:39Tú acértes debutás é despisís ⁝ purlugnás le tuen críst · Ps 88:40Desturnás le testamént de tun seŕf ⁝ escumuniás en térre le saintuárie de lúi · Ps 88:41Destrúisís túres les háies de lúi ⁝ posás le fermamént de lúi criéme · Ps 88:42Departírent lúi trestúit li trespassańt la uéie ⁝ fáiz e*st* · repróce á ses ueisińs · Ps 88:43Tú exalceás la déstre des depremańz lúi ⁝ esledeceás túz les enemís de lúi · Ps 88:44Desturnás laiutórie del gláiue de lúi ⁝ é nen aiuás á lúi en batáille · Ps 88:45Destruisís lúi desnediemént ⁝ é le siége de lúi en térre esgenás · Ps 88:46Tú amenuisás les iúrz del téns de lúi ⁝ espandiés lúi de confusiún · Ps 88:47Desq*ue* aquant síre destúrnes tu en fín ⁝ esprendrá sicume fús la túe íre ? Ps 88:48Remémbre quéle e*st* · la méie substánce ⁝ kar establisís tu dúnc en uáin túz les filz dúmes ? Ps 88:49Quels e*st* · li húem chi uiuerá é ne uerrá mort ⁝ deliuerrá la súe áneme de la maín denfér ? Ps 88:50V sunt les túes misericórdes anciénes síre ⁝ sicume tu iurás á dauíd en la túe ueritéd ? Ps 88:51Remembrére seíes síre del repróce de tes seŕs ⁝ que ié contínc el mien seín de múltes geńz · Ps 88:52Qué repruuérent li tuen enemí síre ⁝ que repruuérent le cangement dé tun críst · Ps 88:53Beneeiz li síre en parmanabletéd ⁝ seit fáit · séit fáit ·

SPs 89:1ÍRE refúges fáiz íes á nus ⁝ de generatiún · en generatiún · Ps 89:2Ainz que li mónt fússent fáit · ú fust forméde la térre é lí cércle ⁝ de siécle é en siécle tu íes d*eu*s · Ps 89:3Né desturnér húme en humilitéd ⁝ é disís · seiez conuertid fil dúmes · Ps 89:4Kar míl ań deuánt les tuens óilz ⁝ ensement cume li iúrz diér chi trespassá · E la guárde en nuít ⁝ Ps 89:5les chóses chi pur néient sunt oúdes · lur ańs iérent · Ps 89:6Matín sicume hérbe trespást ⁝ matín fluríssed é trespást ⁝ uéspre dechéde endurcísse · é areísse · Ps 89:7Kar nus defisímes en la túe íre ⁝ é en tá fuirúr turbé súmes · Ps 89:8Posás les nóz feluníes el túen esguardemént ⁝ le no*st*re siécle en lenluminemént del tuen uólt · Ps 89:9Kar túit li nóstre iúr defistrent ⁝ é en la túe íre defisímes · Lí nóstre ań sicume irainéde serúnt p*ur*penséd ⁝ Ps 89:10li iúr de nóz ańs en els medésmes · par setánte ańs · Sí acértes en poánces óitante ań ⁝ é ampléis dels trauálz é dolúrs · Kar sur uínt suatúme ⁝ é seruńs castiéd · Ps 89:11Lí quels cunuíst la podestéd de la túe íre ⁝ é pur ta criéme la túe íre Ps 89:12denumbrér ? Lá túe déstre issi cuneúde fái ⁝ é les ensegniéz de cuér en sapieńce · Ps 89:13Seies conuertíd síre desq*ue* aquant ⁝ é depreiábles seíes sur les tuens seŕs · Ps 89:14Raemplí súmes par matín de la túe misericórde ⁝ esledeceámes é delité súmes en túz nóz iuŕz · Ps 89:15Esledeceámes pur lés iuŕz es quels tu nus humiliás ⁝ es ańs es quels ueímes máls · Ps 89:16Resguárde en tes seŕs é es túes oũres ⁝ é adréce les filz déls · Ps
f. 59r 89:17E séit la splendúr del segnúr nóstre déu sur nús ⁝ é les oũres de nóz máins f. 59r ádréce sur nús ⁝ é les oũres de nóz máins adŕece ·

QPs 90:1VI habíted en laiutórie del altísme ⁝ él coũrement déu del ciél demurerá · Ps 90:2Dirá al segnúr li miens receuérre íes tu ⁝ é lí miens refúges · li miens d*eu*s esp*er*erái en lúi · Ps 90:3Kar il medésme deliuerrá méi del láz des ueneúrs ⁝ é de paróle áspre · Ps 90:4Dé ses espáldes enumberrá á téi ⁝ é súz les pénnes de lúi esp*er*erás · Ps 90:5Descút auirunerát téi la ueritéd de lúi ⁝ ne crendrás de nuiternél poúr · Ps 90:6Dé la saiétte uolánte en iúr · del mestiér alant en tenébres ⁝ dencurement é diáble meridién · Ps 90:7Carrúnt de tun léz míl · é dis milliérs de uérs les túes déstres ⁝ máis á téi naprismerá · Ps 90:8Máis nequedeńt ót tes óilz esguarderás ⁝ é la guéredunánce des

pecchedúrs tu uerrás · Ps 90:9Kar tu íes síre la meie esperánce ⁝ laltísme tu posás tún refúge · Ps 90:10Né aprismerá á téi máls ⁝ é flaéls né aprismerá al túen tabernácle · Ps 90:11Kár á ses aṅgeles mandá de téi ⁝ que il guárdent téi en trestútes les túes uéies · Ps 90:12Eń lúr máins porteruńt téi ⁝ que lu pár auentúre né offéndes á la piérre tun pied · Ps 90:13Súr serpént é basilísc irás ⁝ é dečalcherás lé leon é le dragún · Ps 90:14Púr cé quil en méi esperá deliuerrái lúi ⁝ defenderái lúi · Kar il cun_út le mien núm · Ps 90:15Íl criá á méi · é ie exorrái lúi ⁝ ot lúi medésme súi en tribulatiún ⁝ deliuerrái le é glorifierái lúi · Ps 90:16Dé lungúr de iúrz raemplirái lúi ⁝ é demusterrái á lúi · le mien saluáble ·

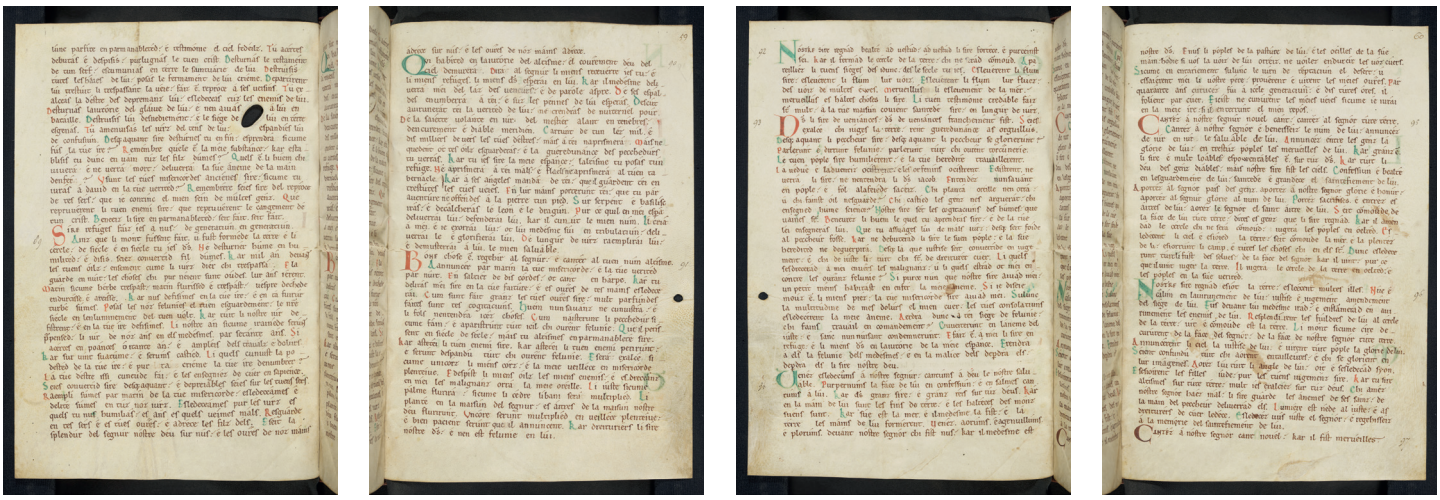
Ps 91:2BÓNE chóse est · regehír al segnúr ⁝ é cantér al tuen núm altísme · Ps 91:3A annuncér pár matín la túe misericórde ⁝ é la túe ueritéd par núit · Ps 91:4Eń saltiér de dís córdes ⁝ ot cánt en hárpe · Ps 91:5Kár tu delitás méi síre en la túe faitúre ⁝ é es oŭres de tes máins esledecerái · Ps 91:6Cum sunt fáit gránz les tues oŭres síre ⁝ mult parfúndes fáites sunt tes cogitaciúns · Ps 91:7Huém nunsauánz ne cunuistrá ⁝ é li fóls nentendrá icéz chóses · Ps 91:8Cum náisterunt li pecchedúr sicume fáin ⁝ é aparistrúnt túit icíl chi oŭrent feluníe · Qué íl perísssent en siécle de sécle ⁝ Ps 91:9máis tu altísmes en parmanableté síre · Ps 91:10Kar astetéi li túen enemí síre · kar astetéi li tuen enemí perirúnt ⁝ é seruńt despandú túit chi oŭrent feluníe · Ps 91:11E será exalcé sicume unicórz li miéns córz ⁝ é la meie ueilléce en misericórde plenteíue · Ps 91:12E despíst li miens oílz les miens enemís ⁝ é esdreceánz en méi les malignańz orrá la meie oréille · Ps 91:13Li iúste sicume pálme flurirá ⁝ sicume li cédre líbani será multipliéd · Ps 91:14Lí planté en la maisún del segnur ⁝ es áitres de la maisún nóstre déu fluriruńt · Ps 91:15Vncóre seruńt multipliéd en ueilléce plenteíue ⁝ é bien pacieńt serúnt que íl annúncent · Ps 91:16Kar dreituriérs lí síre nóstre deus ⁝ é nen est feluníe en lúi ·

f. 59v Ps 92:1NÓSTRE Síre regnád bealté ád uestúd ⁝ ád uestúd li síre fortéce · é purcéinst séi · Kár il fermád le cércle de la térre ⁝ chi ne serád commoúd · Ps 92:2Apareilliéz li túens siéges dés idunc ⁝ des lé sécle tu íes · Ps 92:3Esleuérent li flúm síre ⁝ esleuérent li flúm lúr uóiz · Esleuérent li flúm lur flúez ⁝ Ps 92:4des uóiz de múltes éwes · Merueillús li esleuemeńt de la mér ⁝ merueillús es háltes chóses li síre · Ps 92:5Lí túen testimónie credáble fáiz sunt múlt ⁝ á la túe maisún couiént saintedé síre ⁝ en lungúr de iúrz · f. 59v

Ps 93:1DEuS li síre de ueniánces ⁝ deus de ueniánces franchemént físt · Ps 93:2Séies exalcé chi iúges la térre ⁝ rént gueredunánce as orguillús · Ps 93:3Desque aquant li peccheúr síre ⁝ desque aquant li peccheúr se glorierúnt ? Ps 93:4Parleruńt é dirrúnt feluníe ⁝ parleruńt túit chi oŭrent torčuneríe · Ps 93:5Lé túen póple síre humiliérent ⁝ é la túe heredité trauaillérent · Ps 93:6Lá uédŭe é ládŭentíz ocístrent ⁝ é lés orfenínz ocístrent · Ps 93:7E dístrent · ne uerrá li síre ⁝ ne nentendrá li deus iacob · Ps 93:8Entendéz nunsauánt en póple ⁝ é fól alafeiéde sacéiz · Ps 93:9Chi plantá oréille nen orrá ⁝ ú chi · fainst óil nesguárde ? Ps 93:10Chí castíed les génz nés arguerát ⁝ chi enségned húme scieńce ? Ps 93:11Nóstre síre sét les cogitaciúns des húmes ⁝ que uáines sunt · Ps 93:12Beneuréz li húem le quel tu aprendrás síre ⁝ é de la túe léi ensegnerás lúi · Ps 93:13Que tu assuáges lúi de máls iúrz ⁝ desque séit foíde al peccheúr fósse · Ps 93:14Kar ne debuterád li síre le suen póple ⁝ é la súe hereditéd ne deguerpirá · Ps 93:15Desque lá que iustíse séit conuertíde en iugement ⁝ é chi de iúste lí ⁝ túit chi sunt · de dreiturér cúer · Ps 93:16Lí quéls sesdrecerád á méi enŭers les malignańz ⁝ ú li quéls estrád ot méi encóntre les oŭranz feluníe ? Ps 93:17Sí purce nún que nóstre síre aiuád méi ⁝ un petít méins habitást en enfeŕ la méie áneme · Ps 93:18Sí ie diséie moúz est · li miens piéz ⁝ la túe misericórde sire aiuád méi · Ps 93:19Sulunc la multitúdine de mes dolúrs el mien cúer ⁝ lés túes consolatiúns esledecérent la meie aneme · Ps 93:20Aerdrá duńc á téi siége de feluníe ⁝ chi fáins trauáil en comandemént ? Ps 93:21Cuueiterúnt en láneme dél iúste ⁝ é sańc nun núisant condemnerúnt · Ps 93:22E fáiz est · á méi li síre eń refúge ⁝ é li miéns deus en laiutórie de la méie esperańce · Ps 93:23E rendrá á els la feluníe déls medésmes ⁝ é en la malíce dels deperdrá éls ⁝ deperdrá éls li síre nóstre déu ·

Ps 94:1UenéZ esledečums á nóstre segnúr ⁝ cantúms á déu le nóstre saluáble · Ps 94:2Purpernúms la fáce de lúi en confessiún ⁝ é en sálmes cantúms á lúi · Ps 94:3Kar deus granz síre ⁝ é gránz réis sur túz déus · Ps 94:4Kár en la máin de lúi sunt les fińs de térre ⁝ é les haltéces des mónz súens sunt · Ps 94:5Kar súe est la mer · é il medésme la físt ⁝ é lá térre les máins de lúi formérent · Ps 94:6Uenéz · aorúms · é agenuillúms · é plorúms · deuánt nóstre segnór chi físt nus ⁝ Ps 94:7kar il medesme est f. 60r nóstre deus · E nús li póples de la pastúre de lúi · é les oéilles de la súe máin ⁝ Ps 94:8hódie si uós la uóiz de lúi orréiz · ne uóilez endurcír les uóz cúers · Ps 94:9Sicume en entaríement suluńc le iúrn de temptaciún el desért ⁝ ú essaiérent méi li uóstre pére ⁝ prouérent é uírent les méies oŭres · Ps 94:10Pár quaránte ańs curucéz fúi á icéle generaciún ⁝ é dis túres óres · íl folient par cúer · Ps 94:11E icíst ne cunúrent les méies uéies sicume ié iurái en la méie íre: si íl enterruńt el mién repós · f. 60r

Ps 95:1CANTÉZ á nóstre segnúr nouél cańt ⁝ cantéz al segnór túte térre · Ps 95:2Cantéz á nóstre segnór é beneisséiz le núm de lúi ⁝ annuncéz de iúr en iúr le salu_áble de lúi · Ps 95:3Annuncéz éntre les génz lá glórie de lúi ⁝ en trestúz póples les meruéilles de lúi · Ps 95:4Kar gránz est · li síre é mult loábles ⁝ espowentábles est · sur túz deus ·



▲ *Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320, fol. 58v, 59r, 59v, and 60r.* Source: https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/
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Ps 95:5Kar túit li déu des génz diábles ⁊ máis nóstre síre físt les cíels · Ps 95:6Confessiún é bealté en lesguardemént de lúi ⁊ saintedé é grandéce el saintefiemeńt de lúi · Ps 95:7Aportéz ál segnór país des genz · aportéz á nóstre segnór glórie é honúr ⁊ Ps 95:8aportéz al segnúr glórie al núm de lúi · Portéz sacrifíses · é entréz és áitres de lúi ⁊ Ps 95:9aoréz le segnór el sáint áitre de lúi · Séit commoúde dé la fáce de lúi túte térre ⁊ Ps 95:10dítes es génz que li síre regnád · Kar il amendád le cércle chi ne será commoúd ⁊ iugerá les póples en óeltéd · Ps 95:11Ésledécent li ciél é esióied la térre ⁊ séit commoúde la mér · é la plentéz de li ⁊ Ps 95:12esiorrúnt li caḿp · é túte les chóses chi en els sunt · Dunc esledecerunt túit lí fúst des sélues ⁊ Ps 95:13de la fáce del segnór kar il uínt ⁊ pur cé que íl uińt iugér la térre · Il iugerá le cércle de la térre en oeltéd ⁊ é les póples en la súe ueritéd ·

NPs 96:1ÓSTRE síre regnád esiót la térre ⁊ esleécent múltes ílles · Ps 96:2Núe é čalím en lauirunemént de lúi ⁊ iustíse é iugemént amendemént del siége de lúi · Ps 96:3Fús deuant lúi medésme irád ⁊ é enflammerád én auirunemeńt lés enemís de lúi · Ps 96:4Resplendí_rent les fúildres de lúi ál cércle de la térre ⁊ uít é commoúde est la térre · Ps 94:5Lí mónt sicume círe decurúrent de la fáce del segnór ⁊ de la fáce de nóstre segnór túte terre · Ps 96:6Annuncérent li ciél la iustíse de lúi ⁊ é uírent túit póple la glórie dé lúi · Ps 96:7Séient confondú túit chi aórent entailleúres ⁊ é chi se gloŕient en lúr imágenes · Aoréz lúi túit li ańgle de lúi ⁊ Ps 96:8oít é sesledečad sÿón · E sesioírent les fílles iúde ⁊ pur les túens iugemeńz síre · Ps 96:9Kár tu síre altísmes sur túte térre ⁊ mult íes exalcíez sur túz déus · Ps 96:10Chi améz nóstre segnór haéz mál ⁊ li síre guárde les ánemes de ses sáinz ⁊ de la máin del peccheúr deliuerrád éls · Ps 96:11Lumiére est néde al iúste ⁊ é as dreiturérs de cúer ledéce · Ps 96:12Esledecéz uús iúste el segnór ⁊ é regehisséiz á la memórie del saintefiemént de lúi ·

f. 60v

CPs 97:1ANTÉZ á nóstre segnór cant nouél ⁊ kar il físt meruéilles · f. 60v Saluád á séi la déstre de lúi ⁊ é le sáint bráz de lúi · Ps 97:2Cuneúd físt li síre suń saluáble ⁊ en lesguardemént des genz · reuelá la súe iustíse · Ps 97:3Recordát la súe misericórde ⁊ é la súe ueritéd á la maisún disrael · Vírent túit li térme de térre ⁊ le salu_áble de nóstre déu · Ps 97:4Cantéz á nóstre segnór túte térre ⁊ cantéz · é esledecéz · é cantéz · Ps 97:5Cantéz al segnúr en hárpe en haŕpe é en uóiz de sálme ⁊ Ps 97:6en buisínes turneíces · é en uóiz de búisíne de coŕn · Cantéz en lesguardemént del réi segnúr ⁊ Ps 97:7séit moúde la mér · é la plentéd de lí ⁊ li cércle des térres · é chi habítent en lúi · Ps 97:8Lí flúm bateruńt lur máins ensémble ⁊ li mónt esleeceruńt Ps 97:9del esguardement nóstre segnúr ⁊ kar il uińt iugér la térre · Íl iugerád le cércle des térres en iustíse ⁊ é les póples en oeltéd ·

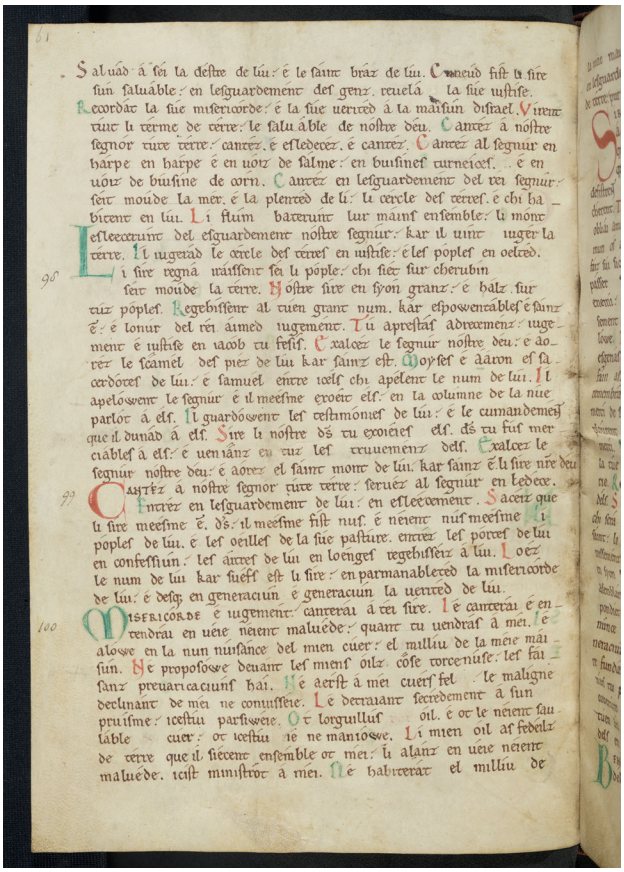
LPs 98:1Í síre regná iráissent séi li póple ⁊ chi siét sur cherubín séit moúde la térre · Ps 98:2Nóstre síre en sÿón granz ⁊ é hálz · súr túz póples · Ps 98:3Regehíssent al túen grant num · kár espowentábles é sáinz est ⁊ Ps 98:4é lonúr del réi áimed iugemént · Tú aprestás adreceménz ⁊ iugement é iustíse en iacób tu fesís · Ps 98:5Exalcéz le segnúr nóstre déu ⁊ e aoréz le sčamél des piéz de lúi kar sáinz est · Ps 98:6Moÿses é ááron es sacerdótes de lúi ⁊ e samuél eńtre icéls chi apélent le num de lúi · Íl apelówent le segnúr é il meésme exoéit éls ⁊ Ps 98:7en la colúmne de la núe parlót á éls · Íl guardówent les testimónies de lúi ⁊ e le cumandemént que il dunád á els · Ps 98:8Síre li nóstre deus tu exoiéies els · deus tu fús merciábles á els ⁊ é uenĭanz en túz les truueménz dels · Ps 98:9Exalcez le segnúr nóstre déu ⁊ é aórez el sáint mont de lúi ⁊ kar sáinz est · li síre nostre déu ·

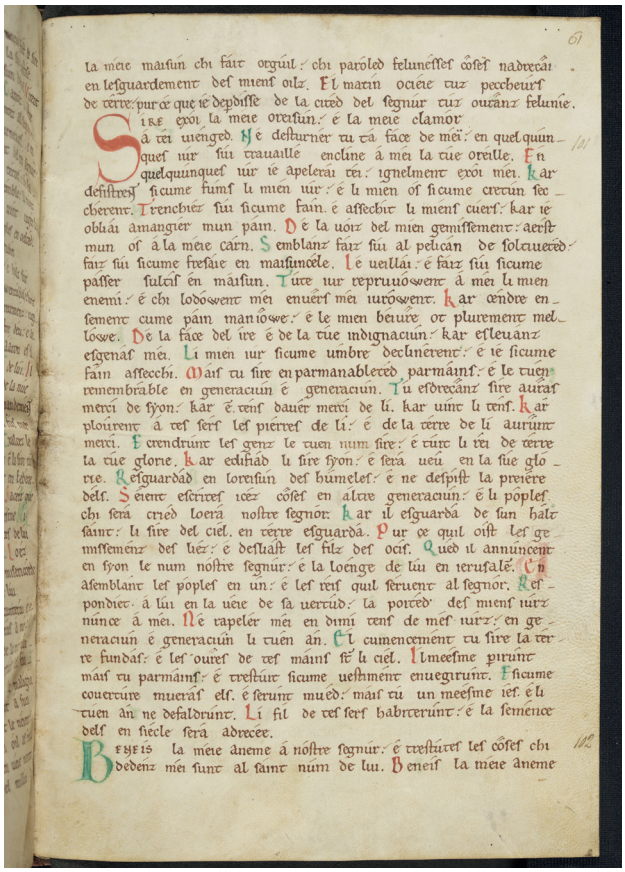
Ps 99:2ANTÉZ á nóstre segnór túte térre ⁝ seruéz al segnúr en ledéce · Entréz en lesguardement de lúi ⁝ en esleécement · Ps 99:3Sacéiz que li síre meésme est · deus ⁝ il meésme físt nus · é néient nús meésme Lí póples de lúi · é les oéilles de la súe pasture · Ps 99:4entréz les pórtes de lúi en confessiún ⁝ les áitres de lúi en loénges regehisséiz á lúi · Loéz le num de lúi Ps 99:5kar suéfs est li síre ⁝ en parmanableted la misericórde de lúi ⁝ e desque en generaciún é generaciún la ueritéd de lúi ·

Ps 100:1MISERICÓRDE é iugement ⁝ canterái á téi síre · Ié canterái Ps 100:2é entendrái en uéie néient maluéde ⁝ quant tu uendrás á méi · Ié alówe en la nun núisánce del mien cúer ⁝ el millíu de la méie máisún · Ps 100:3Né proposówe deuánt les miens óilz cose torcenúse ⁝ les fáisanz preuaricaciuńs haí · Né aerst á méi Ps 100:4cuérs fel ⁝ le malígne declinánt de méi ne conuisséie · Ps 100:5Lé detraiant secredement á sun pruísme ⁝ icestúi parsiwéie · Ót lorguillús oíl · é ot le néient saulável cuér ⁝ ot icestúi ié ne maniówe · Ps 100:6Lí mien óil as fedéilz de térre que il siécent ensemble ot méi ⁝ li alánz en uéie néient maluéde · icíst ministrót á méi · Ps 100:7Né habiterát el millíu de f. 61r la méie maisún chi fáit orgúil ⁝ chi paróled felunésses coses nadrečai en lesguardement des miens f. 61r
oilz · Ps 100:8Él matín ociéie tuz peccheúrs de térre ⁝ pur cé que ié deperdísse de la citéd del segnúr túz oŭranz felunie ·

Ps 101:2ÍRE exói la méie oreisún ⁝ é la meie clamór á tei uiénged · Ps 101:3Né desturnér tu tá fáce de méi ⁝ en quelquúnques iúr súi trauaillé enclíne á méi la túe oréille · Én quelquúnques iúr ié apelerái téi ⁝ ignelment exói méi · Ps 101:4Kar defístrent sicume fúms li mién iúr ⁝ e li mien ós sicume cretún secchérent · Ps 101:5Trenchiéz súi sicume faín · é assechít li miéns cúers ⁝ kar ié obliái a mangiér mun páin · Ps 101:6Dé la uóiz del míen gemíssement ⁝ aerst mun ós á la méie cárn · Ps 101:7Semblánz fáiz súi al pelicán de soltiueted ⁝ fáiz súi sicume fresáie en maisuncéle · Ps 101:8Ié ueillái ⁝ é fáiz súi sicume pásser sultís én máisun · Ps 101:9Túte iur repruuówent á méi li mien enemí ⁝ é chi lodówent méi enŭers méi iurówent · Ps 101:10Kar céndre ensement cume páin manĭowe ⁝ é le mien béiŭre ot plurement mellówe · Ps 101:11Dé la fáce del íre é de la túe indignaciún ⁝ kar esleuánz esgenás méi · Ps 101:12Lí mien iúr sicume uṁbre declinérent ⁝ é ié sicume fáin assecchí · Ps 101:13Máis tu síre en parmanableted parmáins ⁝ é le túen remembráble en generaciún é generaciún · Ps 101:14Tú esdrečanz síre aŭras mercí de sỳon ⁝ kar est · téns dauér mercí de lí · kar uínt li téns · Ps 101:15Kaŕ ploúrent á tes seŕs les piérres de lí ⁝

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é de la térre de lí aŭrunt mercí · Ps 101:16E crendrúnt les genz le tuen num síre ⁝ é túit li réi de térre la túe glorie · Ps 101:17Kar edifiád li síre sỳón ⁝ é será ueú en la súe glórie · Ps 101:18Resguardád en loreisún des húmeles ⁝ é ne despíst la preiére déls · Ps 101:19Séient escrítes icéz čoses en áltre generaciún ⁝ é li póples chi será criéd loerá nostre segnór · Ps 101:20Kar il esguardá de sun hált sáint ⁝ li síre del ciél · en terre esguardá · Ps 101:21Pur ce quil oíst les gemisseménz des liéz ⁝ e desliást les filz des ocís · Ps 101:22Quéd il annúncent en sỳon le num nóstre segnúr ⁝ é la loénge de lúi en ierusalem · Ps 101:23Én asemblánt les póples en ún ⁝ é les réis quil séruent al segnór · Ps 101:24Respondíet · á lúi en la uéie de sa uertúd ⁝ la poitéd des miens iúrz núnce á méi · Ps 101:25Né rapelér méi en dimí tens de més iúrz ⁝ en generaciún é generaciún li túen án · Ps 101:26Él cumencemént tu síre la térre fundás ⁝ é les oŭres de tes máins sunt li ciél · Ps 101:27Íl meésme perirúnt máis tu parmáins ⁝ é trestúit sicume uestiménts enuegirúnt · E sicume couertúre muerás els · é serúnt muéd ⁝ Ps 101:28máis tú un meésme íes · é li túen án ne defaldrúnt · Ps 101:29Li fil de tes sers habiterúnt ⁝ é la seménce dels en siécle será adrecée ·

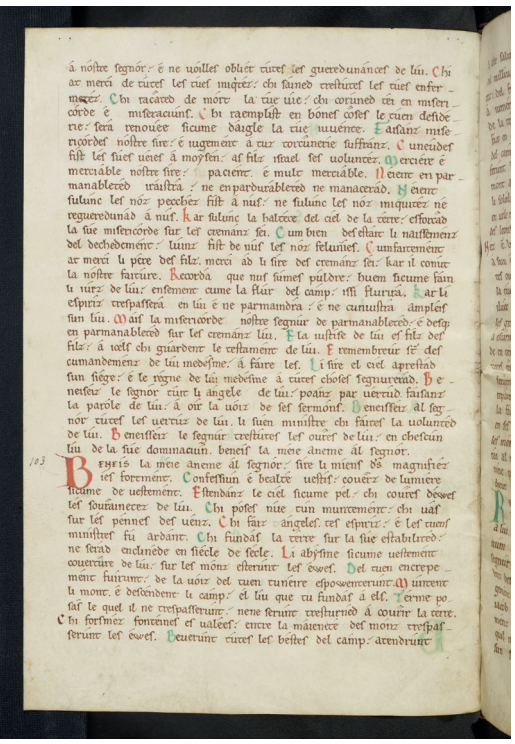
f. 61v

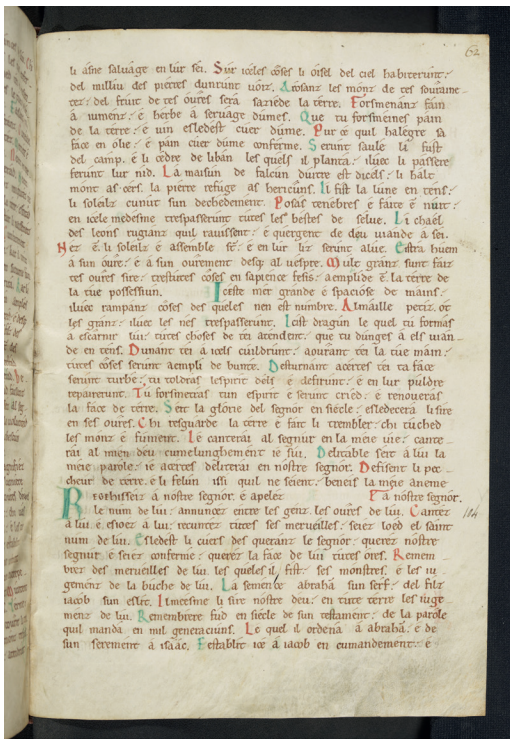
BPs 102:1ENEÍS la méie aneme á nóstre segnúr ⁝ é trestútes les čoses chi dedeńz méi sunt al sáint núm de lui · Ps 102:2Beneís la méie aneme f. 61v á nóstre segnór ⁝ é ne uóilles obliér tútes les gueredunánces de lúi · Ps 102:3Chí at mercí de tútes les túes iniquitéz ⁝ chi sáined trestútes les túes enfermetéz · Ps 102:4Chi račated de mórt la túe uíe ⁝ chi corúned téi en misericórde é miseraciúns · Ps 102:5Chi raemplíst en bónes čoses le túen desidérie ⁝ será renouée sicume dáigle la túe iuuénte · Ps 102:6Faisańz misericórdes nóstre síre ⁝ é iugemént á tuz torčunerie suffránz · Ps 102:7Cuneúdes fist lés súes uéies á moỳsén ⁝ as fílz israel ses uoluntéz · Ps 102:8Merciére é merciáble nóstre síre ⁝ paciént · é mult merciáble · Ps 102:9Néient en parmanableted iráistrá ⁝ ne en pardurábletéd ne manacerád · Ps 102:10Néient suluńc les noz pecchéz físt á nús ⁝ ne sulúnc les nóz iniquitéz né regueredunád á nus · Ps 102:11Kár suluńc la haltéce del ciél de la térre ⁝ esforčad la súe misericórde sur les cremánz séi · Ps 102:12Cum bien des estáit li naisseménz del dechedemént ⁝ luínz fist de nús les nóz feluníes · Ps 102:13Cumfaitemént at mercí li pére des filz · mercí ád li síre des cremánz séi ⁝ Ps 102:14kar íl conút la nóstre faitúre · Recordá que nus súmes púldre ⁝ Ps 102:1huem sicume fáin li iúrz de lúi ⁝ ensement cume la flúr del camp ⁝ issí flurirá · Ps 102:16Kar lí espiríz trespasserá en lúi é ne parmaindrá ⁝ é ne cunuistrá ampléis sun líu · Ps 102:17Máis la misericórde nóstre segnúr de parmanableted ⁝ é desque en parmanableted sur les cremánz lúi · E la iustíse de lúi es fílz des fílz ⁝ Ps 102:18á icéls chi guárdent le testamént de lúi · E remembreúr sunt des cumandeménz de lúi medésme ⁝ a fáire les · Ps 102:19Lí síre el ciél aprestád sun siége ⁝ é le régne de lúi medésme á tútes chóses segnurerád · Ps 102:20Beneiséiz le segnór túit li ańgele de lúi ⁝ poánz par uértúd · fáisanz la paróle de lúi ⁝ á oír la uóiz de ses sermóns · Ps 102:21Beneisséiz al segnór tútes les uertúz de lúi · li súen minístre chi fáites la uoluntéd de lúi · Ps 102:22Beneisséiz le segnúr trestútes les oŭres de lúi ⁝ en chescún líu de la súe dominaciún · beneís la méie aneme ál segnór ·

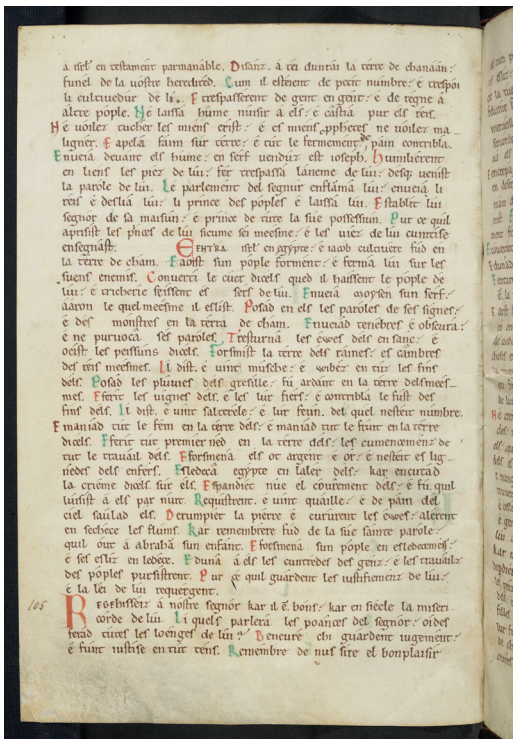
BPs 103:1ENEÍS la méie aneme ál segnór ⁝ síre li míens deus magnifiéz íes fortmént · Confessiún é bealté uestís ⁝ Ps 103:2coŭerz de lumiére sicume de uestemént · Estendánz le ciél sicume pél ⁝ Ps 103:3chi coŭres déwes lés soŭrainetez de lúi · Chi póses núe tún muntemént ⁝ chi uás sur lés pénnes des uénz · Ps 103:4Chi fáiz ańgeles · tes espiríz ⁝ é les tuens minístres fú ardánt · Ps 103:5Chi fundás la térre sur la sue estabilitéd ⁝ ne serád enclinéde en siécle de sécle · Ps 103:6Li abýsme sicume uestemént couertúre de lúi ⁝ sur les mónz esterúnt les éwes · Ps 103:7Del tuen encrepemént fuírunt ⁝ de la uóiz del tuen tunéire espowenteruńt · Ps 103:8Múntent li mont · é descéndent li camp ⁝ él líu que tu fundás á els · Ps 103:9Térme posás le quel il ne trespasserúnt ⁝ nene seruńt tresturnéd á coŭrir la térre · Ps 103:10Chi forsméz fontéines es ualées ⁝ entre la máieneté des mónz trespasserúnt les éwes · Ps 103:11Beuerúnt

f. 62r

tútes les béstes del camp ⁝ atendrúnt f. 62r li ásne saluáge en lúr séi · Ps 103:12Súr icéles čoses li oísel del ciel habiterúnt ⁝ del millíu des piérres dunrúnt uóiz · Ps 103:13Arósanz les mónz de tes soŭrainetez ⁝ del frúit de tes óŭres será saziéde la térre · Ps 103:14Forsmenánz fáin á iuménz ⁝ é hérbe á seruáge dúmes · Que tu forsméines páin de la térre ⁝ Ps 103:15é uín esledést cúer dúme · Pur cé quil halégre sa fáce en ólie ⁝ é páin cúer dúme conférme · Ps 103:16Seruńt saulé lí fúst del camp · é li cédre de libán les quéls il plantá ⁝ Ps 103:17ilúec li pássere ferúnt lur níd · Lá maisún de falcún dúitre est dicéls ⁝ Ps 103:18li hált mónt as cérs · la piérre refúge as heričuns · Ps 103:19Íl físt la lúne en téns ⁝ li soléilz cunút sun dechédemént · Ps 103:20Posás tenébres é fáite est núit ⁝ en icéle medésme trespasserúnt tútes les béstes de sélue · Ps 103:21Lí chaél des leóns rugiánz quil rauíssent ⁝ é quérgent de déu uiánde á séi · Ps 103:22Néz est · li soléilz é asseńble sunt ⁝ é en lúr líz serúnt alúe · Ps 103:23Eistrá húem á sun óŭre ⁝ é á sun oŭrement desque al uéspre · Ps 103:24Múlt gránz sunt fáiz tes oŭres síre ⁝ trestútes čoses en sapiénce fesís ⁝ aemplíde est · la térre de la túe possessiún · Ps 103:25ICÉste mér gránde é spacióse de máins ⁝ ilúec rampánz čoses des quéles nen est númbre · Almáille petíz · ót les gránz ⁝ Ps 103:26ilúec les nés trespasserúnt · Icíst dragún le quel tú formás a esčarnir lúi ⁝ Ps 103:27tútes chóses de téi aténdent ⁝ que tu dúnges á els uiánde en téns · Ps 103:28Dunánt téi á icels cúildrúnt ⁝ aoŭrant téi la túe máin ⁝ tútes čoses serúnt aemplí de bunté · Ps 103:29Desturnánt acértes téi ta fáce serúnt turbé ⁝ tu toldrás lespirít déls é defirúnt ⁝ é en lur púldre repáirerunt · Ps 103:30Tú forsmetrás tun espirít é serúnt criéd ⁝ é renouerás la fáce de térre · Ps 103:31Séit la glórie del segnór en siécle ⁝ esledecerá li síre en ses oŭres · Ps 103:32Chi resguárde la



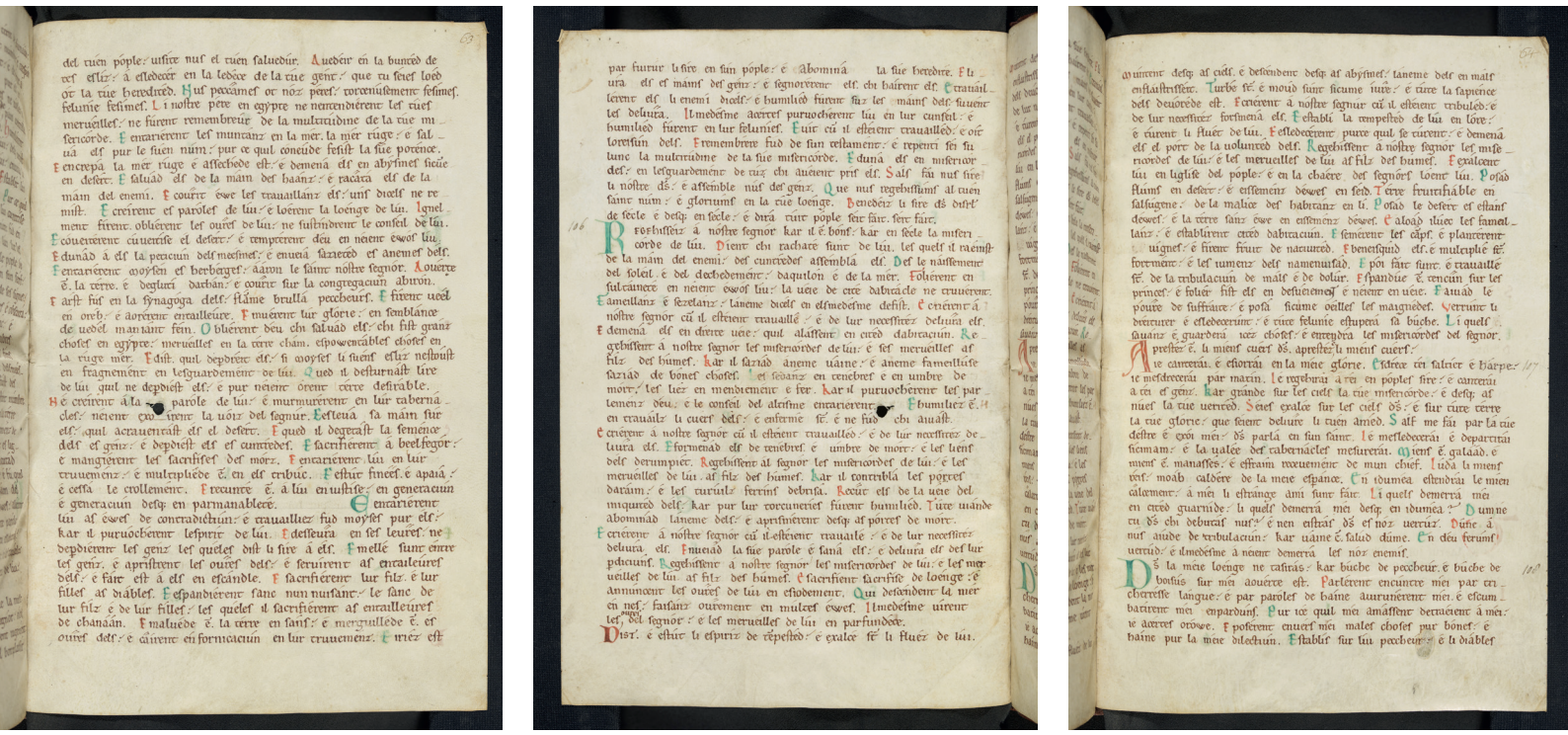




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térre é fáit li tremblér ⁝ chi túched les mónz e fúment · Ps 103:33Ié canterái al segnúr en la méie uíe ⁝ canterái al mién déu cume lunghemént ié súi · Ps 103:34Delitáble séit á lúi la méie paróle ⁝ ié acértes deliterái en nóstre segnór · Ps 130:35Defísent li peccheúr de térre · é li felún issí quil ne séient ⁝ beneís la méie aneme á nóstre segnór ·

Ps 104:1REGEhisséiz á nostre segnór · é apeléz le núm de lúi ⁝ annuncéz eńtre les génz · les oŭres de lúi · Ps 104:2Cantéz á lúi · é esioéz á lui ⁝ recuntéz tútes ses meruéilles ⁝ Ps 104:3seiéz loéd el sáint núm de lúi · Esledést li cúers des queránz le segnór ⁝ queréz nóstre segnúr é seiéz confermé ⁝ Ps 104:4queréz la fáce de lúi tútes óres · Ps 104:5Remembréz des meruéilles de lúi · les quéles íl físt ⁝ ses mónstres · é les iugeménz de la búche de lúi · Ps 104:6Lá seménce abraham sun seff ⁝ del fílz iacób sun eslít · Ps 104:7Il meésme li síre nóstre déu ⁝ en túte térre les iugeménz de lúi · Ps 104:8Remembrére fúd en siécle de sun testamént ⁝ de la paróle quil mandá en mil generaciúns · Ps 104:9Lé quel il órdená á abraham ⁝ é de sun serémént á isáác · Ps 104:10E establít icé á iacob en cumandemént ⁝ é f. 62v á israel f. 62v
en testameńt parmanáble · Ps 104:11Disańz · á téi dunrái lá térre de chanáán ⁝ funél de la uóstre heredité · Ps 104:12Cum il estéient de petít númbre ⁝ é trespói li cultiuedúr de lí · Ps 104:13E trespassérent de gent en gént ⁝ é de régne á áltre póple · Ps 104:14Né laissá húme núisir á éls ⁝ é častiá pur éls réis · Ps 104:15Né uóilez tuchér les miéns críst ⁝ é es miéns prophétes ne uóilez malignér · Ps 104:16E apelá fáim súr térre ⁝ é tút le fermemént \de/ páin contriblá · Ps 104:17Enueiá deuánt els húme ⁝ én serf uendúz est ioséph · Ps 104:18Humiliérent en lieńs les piéz de lúi ⁝ fér trespassá láneme de lúi ⁝ Ps 104:19désque uenísst la paróle de lúi · Lé parlemént del segnúr enflammá lúi ⁝ Ps 104:20enueiá li réis é desliá lúi ⁝ li prínce des póples é laissá lúi · Ps 104:21Establít lúi segnór de sa maisún ⁝ é prínce de túte la súe possessiún · Ps 104:22Pur ce quíl aprisíst les princes de lúi sicume séi meésme ⁝ é les uíez de lúi cuintíse ensegnást · Ps 104:23EENTRÁ israel en egýpte ⁝ é iacób cultiuére fúd én la térre de chám · Ps 104:24E aóist sun póple formént ⁝ é fermá lúi sur les suens enemís · Ps 104:25Conuertí le cúer dicéls qued il haíssent le póple dé lúi ⁝ é tricherie feíssent és sefs de lúi · Ps 104:26Enueiá moysén sun seff ⁝ ááron le quel meésme il eslíst · Ps 104:27Posád en els les paróles de ses sígnes ⁝ é dés mónstres en la térra de chám · Ps 104:28Enueiád tenébres é obscurá ⁝ é ne puruoča sés paróles · Ps 104:29Tresturná les éwes déls en sańc ⁝ é ocíst les peissúns dicéls · Ps 104:30Forsmíst la térre déls ráines ⁝ es čambres des réis meésmes · Ps 104:31Íl díst · é uínt músche ⁝ é wibéz en túz les fińs déls · Ps 104:32Posád les plúuies déls gresílle ⁝ fú ardánt en la térre dels meésmes · Ps 104:33E ferít les uígnes déls · é les lúr fiérs ⁝ e contriblá le fúst dés fíns déls · Ps 104:34Íl dist · é uínt salteréle ⁝ é lúr feún · del quél nestéit número · Ps 104:35E maniád tút le féin en la térre déls ⁝ e maniád tut le frúit en la térre dicéls · Ps 104:36E ferít tút premiér néd en la térre déls ⁝ les cumenceméns de tut le trauáil déls · Ps 104:37E forsmená éls ot argént é ór ⁝ é nestéit es lignédes dels enférs · Ps 104:38Esledeča egýpte en lalér déls ⁝ kar encutád la criéme dicéls · súr éls · Ps 104:39Espandiét núe él cóŭrement déls ⁝ é fú · quil lúisíst á els par núit · Ps 104:40Requístrent ·



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é uínt quáille ⁝ é de páin dél cíel saúlad éls · Ps 104:41Derumpiét la piérre é curúrent les éwes ⁝ alérent en sechéce les flúms · Ps 104:42Kár remembrére fúd de la súe sainte paróle ⁝ quil óut á abraha*m* sun enfánt · Ps 104:43E forsmená sun póple en esledecemént ⁝ é ses eslíz en ledéce · Ps 104:44E duná á éls les cuntrédes des génz ⁝ e les trauáilz des póples pursístrent · Ps 104:45Pur cé quil guárdent les iustifieménz de lúi ⁝ é la léi de lúi requérgent ·

f. 63r

Ps 105:1REGEhisséiz á nóstre segnór kar il e*st* · bóns ⁝ kar en siécle la misericórde de lúi · Ps 105:2Li quels parlerá les poánces del segnór ⁝ oídes ferád túres les loénges de lúi ? Ps 105:3Beneuré chi guárdent iugemént ⁝ é fúnt iustíse en tút téns · Ps 105:4Remémbre de nus síre el bon plaisír f. 63r del túen póple ⁝ uisíte nus el túen saluedúr · Ps 105:5A uedéir én la buntéd de tes eslíz ⁝ á esledecér en la ledéce de la túe genṫ ⁝ que tu séies loéd ót la túe heredité́d · Ps 105:6Nus pecčames ot nóz péres ⁝ torcenúsement fesímes · feluníe fesímes · Ps 105:7Lí nostre pére en egỳpte ne nentendiérent les túes meruéilles ⁝ ne fúrent remembreúr de la multitúdine de la túe misericórde · E entariérent les muntánz en la mér · la mér rúge ⁝ Ps 105:8é saluá els pur le súen núm ⁝ pur ce quil cóneúde fesíst la súe poténce · Ps 105:9E encrepá la mér rúge é assechéde est ⁝ é demená éls en abýsmes sicu*m*e en desért · Ps 105:10E saluád els de la máin des haánz ⁝ é račatá els de la máin del enemí · Ps 105:11E coŭrit éwe les trauaillánz éls ⁝ uńs dicels ne remíst · Ps 105:12E creírent es paróles de lúi ⁝ é loérent la loénge de lúi · Ps 105:13Ignelment fírent · obliérent les oŭres de lúi ⁝ ne sustíndrent le conséil de lúi · Ps 105:14E cóueitérent cúueitíse él deseŕt ⁝ é temptérent déu en néient éwós líu · Ps 105:15E dunád á els la peticiún dels meésmes ⁝ é enueiá sazietéd es anemes déls · Ps 105:16E entariérent moỳsén es herbérges ⁝ ááron le sáint nóstre segnór · Ps 105:17Aouérte e*st* · la térre · é deglutí dathán ⁝ é coŭrit sur la congregaciún abirón · Ps 105:18E aŕst fús en la sỳnagóga dels ⁝ flá*m*me brullá peccheuŕs · Ps 105:19E fírent ueél én oréb ⁝ é aorérent entailleúre · Ps 105:20E muérent lúr glórie ⁝ en semblánce de uedél maniánt féin · Ps 105:21Obliérent déu chi saluád els ⁝ chi fist grańz chóses en egýpte ⁝ Ps 105:22meruéilles en la térre chám · espowentábles chóses en la rúge mér · Ps 105:23E díst · quil dep*er*dréit éls ⁝ si moỳses lí suéns eslíz nestoúst en fragnemént en lesguardemént de lúi · Qued il desturnást líre de lúi quil ne dep*er*diést els ⁝ Ps 105:24é pur néient órent térre desiráble · Né creírent á la paróle de lúi ⁝ Ps 105:25é murmurérent en lúr tabernácles ⁝ néient exoírent la uóiz del segnúr · Ps 105:26E esleuá sa máin súr els ⁝ quil acrauentást éls el deseŕt · Ps 105:27E qued il degetást la seménce déls es génz ⁝ é dep*er*diést els es cuntŕedes · Ps 105:28E sacrifiérent á beelfegór ⁝ é mangiérent les sacrifíses des mórz · Ps 105:29E entariérent lúi en lúr truueménz ⁝ é multipliéde e*st* · en els tribúc · Ps 105:30E estút finéés · é apaiá ⁝ é cessá le crollemént · Ps 105:31E recunté e*st* · á lúi en iustíse ⁝ en generaciún é generaciún desq*ue* en parmanableté · Ps 105:32E entariérent lúi as éwes de contradictiún ⁝ e trauailliez fúd moỳses pur éls ⁝ Ps 105:33kar il puruóchérent lespirít de lúi · E desseŭra en ses leŭres · Ps 105:34ne dep*er*diérent les geńz les quéles dist li síre á éls · Ps 105:35E melle sunt éntre les geńz · é aprístrent les oŭres dels ⁝ Ps 105:36é seruírent as entaileúres déls ⁝

é fáit est á els en escándle · Ps 105:37E sacrifiérent lur filz · é lur fílles as diábles · Ps 105:38E espandiérent sanc nun nuisánt ⁝ le sanc de lur fílz é de lúr fílles ⁝ les quéles il sacrifiérent as entailleúres de chanáán · E maluéde est · la térre en sańs ⁝ Ps 105:39e merguílléde est · és oŭres dels ⁝ e čaírent én fornicaciún en lúr truuemeńz · Ps 105:40E iriéz est
f. 63v par fuirúr li síre en sún póple ⁝ é abominá la súe heredité · Ps 105:41E liuŕa els es máins des génz ⁝ é f. 63v
segnorérent els chi haírent els · Ps 105:42E trauáillérent els li enemí dicéls ⁝ é humiliéd fúrent suz les máins dels · Ps 105:43suuént les deliŭra · Ps 105:43Il medésme acértes puruochérent lúi en lur cunséil ⁝ é humiliéd fúrent en lur feluníes · Ps 105:44E uít cum il estéient trauailléd ⁝ é oít loreisún dels · Ps 105:45E remembrére fúd de sun testamént ⁝ é repentí séi sulunc la multitúdine de la sue misericórde · Ps 105:46E duná els en misericórdes ⁝ en lesguardemént de túz chi auéient prís éls · Ps 105:47Sáls fái nus síre li nóstre deus ⁝ é assémble nús des génz · Que nus regehissúms al tuén sáint núm ⁝ é gloriuṁs en la túe loeńge · Ps 105:48Benedéiz li síre deus disrael de sécle é desque en sécle ⁝ é dirá túit póple séit fáit · séit fáit ·

RPs 106:1EGEhisséiz á nóstre segnór kar il est · bóns ⁝ kár en sécle la misericórde de lúi · Ps 106:2Díent chi rachaté suńt de lui · les quels íl raéinst de la máin del enemí ⁝ des cuntrédes assémbla éls · Ps 106:3Des le náissement del soléil · é del dechedemént ⁝ daquilón é de la mér · Ps 106:4Foliérent en sultáineté en néient éwós líu ⁝ la uéie de cité dabitácle ne truuérent · Ps 106:5E ameillańz é sézelánz ⁝ láneme dicéls en els medésme defíst · Ps 106:6E criérent á nóstre segnór cum il estéient trauaillé ⁝ é de lur necessitéz deliŭra els · Ps 106:7E demená els en dŕeite uéie ⁝ quil alássent en citéd dabitaciún · Ps 106:8Regehíssent á nostre segnór les misericórdes de lúi ⁝ é ses meruéilles as fílz des húmes · Ps 106:9Kar il saziád áneme uáine ⁝ é aneme fameillúse saziád de bónes chóses · Ps 106:10Les sedańz en tenébres é en umbre de mórt ⁝ les liéz en mendiemént é fér · Ps 106:11Kar íl puruochérent les parleménz déu ⁝ é le conséil del altísme entariérent · Ps 106:12E humiliéz est · en trauáilz li cuérs déls ⁝ é enfermé sunt · e ne fúd chi aiuást · Ps 106:13E criérent á nostre segnór cum il estéient trauailléd ⁝ é de lúr necessitéz deliŭra els · Ps 106:14E formenád els de tenébres · é úmbre de mórt ⁝ é les liéns déls derumpiét · Ps 106:15Regehíssént ál segnór les misericórdes de lúi ⁝ e les meruéilles de lúi · as fílz des húmes · Ps 106:16Kar il contriblá les pórtes daráim ⁝ é les turúilz ferríns debrisá · Ps 106:17Rečut els de la uéie del iniquitéd déls ⁝ kar pur lur torcuneríes fúrent humiliéd · Ps 106:18Túte uiánde abominád láneme dels ⁝ é aprismérent desque as pórtes de mórt · Ps 106:19E criérent á nóstre segnór cum il estéient trauailé ⁝ é de lur necessitéz deliurá els · Ps 106:20Enueiád la súe paróle é saná els ⁝ é deliŭra els des lúr perdiciúns · Ps 106:21Regehíssent á nóstre segnór les misericórdes de lúi ⁝ é les meruéilles de lúi · as filz des húmes · Ps 106:22E sacrifíent sacrifíse de loénge ⁝ é annúncent les oŭres de lúi en esiodement · Ps 106:23Qui descéndent la mér én nes ⁝ faisánz oŭrement en múltes éwes · Ps 106:24Il medésme uírent les \oures/ del segnór ⁝ e les meruéilles de lúi en parfundéce · Ps 106:25DIST · é estút li espiríz de tempestéd ⁝ é exalcé sunt li fluéz de lúi · f. 64r Ps 106:26Múntent f. 64r
desque as ciéls · é descéndent desque as abýsmes ⁝ láneme dels en máls enfláistrisséit · Ps 106:27Turbé sunt · é moúd súnt sicume íŭre ⁝ é túte la sapiénce déls deuóréde est · Ps 106:28E criérent á nóstre segnúr cum il estéient tribuléd ⁝ é de lur necessitéz forsmená els · Ps 106:29E establí la tempestéd de lúi en lóre ⁝ é túrent li fluét de lúi · Ps 106:30E esledecérent purce quil se túrent ⁝ é demená els el pórt de la uoluntéd dels · Ps 106:31Regehíssent á nóstre segnór les misericórdes de lúi ⁝ e les meruеilles de lúi as fílz des húmes · Ps 106:32E exálcent lúi en liglíse del póple ⁝ é en la chaére des segnórs lóent lúi · Ps 106:33Posad flúms en deseŕt ⁝ e eisseménz déwes en séid · Ps 106:34Térre fruitifiáble eń salsúgene ⁝ de la malíce des habitánz en lí · Ps 106:35Posád le deseŕt es estáns déwes ⁝ é la térre sánz éwe en eisseménz déwes · Ps 106:36E aloád ilúec les fameillańz ⁝ é establírent citéd dabitaciún · Ps 106:37E semérent les čamps · é plantérent uígnes ⁝ é fírent fŕuit de natiuité · Ps 106:38E beneisqúid els · é multiplié sunt · fortmént ⁝ é les iumenz dels namenuisád · Ps 106:39E pói fáit sunt · é traiuaillé sunt · de la tribulaciún de máls é de dolúr · Ps 106:40Espandúe est · tenčun sur les prínces ⁝ é foliér físt els en desuéiement é néient en uéie · Ps 106:41E aiuád lé póŭre de suffráite ⁝ é posá sicume oéilles les maignédes · Ps 106:42Verrúnt li dreiturer é esledecerúnt ⁝ é túte feluníe estuperá sa búche · Ps 106:43Lí quels sauánz é guarderá icéz chóses ⁝ é entendrá les misericórdes del segnór ·

APs 107:2prestéz est · li míens cuérs deus aprestéz \est ·/ li miéns cuérs ⁝ ié canterái · é esiorrái en la méie glórie · Ps 107:3Esdréce téi saltiér é hárpe ⁝ ié mesdrecerái pár matín · Ps 107:4Ié regehirái á téi en póples síre ⁝ é canterái a téi es génz · Ps 107:5Kar gránde sur les ciéls la túe misericorde ⁝ é desque ás núes la túe uerité · Ps 107:6Séies exalcé sur les ciéls deus ⁝ é sur túte térre la túe glórie ⁝ Ps 107:7que séient deliŭre li túen améd · Sálf me fái par lá túe déstre é exói méi ⁝ Ps 107:8deus parlá en sun sáint · Ié mesledecerái é departirái sícimam ⁝ é la ualée des tabernácles mesurerái · Ps 107:9Míens est · galáád · é miens est · manassés ⁝ é effraím receuemént de mun chiéf · Iúda li miens réis · Ps 107:10moáb caldére de la meie esperánce · Eń iduméa estendrái le míen čalcement ⁝ á méi li estránge amí sunt fáit · Ps 107:11Lí quels demerrá méi en citéd guarníde ⁝ li quels demerrá méi desque en iduméa ? Ps 107:12Dum né tu deus chi debutás nus ? é nen eistrás deus es nóz uertúz · Ps 107:13Dúne á nús aiúde de tribulaciún ⁝ kar uáine est · salúd dúme · Ps 107:14Eń déu ferúms uertúd ⁝ é il medésme á néient demerrá les nóz enemís ·

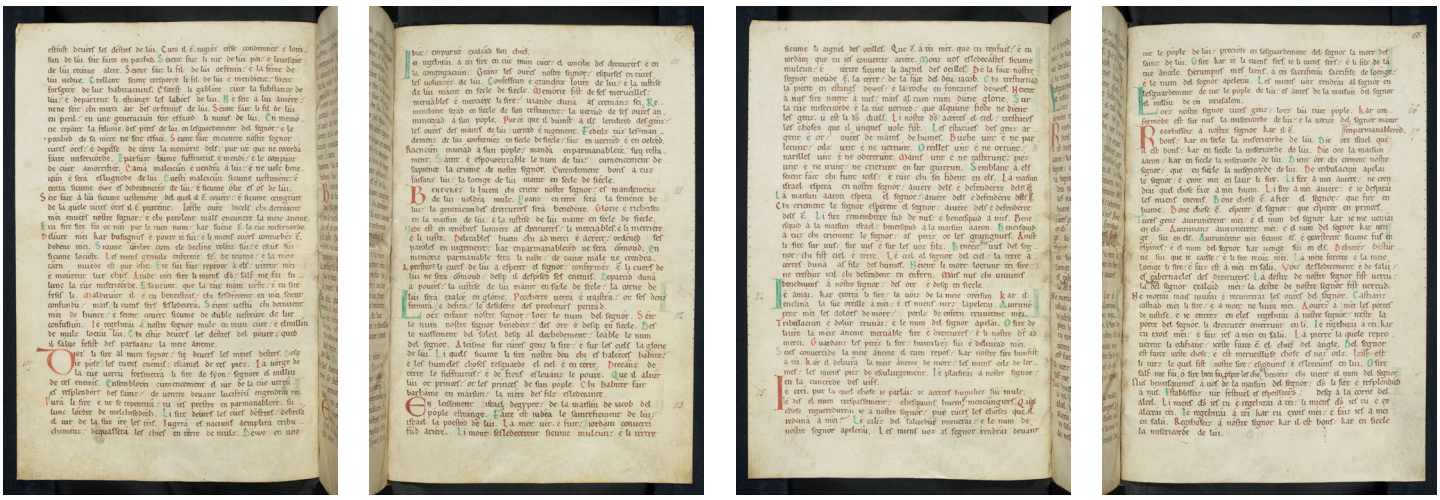
Ps 108:2 *eu*S la méie loénge ne tasirás ⁝ kar búche de peccheúr · é búche de boisús sur méi aouérte est · Ps 108:3 Parlérent encúntre méi par tricherrésse lángue ⁝ é par paróles de haíne auirunérent méi é escumbatírent méi en pardúns · Ps 108:4 Pur icé quil méi amássent detraéient á méi ⁝ ié acértes órówe · Ps 108:5 E posérent enuérs méi
f. 64v males chóses pur bónes ⁝ é haíne pur la méie dilectiún · Ps 108:6 Establís sur lúi peccheúr ⁝ é li diábles f. 64v estóist deuérs les déstres de lúi · Ps 108:7 Cum il e*st* · iugiéz eísse condemnéz ⁝ é loréisun de lúi séit fáite en pecchéd · Ps 108:8 Séient fáit li iúr de lúi pói ⁝ é leuesqúe de lúi recéiue áltre · Ps 108:9 Séient fáit li fíl de lúi orfenín ⁝ é la féme de lúi uédue · Ps 108:10 Crollánt séient tresporté li fil de lúi é mendíent ⁝ séient forsgeté de lur habitaciúns · Ps 108:11 Escérst li gablére túte la substánce de lúi ⁝ é dépártent li estránge les labórs de lúi · Ps 108:12 Né séit á lúi aiuére ⁝ ne ne séit chi merci áit des orfenins de lúi · Ps 108:13 Séient fáit li fíl de lúi en períl ⁝ en úne generaciún séit esfacéd li núms de lúi · Ps 108:14 Eń memórie repáirt la feluníe des péres de lúi · en lesguardement del segnór ⁝ é le pecchéd de sa mére ne séit esfacé · Ps 108:15 Séient fáit encuntre nóstre segnór túres óres ⁝ é dep*er*ísse de térre la memórie déls ⁝ Ps 108:16 pur icé que ne recordá fáire misericórde · Ps 108:17 E parsúit húme suffraitús · é mendí ⁝ é le compúnt de cúer amortifiér · Ps 108:18 E amá malečún é uendŕa á lui ⁝ é ne uolt beneičun é será eslugnéde de lúi · E uestí maleičun sicume uestimént ⁝ é entrá sicume éwe es dedezeinetéz de lúi ⁝ é sicume ólie es ós de lúi · Ps 108:19 Séit fáit á lúi sicume uestemént del quel il e*st* · coŭert ⁝ é sicume ceingtúre de lá quéle túres óres il e*st* · purcéint · Ps 108:20 Icéste oŭre dicels chi detráient méi enuérs nóstre segnór ⁝ é chi parólent máls encúntre la méie áneme · Ps 108:21 E tu síre síre fái ot méi pur le tuen num ⁝ kar suéue e*st* · la túe misericórde · Ps 108:22 Delíure méi kar busugnús é póure ié súi ⁝ é li miens cuérs conturbéz e*st* · dedénz méi · Ps 108:23 Sicume úmbre cum éle declíne toléiz súi ⁝ é escús súi sicume locúste · Ps 108:24 Les miens genúilz enfermé s*unt* · de ieúnie ⁝ é la méie čarn muéde est púr ólie · Ps 108:25 E ié súi fáiz repŕoce á els ⁝ uírent méi é moúrent lur chiés · Ps 108:26 Aiúde méi síre li miens d*eus* ⁝ salf me fái sulunc la túe misericórde · Ps 108:27 E saurúnt · que la túe máin icéste ⁝ é tu síre fesís li · Ps 108:28 Maldirúnt íl é tu beneistrás ⁝ chi sesdŕecent en méi séient confondú ⁝ máis li tuens seŕs sesledecerá · Ps 108:29 Séient uestú chi detráient méi de húnte ⁝ é seient couért sicume de dúble uesteúre de lur confusiún · Ps 108:30 Ié regehirái á nostre segnór mult en mun cúer ⁝ é el millíu de mulz loerái lúi · Ps 108:31 Chi estút deuers les déstres del póure ⁝ qued il sálue fesíst des parsuánz la meie aneme ·

Ps 109:1 IST li síre al mien segnór ⁝ sié deuérs les méies déstres · Dés*que* ié póse les tuens enemís ⁝ esčamel de tes piéz · Ps 109:2 Lá uérge de la túe uertú forsmetrá li síre de sỳon ⁝ segnóre el millíu de tes enemís · Ps 109:3 Ensemblotéi cúmencement el iúr de la túe uertú ⁝ es resplendórs des sáinz ⁝ de uéntre deuant lucíferu*m* engendrái téi · Ps 109:4 Iurá li síre é ne se repentirá ⁝ tu íes préstre en parmanableté · sulunc lórdre de melchisedéch · Ps 109:5 Lí sire deuers les túes déstres ⁝ debrisá el iur de la súe íre les réis · Ps 109:6 Iugerá es naciuńs aemplirá
f. 65r tribucheménz ⁝ dequasserá les chíes en térre de múlz · Ps 109:7 Déwe en uéie f. 65r bút ⁝ empuricé exalčad sun chiéf ·

Ps 110:1 É regehirái á téi síre en tút mún cúer ⁝ el concílie des dreiturérs é en la congregaciún · Ps 110:2 Gránz les oŭres nóstre segnór ⁝ esquíses en túres les uoluntéz de lúi · Ps 110:3 Confessiún é grandéce loŭre de lúi ⁝ é la iustíse de lúi máint en sécle de siécle · Ps 110:4 Memórie físt de ses meruéilles ⁝ merciábles é merciére li síre ⁝ Ps 110:5 uiánde duná as cremánz séi · Remembrére serád en siécle de sun testamént ⁝ Ps 110:6 la uertúd de ses oŭres annuncerád á sun póple · Ps 110:7 Pur cé que il dúinst á els lereditéd des génz ⁝ les oŭres des máins de lúi ueritéd é iugement · Ps 110:8 Fedéilz túz les mandemenz de lúi conferméz en siécle de siecle ⁝ fáiz en ueritéd é en oeltéd · Ps 110:9 Raenčun enueiád á sun póple ⁝ mandá en parmanableté sun testament · Sáint é espowentáble le num de lúi ⁝ Ps 110:10 cumencement de sapiénce la criéme de nóstre segnór · Entendemént bóns á tuz fáisanz lúi ⁝ la loénge de lúi máint en sécle de siécle ·

Ps 111:1 BENEVRÉZ li huem chi crient nóstre segnor ⁝ es mandeménz de lúi uoldŕa múlt · Ps 111:2 Poańz en térre será la seménce de lúi ⁝ la generaciún des dreiturérs será benedéite · Ps 111:3 Glórie é richéises en la maisún de lúi ⁝ é la iustíse de lúi máint en sécle de siécle · Ps 111:4 Néde est en tenébres lumiére as dreiturerś ⁝ li merciábles · é li merciére · é li iúste · Ps 111:5 Delitábles huem chi ad mercí é acréit ⁝ ordéned sés paróles en iugement ⁝ Ps 111:6 kar en parmanableted ne será co*m*moúd · Ps 111:7 Eń memórie parmanáble será li iúste ⁝ de oánce mále ne créndrá · Aprestéz *est* li cuers de lúi a esperér el segnór ⁝ Ps 111:8 conferméz e*st* · li cuers de lúi ne sera co*m*moúd ⁝ desq*ue* il despísed ses enemís · Ps 111:9 Departíd duná á poŭres ⁝ la iustíse de lúi máint en sécle de sécle ⁝ la córne de lúi será exalcé en glórie · Ps 111:10 Pecchérre uerrá é iraistrá ⁝ ót ses denz fremirá é defirá ⁝ le desidérie des peccheúrs perirád ·

Ps 112:1 Loéz enfánt nóstre segnór ⁝ loéz le num del segnór · Ps 112:2 Séit le num nóstre segnor benedéit ⁝ des óre é desq*ue* en siécle · Ps 112:3 Des le naissement del soléil desq*ue* al dechedement ⁝ loáble le num del segnór · Ps 112:4 Altísme sur túres genz li síre ⁝ e sur les ciels la glórie de lúi · Ps 112:5 Lí quels sicume li sire nóstre déu chi es haltéces habíte ⁝ Ps 112:6 é les húmeles chóses resguárde el ciel e en terre · Ps 112:7 Drečanz de térre le suffraitús ⁝ é de fiens esleuánz le poŭre · Ps 112:8 Que il aliút lúi ot prínces ⁝ ot les prínces de sun póple · Ps 112:9 Chi habitér fáit barháine en máisun ⁝ la mére des filz esledecánte ·



▲ *Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320, fol. 64v, 65r, 65v, and 66r.* Source: https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/
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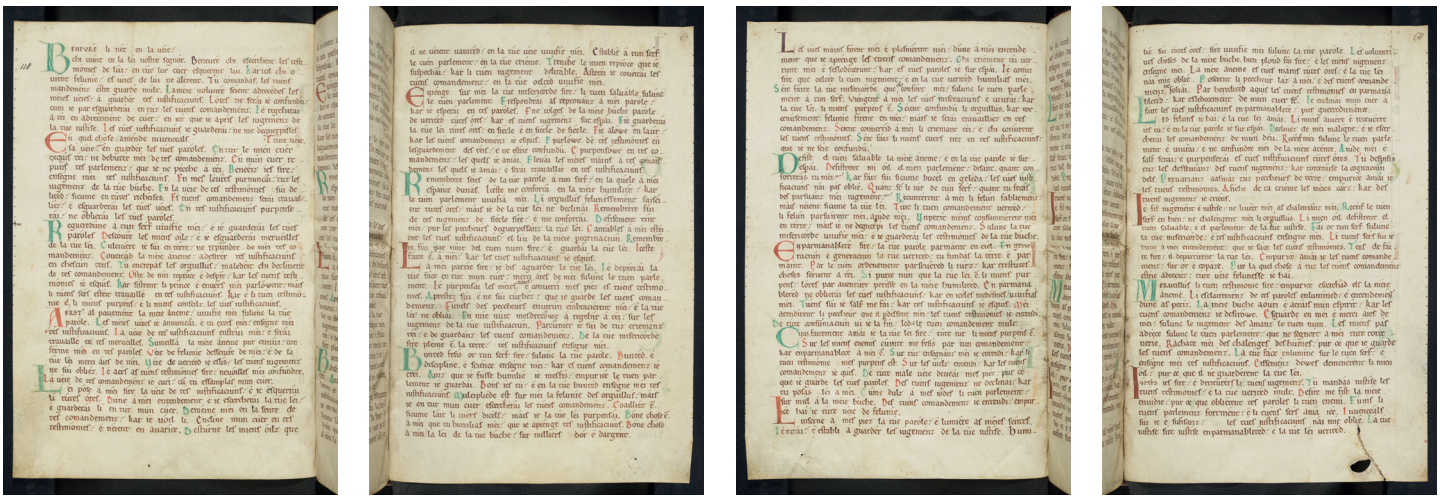
Ps 113:1Ń leissement israél degýpte ⁝ de la maisún de iacób del póple estránge · Ps 113:2Fáite est iudéa le saintefiement de lúi ⁝ israel la poestéd de lúi · Ps 113:3Lá mér uít · é fúit ⁝ iordáin conuertí fúd ariére · Ps 113:4Lí mont sesledecérent sicume multún ⁝ e li tértre f. 65v sicume li aignél des oéilles · Ps 113:5Que est · á téi mér · que tu tenfuís ⁝ é tu iordáin f. 65v
que tu íes conuertíz ariére · Ps 113:6Mónz uos esledečastes sicume multún ⁝ é térre sicume li aignél des oéilles · Ps 113:7Dé la fáce nóstre segnór moúde est · la térre ⁝ de la fáce del déu iacób · Ps 113:8Chi tresturnád la piérre en estángs déwes ⁝ é la róche en fontáines déwes · Ps 113:9Néient á nus síre neient á nús ⁝ máis al tuen núm dúne glórie · Ps 113:10Sur la túe misericórde é la túe ueritéd ⁝ que alquúne fiede ne díent les genz · ú est li deus dicels · Ps 113:11Lí nóstre deus acértes el ciél ⁝ trestútes les chóses que il uńques uolt físt · Ps 113:12Lés estatúes des genz argent é ór ⁝ oũres de máins de húmes · Ps 113:13Búche uńt é ne parleruńt ⁝ oílz uńt é ne uerrúnt · Ps 113:14Oréilles uńt é ne orrúnt ⁝ narílles uńt é ne odererúnt · Ps 113:15Máins únt é ne tasterúnt ⁝ piéz uńt é ne iruńt ⁝ ne crierúnt en lur gúitrun · Ps 113:16Semblánt á els séient fáit chi fúnt icéls ⁝ é túit chi séi fídent en els · Ps 113:17Lá máisun israel esperá en nóstre segnór ⁝ aiuére dels · é defendérre dels est · Ps 113:18Lá maisún aaron esperá el segnór ⁝ aiuére déls · é defendérre dels est · Ps 113:19Chi criement le segnór esperérent el segnór ⁝ aiuére déls é defendérre dels est · Ps 113:20Lí síre remembrére fud de nús ⁝ é beneisqúid á nús · Beneisqúid á la maisún israél ⁝ beneisqúid á la maisún aaron · Ps 113:21Beneisqúid á túz chi criément le segnór ⁝ as petíz ót les graingnúrs · Ps 113:22Aiúst li síre sur uús ⁝ sur uús e sur les uóz fílz · Ps 113:23Beneéit \séiz/ uús del segnor ⁝ chi físt ciél é térre · Ps 113:24Lé ciél al segnór del ciel ⁝ la térre acértes duná as filz des húmes · Ps 113:25Néient li mórt loerúnt téi síre ⁝ ne trestúit icíl chi descéndent en enfern · Ps 113:26Máis nus chi uiuúms benediúms á nóstre segnór ⁝ dés óre é desque en siécle ·

Ps 114:1Í amái · kar exorrá li síre ⁝ la uóiz de la meie oréisún · Ps 114:2Kar íl encliná la súe oréille á méi ⁝ é es miéns iúrz lapelerái · Ps 114:3Auirunérent méi les dolórs de mórt ⁝ perílz de enfern truuérent méi · Ps 114:4Tribulaciún é dolúr truuái ⁝ é le num del segnór apelái · Ps 114:5O síre deliũre la méie áneme merciáble síre é dreiturérs ⁝ é li nóstre deus ád mercí · Ps 114:6Guardanz les petíz li síre ⁝ humiliéz súi é deliũrad méi · Ps 114:7Séies conuertíde la méie áneme el tuen repós ⁝ kar nóstre síre bienfíst á téi · Ps 114:8Kár il deliũra la méie áneme de mórt ⁝ les miens óilz de lérmes ⁝ les miens piéz de esculurgemént · Ps 114:9Ié plaisirái á nostre segnór ⁝ en la cuntréde des uífs ·

Ps 115:1é creí · pur la quel chóse ie parlái ⁝ ie acértes humiliéz súi mult · Ps 115:2Ié dís el mién trespassemént ⁝ chesquúns húem \est ·/ menčungiers · Ps 115:3Quél chóse regueredurrái ie á nóstre segnór ⁝ pur tútes les chóses que íl reduná á méi ? Ps 115:4Lé calíz del saluedúr receuerái ⁝ é le núm de nóstre segnór apelerái · Ps 115:5Les miéns uóz al segnór rendrái deuánt f. 66r tút le póple de lúi ⁝ Ps 115:6precióse en lesguardement del segnór la mort des f. 66r
sáinz de lúi · Ps 115:7O síre kar ié li tuens serś · ie li tuens serś ⁝ é li filz de lá túe ancéle · Derumpiés mes lieńs · Ps 115:8á téi sacrifierái sacrifíse de loénge ⁝ é le num del segnór apelerái · Ps 115:9Lés miens uóz rendrái al segnór en lesguardement de tut le póple de lúi ⁝ Ps 115:10es áitres de la maisún del segnór el millíu de téi ierusalem ·

Ps 116:1OÉZ nóstre segnor túres génz ⁝ loéz lúi túit póple · Ps 116:2Kar conferméde est sur nus la misericórde de lúi ⁝ e la uerité del segnór máint en parmanableted ·

Ps 117:1EGEhisséiz á nostre segnor kar il est · bons ⁝ kar en sécle la misericórde de lúi · Ps 117:2Díe óre israel que il est bóns ⁝ kar en siécle la misericórde de lúi · Ps 117:3Díe óre la maisún ááron ⁝ kar en siécle la misericórde



▲ *Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320, fol. 66v, 67r, 67v, and 68r.* Source: https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/
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de lúi · Ps 117:4Dient óre chi crément nóstre segnor ⁝ qué en siécle la misericórde de lúi · Ps 117:5De tribulaciún apelái le segnór ⁝ é exoít méi en laúr li síre · Ps 117:6Lí sire a méi aiuére ⁝ né crendrái quel chóse fáce á méi huem · Ps 117:7Lí sire á méi aiuére ⁝ é ie despirái les miens enemís · Ps 117:8Bóne chóse est · a fiér el segnór ⁝ que fiér en húme · Ps 117:9Bóne chóse est · esperér el segnór ⁝ que esperér en prínces · Ps 117:10Tútes genz auirunérent méi ⁝ é el num del segnor kar ié me ueniái en els · Ps 117:11Auirunánz auirunérent méi ⁝ é el num del segnór kar uengé súi en els · Ps 117:12Auirunérent méi sicume és · é exaŕstrent sicume fús en espínes ⁝ é el num del segnór kar uengé súi en éls · Ps 117:13Debutéz désturné súi que ié caísse ⁝ é li sire rečut méi · Ps 117:14Lá méie fortéce é la meie loénge li síre ⁝ é fáiz est á méi en salú · Ps 117:15Vóiz desledecemént é de salú ⁝ es tabernácles des dreiturérs · Ps 117:16Lá déstre de nóstre segnor fist uertú ⁝ la \déstre/ del segnór exalčad méi ⁝ la déstre de nostre segnor físt uertúd · Ps 117:17Né morrai máis uiŭrai é recunterái les oŭres del segnór · Ps 117:18Castiánz castiád méi li síre ⁝ é á mórt ne liŭra méi · Ps 117:19Aoŭrez á méi les pórtes de iustíse · é ie entréz en éles regehirái á nóstre segnór ⁝ Ps 117:20icéste la pórte del segnór · li dreiturér enterrúnt en lí · Ps 117:21Ié regehirái á téi · kar tu exoís méi ⁝ é fáiz íes a méi en salú · Ps 117:22Lá piérre la quéle reprouérent li edifiañt ⁝ icéste fáite est · el chiéf del añgle · Ps 117:23Del segnór est fáite icéste chóse ⁝ é est merueillúse chóse es noz oílz · Ps 117:24Icíst est li iúrz lequel físt nóstre síre ⁝ esiodúms é esleečums en lúi · Ps 117:25O síre sálf me fái · ó síre bién fái prospre les chó\ses ⁝/ Ps 117:26benéei chi uiént el num del segnór · Ps 117:26Nús beneisquímes á uós de la maisún del segnór ⁝ Ps 117:27deus li síre é resplendiéd á nús · Establisséiz iúr festiuél es espeisséces ⁝ desque á la córne del altél · Ps 117:28Lí miens deus íes tu é regehirái á téi ⁝ li miens deus íes tú é exalcerái téi · Ié regehirái á téi kar tu exoís méi ⁝ é fáiz íes á méi en salú · Ps 117:29Regehisséiz á nóstre segnor kar il est bons ⁝ kar en siécle la misericórde de lúi ·

f. 66v

f. 66v Ps 118:1BENEVRÉ li nét en la uéie ⁝ chi uúnt en la léi nóstre segnór · Ps 118:2Beneuré chi escérchent les testimónies de lúi ⁝ en tút lur cúer esqúerent lúi · Ps 118:3Kár icíl chi oŭrent feluníe ⁝ es uéies de lúi ne alérent · Ps 118:4Tú cómandás · les túens mandeménz éstre guardé múlt · Ps 118:5La méie uolunté séient adrecédes les méies uéies ⁝ á guardér tes iustificaciuńs · Ps 118:6Lóres ne serái ié confundú ⁝ cum ie par esguarderái en túz les túens comandeménz · Ps 118:7Ié regehirái a téi en adrecemént de cúer ⁝ en icé que ié aprís les iugeménz de la túe iustíse · Ps 118:8Les túes iustificaciúns ie guarderái ⁝ ne me deguerpísses túte uéie ·

Ps 118:9Ń quel chóse améndе iuuencéals sa uéie ? en guardér les túes paróles · Ps 118:10Eń tút le mién cuér exquís téi ⁝ ne debutér méi de tes comandeménz · Ps 118:11Eń mún cuér repuńs tes parlemenz ⁝ que ié ne pécche á téi · Ps 118:12Beneéiz íes síre ⁝ enségne méi tes iustificaciúns · Ps 118:13En mes léŭres purnunčai ⁝ tuz les iugemenz de la túe búche · Ps 118:14Eń la uéie de tes testimónies súi delité ⁝ sicume en túres richéises · Ps 118:15És túens comandemenz serái trauailliéz ⁝ e esguarderái les túes uéies · Ps 118:16Eń tes iustificaciuńs purpenserái ⁝ ne oblierái les túes paróles ·

Ps 118:17Egueredúne á tun serff uiuifíe méi ⁝ é ié guarderái les túes paróles · Ps 118:18Descóŭre les · miéns oílz ⁝ é ié esguarderái meruéilles de la túe léi · Ps 118:19Cultiuére ié súi en térre ⁝ ne repúndre de méi tes comandeménz · Ps 118:20Coueitád la méie áneme ⁝ a desirér tes iustificaciúns en chescún téns · Ps 118:21Tú encrepás les orguillús ⁝ maledéit chi declínent de tes comandemenz · Ps 118:22Óste de méi repróce é despít ⁝ kar les tuens testimónies ié esquís · Ps 118:23Kar sístrent li prínce é enŭers méi parlówent ⁝ máis li túens serś estéit trauaillé en tes iustificaciúns · Ps 118:24Kar é li túen testimónie est · li miéns purpéns ⁝ é li miens conséilz · les túes iustificaciúns ·

Ps 118:25ÉRST al pauemént la meie áneme ⁝ uiuifíe méi sulúnc la túe paróle · Ps 118:26Les méies uéies ié annunčai é tu exoís méi ⁝ enségne méi tes iustificaciúns · Ps 118:27La uéie de tes iustificaciúns enstrúi méi ⁝ é serái trauaillé en tes meruéilles · Ps 118:28Sumeillá la méie áneme púr ennúi ⁝ conférme méi en tes paróles · Ps 118:29Véie de feluníe desséiŭre de méi ⁝ é de la túe léi merci áies de méi · Ps 118:30Uéie de ueritéd ié eslís ⁝ les túens iugeménz ne súi obliéz · Ps 118:31Ié aérs as túens testimónies síre ⁝ ne uóilles méi confúndre · Ps 118:32Lá uéie de tes comandeménz ié curí ⁝ cu*m* tú essamplás mún cúer ·

Ps 118:33Léi póse á méi síre la uéie de tés iustificaciúns ⁝ é ie esquerrái lí túte óres · Ps 118:34Dúne á méi entendemént é ie escercherái la túe léi ⁝ é guarderái lí en tút mún cúer · Ps 118:35Deméine méi en la sente de tes comandemenz ⁝ kar ié uóil lí · Ps 118:36Enclíne mun cúer en tés testimónies ⁝ é néient en auaríce · Ps 118:37Destúrne les miens óilz que f. 67r íl ne uéient uanitéd ⁝ en la túe uéie uiuifíe méi · Ps 118:38Establís á tun sérf le túen parlement ⁝ en la túe criéme · f. 67r Ps 118:39Trenčhe le mien repróce que ié suspechái ⁝ kar li túen iugement delitáble · Ps 118:40Astetéi ié couéitái les túens comandemenz ⁝ en la túe oeltéd uiuifíe méi ·

Ps 118:41Uiénge sur méi la túe misericórde síre ⁝ li tuen saluáble sulúnc le túen parlemént · Ps 118:42E respondrái as reprouánz á méi paróle ⁝ kar ié esperái en tes paróles · Ps 118:43E ne tólges de la méie búche paróle de ueritéd túte óres ⁝ kar es túens iugeménz surespe*r*ái · Ps 118:44E ié guarderái la túe léi túte óres ⁝ en siécle é en siécle de siécle · Ps 118:45E ié alówe en laúr ⁝ kar les túens comandeménz ié esquís · Ps 118:46E parlówe dé tes testimónies én lesguárdemént des réis ⁝ é ne estéie confundú · Ps 118:47E purpensówe en tes comandeménz ⁝ les quels ié amái · Ps 118:48E leuái les méies máins á tes comandemenz ⁝ les quels ié amái ⁝ é serái trauaillié en tes iustificaciúns ·

Ps 118:49Emembrére séies de la túe paróle á tun serf ⁝ en la quéle á méi espe*r*ánce dunás · Ps 118:50Icéste me confortá en la méie humilité ⁝ kar le túen parlement uiuifiá méi · Ps 118:51Lí orguillús felunéssemént faiséient túte óres ⁝ máis ié de la túe léi ne declinái · Ps 118:52Remembrére fúi de tes iugeménz de siécle síre ⁝ é me confortái · Ps 118:53Defisement tínt méi ⁝ pur les peccheúrs deguerpissánz la túe léi · Ps 118:54Cantábles á méi estéient les túes iustificaciúns ⁝ el líu de la méie pe*r*egrinaciún · Ps 118:55Remembrére fúi par núit del tuen num síre ⁝ é guardái la túe léi · Ps 118:56Icéste fáite e*st* · á méi ⁝ kar les tues iustificaciúns ié esquís ·

Ps 118:57Á méi partíe síre ⁝ ié dis aguardér la túe léi · Ps 118:58Ié depréi_ái la túe fáce en tút mun cuér ⁝ merci áies de méi sulúnc le túen parlement · Ps 118:59Ié purpensái les méies \ueies ⁝/ é conuertí mes piéz es túens testimónies · Ps 118:60Aprestéz súi é ne súi turbéz ⁝ que ié guárde les túens comandeménz · Ps 118:61Funéls des peccheúrs enuirún embraciérent méi ⁝ é lá túe léi ne obliái · Ps 118:62Eń míe núit mesdrečowe á regehír á téi ⁝ sur les iugemenz de la túe iustificaciún · Ps 118:63Parčunier ie súi de tuz criemánz téi ⁝ e de guardánz les tuens comandeménz · Ps 118:64Dé la túe misericórde sire pléine e*st* · la térre ⁝ tés iustificaciúns enségne méi ·

Ps 118:65Buntéd fesís ot tun serf síre ⁝ suluńc la túe paróle · Ps 118:66Buntéd · é disciplíne · é sciénce enségne méi ⁝ kar es túens comandemenz ié creí · Ps 118:67Ainz que ié fússe humilié ié mesfis ⁝ empur icé le tuen parlement ié guardái · Ps 118:68Bońs íes tú ⁝ é en la túe buntéd enségne méi tes iustificaciúns · Ps 118:69Multipliéde est sur méi la feluníe des orguillús ⁝ máis ie en tut mun cúer escerčherái les túens comandeménz · Ps 118:70Coailliéz e*st* · sicume láit li cuérs dicéls ⁝ máis ie la túe léi purpensái · Ps 118:71Bóne chóse e*st* · á méi que tu humiliás méi ⁝ que ie aprénge tés iustificaciúns · Ps 118:72Bóne chóse á méi la léi de la túe búche ⁝ sur milliérs dór é dargént ·

f. 67v Ps 118:73Lés túes máins fírent méi é plasmérent méi ⁝ dúne á méi entendement que ie aprénge les tuens f. 67v comandeménz · Ps 118:74Chi criément téi uerrunt méi é sesledecerúnt ⁝ kar es túes paróles ié surespe*r*ái · Ps 118:75Ié conúi síre que oeltéd li túen iugement ⁝ é en la túe ueritéd humiliás méi · Ps 118:76Séit fáite la túe misericórde que \éle/ confórt méi ⁝ sulúnc le túen parlement á tun serf · Ps 118:77Viéngent á méi les túes miseraciúns é uiŭrai ⁝ kar la túe léi · li miens purpéns e*st* · Ps 118:78Séient confundú li orguillús · kar torcenúsement feluníe fírent en méi ⁝ máis ié serái trauaillíez en tes comandémenz · Ps 118:79Séient conuertíd á méi li criémant téi ⁝ é chi conúrent les túens testimónies · Ps 118:80Séit fáiz li miéns cuers néz en tes iustificaciúns ⁝ que ié ne séie confundú ·

Ps 118:81Defíst el túen saluáble la méie áneme ⁝ é en la túe paróle ié surespe*r*ái · Ps 118:82Defístrent mí óil el túen parlemént ⁝ disánt · quant conforterás tu méi ? Ps 118:83Kar fáiz súi sicume bucél en geléda ⁝ les túes iustificaciúns nái pás oblié · Ps 118:84Quánz · s*un*t li iúr de tún serf ⁝ quant tu ferás des parsuánz méi iugemént ? Ps 118:85Recuntérent á méi li felún fablieménz ⁝ máis néient sicume la túe léi · Ps 118:86Túit li tuen comandemént ueritéd ⁝ li felún parsuírent méi · aiúde méi · Ps 118:87Un petít méins consummérent méi en térre ⁝ máis ié ne deguerpí les túens comandeménz · Ps 118:88Sulúnc la túe misericórde uiuifíe méi ⁝ e ie guarderái les testimónies de la túe búche ·

EPs 118:89N parmanableté síre ⁝ la túe paróle parmáint en ciél · Ps 118:90Eń generaciún é generaciún la túe ueritéd ⁝ tu fundás la térre · é parmáint · Ps 118:91Par le túen ordenement parseuéred li iúrz ⁝ kar trestútes chóses séruent a téi · Ps 118:92Sí purce nún que la túe léi · e*st* · li miéns purpens ⁝ lóres par auentúre perísse en la méie humilitéd · Ps 118:93En parmanableted ne oblierái les túes iustificaciúns ⁝ kar en icéles medésmes uiuifiás méi · Ps 118:94Túens súi ié salf me fái ⁝ kar tes iustificaciúns ié esquís · Ps 118:95Méi atendírent li peccheúr que il p*er*díssent méi ⁝ les túens testimónies ié entendí · Ps 118:96Dé túte consu*m*maciún ui ié la fín ⁝ léd *est* le túen comandement múlt ·

CPs 118:97UM faitement amái ié la túe léi síre ⁝ túte iúr li miéns purpéns est · Ps 118:98Sur les miéns enemís cúinte me fesís par tun comandemént ⁝ kar en parmanableté á méi e*st* · Ps 118:99Sur túz ensegnánz méi ie entendí ⁝ kar lí túen testimónie més purpéns est · Ps 118:100Sur les uiélz entendí ⁝ kar les túens comandemenz ié quís · Ps 118:101Dé túte mále uéie deueái mes piéz ⁝ pur cé que ié guárde les túes paróles · Ps 118:102Des túens iugemenz ne declinái ⁝ kar tu posas léi a méi · Ps 118:103Cúme dúlz á mes iódes li túen parlemént ⁝ sur miél á la méie búche · Ps 118:104Des túens comandemenz ié entendí ⁝ empuricé haí ie túte uéie de feluníe ·

f. 68r LPs 118:105uisérne á més piéz la túe paróle ⁝ é lumiére as méies séntes · Ps 118:106Ié iurái ⁝ é estáblí á guardér les iugeménz de la túe iustíse · Ps 118:107Humif. 68rlié súi túres óres ⁝ síre uiuifie méi sulúnc la túe paróle · Ps 118:108Lés uoluntríues chóses de la méie búche · bien ploúd fái síre ⁝ é les tuéns iugeménz enségne méi · Ps 118:109Lá méie áneme es túes máins túres óres ⁝ é la túe léi nái míe oblié · Ps 118:110Posérent li peccheúr láz á méi ⁝ é des túens comandemenz \ne/ foliái · Ps 118:111Par heredited aquís les túens testimónies en parmanábleted ⁝ kar esledecemént de mún cuer s*unt* · Ps 118:112Ié enclinái mun cúer á fáire les túes iustificaciúns en parmanableté ⁝ pur guerredunánce ·

LPs 118:113ÉS felúns ié haí ⁝ é la túe léi amái ·Ps 118:114Lí miens aiuére é receuérre iés tú ⁝ é en la túe paróle ié sur esp*er*ái · Ps 118:115Declinéz de méi malígne ⁝ é ie escercherái les comandeménz de mún déu · Ps 118:116Recéif méi sulúnc le tuen parlement é uiúrai ⁝ é ne confúndre méi de la méie aténte · Ps 118:117Aiúde méi é sálf serái ⁝ e purpenserái es túes iustificaciúns túres óres · Ps 118:118Tú despisís túz les desseŭranz des tuens iugeménz ⁝ kar torcenúse la cogitaciún déls · Ps 118:119Preuariánz aasmái túz peccheúrs de térre ⁝ empuricé amái ié les tuéns testimónies · Ps 118:120Afíche de ta criéme les méies cárz ⁝ kar des túens iugemenz ié criéns ·

IPs 118:121é fís iugemént é iustíse ⁝ ne liŭrer méi as chaleñianz méi · Ps 118:122Recéif le túen serf en bién ⁝ ne chaléngent méi li orguillús · Ps 118:123Lí mien óil defístrent el túen saluáble ⁝ é el parlemént de la túe iustíse · Ps 118:124Fai ot tun serf sulúnc la túe misericórde ⁝ é tés iustificaciúns enséigne méi · Ps 118:125Lí tuéns serś súi ié dúne á méi entendemént ⁝ que ie sáce les túens testimónies · Ps 118:126Téns de fáire síre ⁝ il departírent la túe léi · Ps 118:127Empur icé amái ie les tuens comandemenz ⁝ sur ór é topáze · Ps 118:128Pur laquel chóse á tuz les túens comandeménz estéie adreciéz ⁝ túte uéie felunésse ié haí ·

MPs 118:129ERueillús li túen testimónie síre ⁝ empuricé escerčhad els la méie áneme · Ps 118:130Lí escláireménz de tes paróles enlumíned ⁝ é entendemént dúne as petíz · Ps 118:131Lá méie búche aóuri é atráis mún espirít ⁝ kar les túens comandeménz ie desirówe · Ps 118:132Esguárde en méi é merci áies de méi ⁝ sulunc le iugement des amanz le túen núm · Ps 118:133Les miéns pás adréce sulunc le tuen parlemént ⁝ que ne segnórt á méi túte torceneríe · Ps 118:134Racháte méi des chalénges dés húmes ⁝ pur cé que ie guárde les túens comandeménz · Ps 118:135Lá túe fáce enlumíne sur le tuen sérf ⁝ é enségne méi tés iustificaciúns · Ps 118:136Eisseménz déwes demenérent li mien óil ⁝ pur cé que íl né guardérent la túe léi ·

IPs 118:137VSTES íes síre ⁝ é dreiturérs li túens iugemén*z* · Ps 118:138Tú mandás iustíse les túens testimónies ⁝ é la túe ueritéd múlt · Ps 118:139Defíre me físt la méie enuídie ⁝ pur cé que obliérent tés paróles li túen enemí · Ps 118:140Fuiñs lí tuéns parleménz fortmént ⁝ é li túens serś amá icé · Ps 118:141Iuuenceáls súi ié é sufisanz ⁝ les túes iustificaciúns nái
f. 68v míe oblié · Ps 118:142Lá túe iustíse síre iustíse en parmanableted ⁝ é la túe léi ueritéd · f. 68v Ps 118:143Tribulaciún é angúisse truuérent méi ⁝ li túen comandemént mes purpens e*st* · Ps 118:144Oeltéd li túen testimónie en parmanableted ⁝ é entendemént dúne á méi que ié uíue ·

IPs 118:145É criái en tut mún cúer exói méi síre ⁝ les túes iustificaciúns requerrái · Ps 118:146Ié criái á téi salf me fai ⁝ pur cé que ié guárde les túens comandeménz · Ps 118:147Ié deuancí en maurted é criái ⁝ en tés paróles surespe*r*ái · Ps 118:148Deuancírent li mien óil á téi par matín ⁝ que ie purpensásse les tuéns parlemenz · Ps 118:149Lá méie uóiz ói sulúnc la túe misericórde síre ⁝ é sulúnc le túen iugemént uiuifíe méi · Ps 118:150Aprismérent li parsuánt méi á feluníe ⁝ de la túe léi acértes lúinz fáit sunt · Ps 118:151Prúef íes tu síre ⁝ é túres les túes uéies uéritéd · Ps 118:152El comencemént ié conúi de tes testimónies ⁝ kar en parmanableted tu fundás éls ·

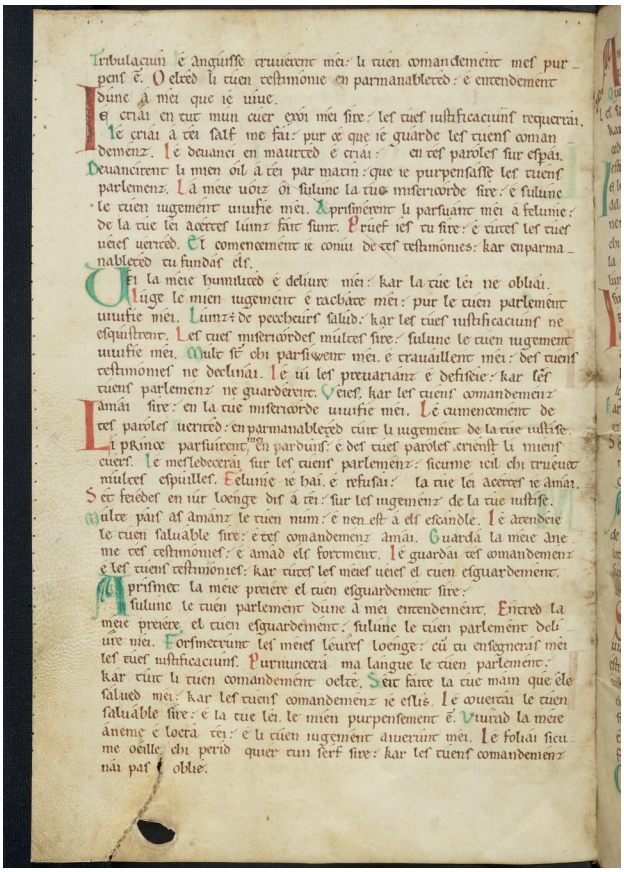
Ps 118:153ÉI la méie humilitéd é delíure méi ⁝ kar la túe léi né obliái · Ps 118:154Iúge le mien iugemént é racháte méi ⁝ púr le túen parlemént uiuifíe méi · Ps 118:155Lúinz *est* de peccheúrs salúd ⁝ kar les túes iustificaciúns né esquístrent · Ps 118:156Les tues misericórdes múltes ⁝ síre ⁝ sulunc le túen iugement uiuifíe méi · Ps 118:157Múlt s*unt* chi parsíwent méi · é trauáillent méi ⁝ des túens testimónies ne declinái · Ps 118:158Ié ui les preuariánz é defiséie ⁝ kar lés túens parleménz ne guardérent · Ps 118:159Véies · kar les túens comandeménz amái síre ⁝ en la túe misericórde uiuifíe méi · Ps 118:160Lé cumencemént de tes paróles ueritéd ⁝ en parmanableted túit li iugemént de la túe iustíse ·

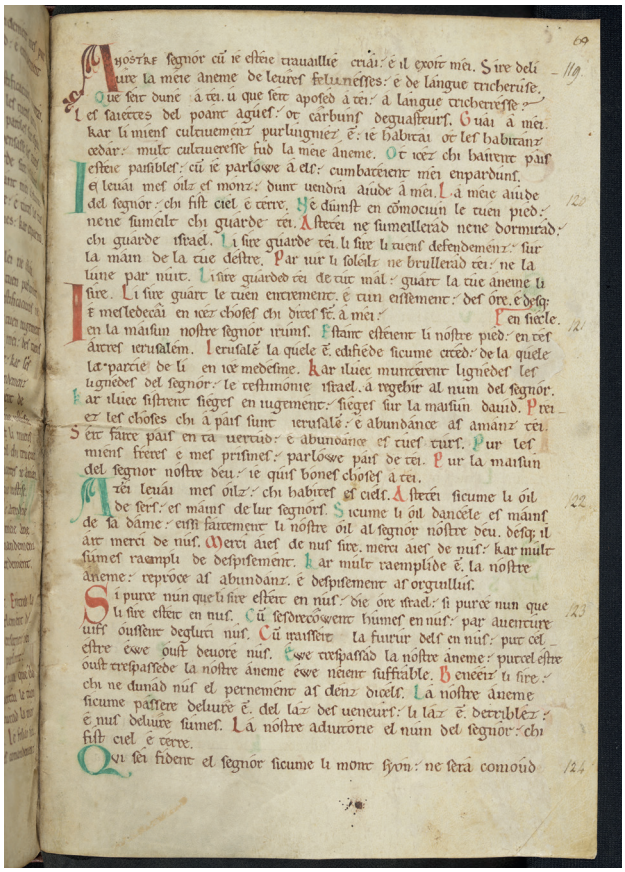
Ps 118:161Í PRínce parsuírent \méi/ en pardúns ⁝ é des túes paróles criénst lí miéns cuérs · Ps 118:162Ié mesledecerái sur les túens parleménz ⁝ sicume icíl chi truéuet múltes espúilles · Ps 118:163Feluníe ié haí · é refusái ⁝ la túe léi acértes ié amái · Ps 118:164Sét feiédes en iúr loénge dis á téi ⁝ sur les iugeménz de la túe iustíse · Ps 118:165Múlte páis as amánz le túen núm ⁝ é nen_est á els escándle · Ps 118:166Ié atendéie le túen saluáble síre ⁝ é tes comandeménz amái · Ps 118:167Guardá la méie aneme tés testimónies ⁝ é amád éls fortmént · Ps 118:168Ié guardái tés comandeménz é les túens testimónies ⁝ kar túres les méies uéies el túen esguardemént ·

Ps 118:169prísmet la méie preiére el túen esguardemént sire ⁝ sulúnc le túen parlemént dúne a méi entendemént · Ps 118:170Entred la méie preiére el túen esguardemént ⁝ sulúnc le túen parlemént delíüre méi · Ps 118:171Forsmetrúnt les méies léüres loénge ⁝ cu*m* tu ensegnerás méi les túes iustificaciúns · Ps 118:172Purnuncerá ma lángue le túen parlemént ⁝ kár túit li túen comandemént oelté · Ps 118:173Séit fáite la túe máin qué éle sálued méi ⁝ kar les túens comandeménz ié eslís · Ps 118:174Ié coueitái le túen saluáble síre ⁝ é la túe léi · le mién purpensement e*st* · Ps 118:175Viürad la méie áneme é loerá téi ⁝ é li túen iugemént aiuerúnt méi · Ps 118:176Ié foliái sicume oéille chi períd quiér tun serf sire ⁝ kar les túens comandeménz nái pas oblié ·

f. 69r Ps 119:1 NÓSTRE segnór cu*m* ié estéie trauaillié criái ⁝ é il exoít méi · Ps 119:2Síre delíüre la méie aneme de leüres felunésses ⁝ é de lángue tricherúse · Ps 119:3Que séit duné á téi · ú que séit aposéd á téi ⁝ á lángue tricherresse ? Ps 119:4Les saiéttes del poánt agúes ⁝ ot čarbúns deguastéurs · Ps 119:5Guái á méi · kar lí míens cultiueménz purlúigniéz e*st* ⁝ ié habitái ót les habitánz cedár ⁝ Ps 119:6mult cultiuerésse fúd la méie áneme · Ps 119:7Ót icéz chi haírent páis estéie paisíbles ⁝ cu*m* ié parlówe á els ⁝ cumbatéient méi enpardúns · f. 69r

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IPs 120:1É leuái mes óilz es mónz ⁝ dunt uendrá aiúde á méi · Ps 120:2Lá méie aiúde del segnór ⁝ chi físt ciél é térre · Ps 120:3Né dúinst en co*mm*ociún le túen piéd ⁝ nene suméilt chi guárde téi · Ps 120:4Astetéi ne sumeillerád nene dormirád ⁝ chi guárde israél · Ps 120:5Lí síre gúarde téi · li síre li túens defendeménz ⁝ súr la máin de la túe déstre · Ps 120:6Par iúr li soléilz ne brullerád téi ⁝ ne la lúne par núit · Ps 120:7Lí síre guárded téi de tút mál ⁝ guárt la túe áneme li síre · Ps 120:8Lí síre guárt le túen entrement · é tun eissement ⁝ des óre · é desq*ue* en siécle ·

IPs 121:1É mesledečai en icéz chóses chi dítes s*unt* · á méi ⁝ en la máisun nostre segnór irúms · Ps 121:2Estánt estéient lí nóstre piéd ⁝ en tés áitres ierusalém · Ps 121:3Ierusale*m* la qúele e*st* · edifiéde sicume citéd ⁝ de la qúele la partíe de lí en icé medésme · Ps 121:4Kar ilúec muntérent lignédes les lignédes del segnór ⁝ le testimónie israel · á regehír al num del segnór · Ps 121:5Kar ilúec sístrent siéges en iugemént ⁝ siéges sur la maisún dauíd · Ps 121:6Préiez les chóses chi á páis sunt ierusale*m* ⁝ é abundánce as amánz téi · Ps 121:7Séit fáite páis en tá uertúd ⁝ é abundánce es túes túrs · Ps 121:80Pur les miéns fréres é mes prísmes ⁝ parlówe páis de téi · Ps 121:9Pur la maisún del segnor nóstre déu ⁝ ié quís bónes chóses á téi ·

APs 122:1 Téi leuái mes óilz ⁝ chi habítes es ciéls · Ps 122:2Astetéi sicume li óil de sérs ⁝ es máins de lur segnórs · Sicume li óil dancéle es máins de sa dáme ⁝ eissi fáitement li nóstre óil al segnór nóstre déu · désq*ue* íl áit mercí de nús · Ps 122:3Mercí áies de nus síre · merci áies de nús ⁝ kar múlt súmes raemplí de despisemént · Ps 122:4Kar múlt raemplíde e*st* · la nóstre áneme ⁝ repróce as abundánz · é despisement as orguillús ·

SPs 123:1Í purce nún que lí síre estéit en nús ⁝ díe óre israel ⁝ Ps 123:2si purcé nun que li síre estéit en nus · Cu*m* sesdrečowent húmes en nús ⁝ Ps 123:3par auentúre uífs óussent deglutí nús · Cu*m* iraisséit la fuirúr dels en nús ⁝ Ps 123:4put cél_éstre éwe óust deuoré nús · Ps 123:5Éwe trespassád la nóstre áneme ⁝ putcéléstre óust trespasséde la nóstre áneme éwe néient suffráble · Ps 123:6Benééiz li síre ⁝ chi ne dunád nús el pernemént as dénz dicéls · Ps 123:7Lá nóstre áneme sícume pássere deliŭre e*st* · del láz des ueneúrs ⁝ li láz e*st* · detribléz ⁝ é nus deliŭre súmes · Ps 123:8Lá nóstre adiutórie el núm del segnór ⁝ chi físt ciel é térre ·

f. 69v QPs 124:1VI séi físdent el segnór sicume li mont sẏón ⁝ ne será comoúd f. 69v en parmanableted chi habíted Ps 124:2en ierusale*m* · Lí mont en lauirunemént de lúi é li síre en lauirunemént de sun póple ⁝ dés óre é desq*ue* en sécle · Ps 124:3Kár il ne deguerpirád la uérge des peccheúrs sur la sórt des iústes ⁝ que nenesténdent li iúste á feluníe lur máins · Ps 124:4Bién fái síre ⁝ as bons · é as dreiturérs de cúer · Ps 124:5Máis les declinánz en lieménz amerrád li síre ot les oŭranz feluníe ⁝ páis sur isr*ae*l ·

EPs 125:1Ń conuertant li síre la caitiuited de sẏón ⁝ fáit súmes sicume confortéd · Ps 125:2Tuńc raemplíz e*st* · de ióie la nóstre búche ⁝ é la nóstre lángue de esledecemént · Lóres dirrúnt entre les génz ⁝ magnifiád li síre á fáire ót els · Ps 125:3Magnifiád li síre á fáire ót nús ⁝ fáit súmes esledečanz · Ps 125:4Conuertís síre la nóstre caitiuited ⁝ sicume éwe en aústre · Ps 125:5\Cil chi sement en lérmes ⁝ en esledecement cuillent ·/ Ps 125:6Alánz alówent e plurówent ⁝ enueiánz lúr seménces · Máis uenánz uendrúnt ót esledecemént ⁝ portánt lur manuédes ·

SPs 126:1Í nóstre síre ne edifierád la máisún ⁝ en uáin trauaillérent chi edifíent lí · Sí li síre ne guarderád la cité ⁝ en uáin uéilled chi guárde lí · Ps 126:2Váine chóse e*st* · á uus deuánt lumiére leuér ⁝ leuéz púis que uús serréiz chi mangiéz páin de dolúr · Cu*m* il dunrád á ses améz sómne ⁝ Ps 126:3astetéi leredité del segnór luiér del fílz · frúit de uéntre · Ps 126:4Sicume saiéttes en la máin de poańt ⁝ eissifaiteremént li fíl des escús · Ps 126:5Beneuréz li húem chi aemplirád sun desidérie dels medésmes ⁝ ne será confundú cu*m* il parlerá á sés enemís en la pórte ·

BPs 127:1ENEVRÉ túit ícil chi criément nóstre segnór ⁝ chi uúnt es uéies de lúi · Ps 127:2Trauáile de tes enemís kar tu mangerás ⁝ beneuréz íes é bién será á téi · Ps 127:3Lá túe féme sicume uíz abundánt ⁝ és léz de la túe maisún · Lí tuen fíl sicume li plančun des olíues ⁝ en lauirunemént de la túe táble · Ps 127:4Astetéi eissí será beneéiz li húem ⁝ chi criént nóstre segnór · Ps 127:5Benedíe á téi li síre de sẏón ⁝ é uéies les biéns de ierusale*m* tuz les iúrz de la túe uíe · Ps 127:6E uéies les filz de tes fílz ⁝ páis sur israel ·

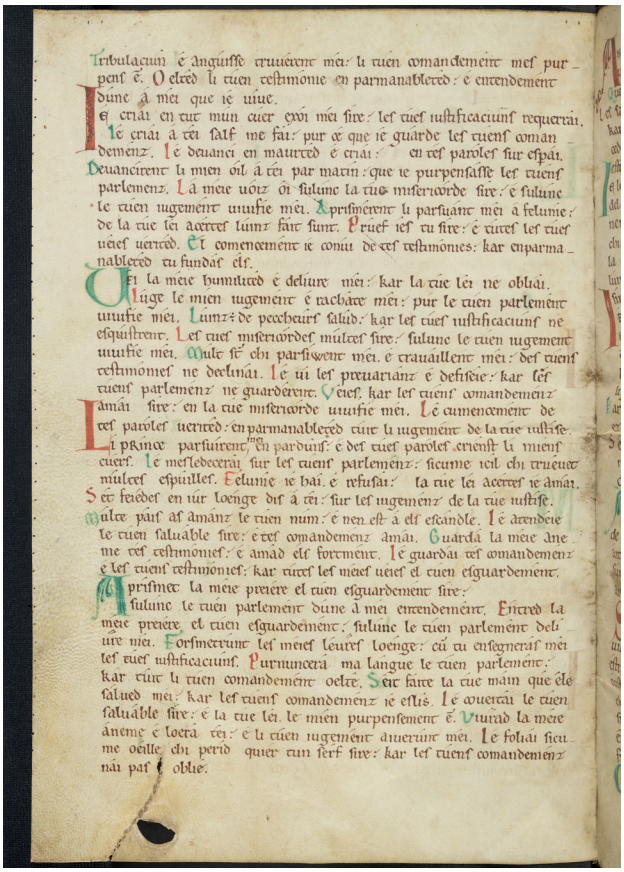
SPs 128:1ouéntes fiédes escumbatírent méi dés la méie iuuénte ⁝ díe óre israel · Ps 128:2Souént escumbatírent méi des la méie iuuénte ⁝ acértes ne pórent á méi · Ps 128:3Súr mun dós faurichérent li peccheúr ⁝ purluignérent lur feluníe · Ps 128:4Lí síre iústes trencherá les ceruíz des peccheúrs ⁝ Ps 128:5séient confundú é tresturné ariére túit chi haírent sẏón · Ps 128:6Séient fáit sicume fáin de maisúns ⁝ le quel áinz que séit arachié assečha · Ps 128:7Del quel ne aemplirá sa máin chi seirá ⁝ e sun sáin · chi les manuédes coildŕa · Ps 128:8E né dístrent chi trespassówent la beneičun nóstre segnór sur uús ⁝ nus beneisquímes á uus el num del segnór ·

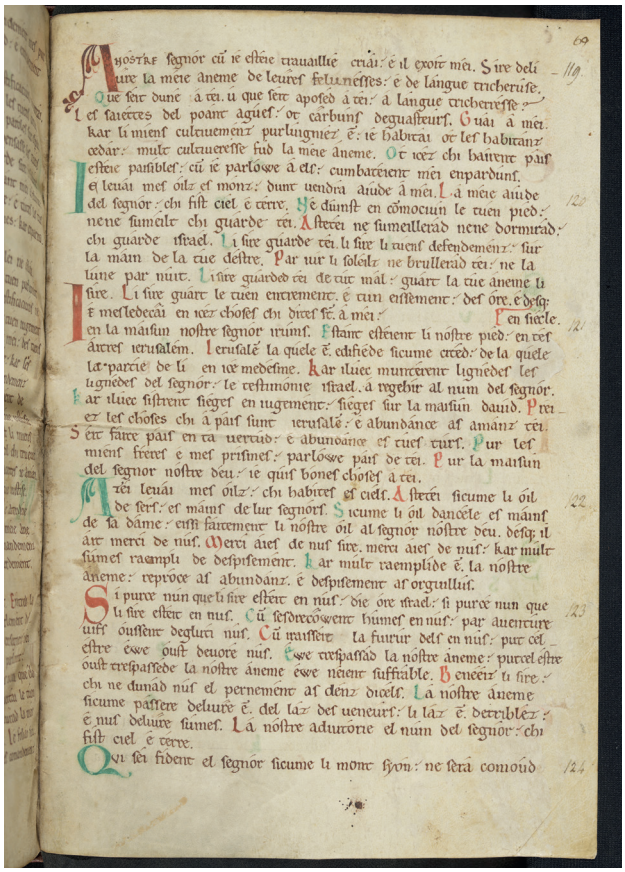
Ps 129:1ES parfundéces ié criái á téi síre ⁝ Ps 129:2síre exói la méie uóiz · Séient fáites tes oreilles entendánz ⁝ en la uoiz de la méie preiére · Ps 129:3Si tu les feluníes esguarderás síre ⁝ síre chi sustendrá ? Ps 129:4Kar enuérs téi pardunánce est · é pur la túe léi sustińc téi síre · Sustínt la méie aneme en lá f. 70r paróle de lúi ⁝ Ps 129:5esperád la méie áneme el segnór · Ps 129:6Dé la guárde matinéle desque á núit ⁝ espéire israel el segnór · Ps 129:7Kar enuérs le segnór misericórde ⁝ e plenteíue ót lúi redempciún · Ps 129:8E il medésme rachaterá israel ⁝ de túres les feluníes de lúi · f. 70r

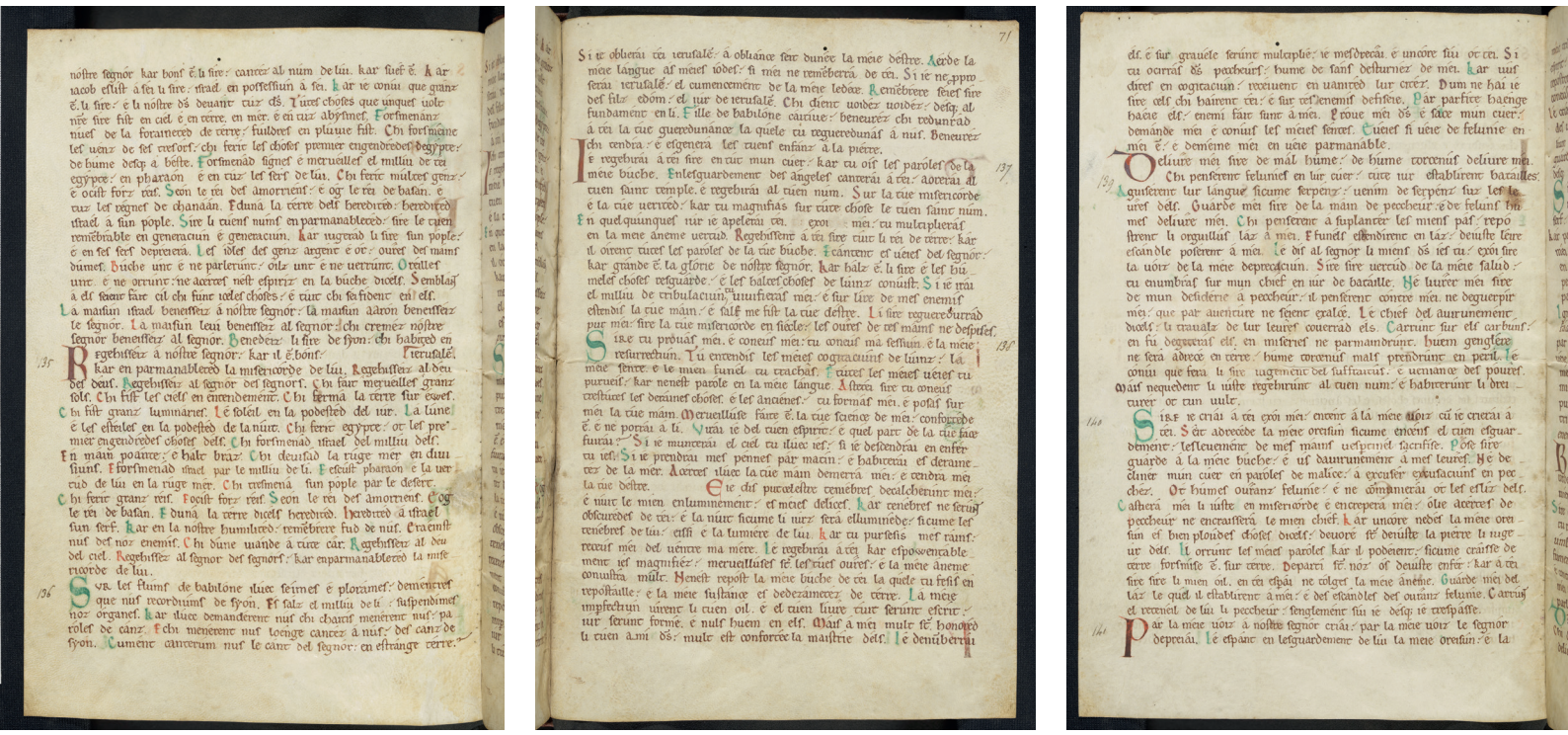
Ps 130:1SIRE nenést exalcé li miéns cuérs ⁝ ne ne sunt · esleué li mién óil · Né nen alái en gránz chóses ⁝ ne en meruéillúses chóses sur méi · Ps 130:2Sí ie néient humelement sentéie ⁝ máis exalčai la méie áneme · Sicume lí alaitiéz de sá mére ⁝ eissí séit guerredunánce en la méie áneme · Ps 130:3Espéire israel el segnór ⁝ desóre · é desque en siécle ·

Ps 131:1REMémbre síre de dauid ⁝ é de túte la suatúme de lúi · Ps 131:2Sicume íl iurád al segnór ⁝ uót uoád al déu de iacób · Ps 131:3Sí ie enterrái el tabernácle de ma maisún ⁝ si ié munterái el lít de mún repós · Ps 131:4Sí ie dunrái sómne á mes óilz ⁝ é á mes palpébres dormitaciún · Ps 131:5E repós ás miéns téns desque ⁝ ié trúisse líu al segnór tabernácle al déu de iacób · Ps 131:6Astetéi nús odímes icéles chóses en effratá ⁝ nus truuámes lí es čamps de la sélue · Ps 131:7Nús enterrúms en sun tabernácle ⁝ nus ao_rerúms el líu · ú estúrent li piéd de lúi · Ps 131:8Esdréce téi síre el túen repós ⁝ tú é lárche de la túe sanctificaciún · Ps 131:9Lí túen proueire séient uestúd \de/ iustíse ⁝ é li túen sáint sesledécent · Ps 131:10Pur dauíd tún seff ⁝ ne desturnér la fáce de tun críst · Ps 131:11Iurád nóstre síre a dauíd uerité · é ne deceuerá lúi ⁝ del frúit de tún uéntre poserái sur le túen siége · Ps 131:12Sí guarderúnt li túen fil mún testament ⁝ é mes testimónies icéz que ié ensegnerái els · E li fil dels désque en sécle ⁝ serrúnt sur le túen siége · Ps 131:13Kar eslíst li sire sỳon ⁝ eslist li en possessiún á séi · Ps 131:14Icést mien repós en siécle de sécle ⁝ icí habiterái kár ié eslís lí · Ps 131:15Lá uédue de lúi beneissánz beneistrái ⁝ les súens póures saúlerái de páins · Ps 131:16Lés sacerdótes de lúi uestirái del saluáble ⁝ é li suen sáint par esledecemént sesledecerúnt · Ps 131:17Ilúec forsmerrái la córne dauíd ⁝ aprestái luisérne á mun críst · Ps 131:18Les enemís de lúi uestirái de confusiún ⁝ máis sur lúi medésme florirád la méie sanctificaciún ·

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Ps 132:1Asteuús cume bóne chóse · é cume delitáble chóse est · habitér fréres eń ún · Ps 132:2Sicume lí ugneménz el chiéf ⁝ le quél descendít en bárbe la bárbe ááron · Lé quel descendít en lúrle de sun uestemént ⁝ Ps 132:3sicume la roséde de hermón · chi descendít el mont de sÿón · Kar ilúec mandá li síre beneičun ⁝ é uíe desque en sécle ·

Ps 133:1Asteuus óre beneisséiz le segnór ⁝ túit li seŕf nóstre segnór · Chi estéz en la maisún del segnór ⁝ es áitres de la maisún nóstre déu · Ps 133:2Eń núiz esleuéz uóz máins en sáintes chóses ⁝ é beneisséiz nóstre segnór · Ps 133:3Benedíe téi li síre de sÿon ⁝ chi físt ciél é térre ·

f. 70v

Ps 134:1Loéz le núm del segnór ⁝ loéz sérf nóstre segnór · Ps 134:2Chi estéz en la máisún del segnór ⁝ es áitres de la maisún nóstre déu · Ps 134:3Loéz f. 70v nostre segnór kar bóns est · li síre ⁝ cantéz al núm de lúi · kar suéf est · Ps 134:4Kár iacob eslíst á séi li síre ⁝ israél en possessiún á séi · Ps 134:5Kár ié conúi que gránz est · li síre ⁝ é li nóstre deus deuaŕt túz deus · Ps 134:6Tútes chóses que únques uólt nostre síre físt en ciél é en térre · en mér · é én túz abýsmes · Ps 134:7Forsmenánz núes de la forainetéd de térre ⁝ fúildres en plúuie físt · Chi forsméine les uénz de ses tresórs ⁝ Ps 134:8chi ferít les chóses premiér engendrédes degýpte ⁝ de húme desque á béste · Ps 134:9Forsmenád sígnes é meruéilles el millíu de téi egýpte ⁝ en pharaón é en túz les seŕs de lúi · Ps 134:10Chi férit múltes génz ⁝ é ocíst fórz réis · Ps 134:11Seón le réi des amorriéns ⁝ é óg le réi de basán · é tuz les régnes de chanáán · Ps 134:12E duná la térre dels heredité ⁝ heredité israél á sun póple · Ps 134:13Síre li túens núms en parmanableté ⁝ síre le túen remembráble en generaciún é generaciún · Ps 134:14Kár iugerád li síre sun póple ⁝ é en ses seŕs depréierá · Ps 134:15Les ídles des génz argént é ór ⁝ oŭres des máins dúmes · Ps 134:16Búche únt é ne parlerúnt ⁝ óilz unt é ne uerrúnt · Ps 134:17Oréilles unt · é ne orrúnt ⁝ ne acértes nést espiríz en la búche dicéls · Ps 134:18Semblánt á els séient fáit cíl chi fúnt icéles chóses ⁝ é túit chi séi físent en éls · Ps 134:19Lá maisún israel beneisséiz a nóstre segnór ⁝ la maisún aarón beneisséiz le segnór · Ps 134:20Lá maisún leuí beneisséiz al segnór ⁝ chi creméz nóstre segnór beneisséiz al segnór · Ps 134:21Benedéiz li sire de sÿon ⁝ chi habíted eń ierusalem ·

Ps 135:1Regehisséiz á nóstre segnór ⁝ kar il est · bons ⁝ kar en parmanableted la misericórde de lúi · Ps 135:2Regehisséiz al déu des déus · Ps 135:3Regehisséiz al segnór des segnórs · Ps 135:4Chi fáit \gránz meruéilles/ sóls · Ps 135:5Chi físt les cíels en entendemént · Ps 135:6Chi fermá la térre sur éwes · Ps 135:7Chi físt granz luminaries · Ps 135:8Lé soléil en la podestéd del iúr · Ps 135:9Lá lúne é les estéiles en la podestéd de la núit · Ps 135:10Chi ferít egýpte ⁝ ot les premiér engendrédes chóses déls · Ps 135:11Chi forsmenád israel del millíu déls · Ps 135:12Eń máin poánte ⁝ é hált bráz · Ps 135:13Chi deuisád la rúge mér en diuisiúns · Ps 135:14E forsmenád israel par le millíu de lí · Ps 135:15E escúst pharaón é la uertúd

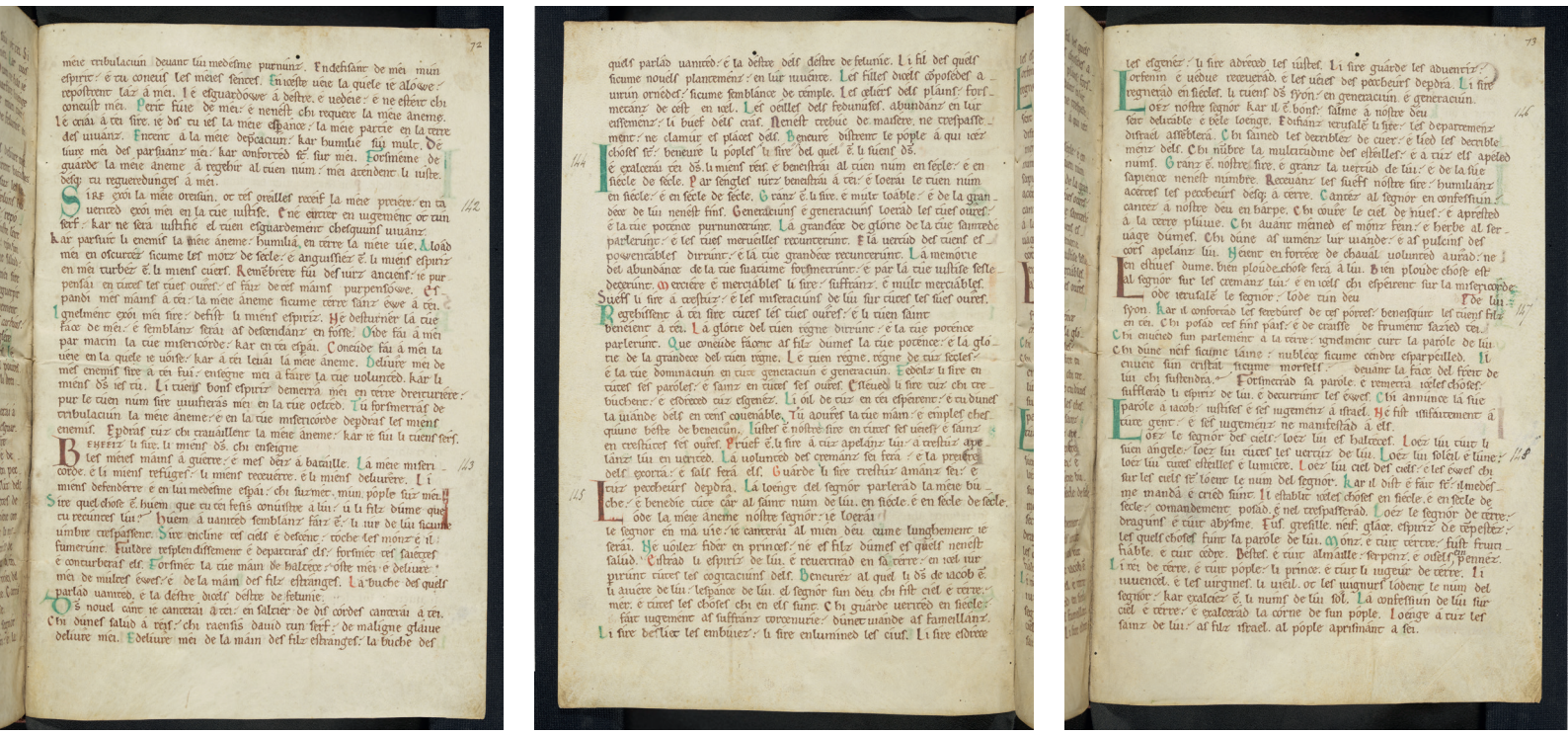
de lúi en la rúge mér · Ps 135:16Chi tresmená sun póple par le desért · Ps 135:17Chi ferít granz réis · Ps 135:18E ocíst fórz réis · Ps 135:19Seón le réi des amorriéns · Ps 135:20E óg le réi de basán · Ps 135:21E duná la térre dicéls heredité · Ps 135:22Heredité á israél sun seff · Ps 135:23Kar en la nóstre humilité ⁊ remembrére fud de nús · Ps 135:24E raéinst nús des nóz enemís · Ps 135:25Chi dúne uiánde á túte čar · Ps 135:26Regehisséiz ál déu del ciél · Regehisséz ál segnor des segnors ⁊ kar en parmanableté la misericórde de lúi ·

SPs 136:1VR les flúms de babilóne ilúec seímes é plorámes ⁊ deméntres que nús recordiúms de sỳón · Ps 136:2És sálz el millíu de lí ⁊ suspendímes nóz órganes · Ps 136:3Kar ilúec demandérent nús chi chaitís menérent nús ⁊ paróles de cánz · E chi menérent nus loénge cantéz á nús ⁊ des cánz de sỳón · Ps 136:4Cumént canterúm nus le cánt del segnór ⁊ en estránge térre ? f. 71r Ps 136:5Sí ie oblierái téi ierusalem ⁊ a obliánce séit dunée la méie déstre · Ps 136:6Aérde f. 71r
la méie lángue ás méies iódes ⁊ si méi ne rememberrá de téi · Sí ié ne proposerái ierusalem ⁊ el cumencemént de la méie ledéce · Ps 136:7Remembrére séies síre des filz edóm ⁊ el iúr de ierusalem · Chi díent uoidéz uoidéz ⁊ désque al fundamént en lí · Ps 136:8Fílle de babilóne cáitíue ⁊ beneuréz chi redunrád á téi la túe gueredunánce la quéle tu regueredunás á nús · Ps 136:9Beneuréz chi tendŕa ⁊ é esgenerá les tuens enfánz á la piérre ·

IPs 137:1É regehirái á téi síre en túte mun cúer ⁊ kar tu ois les paróles de la méie búche · En lesguardement des ángeles canterái á téi ⁊ Ps 137:2aorerái al tuen sáint témple · é regehirái al túen núm · Sur la túe misericórde é la túe ueritéd ⁊ kar tu magnifiás sur túte chóse le túen sáint núm · Ps 137:3Eń quelquúnques iúr ié apelerái téi · exoi méi ⁊ tu multiplierás en la meie aneme uertúd · Ps 137:4Regehíssent á téi síre túit li réi de térre ⁊ kár il oírent túte les paróles de la túe búche · Ps 137:5E cántent es uéies del segnór ⁊ kar gránde est · la glórie de nóstre segnór · Ps 137:6Kar hálz est · li sire é les húmeles chóses resguárde ⁊ é les háltes chóses de lúinz conúist · Ps 137:7Sí ié irái el millíu de tribulaciún · \tu/ uiuifierás méi ⁊ é sur líre de mes enemís estendís la túe máin ⁊ é sálf me físt la túe déstre · Ps 137:8Lí síre regueredurrád pur méi ⁊ síre la túe misericórde en siécle ⁊ les oŭres de tes máins ne despíses ·

SPs 138:1ÍRe tu prouás méi · é coneús méi ⁊ Ps 138:2tu coneús má sessiún · é la méie resurrectiún · Ps 138:3Tú entendís les méies cogitaciúns de lúinz ⁊ lá méie sénte é le mién funél tu trachas · Ps 138:4E tútes les méies uéies tu puruéis ⁊ kar nenést paróle en la méie lángue · Ps 138:5Astetéi síre tu coneús trestútes les deráines chóses · é les anciénes ⁊ tu formás méi · é posás sur méi la túe máin · Ps 138:6Merueillúse fáite est · la túe sciénce de méi ⁊ confortéde est · é ne porrái á lí · Ps 138:7Virái ié del túen espirít ⁊ é quél párt de la túe fáce fuirái ? Ps 138:8Sí ié munterái el ciél tu ilúec íes ⁊ si ié descendrái en enfér tu íes · Ps 138:9Sí ié prendrái mes pennes pár matín ⁊ é habiterái es derainetéz de la mér · Ps 138:10Acértes ilúec la túe máin demerrá méi ⁊ é tendrá méi la túe déstre · Ps 138:11E ié dís putceléstre teniébres decálcherúnt méi ⁊ é núit le mién enluminemént ⁊ es méies delíces · Ps 138:12Kár tenébres ne serúnt obscurédes de téi ⁊ é la núit sicume lí iúrz será elluminéde ⁊ sicume les tenébres de lúi ⁊ eissí e la lumiére de lúi · Ps 138:13Kar tu pursesís més ráins ⁊ receús méi del uéntre ma mére · Ps 138:14Ié regehirái á téi kar espowenáblement iés magnifiéz ⁊ merueillúses sunt · les túes oŭres ⁊ e la méie áneme conuistrá múlt · Ps 138:15Nenést repóst la méie búche de téi la quéle tu fesís én repostáille ⁊ é la méie sustánce es dedezáinetéz de térre · Ps 138:16Lá méie imperfectiún uírent li túen óil · é el túen líŭre túit serúnt escrít ⁊ iúr serúnt formé · é nuls húem en els · Ps 138:17Máis á méi mult sunt · honoréd li túen a_mí deus ⁊ mult est confortée la maistríe déls · Ps 138:18Ié denumberrái f. 71v éls · é sur grauéle serúnt f. 71v
multiplié ⁊ ié mesdrečai · é uncóre súi ót téi · Ps 138:19Sí tu ocirrás deus peccheúrs ⁊ hume de sańs desturnéz de méi · Ps 138:20Kar uús dítes en cogitaciún ⁊ recéiuent en uanitéd lur citéz · Ps 138:21Dum ne haí ié síre céls chi haírent téi ⁊ é sur tés enemís defiséie · Ps 138:22Pár parfíte haénge haéie éls ⁊ enemí fáit sunt á méi · Ps 138:23Próue méi deus é sáce mún cúer ⁊ demánde méi é conúis les méies séntes · Ps 138:24E uéies sí uéie de feluníe eń méi est ⁊ é deméine méi en uéie parmanáble ·

DPs 139:2elíŭre méi síre de mál húme ⁊ de húme torcenús delíure méi · Ps 139:3Chi pensérent feluníes en lúr cúer ⁊ túte iúr establírent batáilles · Ps 139:4Aguisérent lur lángue sicume serpénz ⁊ uením de serpénz suz les leŭres déls · Ps 139:5Guárde méi síre de la máin de peccheúr ⁊ é de felúns húmes delíŭre méi · Chi pensérent á suplantér les miens pás ⁊ Ps 139:6repóstrent li orguillús láz á méi · E funéls estendírent en láz ⁊ deíustre léire escándle posérent á méi · Ps 139:7Ié dís al segnór li miéns deus íes tú ⁊ exói síre la uóiz de la méie deprecaciún · Ps 139:8Síre síre uertúd de la méie salúd ⁊ tu enumbrás sur mun chíef en iúr de bataille · Ps 139:9Né liŭrer méi síre de mun desidérie á peccheúr ⁊ il pensérent cóntre méi · ne deguerpír méi ⁊ que par auentúre ne séient exalcé · Ps 139:10Lé chíef del auirunemént dicéls ⁊ li traualz de lur leŭres couerrád éls · Ps 139:11Carrúnt sur els carbúns ⁊ en fú degeterás els · en miséries ne parmaindrúnt · Ps 139:12Húem genglére ne sera adrecé en térre ⁊ húme torcenús mals prendrúnt en períl · Ps 139:13Ié cónúi que fera li síre iugemént des suffraitús ⁊ é ueniánce des póŭres · Ps 139:14Máis nequedent li iúste regehirúnt al tuen num ⁊ é habiterúnt li dreiturér ot tun uult ·



▲ *Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320, fol. 72r, 72v, and 73r.* Source: https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/
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Ps 140:1ÍRE ie criái á téi exói méi ⁝ entént á la méie uóiz cu*m* ié crierái á téi · Ps 140:2Séit adrecéde la méie oreisún sicume encéns el túen esguardemént ⁝ lesleuemént de més máins uesp*er*tinél sacrifíse · Ps 140:3Póse síre guárde á la méie búche ⁝ é ús dauirunemént á mes leŭres · Ps 140:4Né declinér mún cúer eń paróles de malíce ⁝ á excusér excusaciúns én pecchéz · Ót húmes oŭranz feluníe ⁝ é ne co*m*munierái ót les eslíz déls · Ps 140:5Castierá méi li iúste en misericórde é encreperá méi ⁝ ólie acértes de peccheúr ne encraisserá le mien chiéf · Kár uncóre nedés la méie oreisún és bien ploúdes chóses dicéls ⁝ Ps 140:6deuoré s*un*t deiúste la piérre li iugeúr déls · Íl orrúnt les méies paróles kár il podéient ⁝ Ps 140:7sicume cráisse de térre forsmíse e*st* · sur térre · Departí s*un*t · nóz ós deiúste enfér ⁝ Ps 140:8kár á téi síre síre li mien óil ⁝ en téi esp*er*ái ne tólges la méie áneme · Ps 140:9Guárde méi del láz le quél il establírent á méi ⁝ é des escándles des oŭranz feluníe · Ps 140:10Carrúnt el retenéil de lúi li peccheúr ⁝ senglemént súi ié désq*ue* ié trespásse ·

f. 72r

Ps 141:2ár la méie uóiz á nóstre segnór criái ⁝ par la méie uóiz le segnór depreiái · Ps 141:3Ié espánt en lesguardement de lúi la meie oreisún ⁝ é la f. 72r méie tribulaciún deuant lúi medésme purnúnz · Ps 141:4En defisaṅt de méi mún espirít ⁝ é tu conéus les méies séntes · Eń icéste uéie la quéle ié alówe ⁝ repóstrent láz á méi · Ps 141:5Ié esguardówe á déstre · é uedéie ⁝ é ne estéit chi coneúst méi · Perít fúie de méi ⁝ é nenést chi requére la méie aneme · Ps 141:6Ié criái á téi síre · ié dis tu íes la méie esp*er*ánce ⁝ la méie partíe en la térre des uiuánz · Ps 141:7Entént á la méie dep*re*caciún ⁝ kar humilié súi múlt · Délíure méi des parsuánz méi ⁝ kar confortéd s*un*t · sur méi · Ps 141:8Forsméine de guárde la méie áneme á regehír al túen núm ⁝ méi aténdent li iúste désq*ue* tu regueredúnges á méi ·

Ps 142:1ÍRE exói la méie oreisún · ot tés oréilles recéif la méie preiére ⁝ en tá ueritéd exói méi en la túe iustíse · Ps 142:2E ne entrér en iugemént ót tún seff ⁝ kar ne será iustifié el túen esguardemént chesquúns uiuánz · Ps 142:3Kár parsuít li enemís la méie áneme ⁝ humiliá en térre la méie uíe · Aloád méi en oscurtéz sicume les mórz de sécle ⁝ Ps 142:4é anguissiéz e*st* · li miéns espiríz en méi turbéz e*st* · li miens cúers · Ps 142:5Reme*m*brére fúi dés iúrz anciéns ⁝ ié purpensái en túres les túes oŭres ⁝ es fáiz de tés máins purpensówe · Ps 142:6Espandí més máins á téi ⁝ la méie áneme sicume térre sánz éwe á téi · Ps 142:7Ignelmént exói méi síre ⁝ defíst li miéns espiríz · Né desturnér lá túe fáce de méi ⁝ é semblánz serái as descendánz en fósse · Ps 142:8Oíde fái á méi par matín la túe misericórde ⁝ kar en téi esp*er*ái · Coneúde fái á méi la uéie en la quéle ie uóise ⁝ kar á téi leuái lá méie áneme · Ps 142:9Delíŭre méi de més enemís síre á téi fuí ⁝ Ps 142:10enségne méi a fáire la túe uoluntéd · kar li miéns d*eu*s íes tú · Lí túens bons espiríz demerrá méi en térre dreituriére ⁝ Ps 142:11pur le túen núm síre uiuifierás méi en la túe oeltéd · Tú forsmerrás de tribulaciún la méie áneme ⁝ Ps 142:12é en la túe misericórde dep*er*drás les miéns enemís · E p*er*drás túz chi trauáillent la méie áneme ⁝ kar ié súi li túens serś ·

BPs 143:1ENEÉIZ li síre · li miéns deus · chi enseígne les méies máins á guérre ⁝ é mes déiz á batáille · Ps 143:2Lá méie misericórde · é lí míens refúges ⁝ li míens receuérre · é li miéns deliŭrere · Lí miéns defendérre é en lúi medésme esperái ⁝ chi suzmét mún póple súz méi · Ps 143:3Síre quel chóse est · húem que tu téi fesís conúistre á lúi ⁝ ú li filz dúme que tu recúntes lúi ? Ps 143:4Húem á uanitéd semblánz fáiz est ⁝ li iúr de lúi sicume úmbre trespássent · Ps 143:5Síre enclíne tés ciéls é descént ⁝ tóche les mónz é íl fumerúnt · Ps 143:6Fúildre resplendíssement é departirás éls ⁝ forsmét tés saiéttes é conturberás els · Ps 143:7Forsmét la túe máin de haltéce ⁝ óste méi é delíŭre méi de múltes éwes ⁝ é de la máin des filz estránges · Ps 143:8Lá buche des quéls parlád uanitéd · é la déstre dicéls déstre de feluníe ·

DPs 143:9euS nouel čant ié canterái á téi ⁝ én saltiér de dís córdes canterái á téi · Ps 143:10Chí dúnes salúd á réis ⁝ chi raensís dauíd tun serf ⁝ de malígne gláiue delíŭre méi · Ps 143:11E delíŭre méi de la máin des fílz estránges ⁝ la búche des f. 72v quéls parlád uanitéd ⁝ e la déstre déls déstre de feluníe · Ps 143:12Lí fíl des quéls sicume nouéls f. 72v
planteménz ⁝ en lúr iuuénte · Lés fílles dicéls composédes auirún ornédes ⁝ sicume semblánce de témple · Ps 143:13Les celiérs déls pláins ⁝ forsmetánz de cést en icél · Lés oéilles dels fedunúses · abundánz én lúr eisseménz ⁝ Ps 143:14lí búef déls crás · Nenést trebúc de maisére · ne trespassement ⁝ ne clamúr es pláces déls · Ps 143:15Beneuré dístrent lé póple á qui icéz chóses sunt · beneuré li póples \del quél/ li síre est · li súens deus ·

IPs 144:1é exalcerái téi deus · li míens réis · é beneistrái al túen núm en sécle ⁝ é en siécle de sécle · Ps 144:2Par séngles iúrz beneistrái á téi ⁝ é loerái le túen núm en siécle ⁝ é en sécle de sécle · Ps 144:3Gránz est · li síre · é múlt loáble ⁝ é de la grandéce de lúi nenést fíns · Ps 144:4Generaciúns é generaciuńs loerád les túes oŭres ⁝ é la túe poténce purnuncerúnt · Ps 144:5Lá grandéce de glórie de la túe saintedé parlerúnt ⁝ é les túes meruéilles recunterúnt · Ps 144:6E lá uertúd des túens espowentábles dirrúnt ⁝ é lá túe grandéce recunterúnt · Ps 144:7Lá memórie dél abundánce de la túe suatúme forsmetrúnt ⁝ é pár lá túe iustíse sesledecerúnt · Ps 144:8Merciére é merciábles lí síre ⁝ suffránz · é múlt merciábles · Ps 144:9Suéfs lí síre á trestúz ⁝ é lés miseraciúns de lúi sur túres les súes oŭres · Ps 144:10Regehíssent á téi
síre túres lés túes oŭres ⁝ é li túen sáint beneíent á téi · Ps 144:11Lá glórie del túen régne dirrúnt ⁝ é la túe poténce parlerúnt · Ps 144:12Que coneúde fácent as fílz dúmes la túe poténce ⁝ é lá glórie de la grándece del túen régne · Ps 144:13Lé túen régne · régne de túz sécles ⁝ é la túe dominaciún en túte generaciún é generaciún · Fedéilz li síre en túres sés paróles ⁝ é sáinz en túres ses oŭres · Ps 144:14Esléued lí síre túz chi trebúchent ⁝ é esdŕeced túz esgenéz · Ps 144:15Lí óil de túz en téi espéirent ⁝ é tu dúnes la uiánde déls en téns couenáble · Ps 144:16Tú aoŭres la túe máin ⁝ é emples chesquúne béste de beneičun · Ps 144:17Iústes est · nóstre síre en túres ses ueies ⁝ é sáinz en trestúres sés oŭres · Ps 144:18Prúef est · li síre á túz apelánz lúi ⁝ á trestúz apelánz lúi en uerité · Ps 144:19La uoluntéd des cremánz séi ferá ⁝ é la preiére dels exorrá ⁝ é sáls ferá éls · Ps 144:20Guárde li síre trestúz amánz séi ⁝ é túz peccheúrs deperdrá · Ps 144:21Lá loénge del segnór parlerád la méie búche ⁝ é benedíe túte čar al sáint núm de lúi · en siécle · é en sécle de sécle ·

LPs 145:2óde la méie áneme núnstre segnór ⁝ ié loerái le segnor én má uíe ⁝ ié canterái al mién déu cume lunghement ié serái · Né uóilez fidér en prínces ⁝ Ps 145:3né es fílz dúmes es quéls nenést salúd · Ps 145:4Eistrád li espiríz de lúi · é reuertirád en sá térre ⁝ en icél iúr perirúnt túres les cogitaciúns déls · Ps 145:5Beneuréz al quél li deus de iacób est · li aiuére de lúi ⁝ lesperánce de lúi · el segnór sun déu Ps 145:6chi físt ciél é térre ⁝ mér · é túres les chóses chi en éls sunt · Ps 145:7Chi guárde ueritéd en siécle ⁝ fait iugemént as suffránz torcenuríe ⁝ dúnet uiánde as fameillánz · Lí síre deslíe\t/ les embúiez ⁝ Ps 145:8li síre enlumíned les cíus · Lí síre esdréce f. 73r les esgenéz ⁝ li síre adréced les iústes · f. 73r
Ps 145:9Lí síre guárde les aduentíz ⁝ orfenín é uédue receuerád · e les uéies des peccheúrs deperdrá · Ps 145:10Lí síre regnerád én siécles · li túens deus sỳón en generaciún · é generaciún ·

LPs 146:1OÉZ nóstre segnór kar il est · bóns ⁝ sálme á nostre déu séit delitáble é béle loénge · Ps 146:2Edifiánz ierusalem li síre ⁝ lés departemeńz disraél assemblerá · Ps 146:3Chi sáined les detribléz de cúer ⁝ é líed les detribleménz déls · Ps 146:4Chi numbre la multitúdine des estéilles ⁝ é á túz els apéled núms · Ps 146:5Gránz est · nóstre síre · é gránz la uertúd de lúi ⁝ é de la súe sapiénce nenést númbre · Ps 146:6Receuánz les suéfs nóstre síre ⁝ humiliánz acértes les peccheúrs désque á térre · Ps 146:7Cantéz al segnór en confessiún ⁝ cantéz á nóstre déu en hárpe · Ps 146:8Chi cóŭre le ciél de núes ⁝ é aprésted á la térre plúuie · Chi auánt méined es mónz féin ⁝ é hérbe al seruáge dúmes · Ps 146:9Chi dúne as iuménz lúr uiánde ⁝ é as pulcíns des córs apelánz lúi · Ps 146:10Néient en fortéce de chauál uoluntéd aŭrad ⁝ ne en estíues dume · bién ploúde_chóse será á lúi · Ps 146:11Bién ploúde chóse est al segnór sur les cremánz lúi ⁝ é en icéls chi espéirent sur la misericórde de lúi ·

LPs 147:1óde ierusalem le segnór ⁝ lóde tún déu sỳon · Ps 147:2Kar il confortád les seredúres de tes pórtes ⁝ beneisqúit les túens filz en téi · Ps 147:3Chi posád tes fíns páis ⁝ é de cráisse de frumént sazíed téi · Ps 147:4Chí enuéied sun parlemént á la térre ⁝ ignelmént cúrt la paróle de lúi · Ps 147:5Chi dúne néif sicume láine ⁝ nubléce sicume céndre esparpéilled · Ps 147:6Íl enuéie sún cristál sicume morséls ⁝ deuánt la fáce del fréit de lúi chi sustendrá ?

Ps 147:7Forsmetrád sá paróle · é remetrá icéles chóses ⁝ sufflerád li espiríz de lúi · é decurrúnt les éwes · Ps 147:8Chí annúnce lá súe paróle á iacób ⁝ iustíses é sés iugeménz á israél · Ps 147:9Né físt issifáitement á túte gént ⁝ é sés iugeménz ne manifestád á éls ·

Ps 148:1LOÉZ le segnór des ciéls ⁝ loéz lúi es haltéces · Ps 148:2Loéz lúi túit li súen ańgele ⁝ loéz lúi tútes les uertúz de lúi · Ps 148:3Loéz lúi soléil é lúne ⁝ loéz lúi tútes estéilles é lumiére · Ps 148:4Loéz lúi ciél des ciéls ⁝ é les éwes chi sur les ciéls *sunt* · Ps 148:5lóent le núm del segnór · Kar il díst é fáit *sunt* ⁝ il medésme mandá é criéd *sunt* · Ps 148:6Íl establít icéles chóses en siécle · é en sécle de sécle ⁝ comandement posád · é nel trespasserád · Ps 148:7Loéz le segnór de térre ⁝ dragúns é túit abýsme · Ps 148:8Fús · gresílle · néif · gláce · espiríz dé te*m*pestéz ⁝ les quels chóses fúnt la paróle de lúi · Ps 148:9Mónz · é túit tértre ⁝ fúst fruitifiáble · é túit cédre · Ps 148:10Béstes · é túit almáille ⁝ serpénz · é oiséls \em/pennéz · Ps 148:11Lí réi de térre · é túit póple ⁝ li prínce · é túit lí iugeúr de térre · Ps 148:12Lí iuuencél · é les uírgines · li uiéil · ot les iuígnurs lódent le núm del segnór ⁝ Ps 148:13kar exalciéz *est* · li nuḿs de lúi sól · Ps 148:14Lá confessiún de lúi súr ciél é térre ⁝ é exalcerád la córne de sun póple · Loénge á túz les sáinz de lúi ⁝ as filz israel · al póple aprismánt a séi ·

f. 73v f. 73v Ps 149:1Cantéz al segnór nouél cánt ⁝ la loénge de lúi en liglíse des sáinz · Ps 149:2Esledést israel en icelúi chi físt lúi ⁝ é les fílles de sýon esledécent en lur réi · Ps 149:3Lódent le num de lúi en caróle ⁝ en týmpane · é saltiér cántent á lúi · Ps 149:4Kar bien ploúde chóse *est* · al segnór en sun póple ⁝ é exalcerád les suéfs en salúd · Ps 149:5Esiorrúnt li sáint en glórie ⁝ esledecerúnt en lúr líz · Ps 149:6Lés esledeceménz déu el guitrún dels ⁝ é espédes dutús · en lur máins · Ps 149:7A fáire ueniánce és genz ⁝ encrepeménz en póples · Ps 149:8Aaliér les réis déls en buíes ⁝ é les lúr nóbles en liéns ferríns · Ps 149:9Que fácent en éls iugement escŕit ⁝ icéste glórie est á túz les sáinz de lúi ·

Ps 150:1Loéz nóstre segnor en sés sáinz ⁝ loéz lúi el firmaménz de la uertúd de lúi · Ps 150:2Loéz lúi en ses uertúz ⁝ loéz lúi sulúnc la multitúdine de la súe grandéce · Ps 150:3Loéz lui én súen \de/ buisíne ⁝ loéz lúi en saltiér é hárpe · Ps 150:4Loéz lúi en tympane é chóro ⁝ loéz lúi en córdes é órgano · Ps 150:5Loéz lúi en cýmbles bien sonánz ⁝ loéz lúi en cýmbles de ledéce ⁝ Ps 150:6chescúns espiríz lóed nóstre segnór ·

Is 12:1Ié regehirái á téi síre kar iriéz íes á méi ⁝ conuertíde *est* · la túe fuirúr é confortás méi · Is 12:2Astetéi d*eus* li miéns saluére ⁝ fiančusement ferái é ne crendrái · Kár la méie fortéce é la méie loénge li síre ⁝ é fáiz *est* · á méi en salúd · Is 12:3Vús espuceréz éwes en ióie des fointáines del saluedúr ⁝ Is 12:4é dirréz en icél iúr · regehisséz al segnór é apeléz le num de lúi · Coneúdes fáites eń póples les súes adinuenciúns ⁝ reme*m*bréz que hálz *est* · li núms de lúi · Is 12:5Cantéz al segnór kar grantmént físt ⁝ annuncéz icéste chóse en túte térre · Is 12:6Esledéce é lóde habitaciún de sýon ⁝ kár gránz el millíu de téi li sáinz isra*el* ·

Is 38:10Ié dís en la meiénetéd de mes iúrz ⁝ ié irái as pórtes denfér · Ié quís la remasílle de més ańz ⁝ Is 38:11ié dís ne uerrái damnedéu eń la térre des uiuánz · Né esguarderái húme enúltre ⁝ é habiteúr de repós · Is 38:12Lá méie generaciúns toléite *est* · é desturnéde *est* · de méi ⁝ ensemént cume tabernácle de pastúrs · Trenchéde *est* · ensemént cume de teissánt la méie uíe ⁝ deméntres uncóre qué ié ordisséie suz trenčad méi ⁝ des le matín dés*que* al uéspre fenirás méi · Is 38:13Ié esp*er*ówe dés*que* al matín ⁝ ensemént cúme leuńs issí detriblá trestúz lés miéns ós · Des le matín dés*que* al uéspre fenirás méi ⁝ Is 38:14sicume pulcín darúnde issi crierái ⁝ purpenserái sicume colúmbe · Ateneuíd *sunt* li mién oíl ⁝ esguardánz en haltéce · Síre fórce ié súffre respónt pur méi ⁝ Is 38:15que dirrái · ú chi respondrá á méi · quant ié medésme le fís ? Ié repurpenserái túz les miéns ańs ⁝ en amertúme de lá méie áneme · Is 38:16Síre sí issí est uescúd · é en téls chóses la uíe de mun espirít ⁝ tu častieras méi ⁝ Is 38:17astetéi en páis la méie amertúme tres amére · Tú acértes deliũras \la meie áneme/ qued éle ne p*er*isíst ⁝ tu degetás ariére tún dós túz les
f. 74r miéns pecchéz · Is 38:18Kár enférs ne regehirád á téi · ne mórt ne loerád téi ⁝ f. 74r né atendrúnt chi descéndent en fósse la túe ueritéd · Is 38:19Viuánz uiuánz íl regehirád á téi · sicume nedés ié hói ⁝ li pére ás fílz coneúde feŕa la túe ueritéd · Is 38:20Síre sálf me fái · é nóz sálmes nús čanterúms pár trestúz les iúrz de nóstre uíe en la maisún del segnór ·

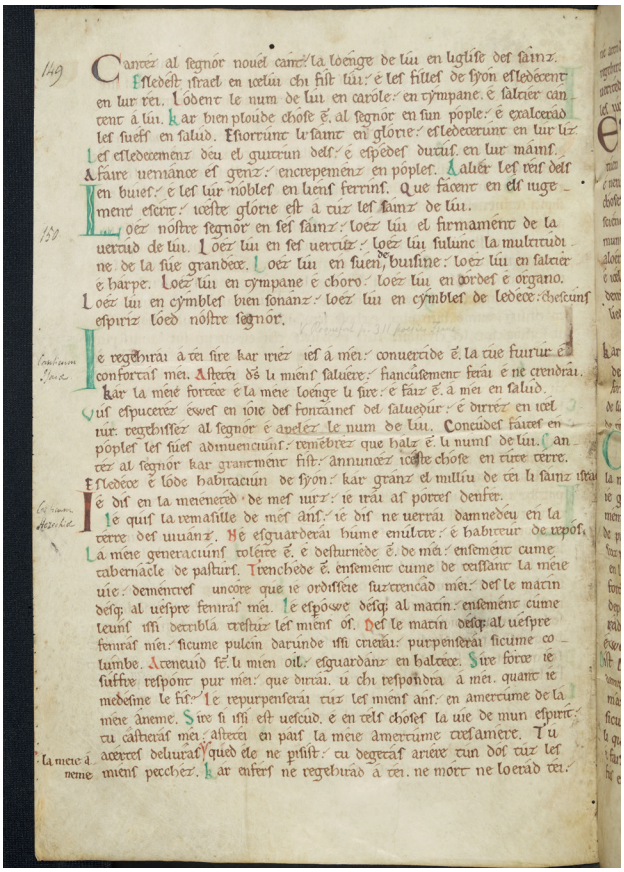
1 Sa 2:1Esledečad li miéns cuérs el segnór ⁝ é exalcéz *est* · mís cuérs el mién déu · Essamplíde *est* · la méie búche sur més enemís ⁝ kár ié mesledečai el túen saluáble · 1 Sa 2:2Nenést sáinz sicume *est* · li síre ⁝ kar nenést áltre éstre téi ⁝ é nenést fórz sicume nóstre d*eus* · 1 Sa 2:3Né uoillez multipliér aparlér háltes chóses ⁝ gloriánz · Desséiũrent uiéz chóses de uóstre búche ⁝ kar d*eus* de sciénces *est* · síre ⁝ é á lúi sunt aprestédes cogitaciúns · 1 Sa 2:4Lí aŕc des fórz surmuntéz *est* ⁝ é li enférm céint *sunt* · de fórce · 1 Sa 2:5Raemplíd premerainemént séi aloérent ⁝ é li fameillús saúléd *sunt* · Dés*que* la barháine enfantád plusúrs ⁝ é icéle chi mult fílz auéit enferméde *est* · 1 Sa 2:6Lí síre mortifiéd é uiuifíed ⁝ deméine á enférs é raméined · 1 Sa 2:7Lí sire fáit póũre é enrichíst ⁝ humilíed é suzléued · 1 Sa 2:8Esdrečanz de púldre le besugnús ⁝ é de ordéure esl[illegible]\ued/ [illegible]le póũre · Que íl séced ót prínces ⁝ é soliér de glórie tiénged ·

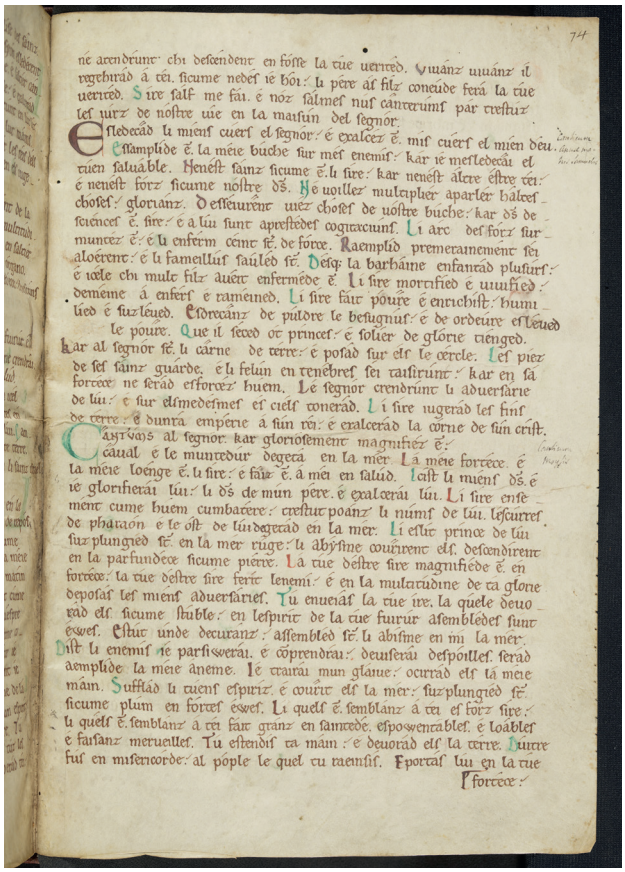
Kár al segnór s*unt* · li čarne de térre ⁝ é posád sur éls le cércle · 1 Sa 2:9Les piéz de ses sáinz guárde · é li felún en tenébres séi taisirúnt ⁝ kar en sá fortéce ne serád esforcéz húem · 1 Sa 2:10Le segnór crendrúnt li aduersárie de lúi ⁝ é sur elsmedésmes és ciéls tonerád · Lí síre iugerád les fińs de térre ⁝ é dunrá empérie á sún réi ⁝ e exalcerád la córne de sún crist ·

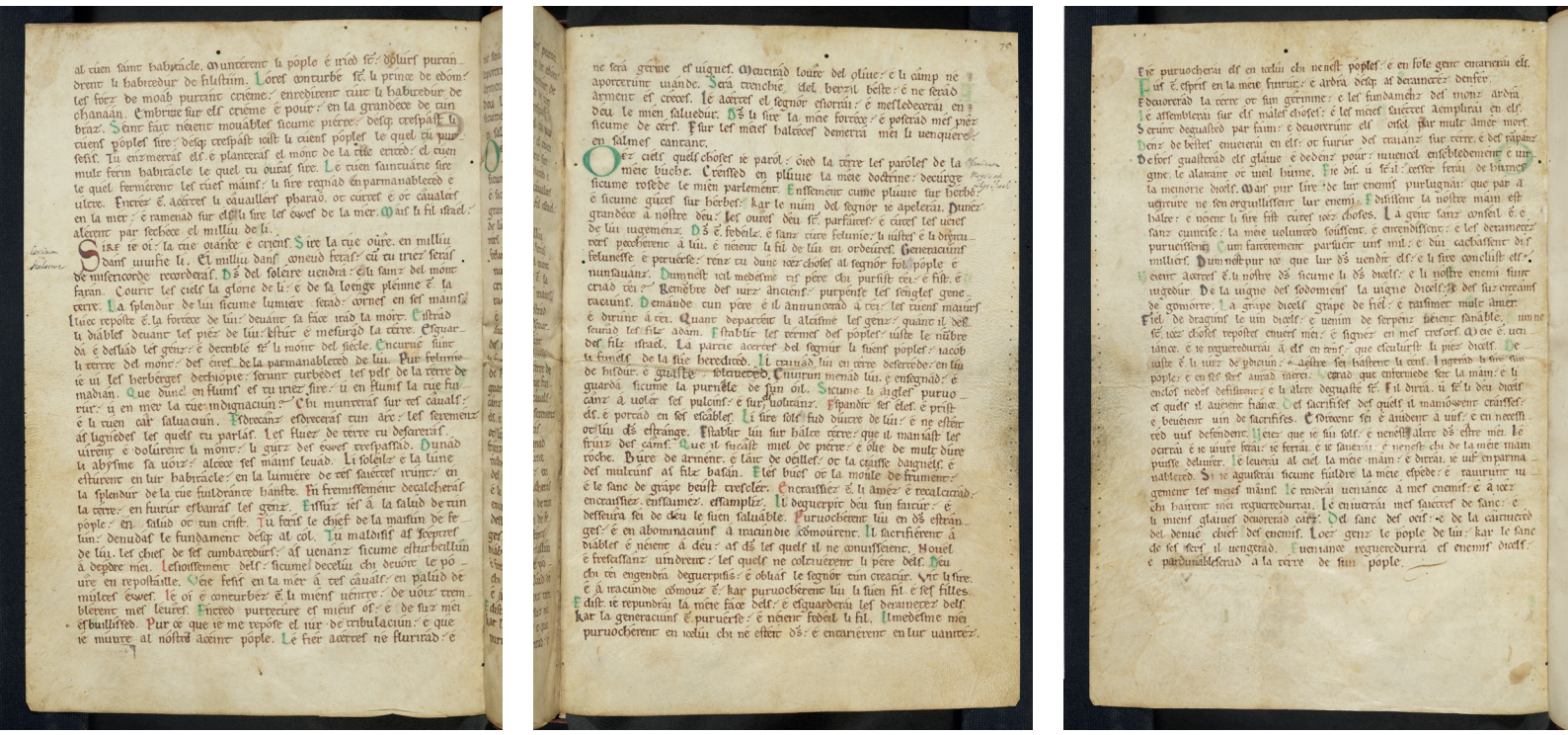
ČEx 15:1ANTVMS al segnór · kar gloriósement magnifiéz e*st* ⁝ čaual é le muntedúr degetá en la mér · Ex 15:2Lá méie fortéce · é la méie loénge e*st* · li síre ⁝ é fáiz e*st* · á méi en salúd · Icíst li miéns d*eus* · é ié glorifierái lúi ⁝ li d*eus* de mún pére · é exalcerái lúi · Ex 15:3Lí síre ensemént cume húem cumbatére ⁝ trestut poánz li núms de lúi · Ex 15:4léscúrres de pharaón é le ást de lúi \de/getád én la mér · Lí eslít prínce de lúi suz plungiéd s*unt* · en la mér rúge ⁝ Ex 15:5li abýsme coŭrirent els · descendírent en la parfundéce sicume piérre · Ex 15:6Lá túe déstre síre magnifiéde e*st* · én fortéce ⁝ la túe déstre síre ferít lenemí ⁝ Ex 15:7é en la multitúdine de tá glórie deposás les miéns aduersáries · Tú enueiás la túe íre · la qúele deuorád els · sicume stúble ⁝ Ex 15:8en lespirít de la túe fuirúr asemblédes súnt éwes · Estút únde decuránz ⁝ assembléd s*unt* · li abísme en mí la mér · Ex 15:9Díst li enemís ié parsiwerái · é co*m*prendrái ⁝ deuiserái despóilles · serád aemplíde la méie áneme · Ié trairái mun gláiue ⁝ ocirrád els lá méie máin · Ex 15:10Sufflád li túens espiríz · e coŭrit els la mér ⁝ suz plungiéd s*unt* · sicume plúm en fórtes éwes · Ex 15:11Lí quels e*st* · semblánz á téi es fórz síre ⁝ li quéls e*st* · semblánz á téi fáit gránz en saintedé · espowentábles · é loábles é faisanz merueilles · Ex 15:12Tú estendís la máin ⁝ é deuorád els la térre · Ex 15:13Dúitre fús en misericórde ⁝ al póple le quel tu raeinsís · E portás lúi en la túe *fortéce* f. 74v al túen sáint habitácle · Ex 15:14Muntérent li póple é iriéd s*unt* ⁝ dolúrs purtíndrent li habitedúr de filistíim · Ex 15:15Lóres conturbé s*unt* · li prínce de edóm ⁝ les fórz de moáb purtiŕt criéme ⁝ enredírent túit li habitedúr de chanáán · Ex 15:16Embríue sur els criéme é poúr ⁝ en la grandéce de tún bráz · Séint fáit néient mouábles sicume piérre ⁝ désq*ue* trespást li túens póples síre ⁝ désq*ue* trespást icíst li túens póples le quel tú pursesís · Ex 15:17Tú énz merrás éls · é planterás el mónt de la túe eritéd ⁝ él túen mult férm habitácle le quel tu oŭras síre · Lé túen saintuárie síre le quél fermérent les túes máins ⁝ Ex 15:18li síre regnád en parmanableté é últre · Ex 15:19Entréz e*st* · acértes li čauaillérs pharaó · ot cúrres é ót čaualérs en la mér ⁝ é ramenád sur éls li síre les éwes de la mér · Máis li fíl israél ⁝ alérent pár sechéce el millíu de lí ·

f. 74v

▼ *Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320, fol. 73v and 74r.* Source: https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/
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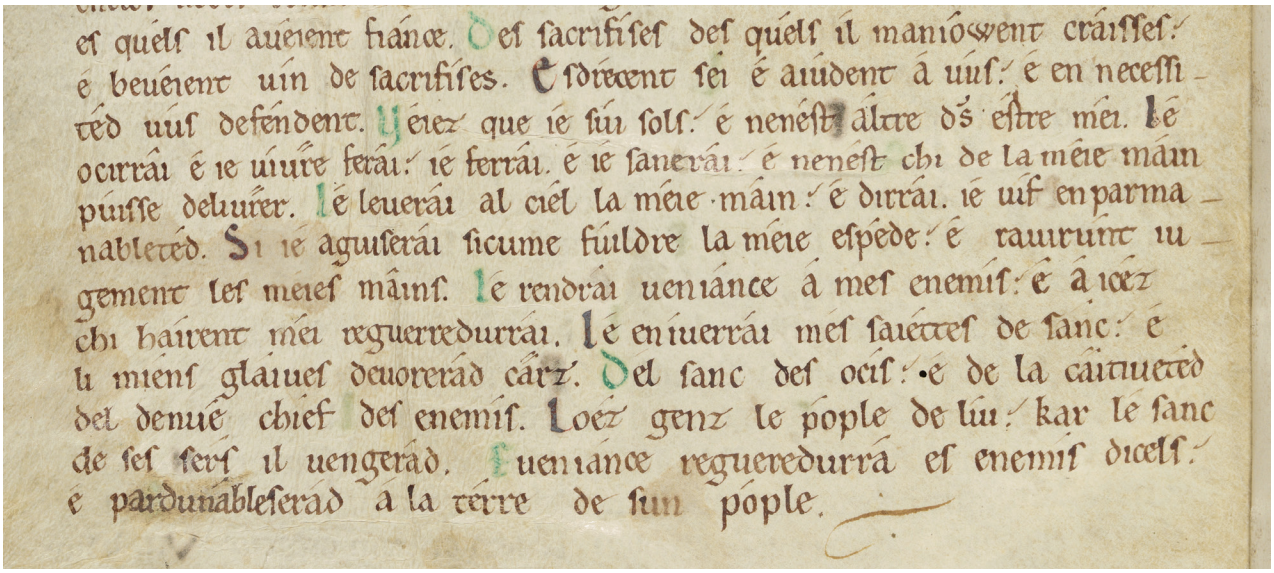
▲ *Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320, fol. 74v, 75r, and 75v.* Source: https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/
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SHAB 3:2ÍRE ié oí ⁝ la túe oiánce é criéns · Síre la túe oŭre · en millíu dáns uiuifíe lí · Él millíu dáns coneúd ferás ⁝ cu*m* tu iriéz serás dé misericórde recorderás · HAB 3:3D*eu*s del soléire uendrá ⁝ é li sáinz del mónt farán · Coŭrit les ciéls la glórie de lí ⁝ é dé sa loénge pléinne e*st* · la térre · HAB 3:4Lá splendúr de lúi sicume lumiére serád ⁝ córnes en ses máins · Ilúec repóste e*st* · la fortéce de lúi ⁝ HAB 3:5deuánt sa fáce irád la mórt · Eistrád li diábles deuánt les piéz de lúi ⁝ HAB 3:6estút é mesurád la térre · Esguardá é desliád les génz ⁝ é detriblé s*unt* li mónt del siécle · Encurué súnt li tértre del mónt ⁝ des éires de la parmanableteá de lúi · HAB 3:7Púr feluníe ié uí les herbérges dethiópie ⁝ serúnt turbédes les péls de la térre de madián · HAB 3:8Que dunc en flúms es tu iriéz síre ⁝ ú en flúms la túe fuirúr ⁝ ú en mér la túe indignaciún ? Chi munterás sur tes čauals ⁝ é li túen cár saluaciún · HAB 3:9Esdrečanz esdrecerás tun arc ⁝ les sereménz ás lignédes les quéls tu parlás · Les flúez de térre tu descirerás · HAB 3:10uírent é dolúrent li mónt ⁝ li gúrz des éwes trespassád · Dunád li abýsme sa uóiz ⁝ altéce ses máins leuád · HAB 3:11Li soléilz é la lúne estúrent en lur habitácle ⁝ en la lumiére de tes saiéttes irúnt ⁝ eń la splendúr de la túe fuildránte hánste · HAB 3:12Eń fremissemént decalcherás la térre ⁝ en fuirúr esbairás les génz · HAB 3:13Eissúz íes á la salúd de tún póple ⁝ én salúd ót tun crístt · Tú ferís le chíef de la maisún dé felún ⁝ denudás le fundaménd dés*que* al cól · HAB 3:14Tú maldisís as scéptres de lúi · les chies de sés cumbatedúrs ⁝ ás uenánz sicume estúrbeillún á dep*er*dre méi · Lesioissemént déls ⁝ sicume decelúi chi deuóre le póŭre en repostáille · HAB 3:15Véie fesís en la mér á tes čauáls ⁝ en palúd dé múltes éwes · HAB 3:16Ié oí é conturbéz e*st* · li miéns uéntre ⁝ de uóiz tremblérent mes léŭres · Eńtred purretúre es miéns ós ⁝ é de suz méi ésbuillíssed · Pur cé que ié me repóse el iúr de tribulaciún ⁝ é qué ié múnte al nóstre acéint
f. 74r póple · HAB 3:17Lé fiér acértes né flurirád ⁝ é f. 75r ne será gérme es uígnes · HAB 3:17Mentirád loŭre del olíue ⁝ é li čamp né aporterúnt uiánde · Será trenchié del berzíl béste ⁝ é ne serád arment és créces · HAB 3:18Ié acértes el segnór esiorrái ⁝ é mesledecerái eń déu le mién saluedúr · HAB 3:19D*eu*s li síre la méie fortéce ⁝ é poserád més piéz sicume de cérs · E sur les méies haltéces demerrá méi li uenquére ⁝ en sálmes cantánt ·

ODT 32:1ÉZ ciéls quéls chóses ié paról ⁝ óied la térre les paróles de la méie búche · DT 32:2Créissed en plúuie la méie doctríne ⁝ decúrge sicume roséde le mién parlemént · Enssemént cume plúuie sur hérbe ⁝é sicume gútes sur hérbes ⁝ DT 32:3kar le núm del segnór ié apelerái · Dunéz grandéce á nóstre déu ⁝ DT 32:4les oŭres déu s*unt* · parfáites ⁝ é túres les uéies de lúi iugeménz · D*eu*s e*st* · fedéilz · é sanz túte feluníe ⁝ li iústes é li dreiturérs DT 32:5pecchérent á lúi · é néient li fíl de lúi en ordeúres · Generaciúns felunésse é peruérse ⁝ DT 32:6rénz tu dúnc icéz chóses al segnór fól póple é nunsauánz · Dum nést icíl medésme tís pére chi pursíst téi ⁝ é físt · é criád téi ? DT 32:7Remémbre des iúrz anciéns ⁝ purpénse lés séngles generaciúns · Demánde tun pére é il annuncerád á téi ⁝ les túens maiúrs é dirúnt á téi · DT 32:8Quant departéit li altísme les génz ⁝ quánt il desseŭrad les fílz adám · Establít les térmes des póples ⁝ iúste le nú*m*bre des fílz israél · DT 32:9Lá partíe acertes del segnúr li súens póples ⁝ iacób li

funéls de la súe heredité · Dr 32:10Íl truuád lúi en térre desertéde ⁝ en líu de hisdúr · é guáste soltiueté̊d · Enuirún menád lúi · é ensegnád ⁝ é guardá sicume la purnéle de sún oíl · Dr 32:11Sicume li áigles puruočanz á uolér ses pulcíns ⁝ é sur \els/ uolitánz · Espandít sés éles · é prist éls · é portád en sés esčables · Dr 32:12Lí síre sols fud dúitre de lúi ⁝ é ne estéit ot lúi deus estránge · Dr 32:13Establít lúi sur hálte térre ⁝ que il maniást les frúiz des čams · Que il sučast miel de piérre ⁝ é ólie de mult dúre róche · Dr 32:14Búre de armént · é láit de oéilles ⁝ ot la cráisse daignéls · é des multúns as filz basán · E lés búcs ót la moúle de frumént ⁝ é le sanc de grápe beúst tresclér · Dr 32:15Encraissiéz est · li améz é recalcitrád ⁝ encraissiéz · enssaiméz · essamplíz · Íl deguerpít déu sún faitúr ⁝ é desseŭra séi de déu le súen saluáble · Dr 32:16Puruochérent lúi en deus estránges ⁝ é en abominaciúns á iracúndie commoúrent · Dr 32:17Íl sacrifiérent á diábles é néient á déu ⁝ as deus les quels il ne conuisséient · Nouél é frescissánz uíndrent ⁝ les quels ne coltiuérent li pére déls · Dr 32:18Déu chi téi engendrá deguerpisís ⁝ e obliás le segnór tún creatúr · Dr 32:19Vít li síre · é á iracúndie commoúz est ⁝ kar puruochérent lúi li súen fíl · é ses fílles · Dr 32:20E díst · ié repundrái lá méie fáce déls ⁝ é esguarderái les derainetéz dels · Kar la generaciúns est · puruérse ⁝ é néient fedéil li fíl · Dr 32:21Íl medésme méi puruochérent en icelúi chi né estéit deus ⁝ é entariérent en lur uanitéz · f. 75v Dr 32:21E ié puruocherái els en icelúi chi nenést póples ⁝ é en fóle gent entarierái éls · Dr 32:22Fús est · espris en la méie fuirúr ⁝ é ardrá désque ⁝ as derainetéz denfér · E deuorerád la térre ot sun gérmine ⁝ é les fundaménz des mónz ardrá · Dr 32:23Ié assemblerái sur éls máles chóses ⁝ é les méies saiéttes aemplirái en els · Dr 32:24Serúnt deguasté̊d par fáim ⁝ e deuorerúnt els oisél par mult amér mórs · Dénz de béstes enueierái en éls ⁝ ot fuirúr des traiánz sur térre · é des rampánz · Dr 32:25Defórs guasterád éls gláiue é dedénz poúr ⁝ iuuencél ensembledemént é uírgine · le alaitánt ót uiéil húme · Dr 32:26E ié dís · ú sunt · íl ⁝ cessér ferái de húmes la memórie dicéls · Dr 32:27Máis pur líre de lúr enemís purlugnái ⁝ que pár auentúre ne sen orguillíssent lur enemí · E disíssent la nóstre máin est hálte ⁝ é néient li síre físt tútes icéz chóses · Dr 32:28Lá gént sánz conséil est · é sánz cuintíse ⁝ Dr 32:29la méie uoluntéd soússent · é entendíssent ⁝ é les derainetéz puruеíssent · Dr 32:30Cum faitérement parsuéit uńs míl ⁝ é dúi cačhassent dís milliérs · Dúm nést pur icé que lur deus uendít éls ⁝ é li síre conclúst éls ? Dr 32:31Néient acértes est · li nóstre deus sicume li deus dicéls ⁝ é li nóstre enemí sunt iugedúr · Dr 32:32Dé la uígne des sodomiéns la uígne dicéls ⁝ é des suz citeáins de gomórre · Lá grápe dicéls grápe de fiél ⁝ é raisimét mult amér · Dr 32:33Fiél de dragúns le uín dicéls ⁝ e uením de serpénz néient sanáble · Dr 32:34[D]um ne sunt · icéz chóses repóstes enuérs méi ⁝ é signéz en més tresórs · Dr 32:35Méie est · ueniánce · é ié regueredurrái á els en téns ⁝ que esculúrst li piéz dicéls · Deiúste est · li iúrz de perdiciún ⁝ é aéstre séi hástent li téns · Dr 32:36Iugerád li síre sún póple ⁝ é en ses serś aŭrad mercí · Verrád que enferméde séit la máin ⁝ é lí enclós nedés defístrent ⁝ é li áltre deguasté sunt · Dr 32:37E íl dirrá · ú sunt · li déu dicéls es quéls il auéient fiánce · Dr 32:38Des sacrifíses des quéls íl maniówent cráisses ⁝ é beuéient uín de sacrifíses · Esdrécent séi e aiúdent á uús ⁝ é en necessité uús defendent · Dr 32:39Uéiez que ié súi sols ⁝ é nenést áltre deus éstre méi · Ié ocirrái é ie uíŭre ferái ⁝ ié ferrái · é ié sanerái ⁝ é nenést chi de la méie máin púisse deliŭrer · Dr 32:40Ié leuerái al ciél la méie máin ⁝ é dirrái · ié uíf en parmanableté̊d · Dr 32:41Si ié aguiserái sicume fúildre la méie espéde ⁝ e rauirúnt iugement les méies máins · Dr 32:41Ié rendrái ueniánce á mes enemís ⁝ é á icéz chi haírent méi reguerredurrái · Dr 32:42Ié eníuerrái més saiéttes de sánc ⁝ é li miéns gláiues deuorerád čarz · Dél sanc des ocís ⁝ e de la čaitiueté̊d del denué chíef des enemís · Dr 32:43Loéz genz le póple de lúi ⁝ kar lé sanc de ses serś il uengerád · E ueniánce regueredurrá es enemís dicels ⁝ é pardunáble serád á la térre de sun póple ·

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320, close-up of the last lines on fol. 75v. Source: https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/ Courtesy of the Imaging Services of The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Creative Commons licence CC-BY-NC 4.0.



e. Moab. e agareni. gebal.
t habitanz tyre. kar
as filz loth. Fai a els
bin en lewe de ciso.
deure de terre. Pose les
e salmana. Tut li pnce
ns le saintuarie de deu.
ne stuble deuant la face
ue: e sicume flame brul
la tue tempested: e en la
els dopprobre: e querrus
conturbed en siecle de secle:
nt que nums e. a tei sire:

e de uertuz: coueite e
stre seignur. Li miens cuers
ar li passere truue a
: ses pulcins. Les tuens

The genetic stratigraphy of the Douce version

VOWEL SPELLINGS AND DIGRAPHS (AC)

While analysing the erasures of MS Douce 320, we came accross several examples of fluctuating vowels or vowel groups that the scribe erases (and often replaces by writing a new letter on top of erasure). The most important one is **u > o** (see also **o > u**; **i > e**; **ou > o**; **ou > u**; **ue > oe**; **oe > o**; **ue > u**). The following list contains all the erasures of this type found in the manuscript, introduced according to their entry order in *Anglo-Norman Dictionary* (*AND*). For a study of the phonology and spelling in Douce MS 320, see Sneddon 1972, p. 50–79, where the replacement of **u** by **o** was already noted, as well as the alteration of certain digraphs. Short 2015, p. 13–22, also analyses certain variations. Both studies, however, do not present a comprehensive list of examples.

Verbs

aovrir: **u > o**. fol. 41r, line 3, *ao_urirent* (**u > o**); fol. 44r, line 24, *aourirent*; fol. 45r, line 31, *aouranz*; fol. 45v, line 14, *aouri*; fol. 47v, line 22, *aouerrai*; fol. 48v, line 6, *aouerras*.

aurer : **u > o** ; **ou > o**. fol. 41r, line 23, *aorerent*; fol. 42r, line 24, *or*; fol. 42r, line 38, *aorez*; fol. 70r, line 16, *ao_rerums*. In the first two examples, the scribe replaced **u** by **o**, hesitating between *aurer* and *aorer*. In the latter case, the initial choice could have been *aourer*.

commoveir : **ou > u**. f. 53v, line 39, *commut*; f. 54v, line 37, *comm_urent*; f. 55r, line 24, *comm_urent*; f. 55v, line 7, *comm_urent*.

conceivre: **u > o**. f. 48r, line 35, *conceut*.

conjoindre: **u > o**. f. 51v, line 36, *coniuint* ().

confermer : **u > o**. f. 45r, line 17, *confermás* (**u > o**); f. 45r, line 38, *conferme_* (**u >o**); f. 48v, line 3, *conferme*; f. 51v, line 40, *confeŕme* (**u > o**).

contrister: **u > o**. f. 44r, line 17, *contristez*.

conuistre: **u > o**; **ou > u**. fol. 48r, line 33, *conuis*; fol. 49r, line 17, *coneuz*; fol. 49v, line 1, *conui*; fol. 53v, line 24, *con_urent* (probably based on an initial spelling *conourent* with the erasure of **o**; not confirmed by an example in *AND*).

conturber: **u > o**. fol. 49r, line 4 + line 6, *conturbez* (with evident traces of the correction, see photo); fol. 49v, line 10-11, *conturbez*.

corucer: **? > u**. fol. 60r, line 5, *curucez*. The word is entirely rewritten on top of an erasure, except for the first letter. The variant *curuce* without erasure occurs on fol. 37v, line 38.

coveiter: **u > o**. fol. 47r, line 14, *coueitera_*.

coverer (2): **u > o**. fol. 42r, line 9, *courit*, with evident marks of the previous **u** changed into **o**.

covrir: **u > o**. fol. 46v, line 32, *co_urit*; f. 49r, lines 7-8, *courirent*; fol. 52r, line 18, *co_urit*; f. 52v, line 31, *couert*; fol. 55r, line 40, *courit*. Cf. fol. 50r, line 31, where the scribe wrote *cu_uerz* entirely on top of an erasure, without changing **u** into **o**).

devorer: **u > o**. fol. 39r, line 10, *deuorent*; fol. 44r, line 29, *deuorerums*; fol. 48v, line 29, *deuorent*.

doner (1): **o > u**. fol. 50r, line 24, *dune*.

envucher: **u > o**. fol. 39r, line 11, *enuocherent*.

escumunier: **u > o**. fol. 49r, line 35, *escommuniowent*.

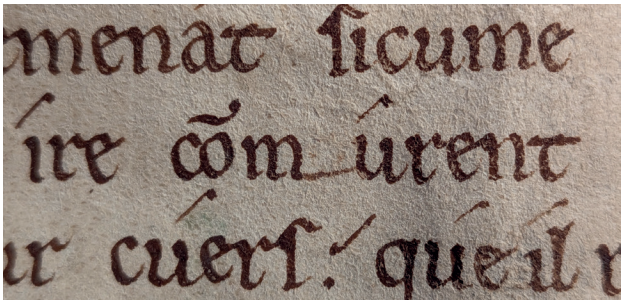
esprover: **u > o**. fol. 46v, line 28, *esprouant*.

fuir (2): **u > o**. f. 41r, line 8, *Foirent;* fol. 49v, line 13, *foirent*.

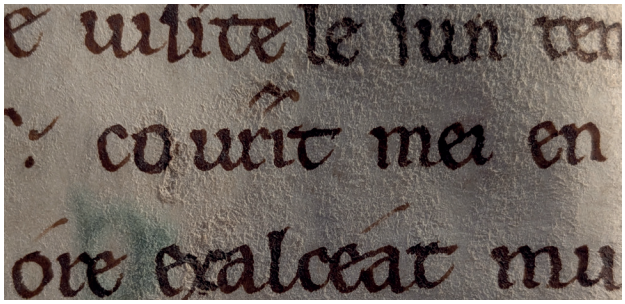
morir: **u > o**. f. 47v, line 28, *mor_anz*.

oblier: **u > o**; **ou > u**. fol. 38v, line 6, *_ubliez*; fol. 46r, line 37, *oblias*; fol. 46v, line 30, *obliames*; fol. 46v, line 33, *obliames*; fol. 46v, line 37, *oblies;* fol. 47r, line 13, *oblie*.

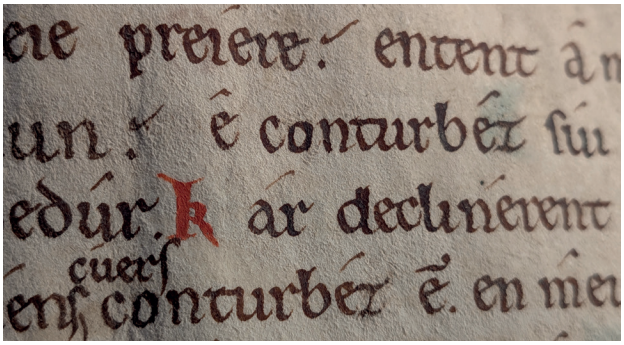
ovrer (1): **u > o**; **oe > o**. fol. 37v, line 6, *oeurent* (< *ouurent*?); fol. 39r, line 16, *ouret* (< *uuret*?); fol. 42r, line 26, *o_uranz* (< *uuranz*?); fol. 44v, line 8, *oeurent* (< *ueurent*?); fol. 46v, line 12, *o_uras* (< *uuras*?); fol. 48v, line 28, *o_urent*;



fol. 54v, line 37

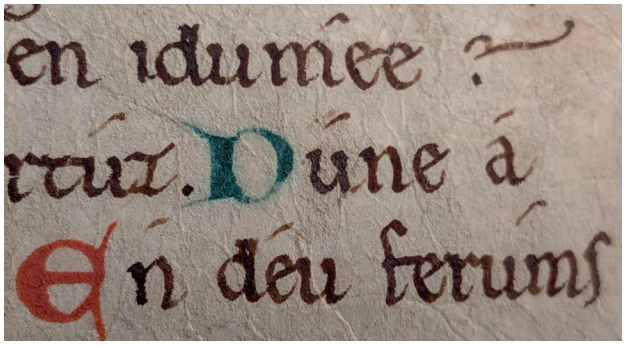


fol. 42r, line 9



fol. 49r, line 4

fol. 49r, line 6



fol. 50r, line 24

fol. 49v, line 38, *o_urent* (< *oeurent*?); fol. 50v, line 29, *o_uranz* (< *oeuranz*, with evident trace of the initial ***e***); fol. 51v, line 40, *o_uret* (< *oeuret*?). Two phenomena concur in the spelling of this verb: the erasure of an ***u***, then changed into ***o*** (***u*** > ***o***); and the deletion of ***e*** which breaks down the digraph ***oe***.

prover (1): ***u*** > ***o***. fol. 51r, line 27, *prouas*; fol. 52r, line 2, *prouet*.

renoveler: ***u*** > ***o***. fol. 48v, line 1, *renouele*.

renover: ***u*** > ***o***. fol. 45v, line 5, *renouee*.

reprover (1): ***u*** > ***o***. fol. 43v, line 4, *repro_uet* and *repro_uet*; fol. 52r, line 20, *reprouanz*.

soner: ***u*** > ***o***. fol. 56v, line 10, *sonerent*.

tesmoigner: ***u*** > ***o***. fol. 48r, line 10, *testimonierai*.

voler (2): ***u*** > ***o***. fol. 44r, line 32-33 (twice), *uolent* ; fol. 46r, line 2, *uolent*; fol. 50v, line 9, *uoilez*.

Nouns

aquilon: ***u*** > ***o***. fol. 47v, line 6, (*d*)*aquilon*.

ciel: ***e*** > ***i***. f. 38v, line 18, *ciel*.

corone (1): ***u*** > ***o***. fol. 51r, line 13, *corune*.

coverment: ***ue*** > ***u*** / ***ue*** > ***o***. fol. 50r, line 31, *cu_urement*; f. 50v, line 21, *co_urement*.

dolur: ***u*** > ***o***. fol. 45r, line 36, *dolur*; f. 45v, line 4, *dolurs*.

esprovant: ***u*** > ***o***. f. 46v, line 28, *esprouant*.

forme: ***u*** > ***o***. f. 47r, line 1, *forme*.

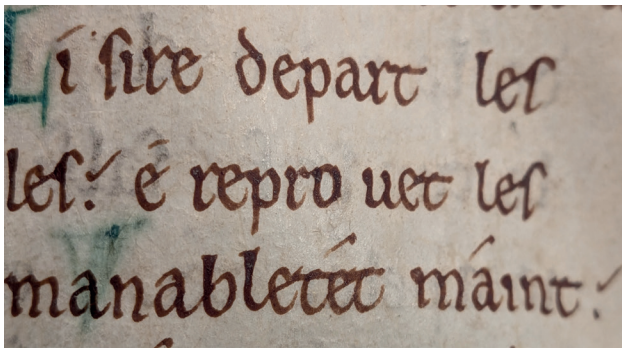
funtaine: ***u*** > ***o***. fol. 44v, line 5, *fontáine*; fol. 51v, line 37, *fonteines*. See fol. 46r, line 24, where the variant *fontaine* is written on top of an extensive erasure; and fol. 73v, line 19, where the word *fontaines* is written with no erasures.

home: ***u*** > ***o***. fol. 47r, line 2, *homes;* fol. 56r, line 19, (*l*)*ome*; fol. 56r, line 20, (*d*)*ome;* fol. 56r, line 19, (*l*)*ome*.

honur: ***u*** > ***o***. fol. 42r, line 37, *honur*. *AND* does not register the specific spelling *hunur*.

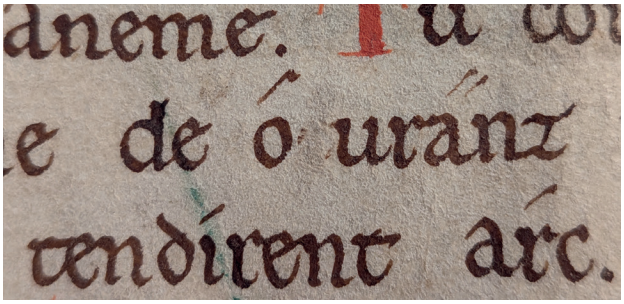
leun (2): ***i*** > ***e***; ***u*** > ***o***. The scribe hesitates between two spellings: fol. 37v, line 28, *leuns*; fol. 44r, line 21, *leuns*; and fol. 49v, line 10, *leons*. The spelling *leuns* is written without any trace of erasure on fol. 49v, line 26; and fol. 73v, line 31. However, the spelling *leon*(*s*) is also found in passages where no trace of erasure can be noted, such as on fol. 39v, line 8; fol. 39v, line 9; fol. 41r, line 3; and fol. 62r, line 12. Therefore, the scribe makes two types of corrections. When he writes *leuns* / *leuns* on fol. 37v and fol. 44r, it is likely that the initial spelling, rejected later by the scribe, was *liuns*. *AND* does not register the spelling *liun* with an *i*, only the form *lyun* with an *y*. When the scribe corrects it as *leons*, he does not like the initial ***u*** and turns it into an ***o***. One can also note that the two types of corrections are never found together in the same examples.

munt (1): ***u*** > ***o***. fol. 46r, line 33, *mont*; f. 46v, line 7, *mont* (***u*** > ***o***); fol. 47v, line 5, *mont* (twice); fol. 47v, line 14, *monz*; f. 47r, line 26, *mont ;* fol. 51r, line 6, *monz*; fol. 51v, line 23, *monz*; fol. 51v, line 24, *monz* (three times). All examples probably bear witness to the transformation ***u*** > ***o***. In two other cases of erasure, it is difficult to say what precise problems the scribe had encountered: fol. 51v,

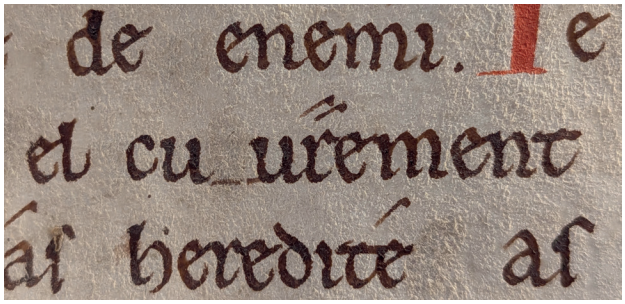


fol. 43v, line 4 (2)

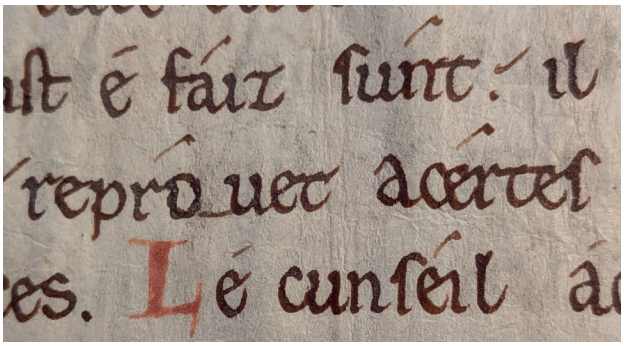
Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320.
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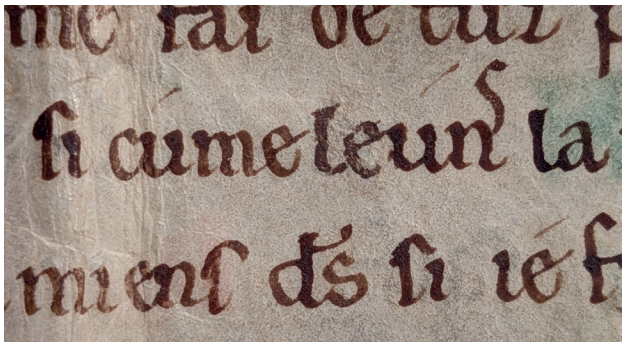
fol. 50v, line 29



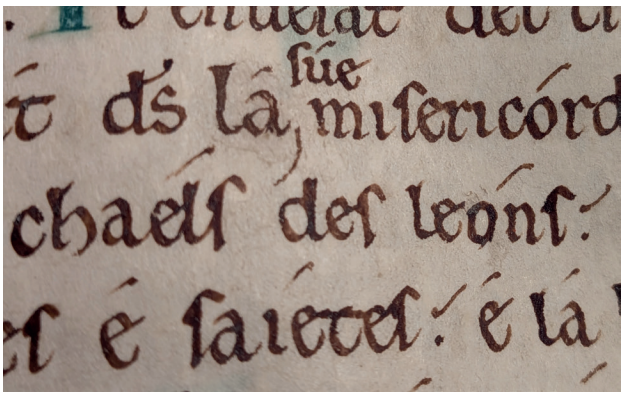
fol. 50r, line 31



fol. 43v, line 4 (1)



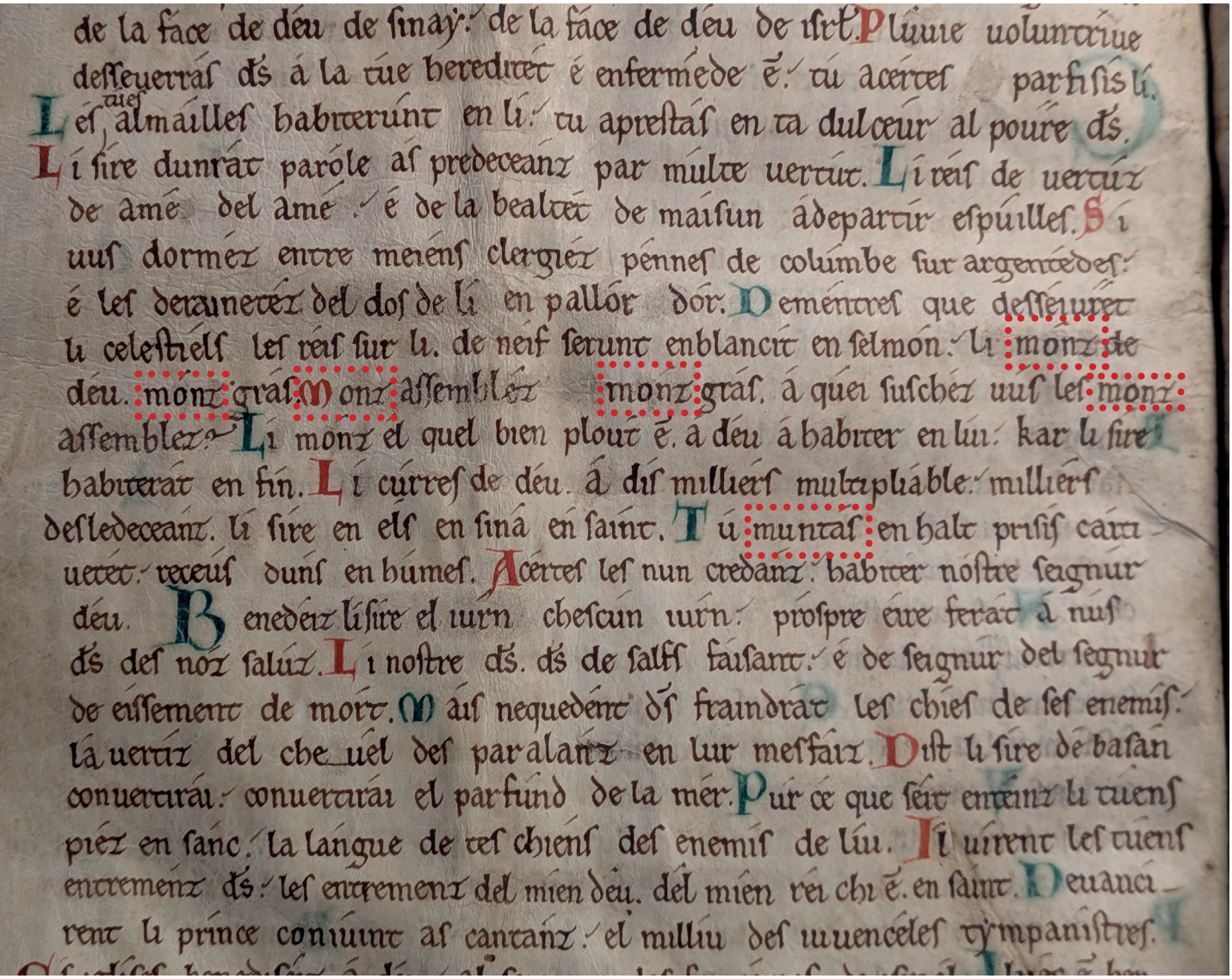
fol. 37v, line 28



f. 49v, line 10

line 24; and fol. 56v, line 24, where *monz* is written on top of an extensive erasure. *Mont* / *Monz* can also be written without erasure. For a complete list of these occurrences, please refer to the section on dentals (specifically the issue of declension). It will suffice here to mention just a few other interesting examples, which show the ***u* > *o*** wavering between two choices of the scribe: fol. 46v, line 7; fol. 47r, line 26; fol. 51r, line 6, where the imprint of an initial ***u*** is visible under an ***o***. Residual occurrences of the spelling *munt* / *munz* are condensed in the first part of the text (between fol. 37 and fol. 49), where the scribe gradually stabilised his spelling choices (for a complete overview see once again the section on dentals, specifically related to declension). To conclude, one can also note that the verb *munter* never undergoes any spelling corrections and remains stable throughout the entire text, without any trace of ***u*** becoming ***o***. In the following list, I provide an example for each spelling in the text (the list is, therefore, not exhaustive): fol. 39v, line 23 + line 25 (*muntat*); fol. 41r, line 37 (*munterat*); fol. 47r, line 39 (*munta*); fol. 51v, line 27 (*muntas*); fol. 54r, line 6 (*munte_*); fol. 54r, line 24 (*munterent*); fol. 61v, line 36 (*muntent*); fol. 63r, line 6 (*muntanz*); fol. 64r, line 1 (*muntent*); fol. 70r, line 12 (*munterai*); fol. 74r, lines 10-11 (*surmuntez*); fol. 74v, line 24 (*munteras*). The same situation concerns the noun *muntement*: fol. 56v, line 35 (*muntemenz*); fol. 61v, line 31 (*muntement*); and the noun *munteour*: fol. 74r, line 23

Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320.
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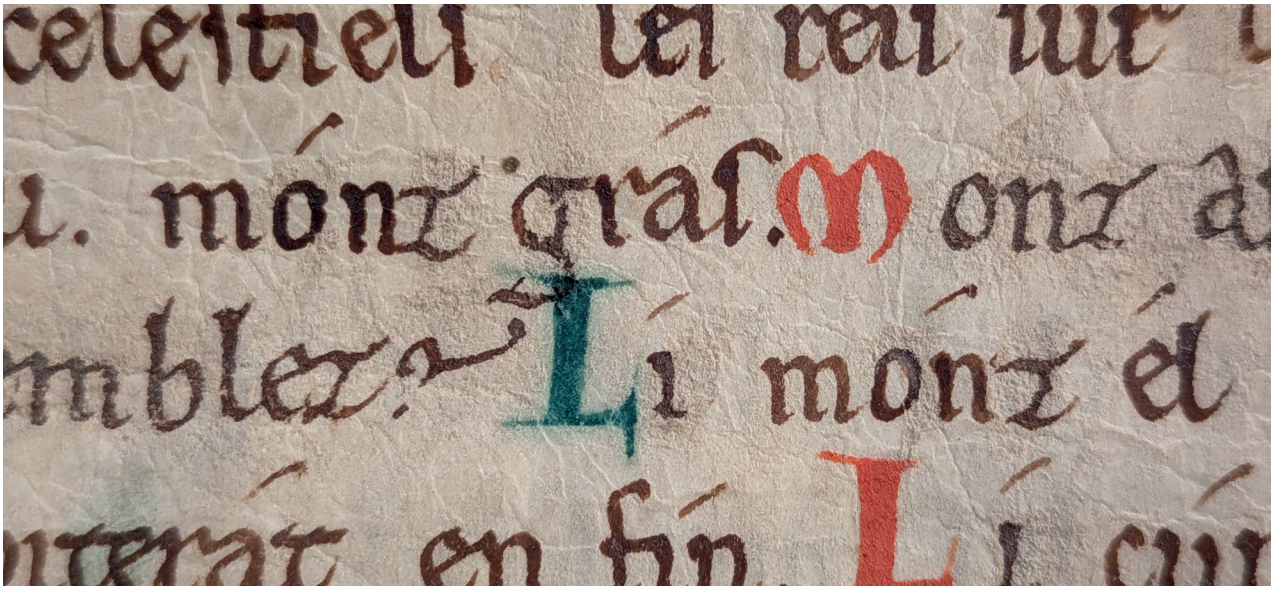


fol. 51v, line 24

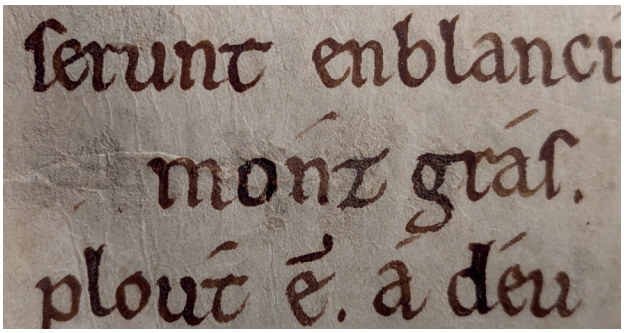
line 25

fol. 51v, line 24

fol. 51v, line 25

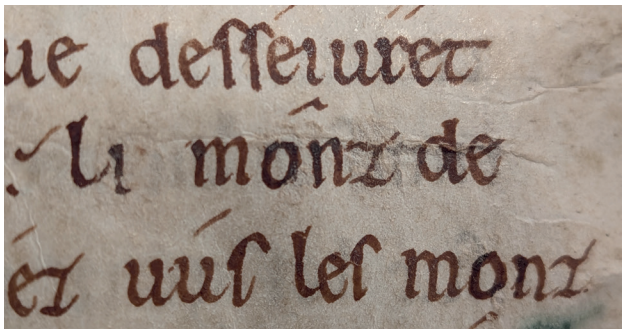


fol. 51v, line 24



fol. 51v, line 23

line 24



(*muntedur*).

novel: ***u*** > ***o***. fol. 45v, line 24, *nouel*.

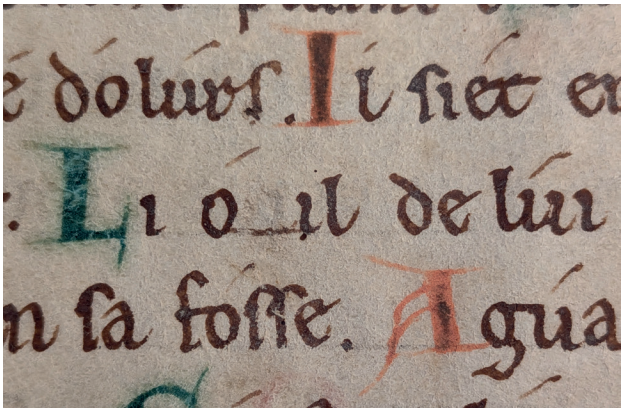
oil (1): ***ou*** > ***o***; ***u*** > ***o***; ***e*** > ***i***. The word *oil* has undergone two different types of erasures. The first type is on fol. 38v, line 3, *o_il*, where traces of a previous ***u*** are visible under the blank space. Thus, the word was originally spelled *ouil*. In other instances there is place for two letters in the initial version, before the erasure. The scribe probably corrected a previous ***u*** into an ***o***. In other words, the initial spelling could have been *uilz*. Cf. fol. 38v, line 18, *oil*; fol. 38v, line 36, *o_ilz*; fol. 39r, line 9, *o_ilz*; fol. 39v, line 5, *oil* (where one can actually see the traces of an initial ***u*** under the ***o*** written on top of the erasure); and fol. 39v, line 7, *oilz*. The spelling *oil* / *oilz* (with or without accent) occurs for the first time on fol. 37v, line 6 + line 23, where there is no trace of erasure. Examples of variation can be found on fol. 38v and fol. 39r-v. In the remaining part of the text, the spelling is stable. Examples of variation are found on fol. 39r, line 38; fol. 40r, line 2 + line 4 + line 40; fol. 41v, line 21 + line 31, etc.; fol. 60v, line 37, etc.

ombre (2): ***o*** > ***u***. fol. 49v, line 7, *úmbre*.

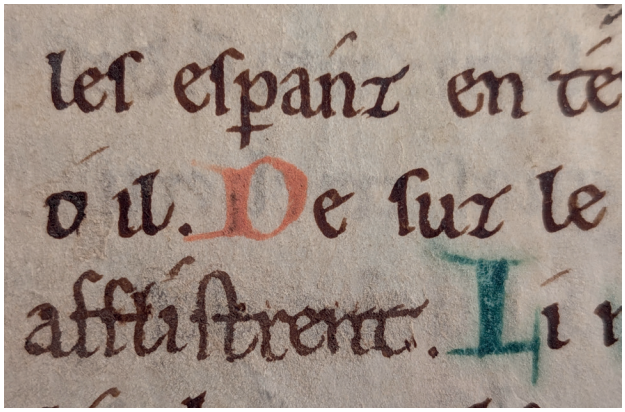
oeille: ***u*** > ***o***. fol. 38r, line 11, *o_eiles*, with visible traces of the change of the letter. The word is written with ***o*** throughout the rest of the text.

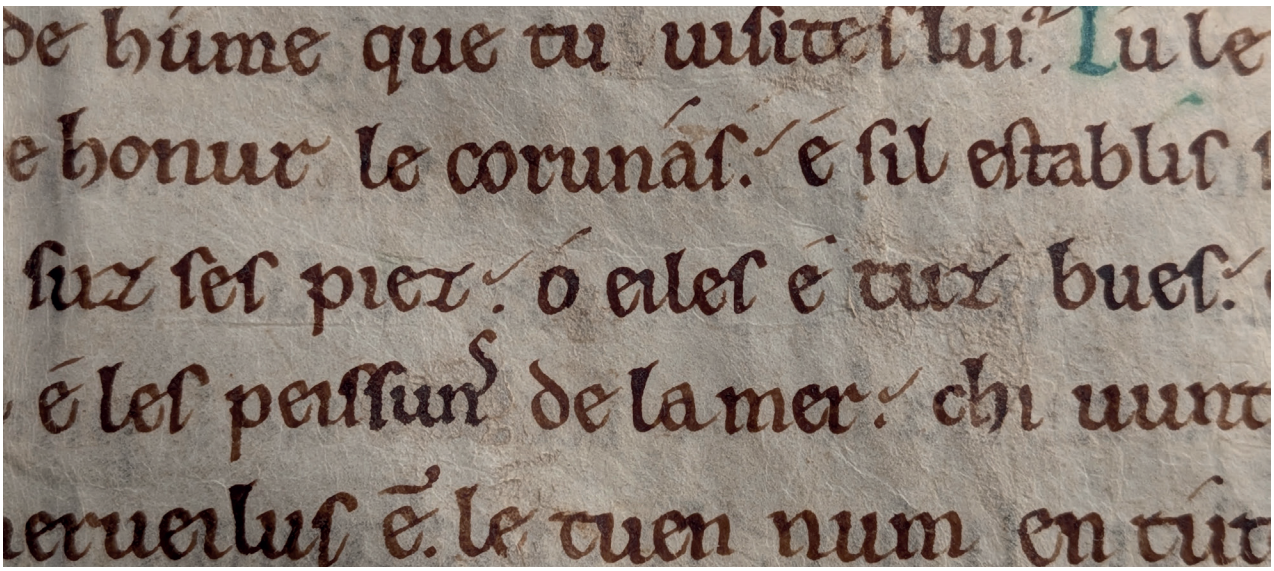
ovre (1): ***ue*** > ***oe***; ***u*** > ***o***; ***oe*** > ***o***. With *ovre*, we are once again confronted with different types of erasures. On fol. 38r, line 8, (*les*) *oeures*, the digraph ***ue*** was replaced by ***oe***. Sneddon 1972, p. 56-57, argues "that in the case of *uevres* / *oevres* the ***oe*** forms were used to avoid the possibility of

fol. 38v, line 3



fol. 39v, line 5





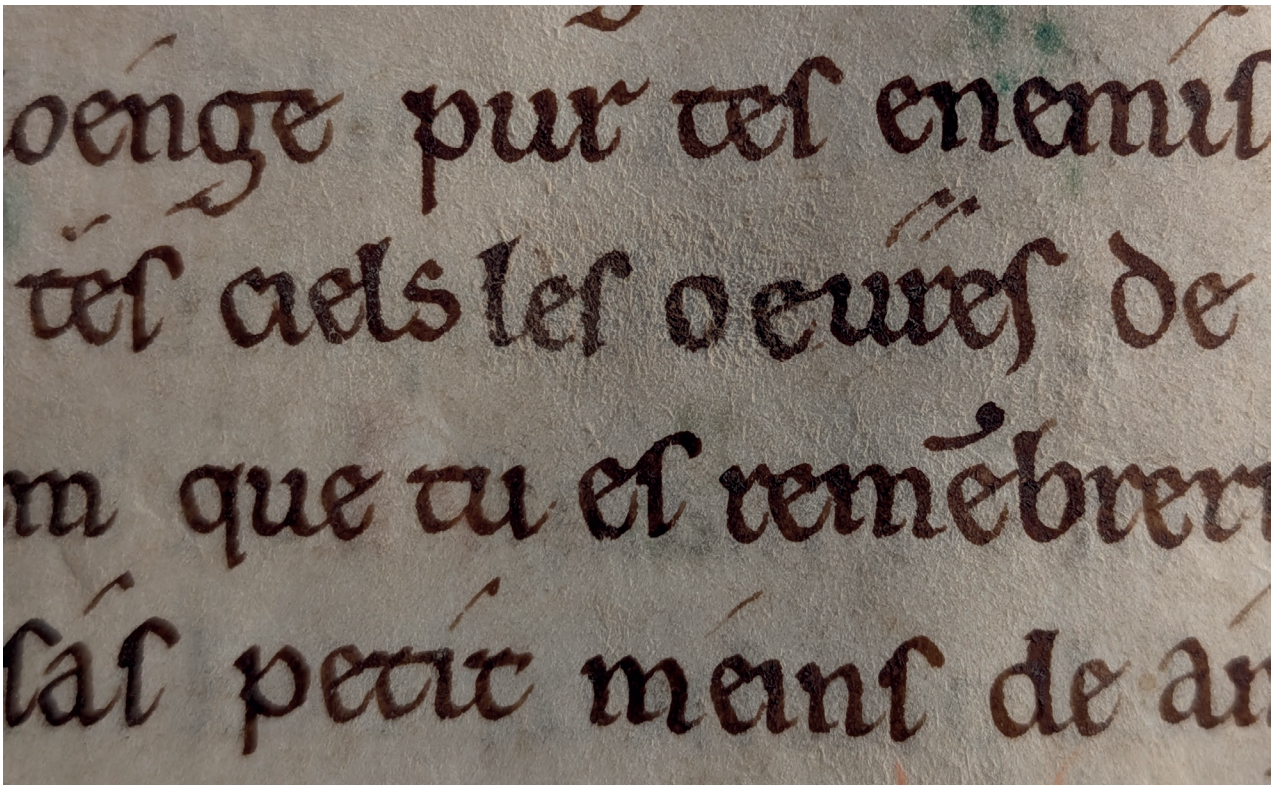
fol. 38r, line 11

the initial ***u*** being thought in as a ***v***," which is plausible. On fol. 39r, line 40, there is *oures*; fol. 40r, line 30, *oures*; and fol. 42r, lines 27 + 28 + 29 (twice), *oures*. In these cases, the change is ***u > o***. On fol. 43r, line 38, *oeures*; and fol. 43v, line 10, *oeures* show two peculiarities. There occurs, on the one hand, the transformation ***u > o*** at the beginning of the word, and, on the other hand (and only in these two examples), a brief return of the digraph ***oe***. This is a unique situation. In the following erasures, the ***e*** of this digraph has been systematically deleted: fol. 38r, line 29, *o_ures*; fol. 46v, line 11, (*L*)*o_ure*; fol. 46v, line 40, *o_ures*; fol. 47r, line 31, *o_ures* (with clear traces of an ***e*** still evident on the parchment); fol. 50v, line 12, *o_ures* (again traces of a previous ***e*** on the parchment); fol. 50v, line 37, *o_ures* (once again traces of a previous ***e***); fol. 51r, line 18, *o_ures* (there are traces too, but not as evident as the previous ones); fol. 51r, line 21, *o_ures*.

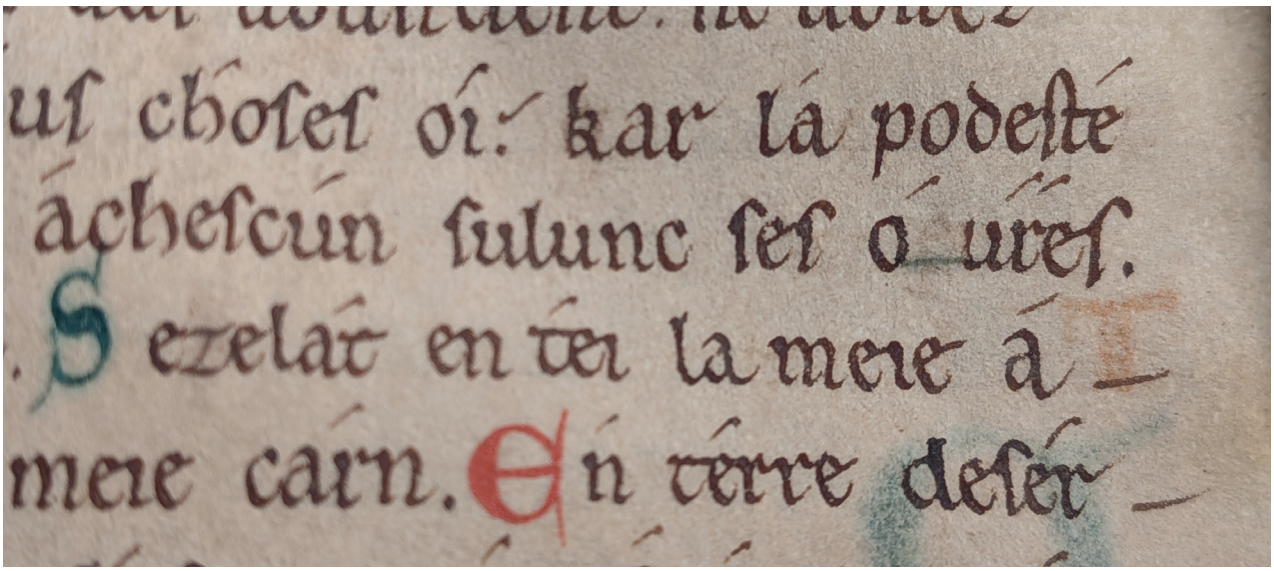
poance: ***u > o***. fol. 52v, line 34, *poances*.

reproce: ***u > o***; ***ou > o***. fol. 49v, line 9, *reproce*; fol. 52r, line 18, *reproce*; fol. 52r, line 20, *repro_ces*; fol. 52r, line 21, *repro_ce*.

seignur: ***u > o***. fol. 37v, line 37, *segnor*. The spelling *segnor*, without any trace of erasure, is found several times in the remaining part of the text, starting on fol. 59v, line 40, and up to the very end. The parallel spelling *segnur*, without erasure, can be found from the beginning of the text (fol. 37r, line 37) until the end (fol. 75r, line 20).The noun (or its verbal counterpart) is found in extensive erasures: fol. 37r, line 3, *seignur*; fol. 37r, line 12, *seignur*; f. 37r, line 19,



fol. 38r, line 8



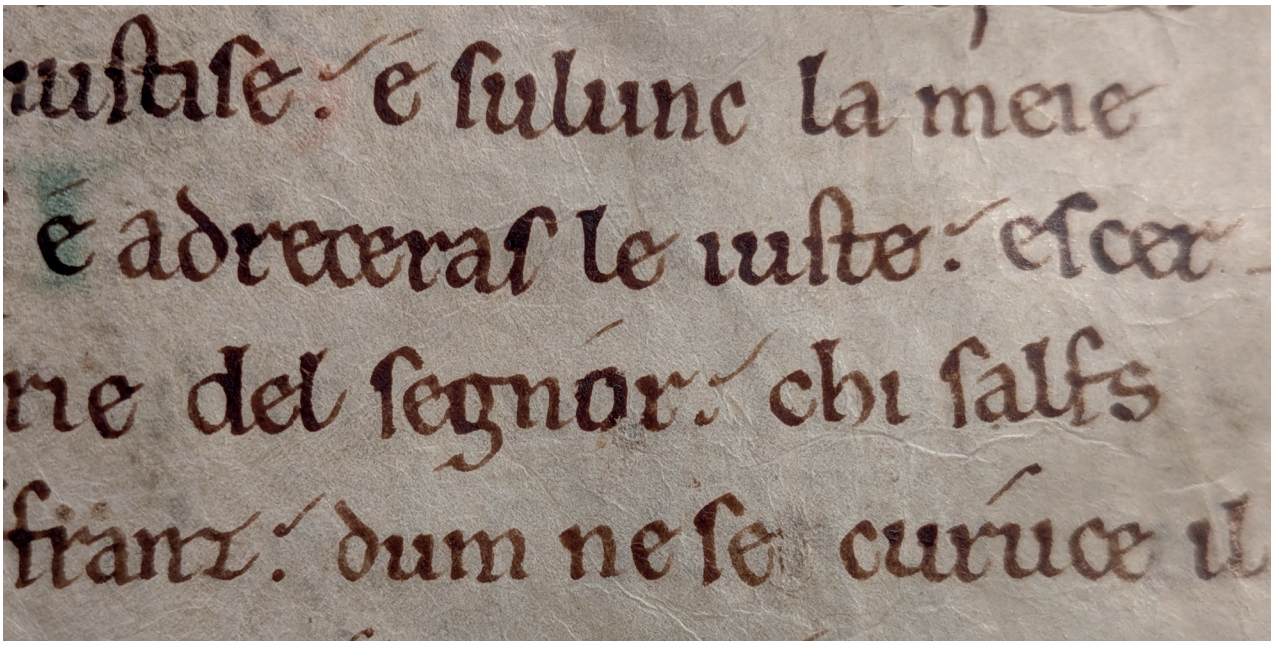
fol. 50v, line 12

seignur (with an abbreviated ***ur*** superscript); fol. 37r, line 25, *seignur*; fol. 38r, line 37, *seignur* (this case involves a much longer erasure); fol. 38r, line 39, *seignurerat* (written over a two-lines long erasure); fol. 40v, line 5, *seignurerunt* (written over a three-lines long erasure); fol. 41r, line 22, *seignurerat* (extensive erasure); fol. 44v, line 35, *seignur* (again extensive erasure). In these instances, it is not clear if the initia spelling of the word posed a problem. When the entire word is written on top of an erasure, the issue may concern word order (see the section on extensive erasures). This noun and its verbal counterpart are written *seignur* without erasure on fol. 37r, line 29; fol. 44r, line 5 + line 6 + line 9; fol. 44v, line 12 + line 13 + line 14 + line 16 + line 32; fol. 45r, line 7; fol. 45v, line 21 + line 25 (twice); fol. 47r, line 31; fol. 47v, line 10 + line 35 (*seignurerunt*); fol. 49r, line 27; fol. 49v, line 2; fol. 50r, line 7-8 (*seignurerat*); fol. 50v, line 38; fol. 51r, line 23 (*seignuret*); fol. 51v, line 28 + line 30 (twice) + line 37; fol. 52r, line 5; fol. 52v, line 34; fol. 53r, line 12 (*seignurera*); fol. 53v, line 16 + line 39; fol. 54r, line 14 + line 29 + line 32; fol. 54v, line 3 + line 20; fol. 56r, line 38; and fol. 56v, line 30. The spellings *seignur* and *segnur* are dominant in the first part of the text. Starting with fol. 59, the spelling with an ***o*** becomes prevalent. See also the first erasure (fol. 37v), where the scribe had corrected the former spelling into *segnor*.

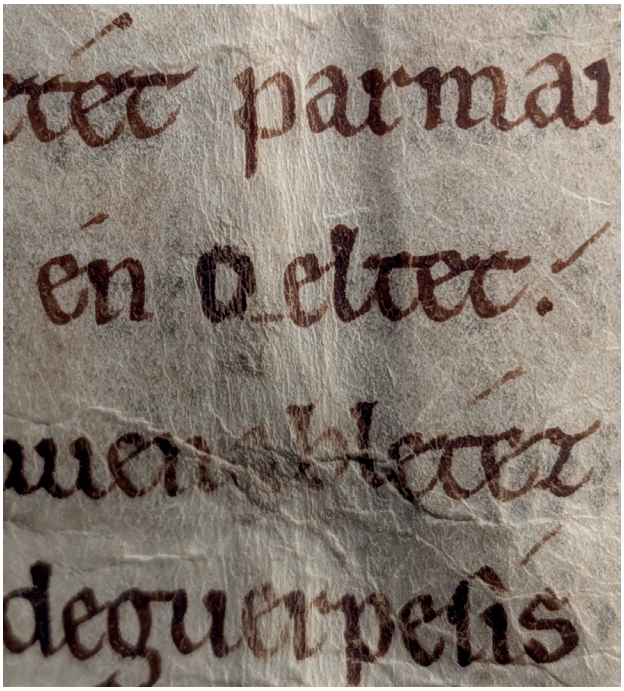
uelte: ***u*** > ***o***. fol. 38r, line 21, *o_eltet*. The scribe transformed an initial ***u*** in ***o***, erased the straight segment of ***u***, and placed a low dash to join the parts of word; fol. 51v, line 1-2, *oelte*.

vou (1): ***u*** > ***o*** fol. 48r, line 18, *uoz*; fol. 49v, line 3, *uot;* fol. 50v, line 40, *uot*. In its first occurrence (fol. 41r, line 18), the term is spelled *uuz*. It is likely that in the specific case of this erasure, the scribe decided to correct ***u*** > ***o***. See also fol. 50r, line 36, where *uoz* is written over an extensive erasure; see also the spellings that show no trace of hesitation

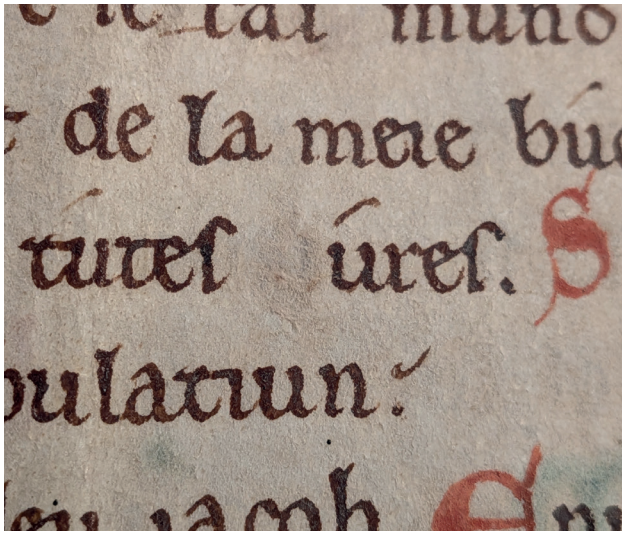
Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320.
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023-2026.
Courtesy of the Imaging Services of The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Creative Commons licence CC-BY-NC 4.0.



fol. 37v, line 37



fol. 38r, line 21



fol. 40v, line 7

Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320. Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023-2026. Courtesy of the Imaging Services of The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Creative Commons licence CC-BY-NC 4.0.

in fol. 51r, line 30; fol. 65v, line 40; and in fol. 66r, line 4.

ure (1): **u > o**; **ou > u**. fol. 44r, line 32, *ores*; fol. 45r, line 36, *ores*; fol. 45v, line 36, *ores*; fol. 48r, line 12, *ores*; fol. 48r, line 33, *ores*; fol. 52v, line 32, *ores*. The change **u > o** is systematic in all the occurrences. However, two other examples show that the digraph was likely pronounced differently. On fol. 40v, line 7, there is *_ures*. In this case, an initial letter has been deleted and it is safe to assume that the scribe's first choice had been *oures*. The same happens on fol. 41v, line 21-22: *_ores*. Here, the scribe might have corrected the digraph **ou** by erasing the initial **o** and afterward changing **u** into **o**. It is evident that, in the last two examples, the scribe hesitates between **u** and **o** when it occurs at the beginning of the word.

ureisun: **u > o**. fol. 49r, line 3, *oreisun*.

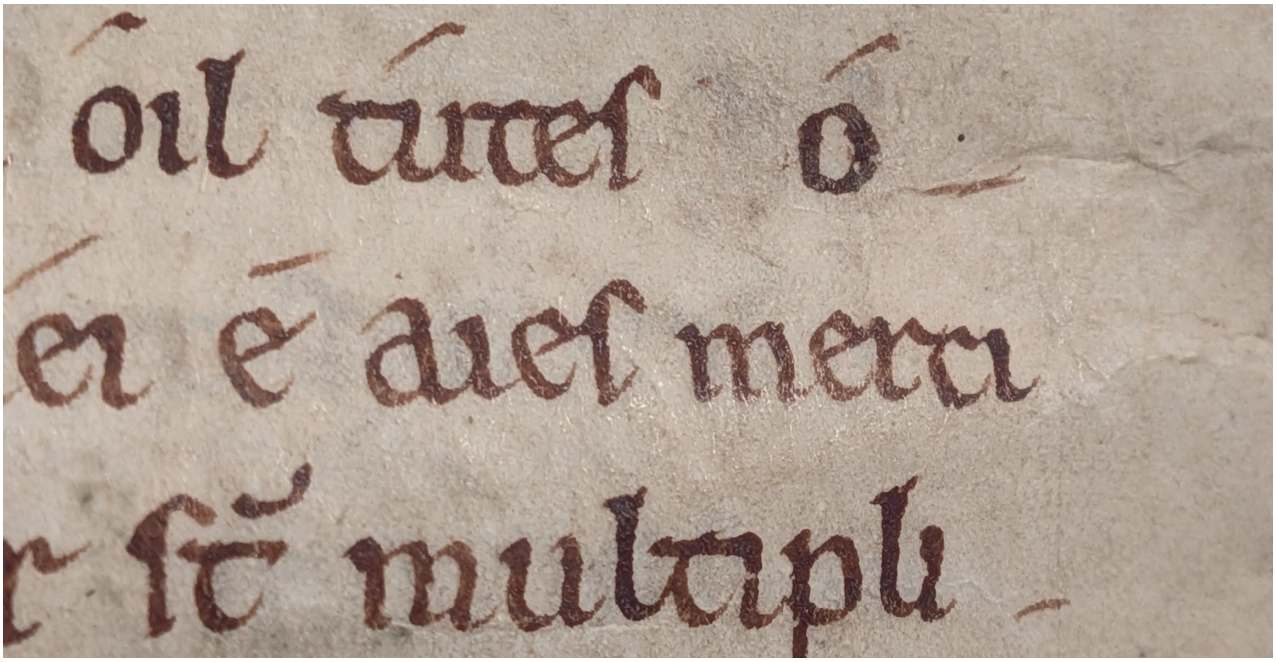
Varia

encontre (1): **o > u**. Since the beginning, the scribe chose the **u** spelling, which dominates till the end of the text. However, there are three instances of hesitation: fol. 42r, lines 4-5, *encuntre*, with the probable alteration **o > u**; fol. 43v, line 40, on top of an extensive erasure, where the scribe wrote *contre*; and fol. 59v, lines 23-24, where he wrote *encontre*, without any sign of erasures.

molt: **o > u**. Two situations from the first folios of the manuscript comprise the transformation **o > u** in the case of the adverb *molt* > *mult*, which is the dominant spelling in the text: fol. 39r, line 27, *mult*; fol. 39r, line 28, *mult*.

sul: **u > o**. On two occasions, the scribe does not write immediately *sol*, but, rather, he wrote at first *sul*, to correct it: fol. 56v, line 28, *sols*; fol. 57r, line 32, *sols*.

uitante: **u > o**. fol. 58v, line 31, *oitante*.



fol. 41v, line 21

DENTALS IN FUTURE TENSES (AC)

A large group of erasures are determined by morphological features, particularly those pertaining to final dentals. Since the erasure and/or replacement of final dentals in nouns (and verbal nouns or adjectives) seems to be linked to the erasure of final **–*z***, erasures in verbs will be separated from those in nouns. As a result, the criterion for the categories presented henceforth becomes grammatical.

The issue of dentals is mentioned in passing by Meister 1877, p. 67–68, based on the edition of Michel 1860. Meister notes only the merging of dentals with **–*s*** as **–*z***, or the simplification by erasure of double consonants. No remarks concerning erasures or dentals are found in Meister's or in the review by Koschwitz 1878 either. Short pointed out that "dentals are widely preserved in **–*at*** and **–*ad*** future endings." He argued that they represent a minority in the case of forms in **–*a–*** (Short 2015, p. 30). A first observation is that the scribe decided to erase the final dental of a third person future form in a certain number of cases:

*aiuera_*, fol. 58r, line 21, with traces of an erased **–*t***.

*apelera_*, fol. 58r, line 27.

(*n*)*aposera_*, fol. 54r, line 39; fol. 58r, line 23. The spelling (*n*)*aposera* without erasure occurs on fol. 54r, line 39.

(*n*)*aprismera_*, fol. 59r, line 10 + line 13 (twice). The spelling *aprismerat* can be noted on fol. 50v, line 34. All occurrences show traces of an erased final **–*t***.

*ardra_*, fol. 45v, line 5-6. On fol. 75v, line 2 + line 3, one finds *ardra* without any trace of erasure.

*confermera_*, fol. 58r, line 22.

*couéitera_*, fol. 47r, line 14.

*damnera_*, fol. 45r, line 7.

*degetera_*, fol. 54r, line 39 (traces of a possible final **–*t***).

(*ne*) *deguerpira_* (*lui*), fol. 45r, line 7.

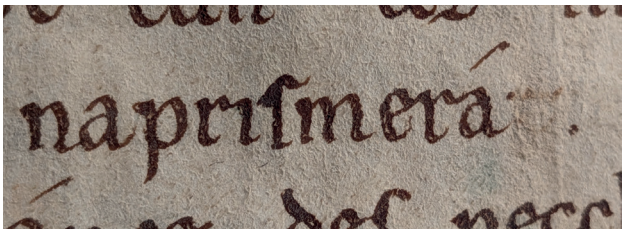
*deliuerra_*, fol. 53r, line 16-17 (with traces of an erased **–*t***); fol. 58v, line 13 (traces of an erased **-*t***); fol. 59r, line 4-5 (traces of an erased **–*t***). The spelling with final **–*t*** occurs on fol. 43v, line 24 (extensive erasure) + line 36; fol. 45r, line 14; fol. 46r, lines 7–8. A variant with a final **–*d*** occurs on fol. 60r, line 37.

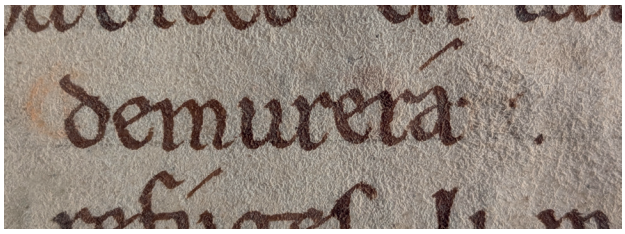
*demurera_*, fol. 59r, line 3, with clear traces of **–*t*** under the erasure. The spelling *demurerat* can be found on fol. 41v, line 20; fol. 42v, line 13.

*dira_*, f. 59r, line 3, with clear traces of an erased **–*t***. *Dira* without signs of erasure appears on f. 63v, line 11.

*dunra_*, fol. 56v, line 37 (traces of an erased **–*t***); fol. 57r, line 3 (also traces of an erased final **–*t***). The spelling with **–*t*** is found on fol. 37r, line 5; fol. 39r, line 13; fol. 44v, line 34; fol. 48v, line 32; fol. 49r, line 8 + line 28; fol. 51v, line 19; fol. 52r, line 6 + line 8 ; fol. 57r, line 19 + line 20. At the end of the text, there is *dunrad* on fol. 69v, line 17. The only spelling of the type *dunra* written without erasure occurs on fol. 74r, line 21.

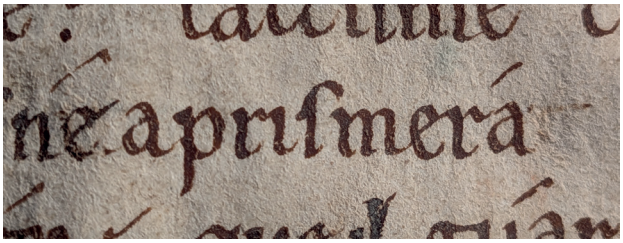
fol. 59r, line 10

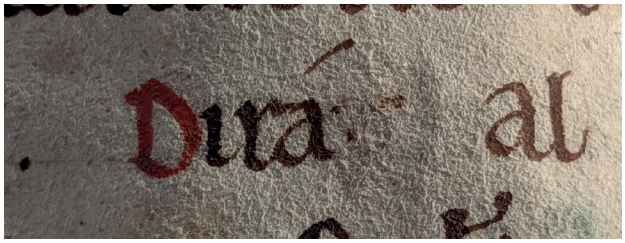




fol. 59r, line 3

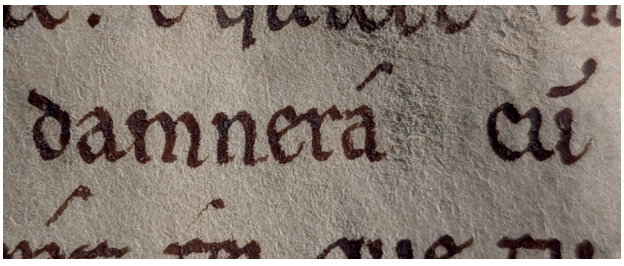
fol. 59r, line 13

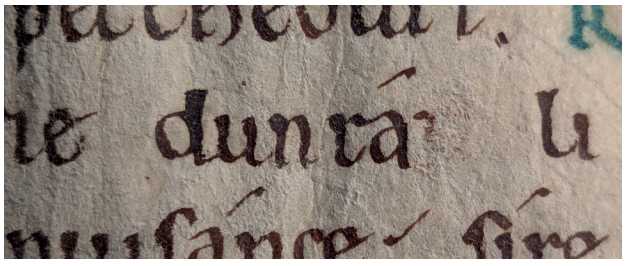




fol. 59r, line 3

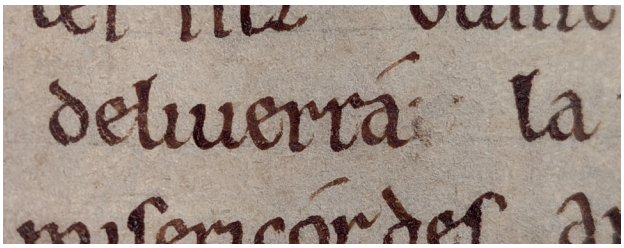
fol. 45r, line 7

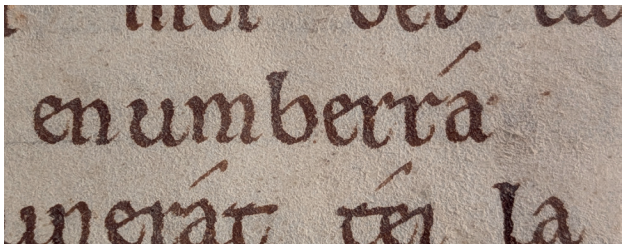




fol. 57r, line 3

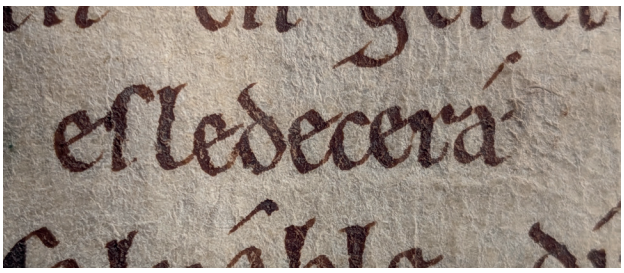
fol. 58v, line 13

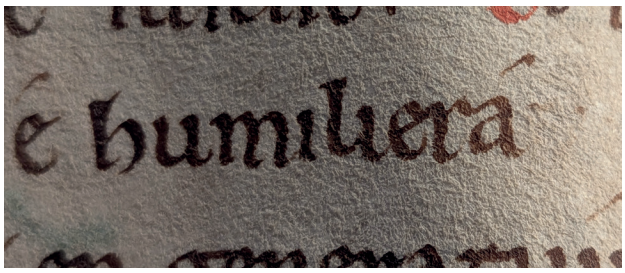




fol. 59r, line 6

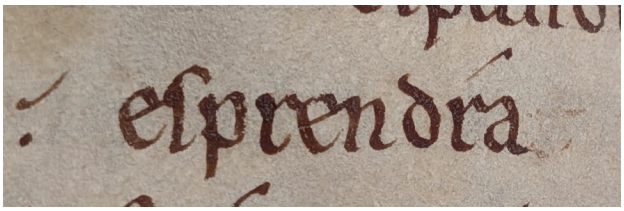
fol. 57r, line 12

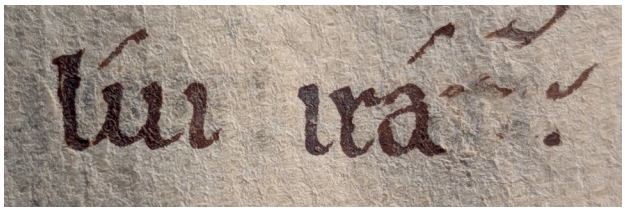




fol. 53r, line 9

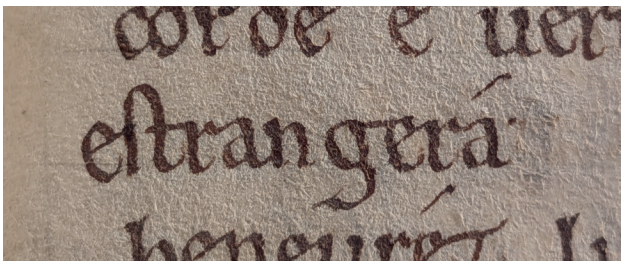
fol. 58v, line 10

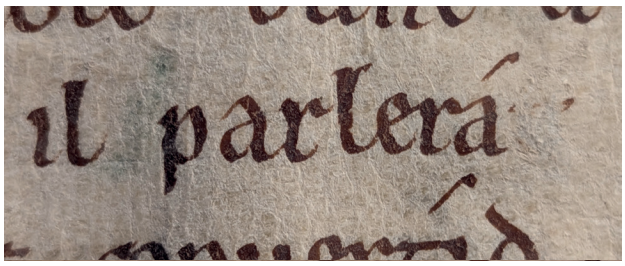




fol. 57r, line 20

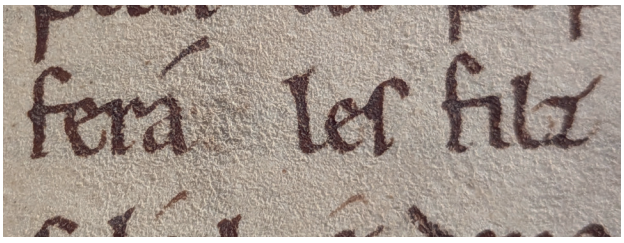
fol. 57r, line 4

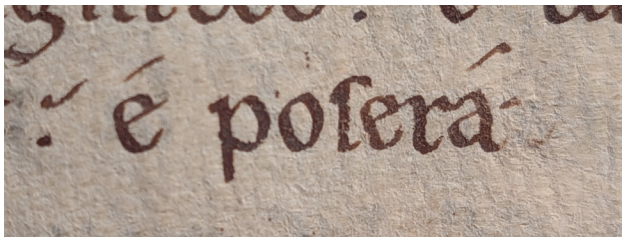




fol. 57r, line 14

fol. 53r, line 9





fol. 57r, line 20

*enumberra_*, fol. 59r, line 6, with traces of an erased **–*t***.

*esledecera_*, fol. 57r, line 12, with traces of an erased **–*t***. *Esledecerat* also occurs on fol. 50v, line 38; fol. 51r, line 12. The spelling *esledecera* without erasure is found on fol. 62r, line 24.

*esprendra_*, fol. 58v, line 10, with traces of a final **–*t***.

*estrangera_*, fol. 57r, line 4, with traces of an erased **–*t***.

*fera_*, fol. 53r, line 9 (traces of an erased **–*t***); fol. 55r, line 21 (traces of a possible **–*t***). There is *ferat* on fol. 37r, line 6; fol. 37v, line 7; fol. 44v, line 15; fol. 51v, line 29; fol. 52v, line 6; fol. 53r, line 18. However, one finds the variant *ferad* on fol. 62v, line 39. The spelling *fera* without any sign of erasure is found on fol. 72v, line 28 + line 29; and fol. 74r, line 2.

*flurira_*, fol. 59r, line 36, with traces of an erased –*t*. The spelling *flurirad* is found on fol. 74v, ligne 40; as well as *florirad* on fol. 70r, line 28. *Flurira* without traces of erasure appears on fol. 61v, line 16.

*humiliera_*, fol. 53r, line 9, with traces of a probable final **–*t***. There is *humilierat* on fol. 49r, line 23.

*ira_*, f. 57r, line 20, with traces of an erased **–*t***. There is *irad* on fol. 74v, line 18.

*obliera_*, fol. 54v, line 1, with clear traces of an erased **–*t***.

*orra_*, fol. 59r, line 35. The spelling with final **–*t*** occurs on fol. 37r, line 34; fol. 49r, line 22; fol. 51r, line 35. *Orra* without erasure occurs on fol. 59v, line 15.

*parlera_*, fol. 57r, line 14, with traces of an erased **–*t***. *Parlerát* appears on fol. 45r, line 4; fol. 47v, line 21. The spelling with final **–*d*** occurs only once, at the end of the text, on fol. 72v, line 30. *Parlera* without erasure is found on fol. 62v, line 38; and fol. 69v, line 21.

*parmaindera_*, fol. 53r, line 9.

*perdra_*, fol. 55r, line 22 (traces of a probable final **–*t***).

*posera_*, fol. 57r, line 20, with traces of an erased **–*t***.

*profitera_*, fol. 58r, line 22.

*recuntera_*, fol. 57v, line 9, with traces of a final **–*t***.

*regehira_*, fol. 54r, line 28 (traces of a probable final **–*t***). There is *regehirat* on fol. 42v, line 18; and fol. 47v, line 40. Towards the end of the text, one notices the spelling with final **–*d***: fol. 73v, line 39; fol. 74r, line 2. Cf. fol. 42r, line 32-33, *regehi_rai*.

*reprouera_*, fol. 53v, line 30.

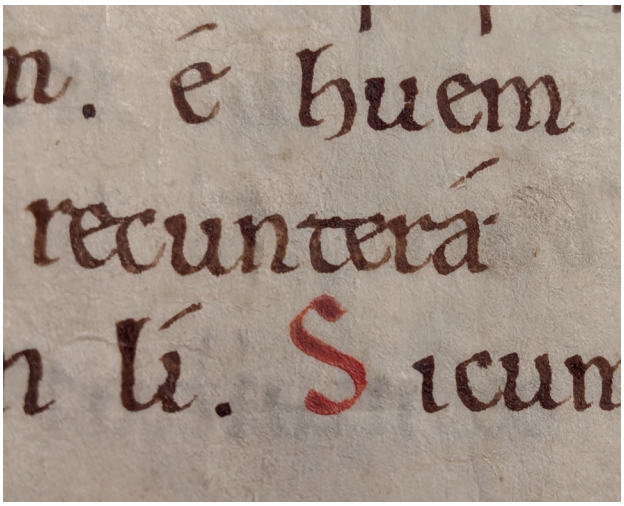
*seignurera_*, fol. 53r, ligne 12. There is *seignurerat* on fol. 38r, line 39 (entirely on top of an erasure); fol. 41r, line 22 (extensive erasure); fol. 50r, line 7-8.

*uerra_*, fol. 58v, line 13, with traces of an erased **–*t***. The variant with **–*t*** is found on fol. 47v, line 27 + line 28; fol. 48r, line 1; fol. 49v, line 30; fol. 50v, line 33. *Uerra* without any sign of erasure occurs on fol. 59v, line 14; fol. 65r, line 26.

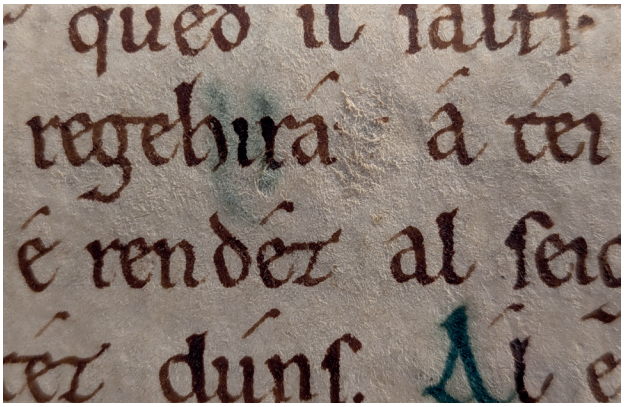
*uiuera_*, fol. 53r, line 20; fol. 58v, line 13, with traces of an erased final **–*t***. One finds an occurrence with final

Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320.
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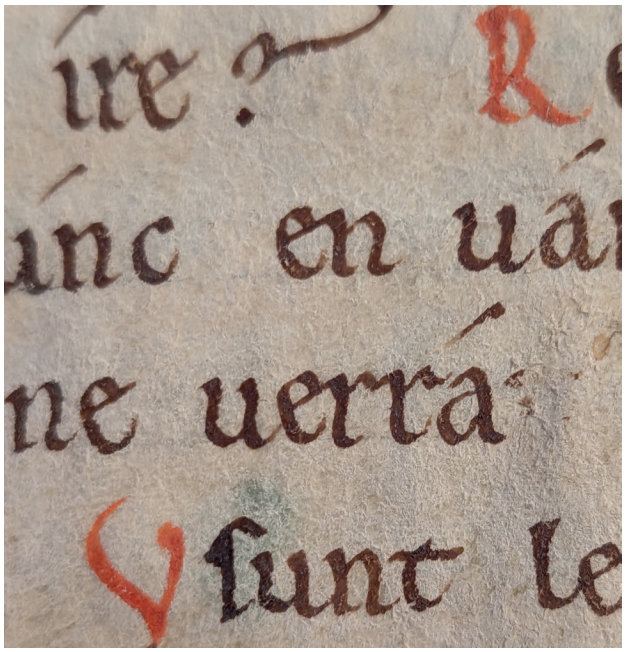
fol. 57v, line 9



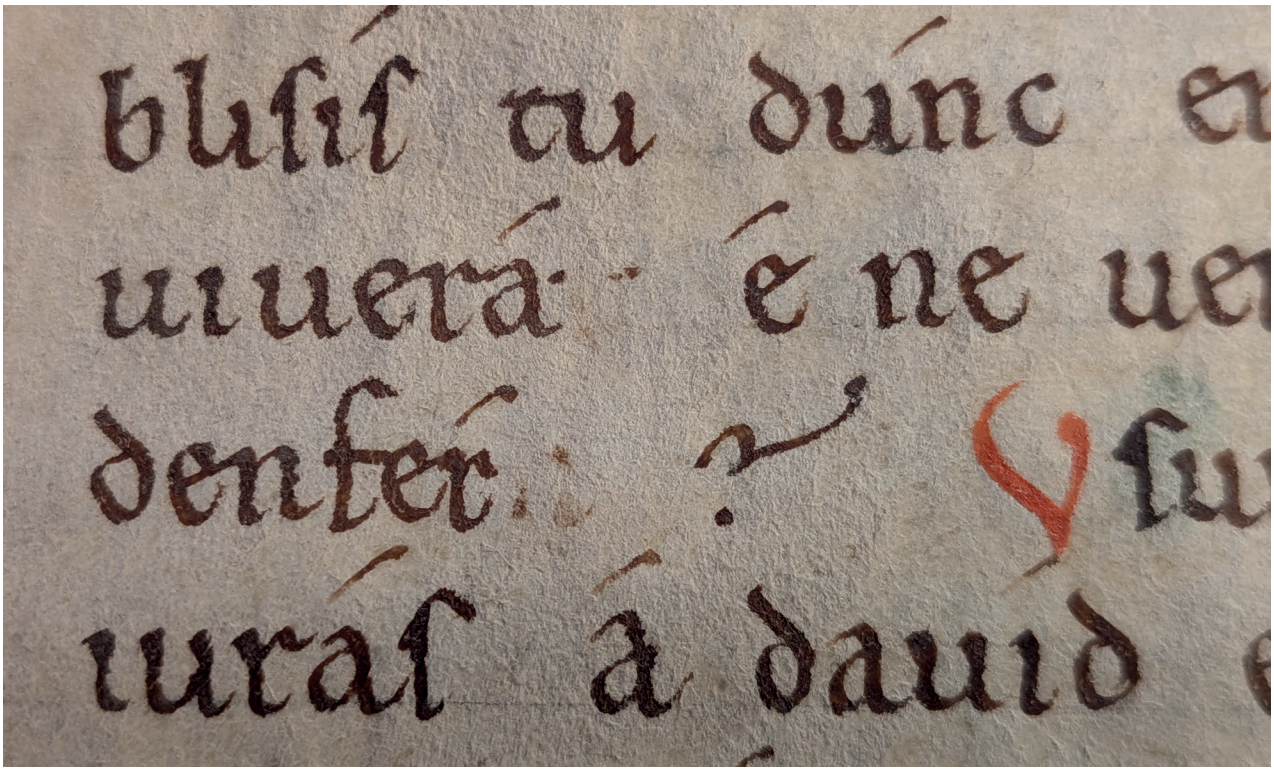
fol. 54r, line 28



fol. 58v, line 13



fol. 58v, line 13



–*t* on fol. 47v, line 27.

Two more erasures could be linked to the issue of dentals in future tenses, but there is not enough data to support this conclusion. For instance, *contrestera_*, fol. 54r, line 25, the three final letters of which are written on top of an erasure. There is also *decirera*, fol. 54r, line 40, entirely written on top of an erasure. The initial choice of the scribe could have been another verb.

As Short pointed out, there is a deliberate effort on behalf of the scribe to intervene in the spelling of final dentals on fol. 53–59 (Short 2015, p. 20; cf. 6–7). However, this alleged willingness to intervene starts well before fol. 53. Traces of erasures are found as early as fol. 45 and fol. 47. See also Sneddon 1972, p. 69.

A RELATED PROBLEM: INTERCONSONANTAL –*E*– (AC)

Furthermore, two instances in the text concern the merger of two distinct phenomena: the erasure of a final consonant and the erasure of an interconsonantal –***e***–:

*descend_ra_*, fol. 53r, line 10. See also fol. 38r, line 3, and fol. 47v, line 39, for an occurrence with final –***t***, but no vowel: *descend_rat*. The same can be noted in *naist_ra_* on fol. 53r, line 11.

This erasure of an interconsonantal –***e***– can also be seen in other cases:

criend_runt, fol. 45v, line 24 ; *crend_runt*, fol. 48v, line 18; *crend_rai*, fol. 49r, line 33; *criend_runt*, fol. 50v, line 31. Nevertheless, the vowel drop does not occur in *crienderai* (fol. 41r, line 30; fol. 47v, line 23); *crenderai* (fol. 42r, line 1; fol. 49r, line 34; fol. 49v, line 2); *crenderat* (fol. 42r, line 5); and *crienderúms* (fol. 47r, line 24). I also noted the particular situation of *cr_end_runt* on fol. 51r, line 8 (with traces of an erased –***e***–). The scribe intervenes here on the stem vowel as well, in accordance with a choice that we find again elsewhere, in other instances of a future tense of the same verb, from the beginning to the end of the Douce text.

descend_rat, fol. 38r, line 3.

exard_rat, fol. 48r, line 7 (there seems to be a trace here of an erased –***e***–).

raiend_rat, fol. 49r, line 22. A form with a vowel drop and no erasure is found just before it, on fol. 47v, line 36. On the same folio, one also finds *raiendrat* in the context of an extensive erasure.

eist_ras, fol. 50r, line 24. The only other occurrence of this verbal form, without erasures, is on fol. 64r, line 32.

receu_rai, fol. 54r, line 8. The text contains instances of verbs in the future without a vowel drop. Here are some examples concerning verbs in the first person: *receuerai* (fol. 48r, line 12; fol. 65v, line 39).

naist_runt, fol. 54v, line 23. For the spelling *naisterunt*, see fol. 59r, line 28.

prend_rat, fol. 47v, line 39.

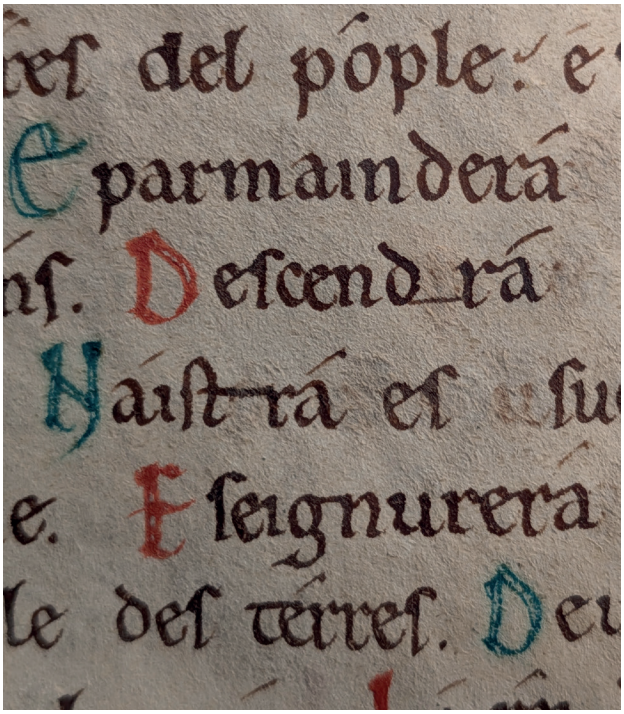
rend_rai, fol. 51r, line 30.

Add to these: fol. 46v, line 21, *e tu deus _neist_ras es noz uertuz* (< Latin *et non egredieris Deus in virtutibus nostris*); fol. 49r, line 33, *crend_rai* (< Latin *timebo*); fol. 50v, line 17, *beneist_rai* (< Latin *benedicam*); fol. 51r, line 13, *beneist_ras* (< Latin *benedices*).

As Pope states, "two tendencies conflicted in Anglo-Norman: the tendency to efface unstressed *e* in interconsonantal position, and the tendency to develop a vocalic glide between interconsonantal groups consisting of consonant + ***r*** showed itself earliest and was commonest between breathed consonants and ***r***; the glide development began in the later 12th century and was at first most frequent between voiced consonants and ***r***" (Pope 1952, § 1290). As a result, it is likely that the Douce scribe often transcribed and maintained interconsonantal –***e***– in the initial phase of his copy, before the erasures and corrections, most of which are condensed approximately between fol. 45 and fol. 54. Only later did he decide to eliminate it (cf. Pope 1952, §1173, 1290; Sneddon 1972, p. 68, 97–98; Short 2015, p. 30–31). To quote Short 2015, p. 30, there are "more than twice as many forms without ***e*** than with it."

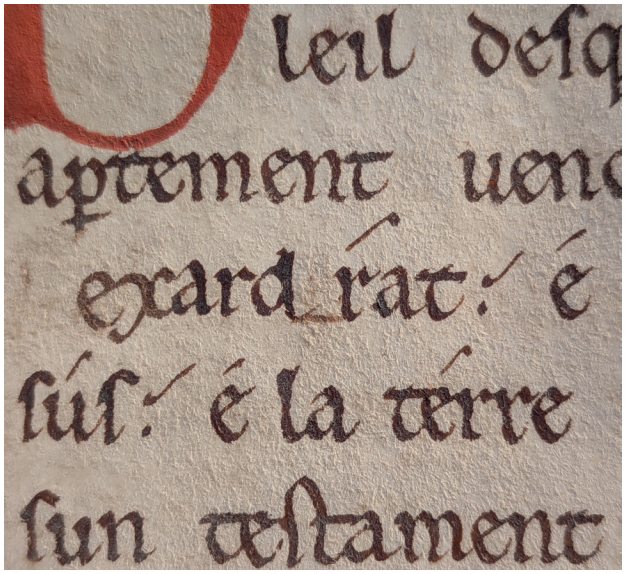
In his treatment of future tenses, the scribe made other modifications as well, some of them linked to vocalic processes influencing the development of future tenses (cf. Pope 1952, § 966–979): *esio_rrai*, fol. 42v, line 30, where he erased a probable ***i***, that we find in *sesioirúnt* (fol. 37v, line 14, written on top of an erasure).

Before closing this parenthesis on interconsonantal –***e***–, it must be noted that one of the accents was often written above the erased letter. For instance, *descend_rat* (fol. 38r, line 3); *criend_runt* (fol. 45v, line 24); *crend_runt* (fol. 48v, line 18); and *exard_rat* (fol. 48r, line 7). The case of *receu_rai* (fol. 54r, line 8) is not that certain. Perhaps it is not a question of a double accent, but that of a single accent which could have marked the –***e***–, and a second one marking the –***a***–). See *prend_rat* (fol. 47v, line 39),



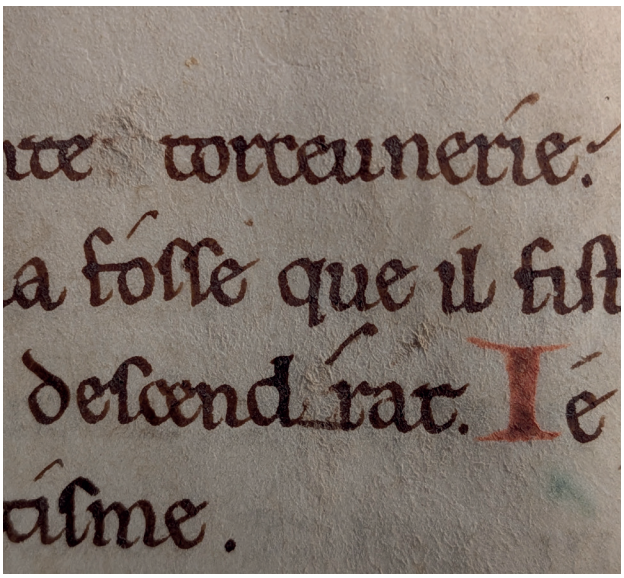
fol. 53r, line 10

fol. 53r, line 11

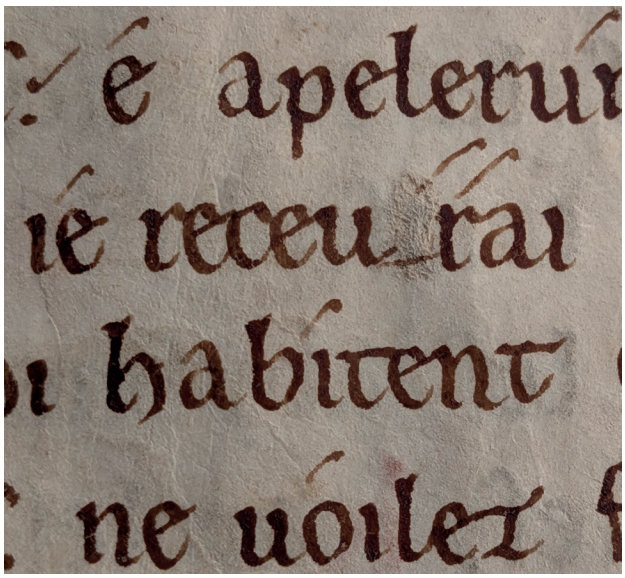


fol. 48r, line 7

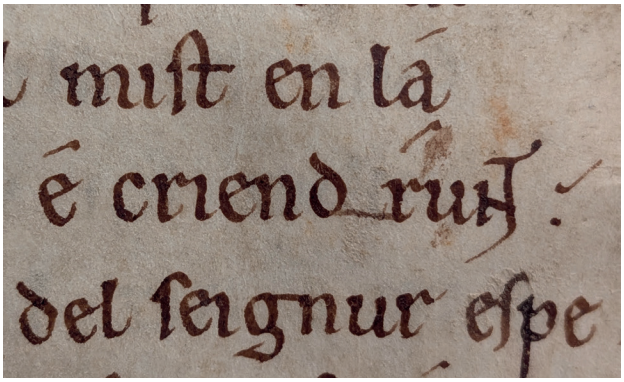
Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320.
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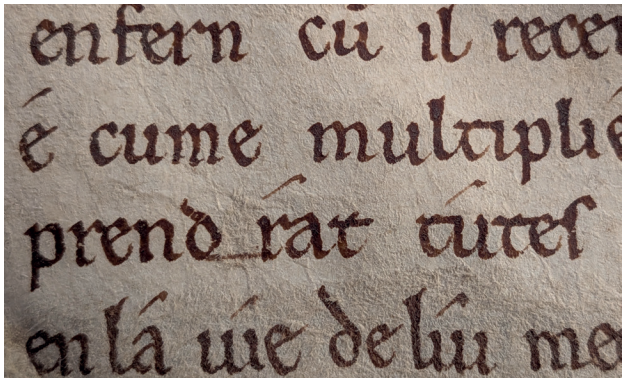
fol. 38r, line 3



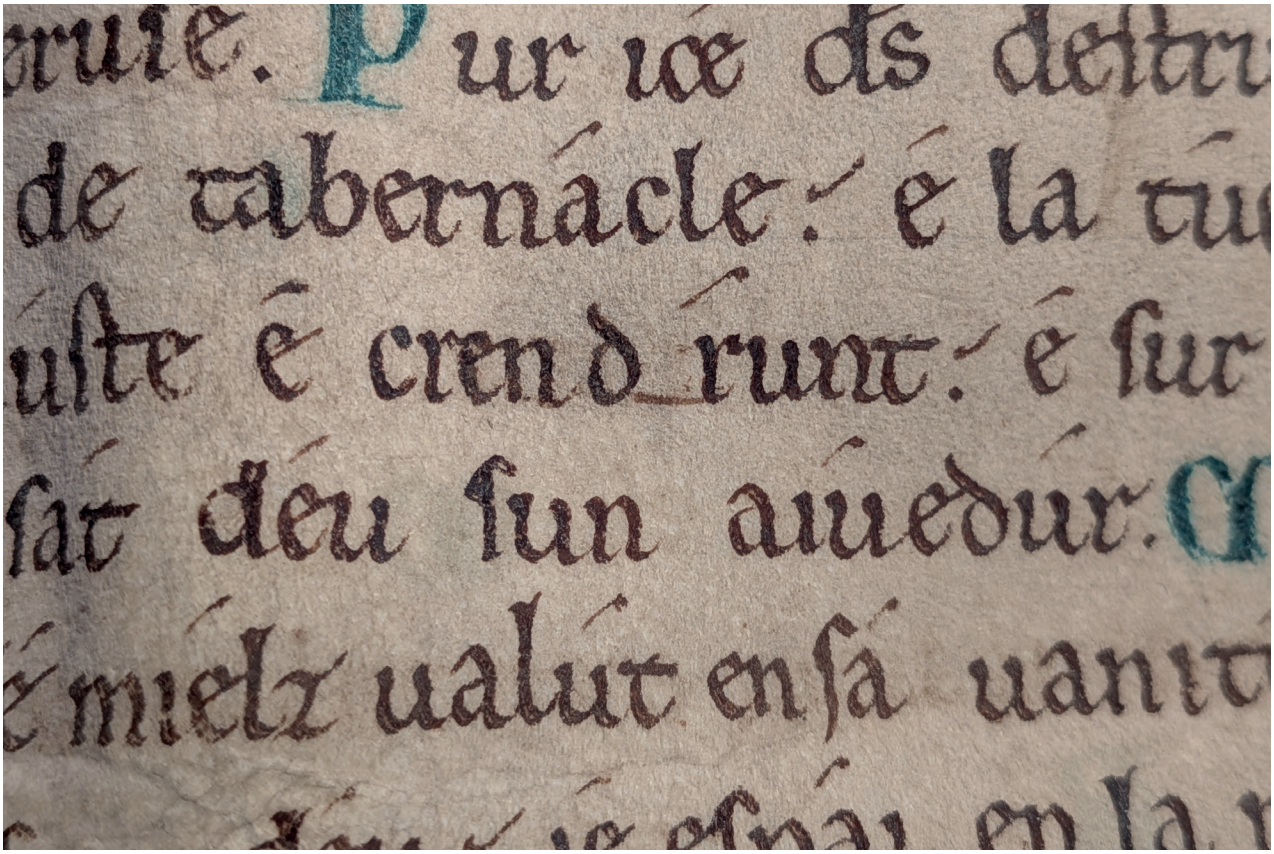
fol. 54r, line 8



fol. 45v, line 24



fol. 57v, line 39



fol. 48v, line 18

Dentals and double *-R-* in the future tense of *Estre* (AC)

The future tense forms of 'to be' are also subject to erasures when the final dental occurs in the third person singular: *sera_* fol. 45r, line 7; fol. 47r, line 24 (*ser_ra_*); fol. 53r, line 20+22; fol. 53r, line 27; fol. 55v, line 28 (clear traces of an erased *–t*); fol. 56r, line 31 + line 38; fol. 56v, line 9, (traces of an erased *–t*) + line 37; fol. 57v, line 37 (twice); fol. 58r, line 2 + line 17 + line 25; fol. 59r, line 32 (clear traces of an erased *–t*) + line 36.

The spelling *serat* can be found on fol. 38r, line 2 with the last three letters of which written on top of the erasure; fol. 38v, line 11 (twice) (*se_rat*) + line 35 (*se_rat*); fol. 39r, line 21 (*se_rat*); fol. 40v, line 24 (*se_rat*); fol. 43v, line 11 (*se_rat*)+ line 12 (*se_rat*)+ line 19 (*se_rat*) + line 37 (*se_rat*); fol. 44r, line 15 (*se_rat*); fol. 44v, line 20 (*se_rat*) + line 36 (*se_rat*); fol. 47r, line 24 (*ser_ra_*) + line 28 (*se_rat*); fol. 47v, line 40 (*serat* in an extensive erasure). The spelling *serad* is also used on fol. 59v, line 2; fol. 61v, line 34; fol. 65r, line 7; fol. 74r, line 19 + line 34; fol. 74v, line 17. *Sera* is found on fol. 75r, line 2.

This list of examples also shows that on many occasions an *–r–* has been erased from the root of the verb as well. This happens not only with *serrat*, but also with *serrai*, *serras* and *serrunt*, all of which are listed below and occasionally illustrated, especially when traces of an erased double *–r–* are visible (for *se_rat*, *vide supra*):

Se_rai: fol. 38r, line 40; fol. 38v, line 38 (here the scribe forgot to tie the two segments of the word by a low dash after erasure); fol. 39r, line 25 (the scribe added an accent over *a* in red ink); fol. 39v, line 13 + line 17 (with an accent over *a* in green ink) + line 39; fol. 40r, line 6; fol. 40v, line 5 (twice, with the addition of accents in red ink); fol. 41v, line 30; fol. 42r, line 23; fol. 42v, line 14; fol. 42v, line 23.

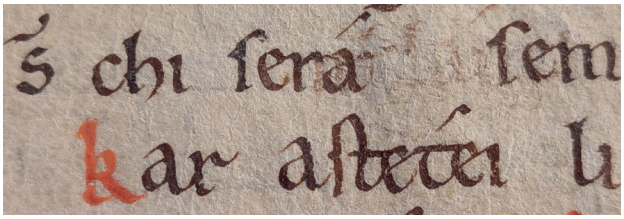
Se_ras: fol. 38v, line 10; fol. 40r, line 2 (twice, the first case on top of an extensive erasure and with a *s* in superscript); fol. 40r, line 3 (twice); fol. 44v, line 13.

Se_runt: fol. 37r, line 6; fol. 38r, line 16; fol. 41r, line 19 + line 20; fol. 41v, lines 8–9; fol. 43v, line 22 + line 27; fol. 44v, line 3 (here the scribe seems to place a double dash, one above and one under the erased segment) + line 19 + line 28 + line 30 + line 31 + line 32; fol. 44v, line 36; fol. 45r, line 2.

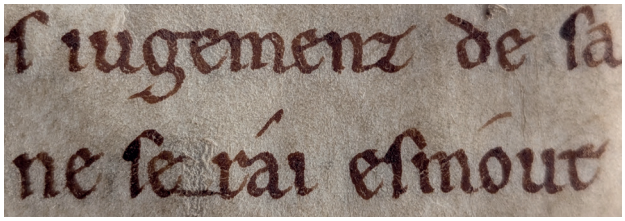
From the beginning of the text up to fol. 47, the scribe has the tendency to correct such verbal forms by deleting an *–r–*. A few rare exceptions escaped his erasure campaign. Such is the case with *serrez* on fol. 37v, line 39; *serrums* on fol. 40v, line 12; *serrái* on fol. 41v, line 33; and *serrat* on fol. 42v, line 7. Instances where the scribe wrote a single *–r–* from the start occur from fol. 45 onwards: *serunt* on fol. 45r, line 1 + line 5, fol. 47r, line 17 (on top of an extensive erasure) + line 18 + line 19 + line 25; *serai* on fol. 45v, line 20 (on top of an extensive erasure), but also on fol. 46r, line 32, and on fol. 47r, line 34 (twice); *serums* on fol. 46v, line 20; *serat* on fol. 47v, line 6 + line 37 + line 38 + line 40 (on top of an extensive erasure). The scribe's choice to transcribe the root of the verb with a single *–r–* becomes frequent from fol. 48 onwards, with the exception of *serreiz* on fol. 69v, line 17, and *serrunt* on fol. 70r, line 23.

The interesting case of fol. 47r, line 24, *se_ra_*, must also be highlighted. It marks a turning point in the treatment of the text. Not only do we find both approaches to correction in the same example, one can also note that this is the last time the scribe has to delete an *–r–*.

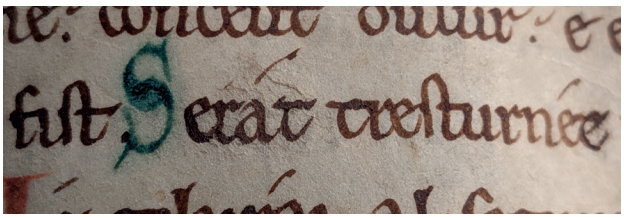
Sneddon pointed out that the use of *–r–* and *–rr–* in future forms in our manuscript can be classified in three groups. The scribe uses either the single or the double



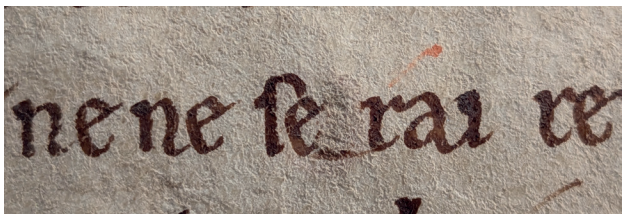
fol. 56v, line 9



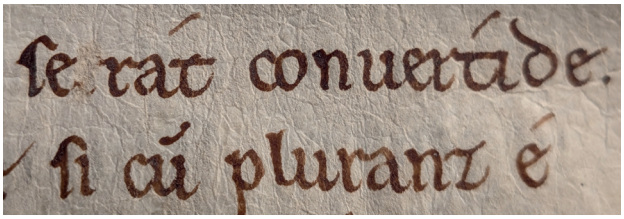
fol. 38r, line 40



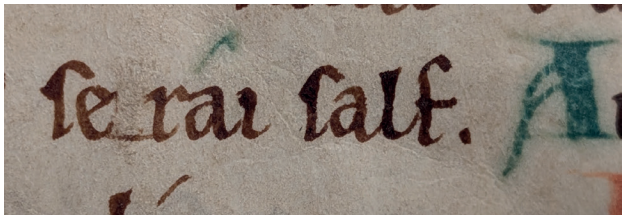
fol. 38r, line 2



fol. 39r, line 25

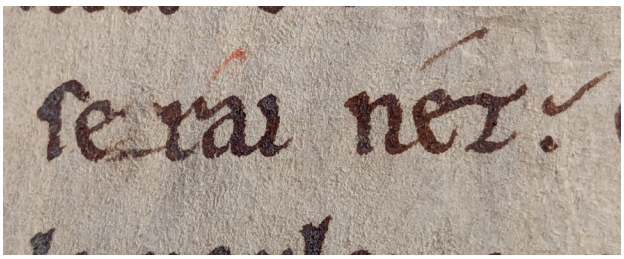


fol. 44r, line 15

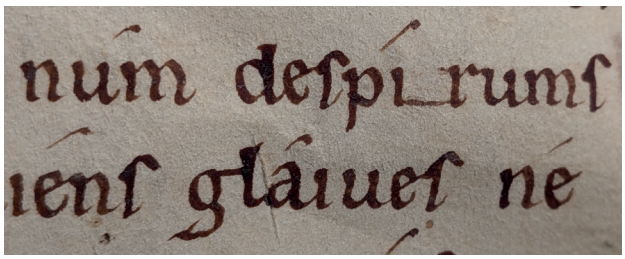


fol. 39v, line 17

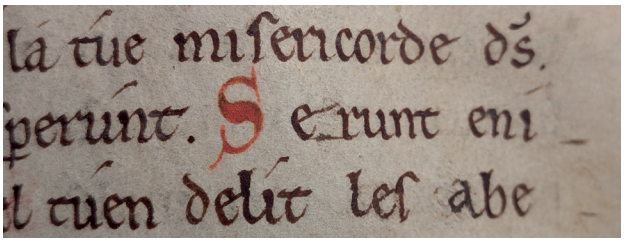
fol. 40v, line 5



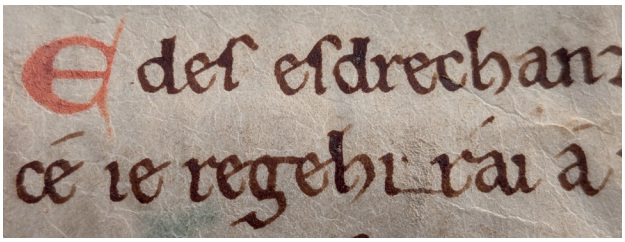
fol. 46v, line 17



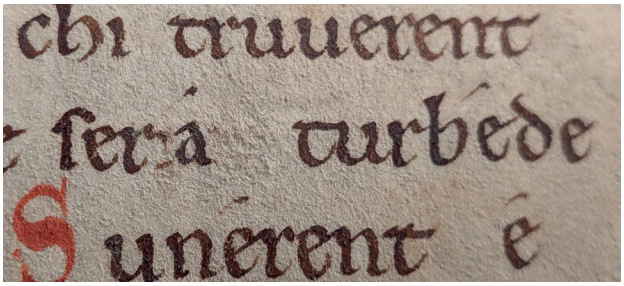
fol. 44v, line 3



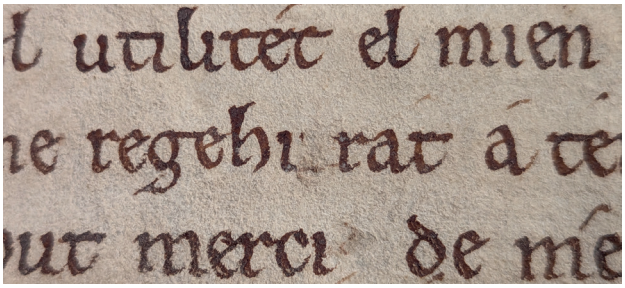
fol. 40r, line 27



fol. 47r, line 24

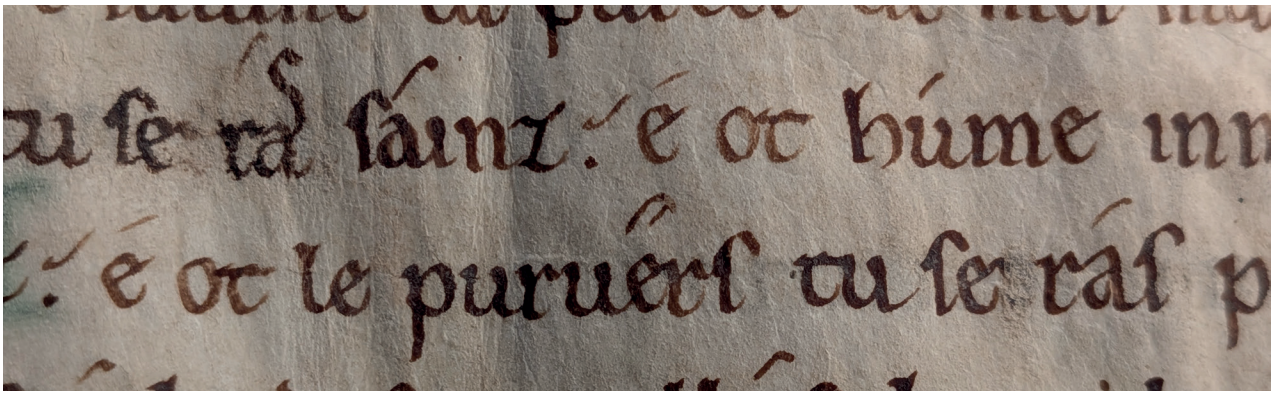


fol. 42v, line 18



fol. 40r, line 2

fol. 40r, line 3



Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320.
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form; he can use both of them; or he can decide to correct double *–rr–* to single *–r–*. In the particular case of *estre*, Sneddon's hypothesis is that the scribe could have corrected the spelling to "avoid the confusion with the verb 'to sit'" (Sneddon 1972, p. 64, cf. 68, 105; cf. Short 2015, p. 29-30). However, the transformation *–rr–* > *–r–* is also found in a future form of the verb despire: *despí_rums*, fol. 46v, line 17; while a double *–rr–* form can be found a few folios afterwards, in *despirras*, fol. 48v, line 9. I must also mention the case of *regehi_rai* (fol. 40r, line 27; fol. 42v, line 21-22; fol. 43r, line 24; fol. 44r, line 21; fol. 46r, line 30). This other verb is always written *regehirai* from the beginning to the end of the text, but has been erased only in the cases listed above; and in *regehi_rat* of fol. 42v, line 18.

LATER EDIT: fol. 53r, line 36, *sera_* (*conuerti*), with evident traces of a previous final ***t***. There is also the case of fol. 55r, line 21, the spelling of which is not *fera_*, but rather *sera_*. In these two occurences, the Douce scribe simply followed the same pattern identified in the previous instalment of this article. He deletes the final dental of the third person singular of verb 'to be'. This type of erasure covers a large section of the text, going from fol. 45r to fol. 59r, and modifies all the occurrences of the spelling *sera*. After this section, *sera* can be found from fol. 60r, line 19, to fol. 75r, line 2. The spelling *serat* is found from fol. 38r, line 2, to fol. 50v, line 34. As for *serad*, it occurs from fol. 59v, line 2, to fol. 75v, line 35.

fol. 56v, line 9, DEUS *chi sera_ _semblanz a tei*. The previous instalment of this article highlighted evident traces of an erased ***t*** at the end of the verb *sera*. A second mission to consult the manuscript led to the conclusion that the Douce scribe initially wrote DEUS *chi semblanz*. As he wished to correct word order, he probably preserved the letters ***sem***, trasforming the ***m*** in an ***r*** and rewrote the text as *serat semblanz*. Arundel reading: *Deus liquel serat semblanz a tei ?*

DENTALS IN PAST TENSES OF THE INDICATIVE (AC)

As in the case of certain third person future forms, the erasure of a final dental can concern certain past tense forms as well. In particular, this is the case for third person forms of the ***a***-type weak perfect (cf. Pope 1952, §995–1009; cf. Sneddon 1972, p. 98–101). Once again, my survey is illustrated by the most relevant photos that show actual traces of the erased consonant on the parchment:

*ama_*, fol. 47r, line 39 (*ama_* entirely on top of an erasure, space at the end of the word); fol. 55v, line 17. Spellings with final ***–d*** on fol. 38v, line 22; fol. 68v, line 28. *Ama* on fol. 64v, line 13; fol. 68r, line 38.

*aporta_*, fol. 55r, line 11.

*aprisma_*, fol. 57v, line 15. Spelling with final ***–t*** on fol. 49r, line 26.

*debrisa_*, fol. 54r, line 20. *Debrisa* on fol. 63v, line 30; fol. 64v, line 38 (*debrisa* entirely on top of an erasure)

*debuta_*, fol. 55v, line 8-9 + line 16.

*deguerpi_*, fol. 45r, line 26 (*deguerpir*). Perfect third person singular, rendering Latin perfect *dereliquit*. The same verbal form is written with a final ***–t***, *deguerpit*, on fol. 45v, line 39 (< *dereliquit*); fol. 52v, line 28 (< *dereliquit*); fol. 75r, line 31. However, *deguerpit* is also used to express the past participle *derelictus*: fol. 38v, line 9 (< *derelictus est*); fol. 44v, line 38 (< *iustum derelictum*). An ***i***-type weak perfect that loses its final ***–t***.

*demena_*, fol. 54v, line 33; fol. 55r, line 39; fol. 55v, line 8 + line 21. Spelling with final ***–t*** on fol. 41r, line 28–29; fol. 54v, line 36. *Demena* on fol. 63r, line 8; fol. 63v, line 19; fol. 64r, line 5.

*demustra_*, fol. 54v, line 30. Spelling with final ***–t*** on fol. 50r, line 3.

*desturna_*, fol. 56r, line 28. Spelling with final ***–t*** on fol. 38v, line 6; fol. 41r, line 16; fol. 51r, line 37.

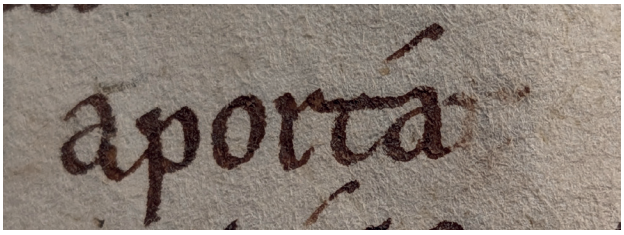
*diuisa_*, fol. 55v, line 2.

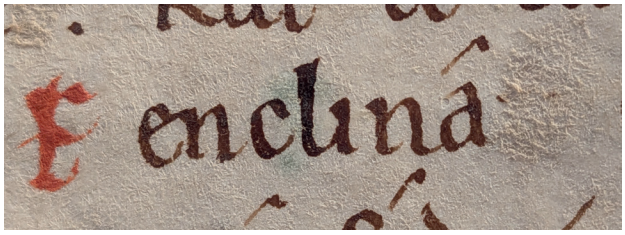
*duna_*, fol. 55r, line 6 + line 30; fol. 55v, line 15. Spelling with final ***–t*** on fol. 38v, line 40; fol. 39r, line 20 + line 29; fol. 39v, line 29; fol. 47r, line 30; fol. 49v, line 9; fol. 51r, line 26; fol. 51v, line 3. However, the spelling with final dental ***–d***, *dunad*, is used on fol. 60v, line 21; fol. 63r, line 14; fol. 69r, line 36; fol. 74v, line 27. *Duna* on fol. 62v, line 34; fol. 63v, line 7; fol. 65r, line 6 + line 24; fol. 65v, line 23; fol. 70v, line 10 + line 31.

*edifia_*, fol. 55v, line 17. Spelling with final ***–d*** on fol. 61r, line 23.

*enclina_*, fol. 54r, line 15. Spelling with final ***–t*** on fol. 39v, line 24. The form *enclina*, without any dental or erasure, occurs on fol. 65v, line 27.

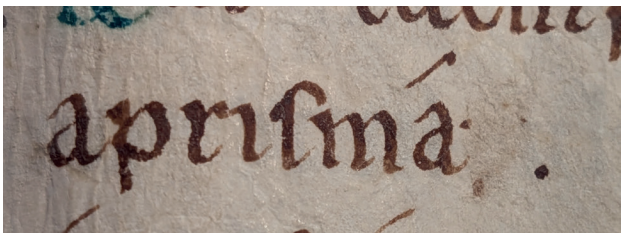
fol. 55r, line 11

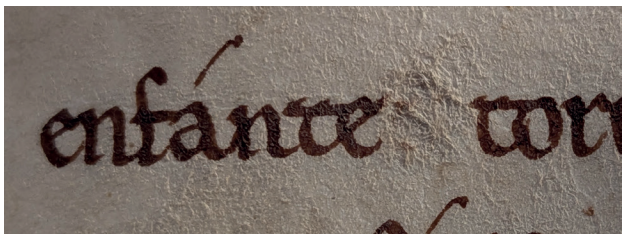




fol. 54r, line 15

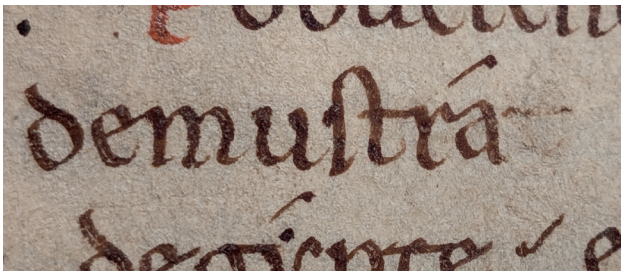
fol. 57v, line 15





fol. 38r, line 1

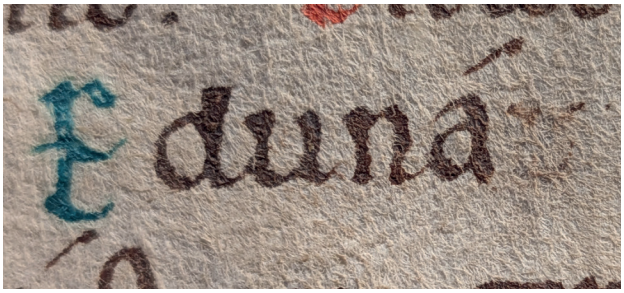
fol. 54v, line 30

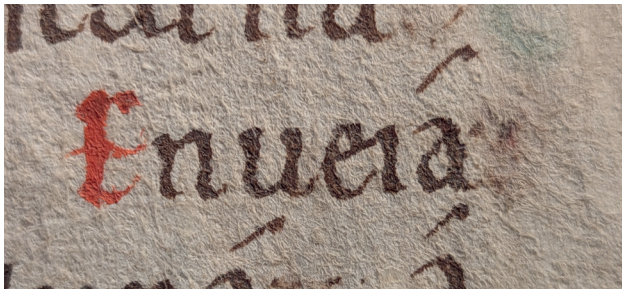




fol. 55v, line 1

fol. 55r, line 30





fol. 55r, line 29

*enfante_*, fol. 38r, line 1, renders the Latin perfect tense *parturiit*. The same line has *enfantat* (fol. 38r, line 1), used to render the Latin perfect tense *peperit*. At the end of the text, one notices the spelling with final ***–d***: *enfantad* (fol. 74r, line 12, again for the past tense third person singular). It is hard to find a grammatical explanation for the presence of ***–e*** instead of ***–a*** in the verbal inflection. Perhaps it is just a matter of scribal inconsistency, determined by a confusion with the present indicative, given that the third person of the verb is *parturit*.

*enmena_*, fol. 55v, line 1.

entendiet, fol. 47v, line 32; f. 48r, line 2 (*entendre*). *Entendiet* is a ***dedi***-type perfect tense form. It is used here to translate Latin perfect *intellexit*. Without any traces of corrections on top of erasures, it is also used for the rendering of Latin perfect *intendit*: fol. 49v, line 27; fol. 54r, lines 32–33; fol. 56r, line 34. According to Sneddon 1972, p. 99–100, certain verbs could have been conjugated either according to the ***i***-type paradigm, or the ***dedi***-type one. In the case of the ***i***-type paradigm, the third person ending could have been ***–it***. Cf. Pope 1952, §995–1009, and 1278; Sneddon 1972, p. 99–100; Short 2015, p. 28–29.

*enueia_*, fol. 55r, line 6 + line 29 + line 33. Spelling with final ***–t*** on fol. 39v, line 29 + line 32. Spelling with final ***–d***, *enueiad*, on fol. 62v, line 18; fol. 63v, line 34; fol. 65r, line 11. *Enueia* on fol. 62v, line 9 + line 16; fol. 63r, line 14.

*esguarda_*, fol. 57r, line 19. Spelling with final ***–t*** on fol. 39r, line 2-3. *Esguarda* on fol. 61r, line 26 + line 27; fol. 74v, line 19-20.

*extermina_*, fol. 56r, line 15.

*forsgeta_*, fol. 55v, line 2.

*funda_*, fol. 55v, line 18; fol. 57v, line 9. Spelling with final ***–t*** on fol. 41r, line 36-37; fol. 47v, line 11.

*habita_*, fol. 55v, line 9.

*liura_*, fol. 55v, line 10. *Liura* on fol. 66r, line 27. Spelling with final ***–d*** on fol. 55r, line 32.

*manda_*, fol. 55r, line 4; fol. 59r, line 14. Spelling with final ***–t*** on fol. 43v, line 3; fol. 46r, line 34-35. *Manda* on fol. 54v, line 21; fol. 62r, line 39; fol. 65r, line 11; fol. 70r, line 33; fol. 73r, line 31.

*mania_*, fol. 55r, line 6; fol. 55v, line 12. Spelling with final ***–d*** on fol. 62v, line 25 (twice). *Mania* on fol. 55r, line 30.

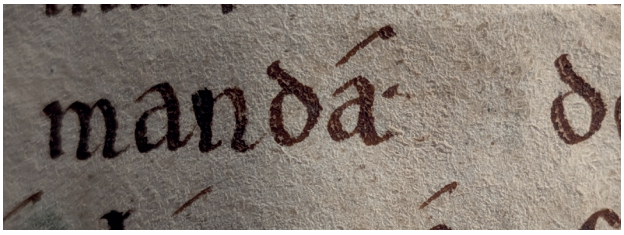
*mena_*, fol. 55r, line 7 + line 39. Spelling with final ***–d*** on fol. 75r, line 22.

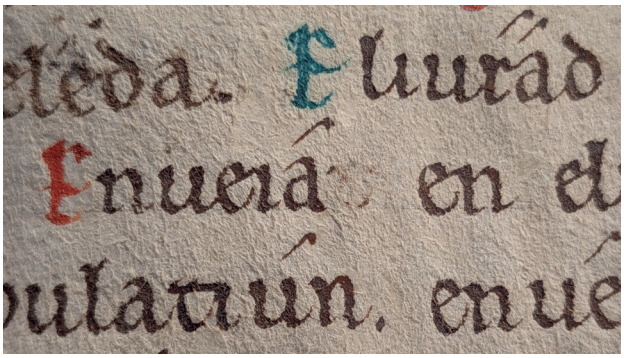
*munta_*, fol. 47r, line 39; fol. 55r, line 3 + line 13. Spelling with final ***–t*** on fol. 39, line 23 + line 25; fol. 51v, line 9; fol. 52r, line 5.

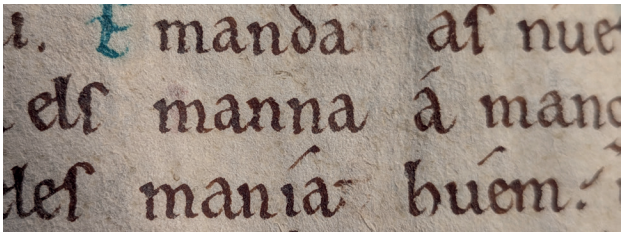
*ordena_*, fol. 56v, line 36.

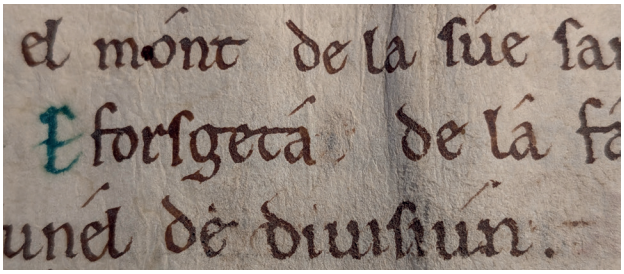
*parmena_*, fol. 54v, line 32.

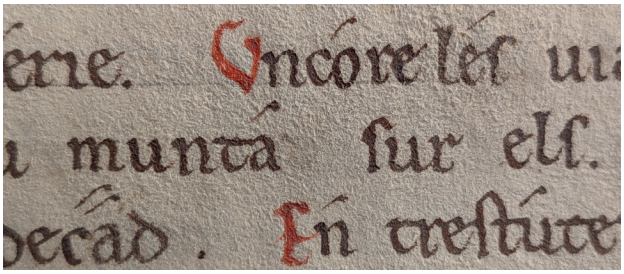
Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320.
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023-2026.
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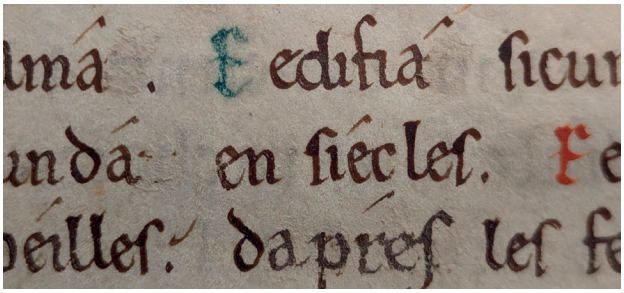

fol. 59r, line 14

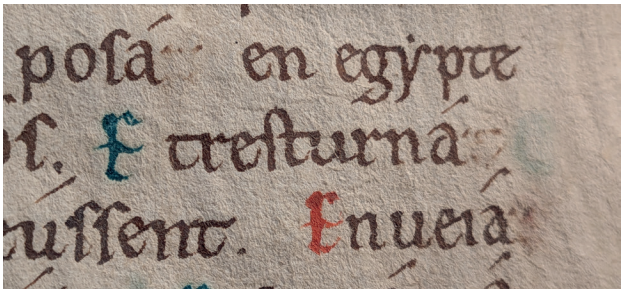

fol. 55r, line 33


fol. 55r, line 6

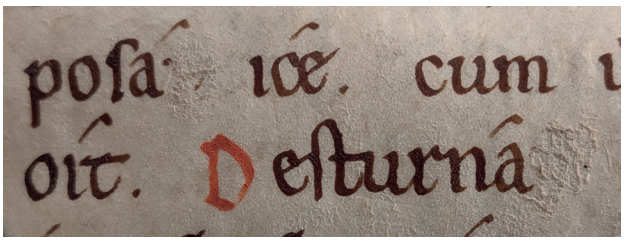

fol. 55v, line 2


fol. 55r, line 13

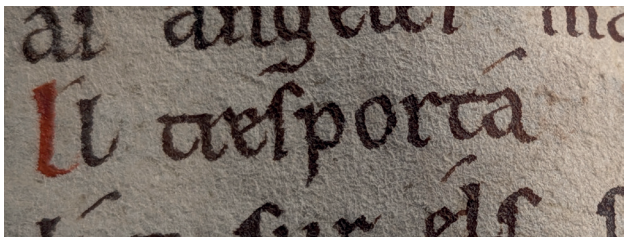

fol. 55v, line 18


fol. 55r, line 27

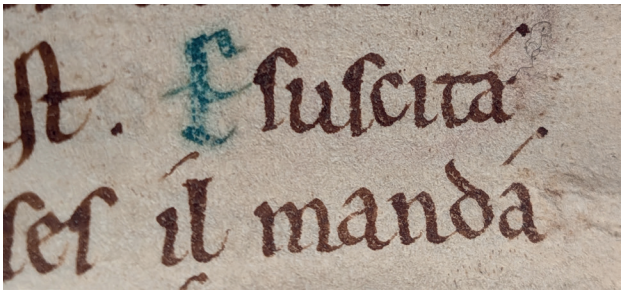
fol. 56r, line 27



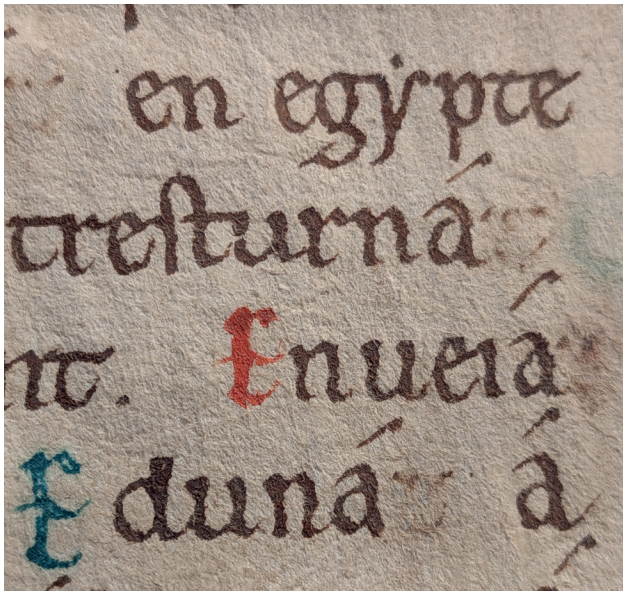
fol. 55r, line 7



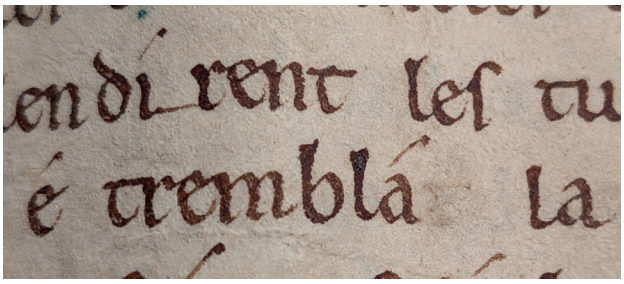
fol. 54v, line 20



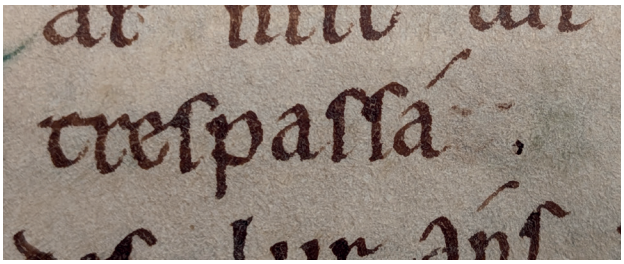
fol. 55r, line 28



fol. 54v, line 12



fol. 58v, line 23



fol. 62v, line 6



*planta_*, fol. 56r, line 17.

*posa_*, fol. 54v, line 21; fol. 55r, line 27; fol. 56r, line 27. Spelling with final *–t* on fol. 39v, line 26; fol. 40r, line 9 + line 34; fol. 47r, line 32; fol. 48v, line 19; fol. 51r, line 25-26. Spelling with final *–d* on fol. 62v, line 17 + line 22; fol. 64r, line 10; fol. 73r, line 19 + line 32; fol. 74r, line 17. *Posa* on fol. 56v, line 36; fol. 64r, line 17.

*purluigna_*, fol. 55r, line 2.

*refusa_*, fol. 54r, line 34.

*reposa_*, fol. 54r, line 26.

*reproua_*, fol. 53v, line 39.

*saula_*, fol. 56r, line 40. Spelling with final *–d* on fol. 62v, line 31.

*suscita_*, fol. 54v, line 20.

*trembla_*, fol. 54r, line 26; fol. 54v, line 12. Spelling with final *–t* on fol. 39v, line 22.

*trespassa_*, fol. 58v, line 23. Spelling with final *–d* on fol. 69r, line 34; fol. 74v, line 27. *Trespassa* on fol. 62v, line 8.

*tresporta_*, fol. 55r, line 7.

*tresturna_*, fol. 55r, line 28. Spelling with final *–t* on fol. 51r, line 22. Spelling with final *–d* on fol. 65v, line 4. *Tresturna* on fol. 62v, line 19.

One last, rather particular, case is *apela_* on fol. 62v, line 6. There seem to be two erased letters at the end, one of which is either a *–t* or a *–z* (scribal error? especially since it is located too far from all the other erased dentals).

With the exception of two erasures found on fol. 47, the survey showed that all the other instances are condensed between fol. 53 and fol. 59, thus confirming Short's hypothesis of "a deliberate effort, presumably on the part of the scribe-translator himself, to erase final dentals" (Short 2015, p. 20; cf. Sneddon 1972, p. 99). Competitive forms in *–t* seem to be prevalent in the first part of the text, in our case up to fol. 52. In contrast, *–d* endings or the absence of a final dental occurs mainly after fol. 53–59. There are, naturally, a series of exceptions. The scribe already uses the spelling *manda* on f. 54; *liurad* on fol. 55; and *amad* on fol. 38. The case of *apela*, on the other hand, shows that the scribe was not immune from returning to his old spelling automatisms even after the turning point mentioned previously. He sometimes reintroduced final *–t*, but corrected it immediately.

LATER EDIT: All the following examples show evident traces of a previous final *t*: fol. 53r, line 36, *trespassa_*; fol. 55r, line 22, *abunda_*; fol. 55r, line 23, *recorda_*; fol. 55r, line 7, *tresporta_*; fol. 59r, line 17, *espera_*; fol. 59r, line 18, *cria_*.

DENTALS IN OTHER VERBAL FORMS (AC)

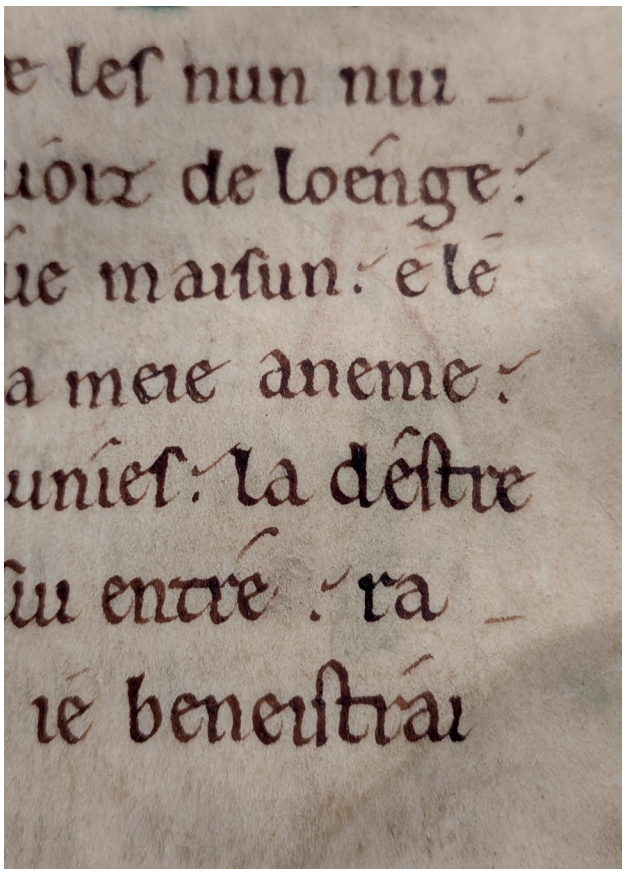
The inventory of erasures led to the identification of other situations connected to the fluctuation of final dentals in present and past tenses.

*aune_*, fol. 45v, line 11 (*auner*). Present indicative third person singular, rendering Latin *thezaurizat*.

*entre_*, fol. 39r, line 16 (*entrer*). This present indicative third person singular translates Latin present indicative *ingreditur*. The scribe erased a final dental (probably *–t*), but he did not make the same choice for two other present indicatives on the same line: *ouret* and *parolet*. On fol. 41v, line 38, (*sui*) *entre_* renders Latin *ingressus* (*sum*). In the remainder of the text, the spelling *entre* is written without erasures, and translates subjunctives on fol. 53v, line 3 (rendering the first person singular of of the present subjunctive *intrem*). See also the spelling *entret* on fol. 44v, line 26 (for the third person singular of the present subjunctive *intret*). And the spelling *entred* on fol. 55v, line 37 (for the present subjunctive third person singular *introeat*).

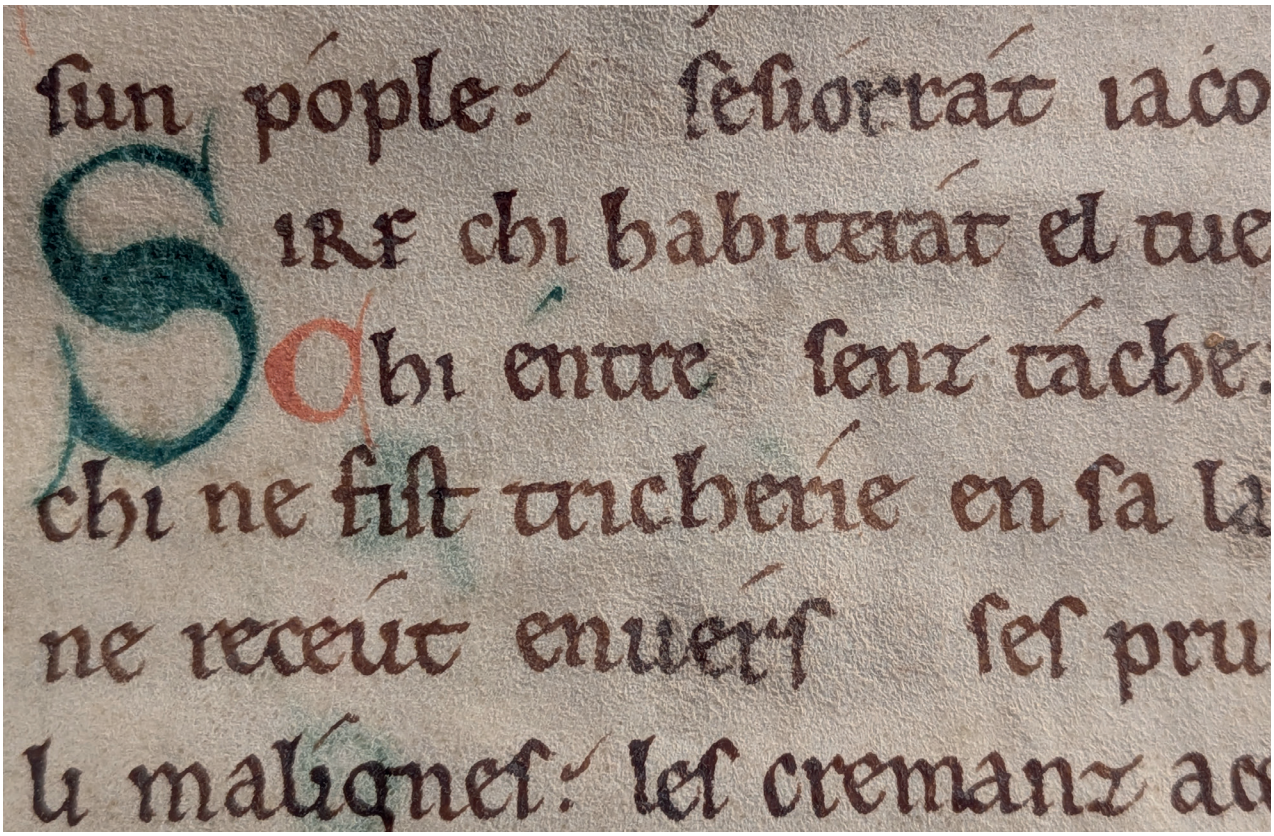
*esguarde_*, fol. 45r, line 5-6 (*esguarder*). This is an indicative present tense in the third person singular, rendering Latin present indicative *considerat*. The Latin term *considerat* is translated in the same way in another psalm, without any sign of erasure: (*n*)*esguarde* (fol. 59v, line 16; the Old French spelling *esguárde* translates the Latin imperative *aspice* on fol. 56v, line 39, and fol. 68r, line 28).

*exaalce_*, fol. 54r, line 14, (*exalcer*). This is a present indicative third person singular, rendering Latin present indicative *exaltat*. The spelling *exalcet* is used as a past participle on fol. 40r, line 24 (*seit exalcet* < *exaltetur*); fol.



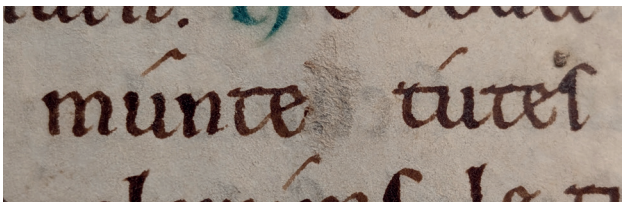
fol. 41v, line 38

Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320. Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023-2026. Courtesy of the Imaging Services of The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Creative Commons licence CC-BY-NC 4.0.

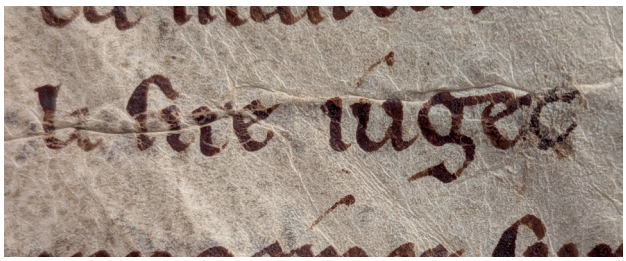


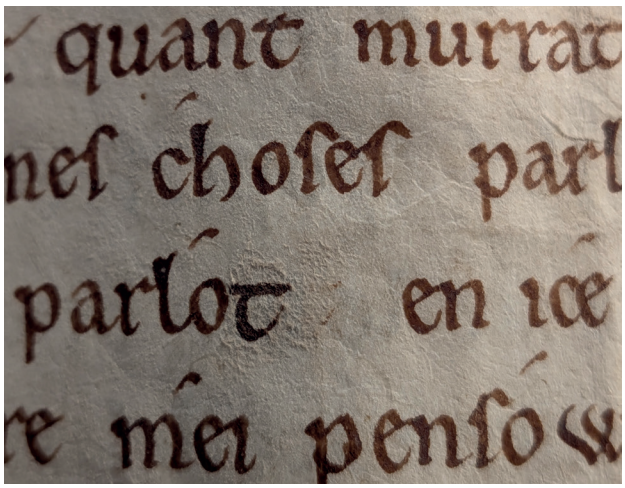
fol. 39r, line 16

fol. 54r, line 6



fol. 37v, line 35





fol. 46r, line 14

Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320. Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023-2026. Courtesy of the Imaging Services of The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Creative Commons licence CC-BY-NC 4.0.

40v, line 30 (*seies exalcet* < *exaltare*); fol. 44v, line 32 (*serunt exalcet* < *exaltati fuerint*); fol. 49v, ligne 12 + ligne 18 (*seies exalcet / exalcet* < *exaltare*); fol. 50v, line 34 (*serat exalcet* < *exaltabitur*); fol. 51r, line 24 (*seient exalcet* < *exaltentur*). The case of fol. 47r, line 34 is particularly interesting. There are two variant spellings: (*serai*) *exalced / exalcet* < *exaltabor*. The spelling *exalced* appears again on fol. 54r, line 18, and fol. 58r, line 16 (*serunt exalced* < *exaltabuntur*). As for the spelling *exalce*, without any trace of erasure, it is used as a past participle in the following cases: fol. 59r, line 32 (*sera exalce* < *exaltabitur*); fol. 59v, line 9 (*seies exalce* < *exaltare*); fol. 63v, line 40 (*exalce sunt* < *exaltati sunt*); fol. 64r, line 24 (*seies exalce* < *exaltare*); fol. 65r, line 26 (*sera exalce* < *exaltabitur*); fol. 70r, line 5 (*est exalce* < *est exaltatum*); fol. 71v, line 18 (*seient exalce* < *exaltentur*).

*humilee_*, fol. 54r, lines 13–14 (*humilier*). Present indicative third person singular for the Latin present indicative *humiliat*.

*iure_*, fol. 39r, line 19 (*iurer*). Present indicative, translating the Latin present tense third person singular *iurat*).

*munte_*, fol. 54r, line 6 (*munter*). Present indicative, translating the Latin present tense third person singular *ascendit*. In this particular case, given the dimension of the erasure and the scribe's tendency to write a final ***–d*** in this part of the manuscript, it is safe to assume that the erased consonant was also a ***–d***. *Munte*, without any erasure, occurs on fol. 74v, line 40.

*trespasse_*, fol. 45v, line 10 (*trespasser*). Present indicative third person singular, rendering Latin *pertransit* (*trespásse* without erasure occurs on fol. 38v, line 15, and renders the Latin imperative *transmigra*).

*truue_*, fol. 56v, line 31 (*trover*). Present indicative, rendering Latin third person singular *invenit*. The same spelling is also used for the past participle on fol. 45r, line 10 (*est truue_* < *est inventus*); fol. 53r, line 37 (*serunt truue_* < *invenientur*). The spelling *truue*, without any erasure, occurs on fol. 38v, line 11 as past participle masculine singular (*serat truue* < *invenietur*).

This survey confirms the hypothesis of Sneddon 1972, p. 96, that in the case of the present indicative "the final ***t*** in the 3rd person sing. is often erased in the second half of the Oxford Psalter." However, there are situations in which the final dental was erased well before the second half of text, as well as a series of examples in which the erased final dental could have been ***–d***. Cf. Meister 1877, p. 68–69; Short 2015, p. 27.

To these, one must add situations in which the erasure was followed by the insertion of a correction:

*iraisseit_*, fol. 69r, line 33 (*irer*). Third person singular translating Latin imperfect subjunctive *irasceretur*. For the same verb, the ending in a present imperative second person plural is written on top of an erasure on fol. 37r, line 35, *iraissez* (< *irascimini*).

iuget, fol. 37v, line 35 (*iuger*). This verb in the third person singular renders Latin present indicative *iudicat*. As the ending of the present indicative third person singular could be ***–e(t)***, perhaps the scribe wrote ***–ed*** and then erased and corrected it. Cf. Pope 1952, §891.

*parlot_*, fol. 46r, line 13 + line 14 (*parler*). Imperfect indicative third person singular for Latin imperfect *loquebatur*. The spelling is written without any sign of erasure on fol. 60v, line 20 (< *loquebatur*). In the two instances of lines 13 and 14 of fol. 46r, the correction occupies less space than the erasure. On line 14, there are also traces of an erased ***–t*** in the remaining blank space. Maybe the erased variant of the word could have been *parlout*.

uienc, fol. 45v, line 30 (*venir*). This present indicative first person singular renders Lat *invenio*.

LATER EDIT:

See also fol. 37v, line 38, *se_ curuce* (< Lat *irascitur*), for traces of a final ***t***; fol. 47r, line 27, *esledeced* (< Lat *laetificat*); fol. 56v, line 1, *deiuge_* (< Lat *diiudicat*), for evident traces of a previous final ***t***.

In two cases, final ***t*** was added during at a later time, with a different ink tint: fol. 72v, line 39, *dunet* (< Latin *dat*); fol. 72v, line 40, *desliet* (< Latin *solvit*).

DENTALS IN PARTICIPLES (AC)

Sneddon 1972, p. 102, notes that, "in common with the 3rd person sing. forms of many tenses, the final consonant of past participles is often omitted in the case of **–*et***, **–*it*** and **–*ut*** forms." Indeed, the case of *exalce*(*t*) (discussed in the previous section) shows that the scribe used alternative past participles with or without a final dental. The following list of erasures shows a fluctuation in spelling final **–*t*** and **–*d***. Certain instances from the ensuing survey also show that erasures are also linked to a final flexional **–*z*** from the nominative singular. The past participle declension was unstable in agreement. This is already evident from the analysis of *entre*, *exalcet*, *exalced*, *exalce*, or *truue* (*vide supra*). Cf. Pope 1952, §1049–§1057; Sneddon 1972, p. 101–102, 117–120.

*ame_*, fol. 51v, line 20 (twice). In the phrase *Li reis de vertuz de ame del ame* […], it translates Latin *Rex virtutum dilecti, dilecti* […]. The past participle renders an oblique case in the singular. On fol. 50r, line 18, there is *amet* (< *dilecti*, nominative plural), and the variant *ame* (< *dilecti*, again nominative plural) on fol. 56v, line 29. The spelling *amez* occurs on fol. 69v, line 17 (oblique plural) and on fol. 75r, line 30 (nominative singular). The scribe could have erased two final **–*t***.

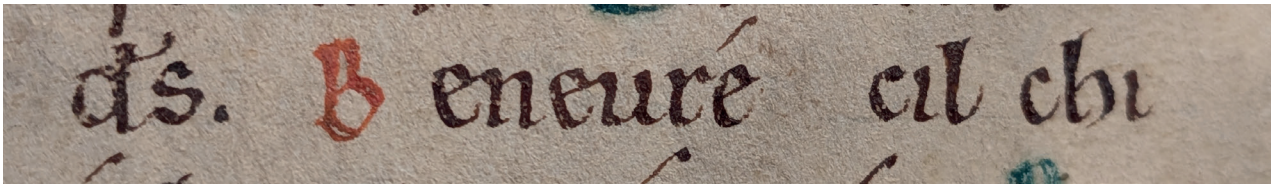
*beneure_*, fol. 46r, line 8 (*beneure le facet* < *beatum faciat eum*, oblique case singular); fol. 56v, line 33 (*beneure cil chi habitent* < *beati qui habitant*, nominative plural). The only spelling with a final dental seems to be *beneuret* on fol. 37r, line 21–22 (< *beati*, nominative plural). The spelling *beneure* is used on fol. 72v, line 6 (< *beatum*, oblique case singular) + line 7 (< *beatus*, nominative singular). It is also used in the nominative plural for the rendering of Latin *beati*: fol. 43r, line 18; fol. 62v, line 39; fol. 66v, line 1 + line 2; fol. 69v, line 22. *Beneurez* is always used when translating Latin nominative singular *beatus*: fol. 37, line 1; fol. 43r, line 19; fol. 43v, line 25; fol. 45v, line 25; fol. 46r, line 7; fol. 51r, line 2; fol. 56v, line 34-35; fol. 57r, line 5; fol. 58r, line 14; fol. 59v, line 18; fol. 65r, line 15; fol. 69v, line 19 + line 23; fol. 71r, line 5 + line 6; fol. 72v, line 36. Concerning its declension, the only exception occurs on fol. 72v, line 7, where *beneure* renders a nominative singular. However, Sneddon already pointed out that "past participles and adjectives, when used as predicates, are found with and without **–*s*** in nom. singular" (Sneddon 1972, p. 118). Concerning the erasures in our survey, the photo of the second example clearly shows that the scribe omitted a final **–*d***. In the first case, nevertheless, one cannot be sure if the erasure is of a final **–*t*** or **–*z***. The scribe could have either written *beneuret* in the initial version of the text, thus following the declension; or he could have made a mistake by writing a final **–*z***.

*conforte_*, fol. 57v, line 3 (*as conforte* < *consolatus es*, nominative singular). The scribe wished to omit a final **–*d***. In the French text, the past participle is linked to the auxiliary verb *avoir*. Therefore, as din modern French, past participles "do not agree in number or case with the subject" (Sneddon 1972, p. 119). The spelling *confortet* (nominative singular and plural) occurs on fol. 38r, line 32 (*seit confortet* < *confortetur*); fol. 39v, line 34 (*confortet sunt* < *confortati sunt*); fol. 42r, line 20 (*seit confortet* < *confortetur*); fol. 52r, line 14 (*confortet sunt* < *confortati sunt*). *Conforted* (nominative plural) occurs on fol. 69v, line 8 (*sumes conforted* < *sumus consolati*) and on fol. 72r, line 7 (*conforted sunt* < *confortati sunt*).

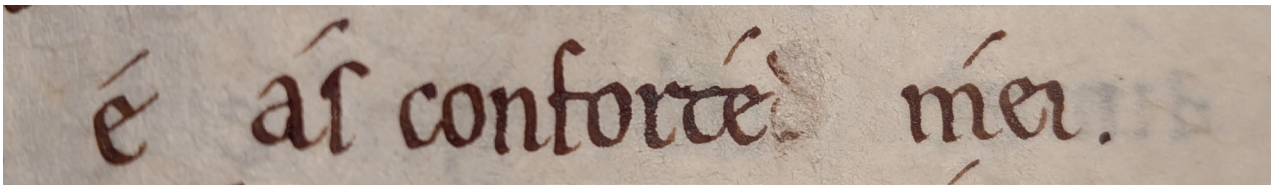
*conturbe_*, fol. 42v, line 16, *sui fait conturbe_* (< *factus sum conturbatus*; nominative singular) + line 36, *sunt conturbe_* (< *conturbata sunt*; nominative plural; maybe a final **–*t***); fol. 47r, line 26, *cunturbé_ sunt* (< *conturbati sunt*, nominative plural; maybe an erased **–*t***). In the case of fol. 39v, line 23, *sunt conturbe_* (< *conturbata sunt*, nominative plural) one may still see traces of an erased **–*z***. In this specific situation, the Latin phrase is *fundamenta montium conturbata sunt*. Perhaps the erased final **–*z*** marked an agreement between the participle and the plural *montes* (oblique plural in Old French). In another example, the last letter was erased and changed into a **–*t***: fol. 47v, line 8, *cunturbet sunt* (< *conturbati sunt*, nominative plural). The same spelling, again for nominative plural, is correctly used on fol. 50v, line 36, *conturbet sunt* (< *conturbati sunt*). On other folios, the scribe used the variants *-ed/-e*: fol. 56v, line 26, *seient conturbed* (< *conturbentur*); f. 74v, line 2, *conturbe sunt*. The erased letter could have been a **–*z***, perhaps a scribal mistake in the declension. However, many examples show that erasures concern dentals in nominative singulars that are replaced with final **–*z***: fol. 45r, line 26, *est cunturbez*



fol. 51v, line 20

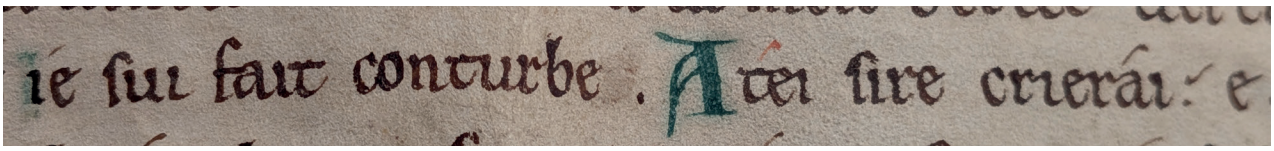


fol. 56v, line 33

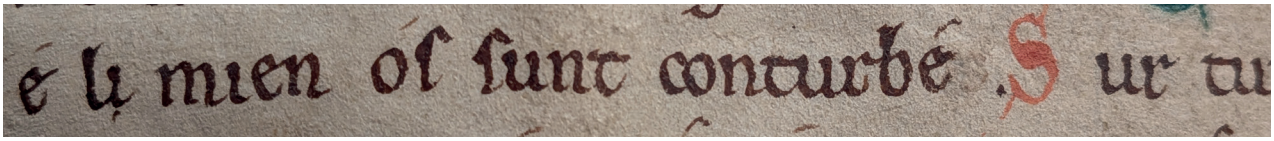


fol. 57v, line 3

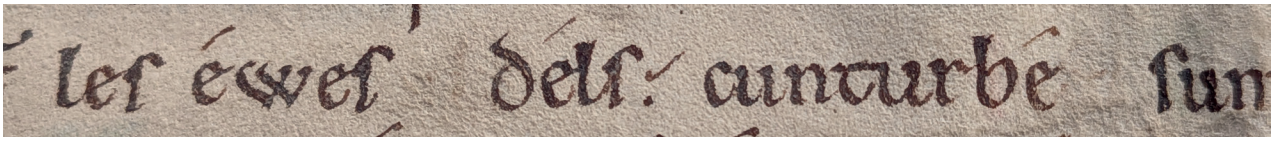
fol. 42v, line 16



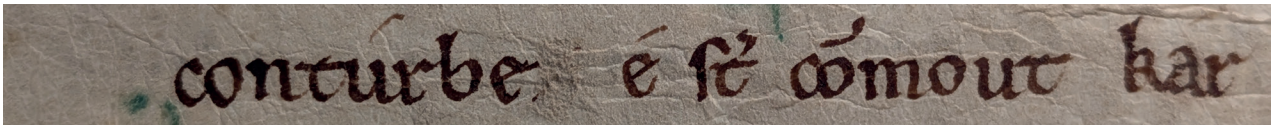
fol. 42v, line 36



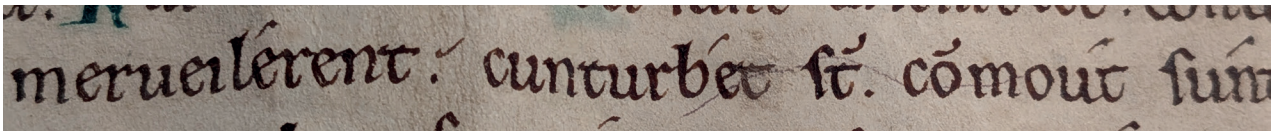
fol. 47r, line 26



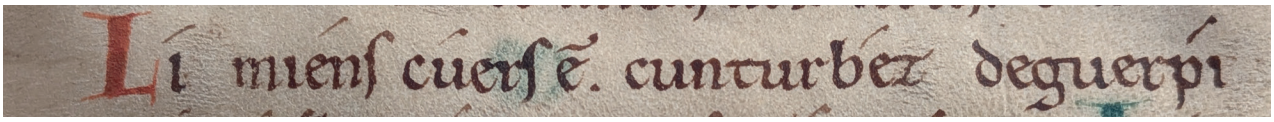
fol. 39v, line 23



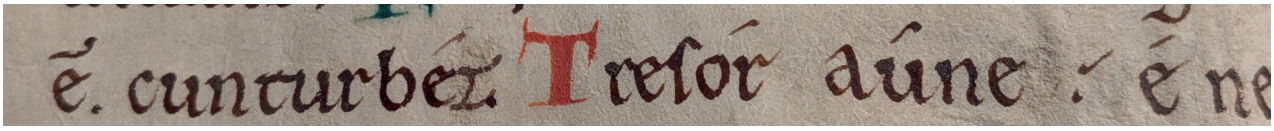
fol. 47v, line 8



fol. 45r, line 26



fol. 45v, line 11



fol. 49r, line 6



(< *conturbatum est*) + line 11, *est conturbéz* (< *conturbatur*); fol. 45v, line 17, *est cunturbéz* (< *conturbatur*); fol. 49r, line 6, *conturbéz est* (< *conturbatum est*); fol. 49v, lines 10–11, *conturbéz* (< *conturbatus*). *Conturbéz*, without erasures, and always used as nominative singular, is found on fol. 42v, line 33 (*conturbez est* < *conturbatus est*); fol. 49r, line 4 (*conturbez sui* < *conturbatus sum*); fol. 57v, line 31 (*sui conturbez* < *conturbatus sum*); fol. 64v, line 20 (*conturbez est* < *conturbatum est*); fol. 74v, line 37 (*conturbez est*). Finally, two instances have past participles rewritten entirely on top of erasures: fol. 37v, line 18, *sunt conturbet* (nominative plural < *conturbata sunt*) + line 19 *conturbede est* (extensive erasure, feminine nominative singular < *turbata est*).

*esleue_*, fol. 45r, line 9 (< *elevatum*, oblique singular). *Esleuet* occurs on fol. 47v, line 3 (nominative plural); spelled *esleue* on fol. 70r, line 5. The scribe could have erased a **–*t*** or a **–*d***.

*espandu_*, fol. 53r, line 29 (*espandu sunt* < *effusi sunt*, nominative plural). There are traces of an erased final **–*t***. *Espandut* (*sui*), fol. 41r, line 4 (< *effusus sum*, nominative singular). For the spelling *espanduz* (*est*), see fol. 55v, line 36 (< *effusus est*, nominative singular). Once again, this is an exception in the agreement of the past participle: *espandut* (*sui*) on fol. 41r, line 4, where one would expect a final **–*z***.

*guarde_*, fol. 45r, line 2 (*serunt guarde* < *conservabuntur*, nominative plural). The same nominative plural, without erasure, can be found on fol. 66v, line 5 (< *custodiri*). The scribe probably omitted a final **–*t***.

*humilie_*, on fol. 48r, line 39, is used for nominative plural (< *humiliata*). The variant with a final dental, *humiliet*, on fol. 48v, line 8, is used for an oblique singular (< *humiliatum*). The spelling *humilied* is used in different ways: on fol. 56r, line 37, it marks a past participle with the auxiliary verb *avoir* (*ousse* < *humiliassem*); on fol. 63v, line 3 + line 5 + line 31, it is a nominative plural (*humilied furent* < *humiliati sunt*; *humilied furent* < *humiliati sunt*; *furent humilied* < *humiliati sunt*). See also *humiliez*, fol. 44r, line 17 (*esteie humiliez* < *humiliabar*); fol. 45r, line 23-24 (*humiliez sui* < *humiliatus sum*) and fol. 45v, line 4 (*humiliez sui* < *humiliatus*). The **–*z*** of *humiliez*, nominative singular, is written on top of an erasure. Cf. *humiliez* with-

out any sign of erasure (nominative singular, *humiliez sui* < *humiliatus sum*) on fol. 57v, line 30; fol. 65v, line 31 + line 36; and fol. 63v, line 24 (nominative singular linked to a neuter noun, *cor*: *humiliez est* < *humiliatum est*). Yet we find the variant *humilie* (nominative singular), on fol. 67r, line 34 (*ie fusse humilié* < *humiliarer*) and fol. 72r, line 6 (*humilie sui* < *humiliatus sum*), where the ending **–*t*** of singular nominative case does not occur.

*oscure_*, fol. 52r, line 36 (*seient oscure* < *obscurentur*, nominative plural). There are no traces of an erased letter. One could simply suppose that the scribe omitted a dental (**–*t*** or **–*d***). The only other example of this past participle is *oscured*, on fol. 54r, line 2 (*oscured sunt* < *obscurati sunt*, nominative plural).

*raempli_*, fol. 54r, line 2 (*raempli sunt* < *repleti sunt*, nominative plural). This erasure still shows traces of an erased **–*t***, according to the variants *raemplit* and *raempli* used as nominative plural on fol. 51r, line 3 (*serums raemplit* < *replebimur*) + line 14, *serunt raemplit* < *replebuntur*); fol. 58v, line 36 (*raempli sumes* < *repleti sumus*); fol. 69r, line 29 (*sumes raempli* < *repleti sumus*). The spelling *raempliz*, for nominative singular, occurs on fol. 51r, line 10 and fol. 69v, line 8 (*raempliz est* < *repletum est*).

*redute_*, fol. 44r, line 2 (*seient redute* < *revereantur*, nominative plural); fol. 53r, line 5 (*redute serunt* < *reveriti fuerint*, nominative plural). In the first case, the term is a part of the following sentence: *Seient confundut e redute_ ; li querant la meie aneme*. There is an erasure at the end of *redute_*, as well as another one at the end of *querant* (*vide infra*). It is possible that the scribe mistook the correct desinence for nominative plural and wrote a final **–*z*** in his initial transcription. The second term shows clear traces of **–*t*** under erasure.

*saule_*, fol. 55r, line 10 (*saule sunt* < *saturati sunt*, nominative plural). There are clear traces of an erased final **–*t***. This is only one of the instances of instability in spelling the declension of past participles. For nominative plurals, the scribe used the spelling *saule* (fol. 55r, line 10 after erasure) and fol. 62r, line 6 (*serunt saule* < *saturabuntur*); but he also spelled it *saulet* on fol. 41r, line 19 (*se_runt saulet* < *saturabuntur*); fol. 44v, line 31 (*se_runt saulet* < *saturabuntur*); fol. 50r, line 10 (*serunt saulet* < *fuerint saturati*). Not to mention the spelling *sauled* (*sunt*) on fol. 74r, line 12. And finally *saulez sunt* on fol. 39v, line 12 (< *saturati sunt*).

*supplante_*, fol. 45r, line 5 (< *supplantabuntur*, nominative plural). Traces of a letter are visible under the erasure; it could be **–*t*** or **–*z***.

*tresporte_*, fol. 47r, line 25 (*serunt tresporte* < *transferentur*, nominative plural). On fol. 64v, line 4, the same past participle is written without erasures (*seient tresporte* < *transferantur*, nominative plural). In the first example, the erased letter could be **–*t***.

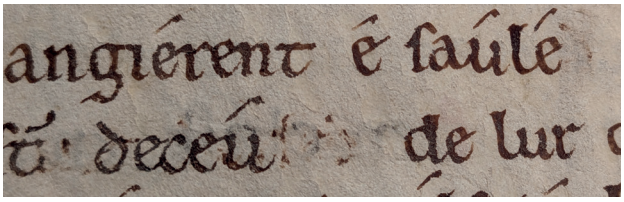
*tresturne_*, fol. 55r, line 25 (*tresturne sunt* < *conversi sunt*, nominative plural). There are traces of an erased **–*d***. For nominative plural, there is also the spelling *tresturned*: fol. 55v, line 6 (*sunt tresturned* < *conversi sunt*); fol. 61v, line 38 (*serunt tresturned* < *convertentur*). The spelling *tresturne* occurs once on fol. 69v, line 33 (*seient tresturne* < *convertantur*). The spelling with final **–*t*** is found on fol. 46r, line 2 (*seient tresturnet* < *convertantur*); fol. 49r, line 40 (*serunt tresturnet* < *convertentur*).

*vestu_*, fol. 51r, line 15 (*vestu sunt* < *induti sunt*, nominative plural). There are evident traces of an erased final **–*z***. For nominative plurals, the scribe used *uestut* on fol. 44r, line 30 (*seient uestut* < *induantur*); *uestud* on fol. 70r, line 18 (*seient uestud* < *induantur*), and *uestu* on fol. 64v, line 27 (*seient uestu* < *induantur*). *Uestuz* is used on fol. 44r, line 14, for nominative singular (*esteie uestuz* < *induebar*), but the scribe had to correct the last letter to **–*z***. He also used the past participle with the auxiliary verb *avoir* on fol. 59v, line 1 (twice, *ad uestud* < *indutus est*).

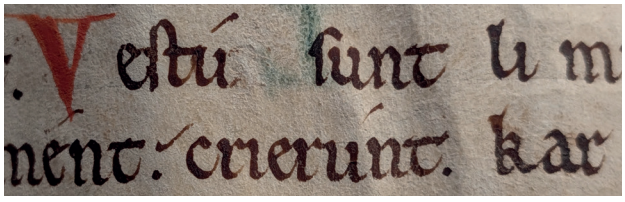
Before concluding this section, one must mention a particular situation on fol. 56v, line 37, where there are no erasures, but the scribe corrected a final **–*t*** to **–*d*** in the past participle *ueut* > *ueud*. This shows the scribe's new tendency to use **–*d*** as the preferential final dental in the second part of the text.

LATER EDIT: fol. 43r, line 40, (*sunt*) *ferme_* (< Lat *firmati sunt*), with a possible final ***z*** erased in order to follow the declension (nominative plural); fol. 45r, line 22-23, *_empli_ sunt* (< Lat *impleti sunt*), fol. 45r, line 38, *conferme_* (*sunt*) < Lat *confirmati sunt*, with a possible final ***z*** erased in order to follow the declension (nominative plural); fol. 53r, line 20, (*sera_*) *dune_* (< Lat *dabitur*); fol. 53r, line 22, (*sera_*) *sur esleue_* (< Lat *superextolletur*); fol. 53r, line 37, *serunt truue_* (< Lat *invenientur*, nominative plural); fol. 53v, line 9, *demene_* (*sui*) < Lat *redactus sum*, nominative singular, with a probable erasure of a final ***t***; fol. 56v, line 29, *ame_* (*sunt*) < Lat *dilecta*, with a final ***z*** erased in order to follow the declension (nominative plural).

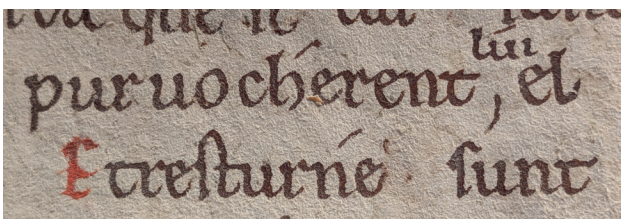
Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320.
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023-2026.
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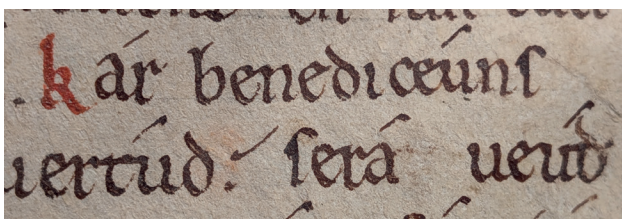
fol. 55r, line 10



fol. 51r, line 15



fol. 55r, line 25



fol. 56v, line 37

OTHER MATTERS RELATED TO THE PAST PARTICIPLE DECLENSION (AC)

Other erasures concern the ending of past participles:

aempliz, fol. 39v, lines 11–12 (*aempliz est* < *adimpletus est*, nominative singular). The only other masculine form is *aempli* (*serunt aempli* < *implebuntur*, nominative plural) on fol. 62r, line 21.

aprestez (nominative singular): fol. 45r, line 36 (*aprestez sui* < *paratus sum*); fol. 49v, line 14, *aprestez* (*aprestez est* < *paratum est*). The same form, nominative singular, is also used on fol. 64r, line 20; fol. 65r, line 23; fol. 67r, line 26. The spelling *aprestet* occurs on fol. 39v, line 8 (nominative singular); fol. 43v, line 8 (oblique singular).

contristez, fol. 44r, line 17 (< *contristatus*, nominative singular). The ***u*** variant *cuntristez*, nominative singular, is used on fol. 45r, line 22; fol. 46r, line 37; fol. 49r, line 4.

cumparez, fol. 47v, line 32 (*cumparez est* < *comparatus est*, nominative singular). The same spelling is written without any sign of erasure on fol. 48r, line 2.

descuuert, fol. 39v, line 31 (*descuuert sunt* < *revelata sunt*, nominative plural). Perhaps the scribe initially made a mistake by inserting a final *–z*, then realised that the nominative plural did not take this inflection.

enfichiez, fol. 52r, line 10 (*enfichiez sui* < *infixus sum*, nominative singular).

entrez, fol. 74v, line 10 (nominative singular).

*esfaced_*, fol. 64v, line 8 (*seit esfaced* < *deleatur*). There are traces of an erased final ***–e*** under the erasure. Perhaps the scribe made a mistake in agreeing his past participle to the Latin feminine noun *generatio*, that precedes it, instead of agreeing it to the Latin neuter noun *nomen* that follows: *in generatione una deleatur nomen eius*. On the same folio (fol. 64v, line 10), there is also the past participle *seit esface* < *et peccatum matris eius non deleatur*. In these two cases, the nominative singular does not follow the declension as usual in the case of past participle used as a predicate and linked to a neuter noun in the singular (cf. Sneddon 1972, p. 118).

faiz, fol. 45r, line 21 (< *factus sum*, nominative singular); fol. 47v, line 33 (< *factus est*, nominative singular) + line 37 (< *factus fuerit*, nominative singular). On fol. 43v, line 3, one notices the first occurrence of the spelling *faiz*, yet it is used as nominative plural (< *facta sunt*). The two occurrences of fol. 45r and fol. 47v follow. In the remainder of the text, *faiz* is mainly used for nominative singulars. The spelling *fait* appears for the first time on fol. 37r, line 6, as nominative plural, but it is also used as a nominative singular in the remainder of the text.

fundez, fol. 47v, line 5 (*fundez est* < *fundatur*, nominative singular).

mundez, fol. 40v, line 5 (*serai mundez* < *emundabor*, nominative singular).

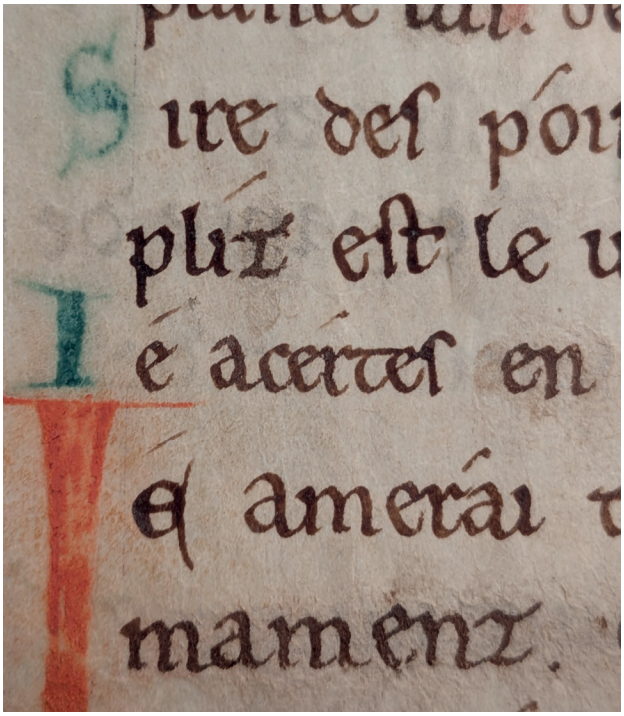
raemplie, fol. 53r, line 27 (*sera raemplie* < *replebitur*, nominative singular). After erasure, the last letter was replaced by ***–e***. The scribe probably made a declension mistake, then realised that he needed a feminine form.

refreidiez, fol. 45v, line 20 (*seie refreidiez* < *refrigerer*, nominative singular). The scribe could have made a declension mistake, writing a final ***–t*** instead of *–z*.

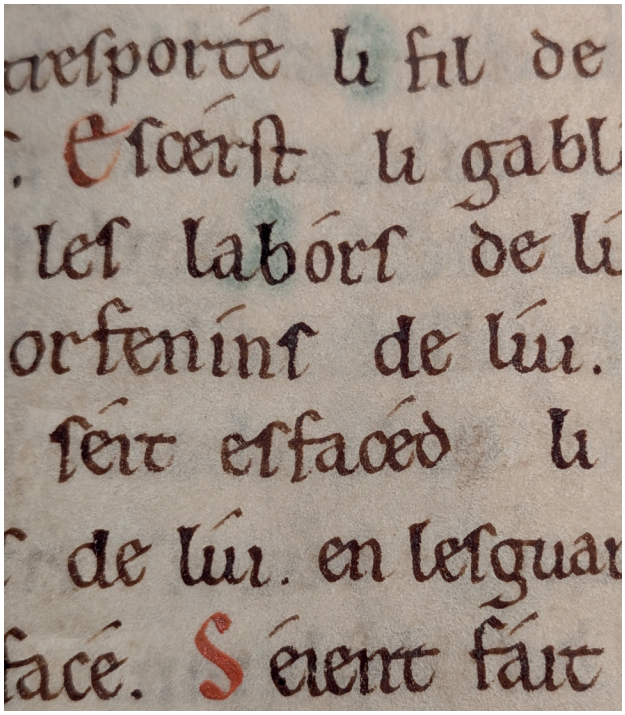
tresturnee, fol. 38r, line 2 (*serat tresturnee* < *convertetur*, nominative singular). The traces of the erased letter show that the scribe could have written ***–t*** or *–z*, then corrected it into ***–e*** (feminine declension).

LATER EDIT:

fol. 48r, line 34, *que tu seies iustifiez* (< Latin *ut iustificeris*, nominative singular); fol. 49r, line 4, *conturbez sui* (< Latin *conturbatus sum*, nominative singular); fol. 49v, line 14, *aprestez est* (< Latin *paratum est*, nominative singular); fol. 52v, line 39, *conuertiz* (< Latin *conversus*, nominative singular); fol. 53r, line 1, *conuertiz* (< Latin *conversus*, nominative singular); fol. 54r, line 36, *turbez sui* (< Latin *turbatus sum*, nominative singular).



fol. 62r, line 21



fol. 64v, line 8

MATTERS RELATED TO THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE (AC)

A series of other situations concern erasures related to present participles. Sneddon 1972, p. 101–102 notes that the declension is followed by present participles when the focus is on their adjectival value. My survey identified several instances. The first one is:

fuianz, fol. 49r, line 9, *ie _mesluignai fuianz*
(< *ecce elongavi fugiens*)

This correction could concern the agreement of the present participle with the subject. The scribe's correction of final *–t* to *–z* could mean that he interpreted that participle as an adjective, and thus made an agreement (nominative singular) with the subject *ie*.

loanz, fol. 39v, line 17, *loanz enuucherai le segnur*
(< *Laudans invocabo dominum*).

As in the previous example, the erasure and correction could be based on the same reasons.

querant, fol. 44r, line 3, *li querant la meie aneme*
(< *quaerentes animam meam*).

A nominative plural ***–ant*** is required here. On fol. 46r, line 4, the same Latin present participle is written as *querant* (nominative plural) without any sign of erasure. On fol. 38r, line 23; fol. 41v, line 1; and fol. 62r, line 33, the plural *queranz* renders Latin *quaerentes* as an oblique form. For the same present participle used with the role of a noun, the scribe follows the declension. One can argue that he made a mistake on fol. 44r, line 3, by initially writing *queranz*.

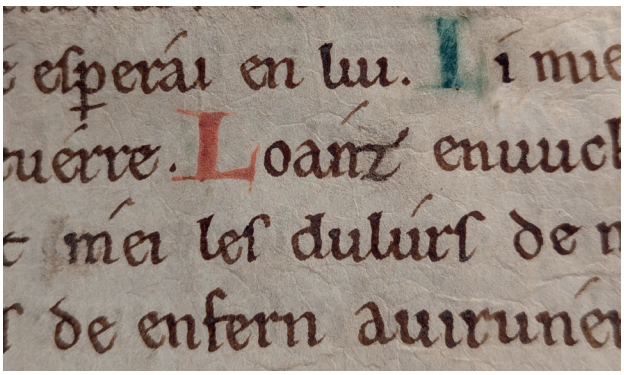
From fol. 37r to fol. 49v, ***–anz*** is mainly used to express present participles, nominative singular, or oblique plural. However, there are exceptions: on f. 42v, line 1, *Latin vox domini confringentis cedros* is rendered as *la uoiz del segnur frainanz les cedres*. The scribe could have chosen to agree the present participle to *vox*, thus justifying the ***–anz*** ending. Sneddon 1972, p. 117, argues that "in this case the participle may be influenced by the Latin spelling *confringentis*." Again, on fol. 44r, line 12, *esdreceanz* (on top of an extensive erasure and with the value of a noun) expresses a nominative plural. As for *defisanz* on fol. 44v, line 32 (with the end letters erased and corrected, and with the value of an adjective), it renders a nominative plural too.

On the other hand, the suffix ***–ant*** is used to express nominative plural and oblique singular. In three instances, the present participle is written entirely on top of an erasure, but one cannot be sure that the erasure can be linked to the participle ending: fol. 43r, line 32, *(l)esperant* (oblique singular); fol. 43v, line 27, *enquerant* (nominative plural); fol. 44v, line 35, *maldisant* (nominative plural). Finally, in two other cases, the declension is not correct: fol. 46v, line 28, *esprouant* (value of a noun, nominative singular) + line 29, *deparlant* and *parsuant* (value of a noun, nominative singular).

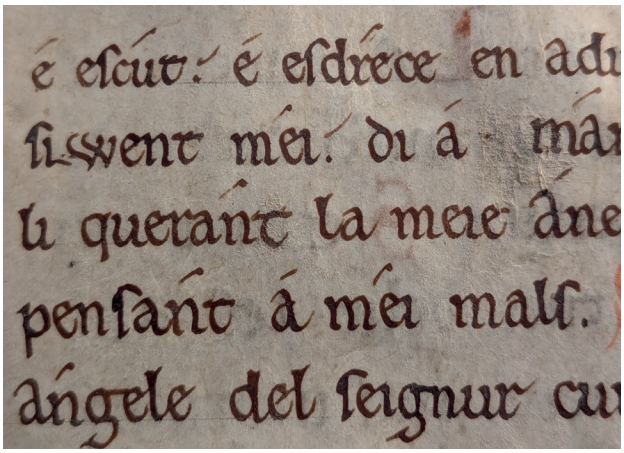
LATER EDIT:

fol. 40r, line 37, *La lei del segnur nette. conuertanz anemes* (< Lat *Lex domini immaculata convertens animas*) (the Douce scribe seems to have changed final *–t* into *–z*, thus agreeing the present participle to the subject *lex*, nominative singular); fol. 48r, line 23, *Seðanz* (< Lat *sedens*), where a probable final *–t* was written at first; fol. 48r, line 25, *serai semblanz a tei* (< Lat *ero tui similis*), with a similar *–t*; fol. 53v, line 40, *les anemes regehissanz a tei* (< Lat *animas confitentes tibi*).

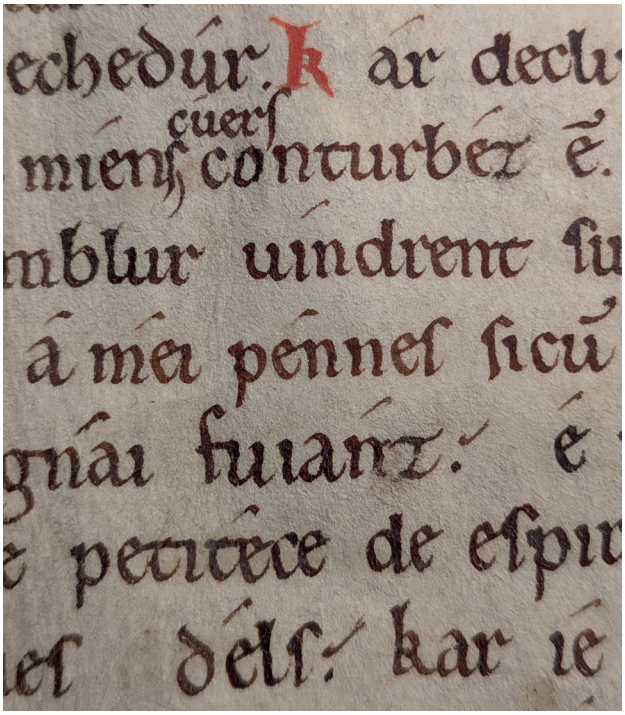
Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320.
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fol. 39v, line 17



fol. 44r, line 3



fol. 49r, line 9

VARIOUS ERASURES ON VERBAL FORMS (AC)

The inventory of erasures led to the identification of a large number of verbal forms that are difficult to classify and must be presented as a separate group. Their erasures concern present, future, and past tenses of the indicative; present and past participles; present and past tenses of the subjunctive; as well as imperatives and infinitives. The Douce scribe erased and made corrections to various parts of these verbal forms, from root to ending, but several erasures and corrections cover the entire word, and (on certain occasions) a series of adjacent words such as personal pronouns, nouns, or demonstratives. Various erasures and corrections concern majuscules and accents, too. Some could be caused by simple eye-skips, others could be related to difficulties in spelling, morphology (conjugation), preferences for other translation choices, or word order. Since it is impossible to identify the precise cause of each case, I present them in the following list, organised according to their entries in the *Anglo-Norman Dictionary* (AND). A (future) detailed analysis must analyse them in comparison with the readings of Arundel MS 230.

Adjuver: fol. 47r, line 28, *a_iuerat* (< Latin *adiuvabit*), with traces of ***d*** or ***e***.

Adrescer: fol. 51v, line 2, *adreces* (< Latin *dirigis*).

Aemplir: fol. 45r, lines 22-23, *_empli_ sunt* (< Lat *impleti sunt*).

Afflire: fol. 39v, line 6, *afflistrent* (< Lat *afflixerunt*).

Aleger: fol. 53v, line 5, *esteient alege_* (< Lat *allevarentur*).

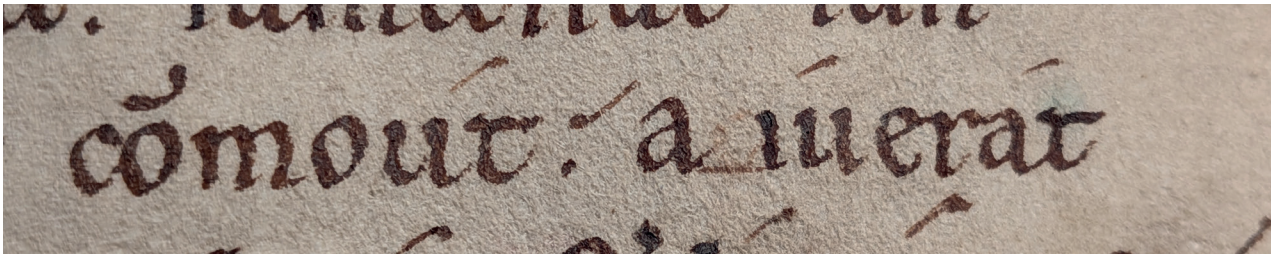
Amer: fol. 47r, line 39, *ama_* (< Lat *dilexit*).

Amollir: fol. 49r, line 26, *Amoliees sunt les paroles* (< Lat *molliti sunt sermones*) (possible problem related to an agreement in the feminine plural).

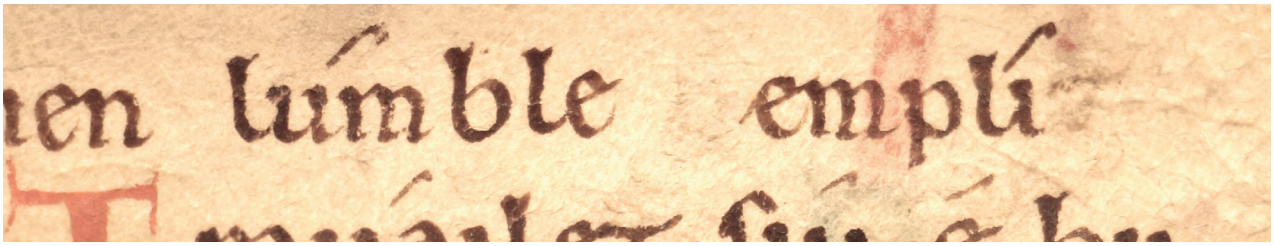
Amuir: fol. 45v, line 4, *_amui* (< Lat *obmutui*); fol. 45v, line 13, *_amui* (< Lat *obmutui*).

Apareir: fol. 55v, line 35, *e apareisse__ es genz* (< Lat *et innotescat in nationibus*) (given the extent of the erasure and the traces left by previous letters, the correction con-

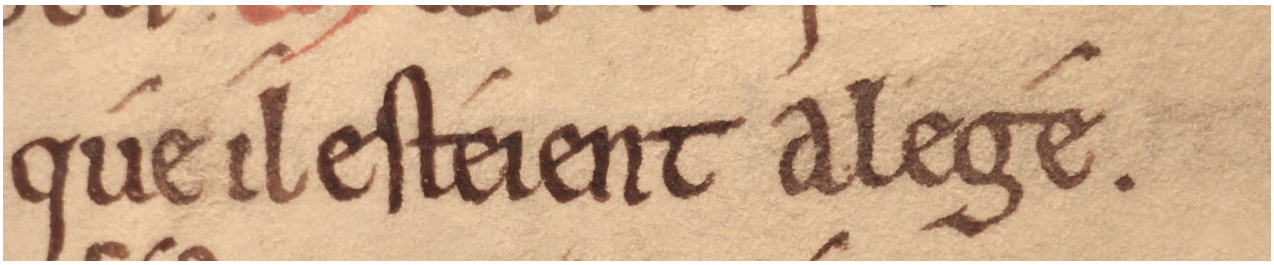
fol. 47r line 28



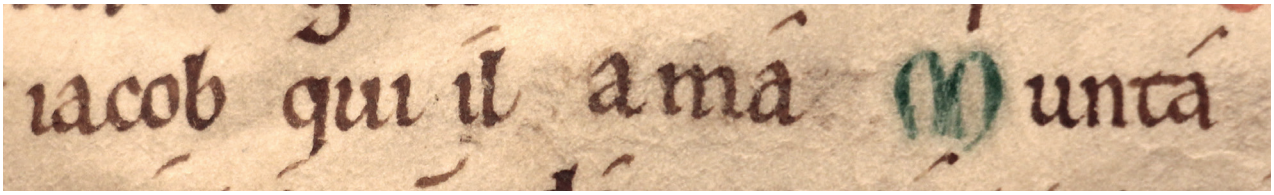
fol. 45r line 22



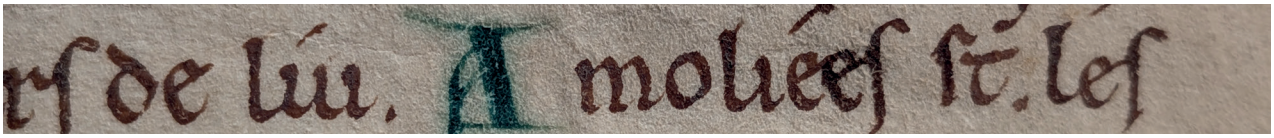
fol. 53v line 5



fol. 47r, line 39



fol. 49r, line 26



cern much more than the verb); fol. 59r, line 29, *aparistrunt* (< Lat *apparuerint*).

Apeler: fol. 43r, line 5, *apelai* (< Lat *invocavi*).

Areistre: fol. 58v, line 26, *areisse* (< Lat *arescat*).

Aruser: fol. 48r, line 37, *Tu arouseras* (< Lat *asperges*).

Assaier: fol. 44r, line 18, *assaierent* (< Lat *tentaverunt*). ***e*** > ***a***.

Atendre: fol. 52r, line 33, *atendiet* (< Lat *exspectavit*).

Atribler: fol. 37r, line 29, *atriblet* (< Lat *contrivisti*).

Auner: fol. 44r, line 18, *adune sunt* (< Lat *congregata sunt*).

Aurer: fol. 51r, line 20, *adort* (< Latin *adoret*); fol. 70r, line 16, *ao_rerums* (< Latin *adorabimus*).

Avoir: fol. 37r, line 36, *aiez compunctiun* (< Lat *compungimini*), with traces of an ***s*** between ***a*** and ***i*** in *aiez*. At first, the scribe could have written a verbal form with the auxiliary *estre*, such as *seiz* + past participle.

Beneistre: fol. 57r, line 6, *Tu beneisquis* (< Lat *benedixisti*); fol. 70v, line 19, *Benedeiz* (< Lat *benedictus*).

Businer: fol. 56r, line 24, *Buisinez* (< Lat *buccinate*).

Chanter: fol. 47r, line 36, *cantez* (< Lat *iubilate*); fol. 48r, line 23, *cantot_* (< Lat *concinnabat*); fol. 56r, line 23, *cantez* (< Lat *iubilate*).

Complaire: fol. 47v, line 34, *complairunt* (< Lat *complacebunt*).

Compuindre: fol. 42v, line 21, *compu_nt* (< Lat *compungar*); fol. 44r, line 18, *compun_t* (< Lat *compuncti*) (at first, the scribe could have written *compumt*).

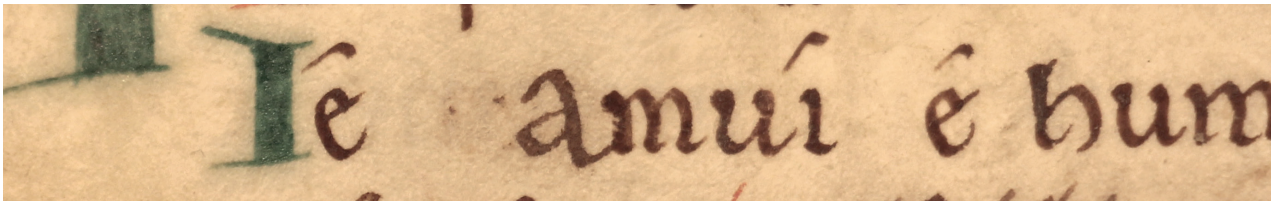
Conoistre: fol. 60r, line 6, *cunurent* (< Lat *cognoverunt*). Maybe a previous ***e***.

Consummer: fol. 37v, line 36, *Consummeðe seit* (< Lat *consumetur*).

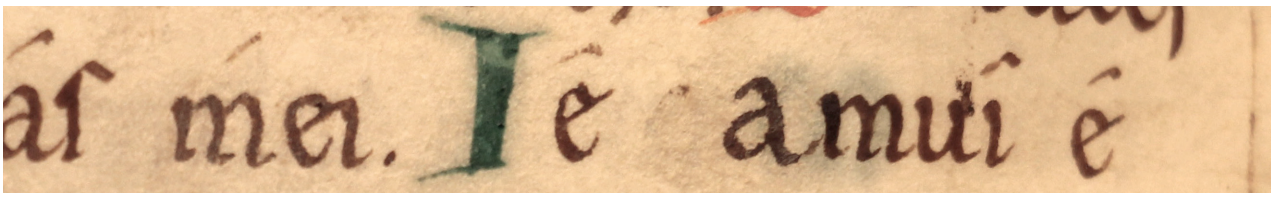
Contribler: fol. 47v, line 9, *_cuntriblerás* (< Lat *conteres*).

Convenir: fol. 47v, line 7, *conuindrent* (< Lat *convenerunt*).

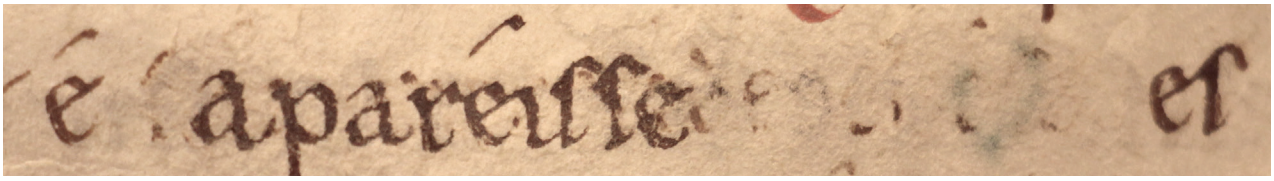
Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320.
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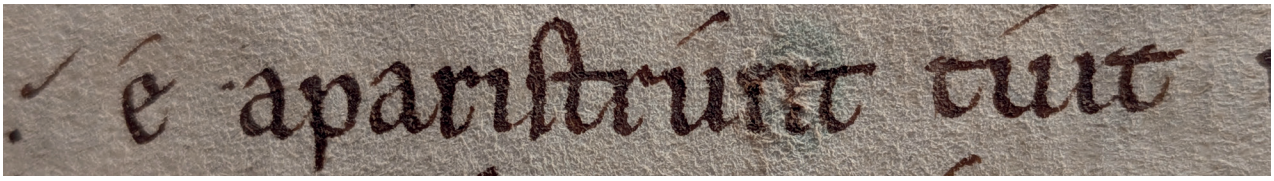
fol. 45v, line 4



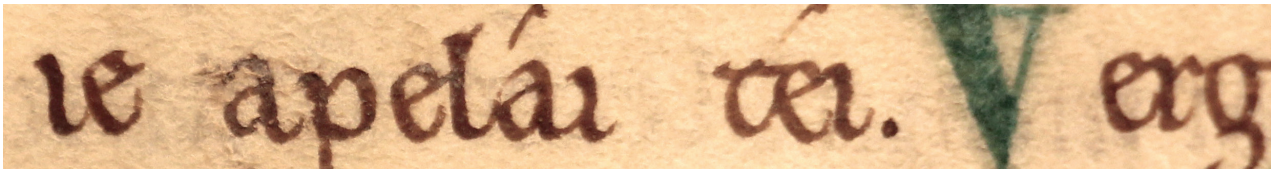
fol. 45v, line 13



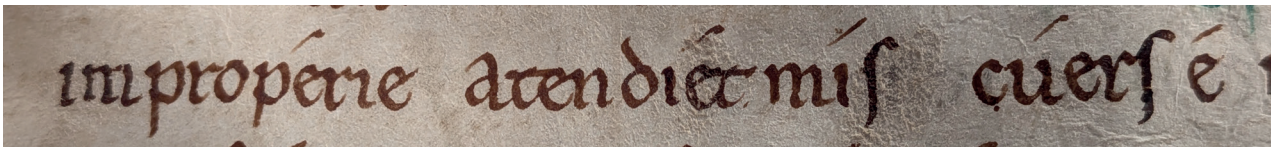
fol. 55v, line 35



fol. 59r, line 29

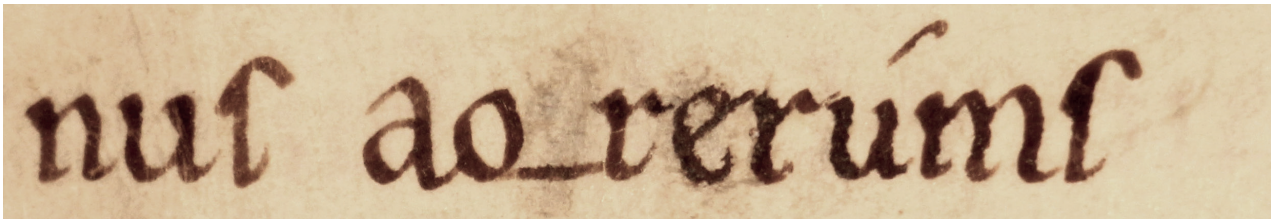


fol. 43r, line r

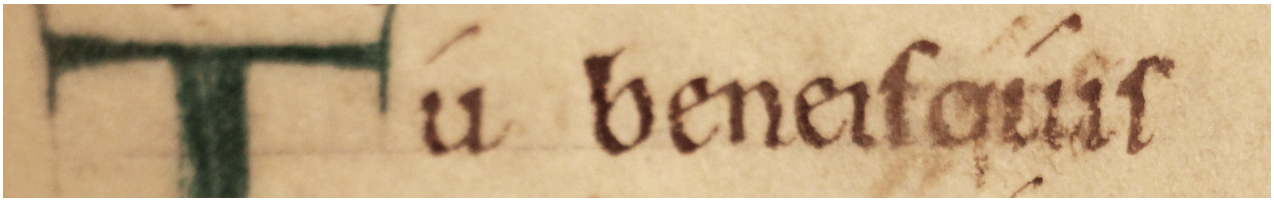


fol. 52r line 33

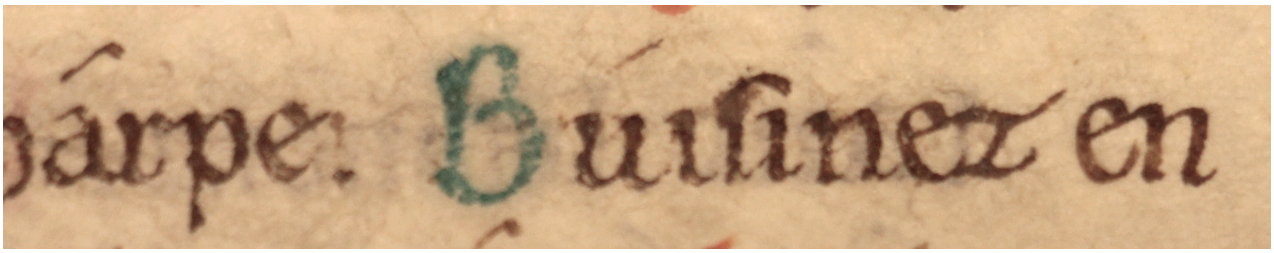
fol. 70r line 16



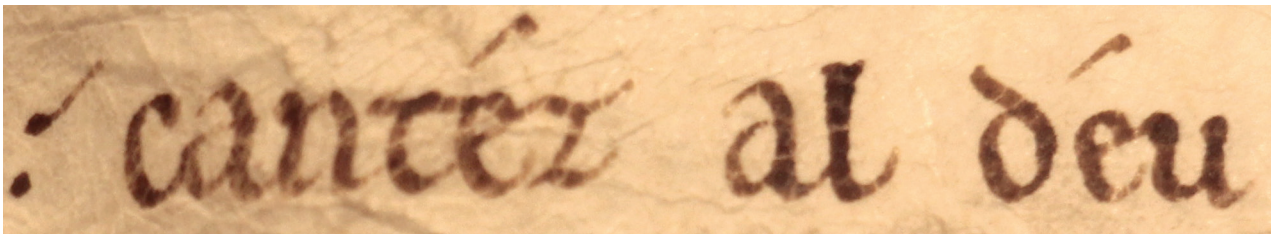
fol. 57r line 6



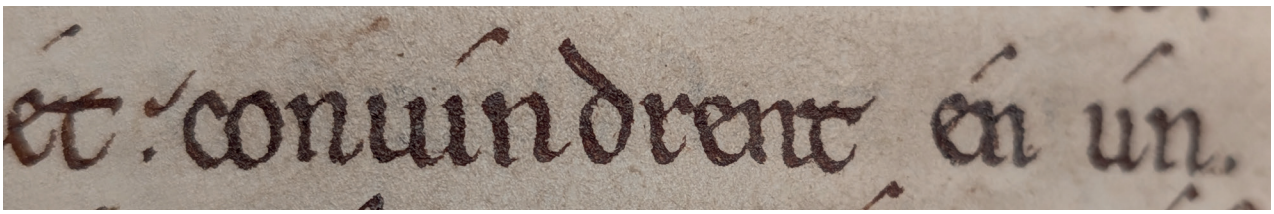
fol. 56r line 24



fol. 56r line 23



fol. 47v, line 7



Convertir: fol. 37v, line 19, *Seies conuertit sire* (< Lat *Convertere, Domine*); fol. 37v, line 26, *seient conuertit* (< Lat *convertantur*); fol. 41r, line 20, *se_runt conuerties* (< Lat *convertentur*) (here, the problem could be linked to the agreement in the feminine).

Corucer: fol. 60r, line 5, *curucez fui* (< Lat *offensus fui*), with traces of serifs above ***u*** and ***r*** which suggest that the Douce scribe could have written a participle of the verb *offendre* at first.

Coveiter: fol. 56v, line 29, *coueite_* (< Lat *concupiscit*).

Coverir: fol. 39v, line 5, *cueure* (< Lat *protege*); fol. 50r, lines 30-31, *serai cu_uerz* (< Lat *protegar*); fol. 50v, line 28, *couris* (< Lat *protexisti*).

Creistre: fol. 39r, line 29, *cruissirent en mei* (< Latin *increpuerunt me*). *Vide infra*: personal pronouns.

Criendre: fol. 47v, line 37, *ne criemes _* (< Lat *ne timueris*); fol. 49r, line 33, *crend_rai* (< Lat ***timebo***); fol. 59r, line 7, *ne crendras* (< Latin *non timebis*). *Vide infra*: negative particles.

Debriser: fol. 44v, line 27, *debrisiet* (< Lat *confringatur*); fol. 64v, line 38, *debrisa* (< Latin *confregit*).

Debuter (+ ***Desturner***): fol. 44v, line 25, *debutent* (< Lat *trucident*); fol. 66r, lines 21-22, *Debutez desturne sui* (< Lat *Impulsus eversus sum*).

Deceivre: fol. 40v, lines 19-20, *ne deceus_* (< Lat *non fraudasti*); fol. 55r, line 11, *ne sunt deceu__* (< Lat *non sunt fraudati*).

Dechair: fol. 37v, line 30, *dechiede* (< Lat *decidam*).

Decire: fol. 54r, line 40, *decirera* (< Lat *abscidet*).

Decliner: fol. 39r, line 4, *decli_nerent* (< Lat *declinaverunt*).

Defire: fol. 40r, line 16, *defisent* (< Lat *deficiant*); fol. 44v, lines 32-33, *defisanz sicume fums defirunt* (< Lat *deficientes quemadmodum fumus deficient*); fol. 45v, line 16, *defirre fesis* (Lat *tabescere fecisti*); fol. 53v, line 6, *_defistrent* (< Lat *defecerunt*), with traces of a previous ***d*** under the erasure; fol. 54r, line 9, *Defite_ est* (< Lat *liquefacta est*); fol. 56v, line 30, *defist* (< Lat *deficit*); fol. 61r, line 8, *defistrent* (<

Lat *defecerunt*).

Degeter: fol. 39v, line 7, *Degetant* (< Lat *proiicientes*).

Deliter: fol. 51v, line 8, *seient delitet* (< Lat *delectentur*), with an erased accent upon ***i***; fol. 66v, line 15, *_ sui delited* (< Lat *delectatus sum*), with traces of a previous ***d*** (at first, the scribe could have written the prefix *de* of *delited* instead of *sui*).

Deliverer: fol. 43v, line 24, *e deliuerat els* (< Lat *et eripiet eos*), *vide infra*: personal pronouns.

Demener: fol. 46v, line 17, *demerrums* (< Lat *ventilabimus*).

Depaistre: fol. 47v, line 34, *depaistrat els* (< Lat *depascet eos*), *vide infra*: personal pronouns.

Departir: fol. 46v, line 23, *departis* (< Lat *dispersisti*); fol. 58r, lines 8-9, *de_partis* (< Lat *dispersisti*).

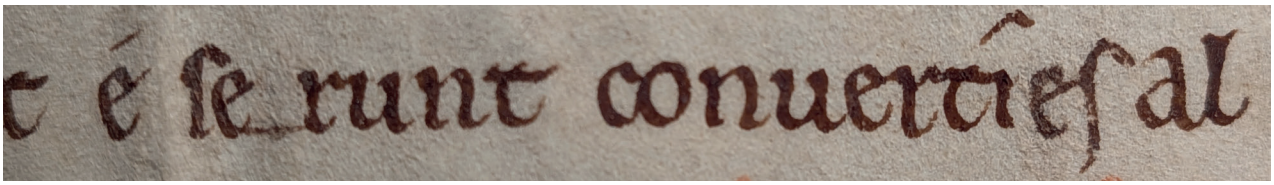
Deperdre: fol. 46v, line 13, *deperdiet* (< Lat *deperdidit*).

Descomforter: fol. 55v, line 30, *desconforterent* (< Lat *desolaverunt*).

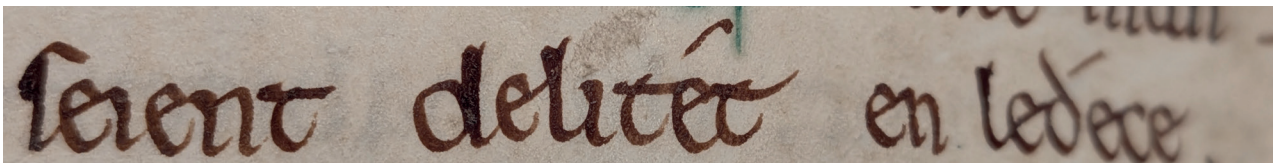
Desevrer: fol. 37v, line 23, *Deseurez __ de mei* (< Lat *discedite a me*) (the erasure could cover a previous *est*, if the scribe mistook the imperative for a past participle); fol. 44r, line 26, *ne dese_urer* (< Latin *ne discedas*), where an ***i*** seems to be erased in the blank space (the final ***r*** is also the result of a change ***s*** > ***r***; the initial word could have been *deseiures*).

Desturner: fol. 52r, line 29, *E ne desturner la tue face* (< Lat *et ne avertas faciem tuam*), with traces of an erased

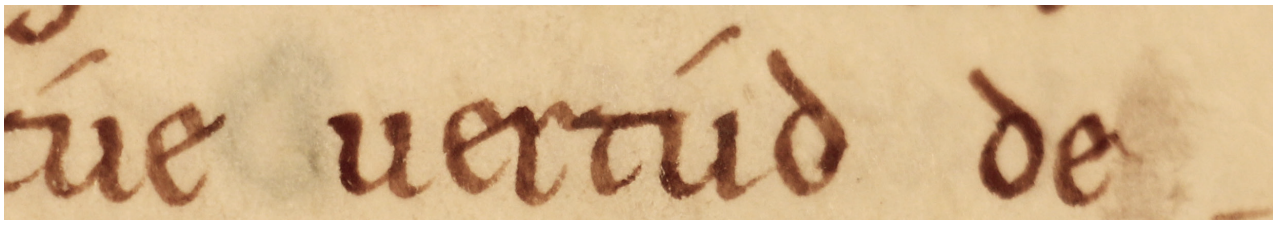
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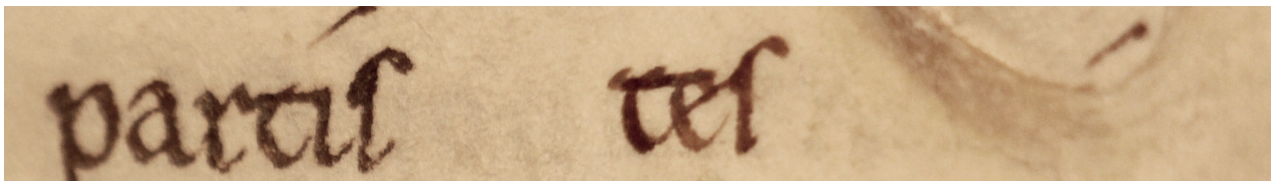
fol. 41r, line 20



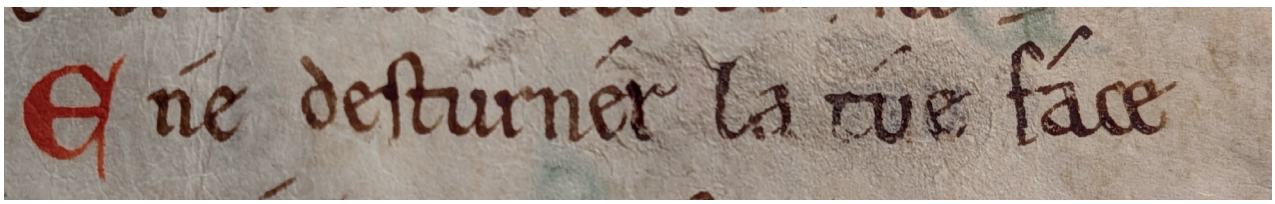
fol. 51v line 8



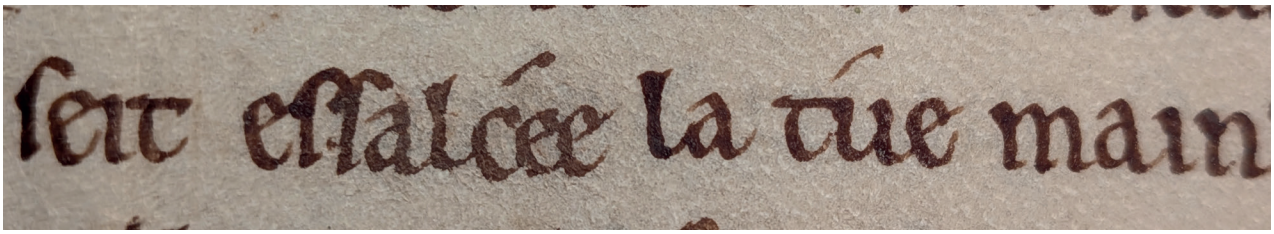
fol. 58r line 8



fol. 58r line 9



fol. 52r line 29



fol. 38v, line 7

accent above the ***u*** in *desturner*; and an ***s*** corrected into ***r***.

Devancir: fol. 52r, line 4, *deuancirat* (< Lat *praeveniet*).

Deveer: fol. 45v, line 33, *ne deuederai* (< Lat *non prohibebo*). Traces close to the letter ***d*** suggest that the scribe initially wrote another letter (probably ***i***), immediately corrected into ***d***, without the need for an erasure.

Devenir: fol. 49v, lines 26-27, *deuendrunt* (< Lat *devenient*).

Embeverer: fol. 44v, lines 4-5, *abeuerras* (< Lat *potabis*); fol. 50r, line 16, *abeuras* (< Lat *potasti*).

Embriver: fol. 74v, line 4, *Embriue* (< Lat *irruit*), with traces of a previous ***t*** under the erasure; the final ***e*** is also written in a darker ink.

Empescher: fol. 55r, lines 13-14, *empedecad* (< Lat *impedivit*).

Enasprir: fol. 51r, line 24, *enasprissent* (< Lat *exasperant*).

Encercher: fol. 54r, line 38, *escercowe* (< Lat *scopebam*).

Enclore: fol. 55v, line 11, *en_clost* (< Lat *conclusit*).

Englutir: fol. 46v, line 38, *englutiz est* (< Lat *conglutinatus est*).

Enhabiter (+***Faire***): fol. 51v, line 12, *deus chi enhabiter fait* __ (< Lat *Deus qui inhabitare facit*). Same reading in Arundel. *Vide infra*: relatives and conjunction *que*.

Enhaucer: fol. 37v, lines 32-33, *essalcez* (< Lat *exaltare*); fol. 38r, line 26, *essalces* (< Lat *exaltas*); fol. 38v, line 7, *seit essalcee* (< Lat *exaltetur*); fol. 38v, line 35, *se_rat essalcet* (< Lat *exaltabitur*); fol. 40r, line 28, *Essalchanz* (< Lat *magnificans*); fol. 45r, line 9, *sur exalcie* (< Lat *superexaltatum*); fol. 70r, line 7, *exalcai* (< Lat *exaltavi*).

Enseigner: fol. 40r, line 11, *ensaignet* (< Lat *docet*); fol. 41v, line 10, *enseigne* (< Lat *edoce*).

Enquerre: fol. 38v, line 20, *enquert* (< Lat *interrogat*).

Entendre: fol. 45v, line 21, *entendiet* (< Lat *intendit*).

Enviezir: fol. 37v, line 23, *enuiezi* (< Lat *inveteravi*); fol. 40r, line 23, *sunt enuiegi ;* (< Lat *inveterati sunt*); fol. 47v, line 35, *enuiezirat* (< Lat *veterascet*).

Escrivre: fol. 47r, line 1, *escriuant* (< Lat *scribentis*).

Esdrescer: fol. 37r, line 28, *esdrece tei sire* (< Lat *exsurge domine*), *vide infra*: personal pronouns; fol. 51v, line 5, *ESdrest_ sei deus* (< Lat *exurgat Deus*).

Esglorier (***s'***): fol. 37v, line 14, *sesglorierunt* (< Lat *gloriabuntur*). *Vide infra*: reflexive pronouns.

Esjoir (***s'***): fol. 37v, line 14, *sesioirunt* (< Lat *exultabunt*). *Vide infra*: reflexive pronouns.

Eslaissier: fol. 56r, line 33, *eslaise* (< Lat *dilata*).

Eslaver: fol. 38r, line 18, *eslauas* (< Lat *deletesti*); fol. 40r, line 21, *eslauerai els* (< Lat *delebo eos*), *vide infra*: personal pronouns; fol. 48r, line 31, *esleue* (< Lat *lava*).

Eslever: fol. 74r, line 15, *esleued* __ (< Lat *eleuat*).

Esleescer: fol. 37r, line 20, *esleec_iez* (< lat. *exsultate*).

Esloigner (***s'***): fol. 41r, line 10, *ne esluigneras* (< Lat *elongaveris*); fol. 49r, line 9, *_mesluignai* (< Lat *elongavi*), with traces of an ***n*** under ***sl***, *vide infra*: reflexive pronouns.

Esmoveir: fol. 40v, line 38, *emeurent* (< Lat *moverunt*).

Esperer: fol. 49v, line 7, *espererai* (< Lat *sperabo*).

Estendre: fol. 50r, line 22, *estendrai* (< Lat *extendam*).

Ester: fol. 41v, line 39, *est_ut* (< Lat *stetit*); fol. 44r, line 39, *est_ut* (< Lat *astitit*); fol. 45r, line 28, *est_urent* (< Lat *steterunt*); fol. 45r, lines 28-29, *est_urent* (< Lat *steterunt*); fol. 45v, line 3, *esteust__* (< Lat *consisteret*); fol. 47r, line 12, *est_ut* (< Lat *astitit*).

Estre: fol. 37r, line 33, *desque aquant serez uus de grief cuer* (< Lat *usquequo gravi corde ?*); fol. 39r, line 11, *nen er_t crieme* (< Lat *non erat timor*); fol. 41v, line 3, *Chi est_ icist réis de glorie ?* (< Lat *Quis est iste rex gloriae?*), with traces of an ***r*** after ***e*** (*est*) (the scribe could have written *chi ert cist reis*); fol. 41v, line 15, *_ li sire* (< Lat *Dominus*) (at first, the scribe could have written *est*); fol. 42r, line 2, *Li sire _ defenderre* (< Lat *dominus protector*) (at first, the scribe could have written *est*), cf. fol. 42r, line 1 and line 33; fol. 42r, line 33, *e defenderre est des saluatiuns de sun crist* (< Lat *et protector salvationum christi sui est*); fol. 43v, line 11, *Deceuables _ chauals a salut* (< Lat *Fallax equus ad salutem*), with traces of an abbreviated *est*, same reading in Arundel; fol. 45r, line 10, *nen esteit* (< Lat *non erat*); fol. 45v, line 19, *seie refreidiez* (< Lat *refrigerer*); fol. 48v, line 8, *Sacrifise a deu _ espiriz trauailliez* (< Lat *Sacrificium Deo spiritus contribulatus*), with traces of an abbreviated *est*; fol. 50r, line 10, *ne serunt saulet* (< Lat *non fuerint saturati*); fol. 50r, line 21, *Iuda _ li miens reis* (< Lat *Iuda rex meus*) (at first, the scribe could have written *est*); fol. 50v, line 4, *En deu _la meie salu* (< Lat *in deo salutare meo*), with traces of an abbreviated *est* under the erasure; fol. 51r, line 36, *Benedeiz __ deus* (< Lat *benedictus Deus*) (the erasure could hide here a previous *seit* or *est*); fol. 52v, line 10, *Szient confundut* (< Lat *confundantur*) (possible traces of *seit*); fol. 61v, line 8, *__ pacient. e mult merciable* (< Lat *longanimis et multum misericors*), with traces of *fu*; fol. 64r, line 18, *Li quels _ sauanz e guardera icez choses* (< Lat *Quis sapiens et custodiet haec?*), with traces of an abbreviated *est* under the erasure; fol. 69v, line 20, *ne sera confundu* (< Latin *non confundetur*), with traces of an ***a*** in the following line, under *sera*.

Exiler: fol. 44v, line 19, *se_runt __ exillet* (< Lat *exterminabuntur*).

Exoir: fol. 39v, line 3, *exoies* (< Lat *exaudi*); fol. 60v, line 21, *exoieies* (< Lat *exaudiebas*); fol. 64r, line 26, *e exoi mei* (< Lat *et exaudi me*); fol. 71r, line 12 __ *exoi__ mei* (< Lat *exaudi me*), *vide infra*: personal pronouns.

Fameiller: fol. 48r, line 15, *fameillerai* (< Lat *esuriero*).

Forsmener: fol. 46v, line 40, *Formost* (< Lat *eructavit*).

Fuir: fol. 38r, line 1, *e si_ _foit* (< Lat *et effodit*).

Garder: fol. 41v, line 26, *Guarde* (< Lat *Custodi*).

Geter: fol. 48v, line 1, *ne _ieter* (< Lat *ne proiicias*), with traces of a ***g*** under the erasure.

Guerduner: fol. 37v, line 30, *guerredunanz* (< Lat *retribuentibus*); fol. 39v, line 36, *guerredurrat* (< Lat *retribuet*) (the scribe corrected an ***n*** into an ***r***; at first, he had probably written *guerredun*); fol. 46r, line 19, *guereduneraі* (< Latin *retribuam*).

Irer: fol. 37r, line 35, *iraissez* (< Lat *irascimini*).

Issir: fol. 51r, line 11, *_issi est* (< Lat *ita est*).

Juger: fol. 37r, line 19, *iugiez* (< Lat *iudicatis*); fol. 48r,

lines 34-35, *tu iugeras* (< Lat *iudicaris*).

Maligner: fol. 44v, line 18, *malignes* (< Lat *maligneris*); fol. 53v, line 22, *maligna__* (< Lat *malignatus est*).

Maluer: fol. 49r, line 25, *maluerent* (< Lat *contaminaverunt*).

Mentir: fol. 58r, line 39, *mentirai* (< Lat *mentiar*).

Merguillier: fol. 63r, line 39, *merguillede est* (< Lat *contaminata est*).

Mesurer: fol. 50r, line 20, *mesurerai* (< Lat *metibor*).

Mipartir: fol. 49r, lines 29-30, *ne mipartirunt* (< Lat *non dimidiabunt*), with traces of a previous ***d***. At first, the scribe could have chosen *departir*, thus writing *departirunt*.

Morir: fol. 47v, line 28, *mor_anz* (< Lat *morientes*).

Murmurer: fol. 50r, line 10, *murmurerunt* (< Lat *murmurabunt*).

Occire: fol. 38v, line 2, *ociet* (< Lat *interficiat*).

Oir: fol. 37r, line 32, *e oies la meie oreisun* (< Lat *et exaudi orationem meam*); fol. 38v, line 36, *e oies mei* (< Lat *et exaudi me*); fol. 43v, line 28, *o_ez mei* (< Lat *audite me*).

Parmaindre: fol. 42r, line 4, *parmainent* (< Lat *consistant*).

Parsivre: fol. 43v, line 31, *parseu* (< Lat *persequere*). This is not an erasure, but the scribe obviously wrote *parsi* at first, then corrected ***i*** > ***u***.

Peiner: fol. 45r, line 2, *se_runt pene* (< Lat *punientur*).

Perir: fol. 37r, line 21, *perisseiz* (< Lat *pereatis*).

Perdre: fol. 53v, line 14, *perdies* (< Lat *perdidisti*).

Planter: fol. 46v, line 13, *plantas* (< Lat *plantasti*).

Poser: fol. 40v, line 26, *Poseras icels* (< Lat *pones eos*); fol. 56v, line 36, *que il posa* (< Lat *quem posuit*), *vide infra*: demonstratives ; relatives and conjunction *que*.

Prendre: fol. 37r, 20, *pernez* (< Lat *apprehendite*).

Provocher: fol. 53v, line 30, *puruóche* (< Lat *improperabit*); fol. 55v, line 4, *puruocherent* (< Lat *exacerbaverunt*).

Purluigner: fol. 40r, line 14, *purluignas* (< Lat *dilatasti*).

Purpenser: fol. 44r, line 24, *purpensowent* (< Lat *cogitabant*).

Pursivre: fol. 41r, line 3, *pursistrent mei* (< Lat *obsederunt*).

Quere: fol. 45r, line 6, *quiert* (< Lat *quaerit*).

Raindre: fol. 37v, line 29, *reaimet* (< Lat *redimat*); fol. 47v, line 36, *raiendrat* (< Lat *redimet*).

Receivre: fol. 55v, line 20, *recut lui* (< Lat *accepit eum*), *vide infra*: personal pronouns.

Recunter: fol. 38r, line 14, *ie recunterai* (< Lat *narrabo*), *vide infra*: personal pronouns; fol. 40r, line 30, *recuntent* (< Lat *enarrant*).

Regehir: fol. 38r, line 14, *regehirai* (< Lat *confitebor*), with traces of an erasure between lines 14 and 15, that might be the result of a bad handling of the razor (see the slight cut into the parchment); fol. 63v, lines 19-20, *Regehissent* (< Lat *confiteantur*); fol. 63v, line 28, *regehIssent* (< Lat *confiteantur*); fol. 66r, line 38, *regehirai* (< Lat *confitebor*).

Remettre: fol. 53v, line 8, *_remerras* (< Lat *rediges*).

Remplir: f. 51r, line 10, *raempliz est* (< Lat *repletum est*); fol. 51r, line 14, *serunt raemplit* (< Lat *replebuntur*).

Repundre: fol. 40r, line 36, *se_ repunge* (< Lat *se abscondat*), *vide infra*: reflexive pronouns; fol. 42r, line 8, *repóst* (< Lat *abscondit*), with traces of two different ink shades on the partially erased ***o***; and traces of a previous accent between ***o*** and ***s***.

Returner: fol. 40r, lines 15-16, *e ne returnerái__* (< Lat *et non convertar*); fol. 55r, line 16, *returnowent* (< Lat *revertebantur*).

Requere: fol. 54v, line 38, *requesissent* (< Lat *peterent*).

Rugir: fol. 41r, line 4, *ruianz* (< Lat *rugiens*).

Salver: fol. 49v, line 34, *salue mei* (< Lat *salva me*), *vide infra*: personal pronouns.

Saver: fol. 37r, line 34, *E sachez* (< Lat *et scitote*); fol. 45v, line 33, *tul seus* (< Lat *tu scisti*); fol. 50r, line 7, *sauerunt* (< Lat *scient*), where an accent upon an ***a*** seems to be erased; fol. 52r, line 15, *tu seis* (< Lat *tu scis*); fol. 52r, line 31, *Tu seis* (< Lat *tu scis*); fol. 59v, line 15, *saceiz* (< Lat *sapite*).

Seeler: fol. 46r, line 24, *Sezelat* (< Lat *sitivit*); fol. 50v, line 13, *Sezelat* (< Lat *sitivit*).

Seignurir: fol. 38r, line 39, *seignurerat* (< Lat *dominabitur*), with traces of erasures after the period following *seignurerat* (the erasure could be related to that of *Kar il dist en sun cuer* on the following line); fol. 40v, line 5, *ne seignurerunt* (< Lat *non fuerint dominati*).

Sullever: fol. 55v, line 19, *e susleua lui* (< Lat *et sustulit eum*), *vide infra*: personal pronouns.

Supplanter: fol. 39v, lines 9-10, *deuancis lui e supplante lúi* (< Lat *praeveni eum et supplanta eum*), *vide infra*: personal pronouns.

Sustenir: fol. 52r, line 33, *ie sustinc* (< Lat *sustinui*), *vide infra*: personal pronouns.

Suzmettre: fol. 50r, line 22, *sunt suzmis* (< Lat *subditi sunt*), with traces of a previous ***s***.

Targer: fol. 46r, line 6, *targeras* (< Lat *tardaveris*).

Teisir: fol. 44r, line 25, *ne taisir* (< Lat *ne sileas*).

Tendre: fol. 38v, line 16, *_tendirent* (< Lat *intenderunt*), *vide infra*: verbal prefixes; fol. 44v, line 24, *tendi_rent* (< Lat *intenderunt*), *vide infra*: verbal prefixes ex- / es-.

Transglutir: fol. 52r, line 27, *transglutet* (< Lat *absorbeat*).

Travailler: fol. 54r, line 38, *esteie trauailliez* (< Lat *exercitabar*).

Trencher: fol. 53v, line 25, *trencherent* (< Lat *exciderunt*).

Trover: fol. 39r, line 39, *est truuee* (< Lat *est inventa*).

Turber: fol. 37v, line 22, *Turbez est* (< Lat *Turbatus est*).

Uindre: fol. 47r, line 9, *oinst* (< Lat *unxit*); fol. 58r, line 21, *oins* (< Lat *unxi*).

Veer: fol. 38r, line 26, *ueies* (< Lat *vide*); fol. 41v, line 24, *Veies* (< Lat *vide*); fol. 49v, line 28, *ne _uirent* (< Lat *non viderunt*).

Vergunder: fol. 37v, line 25, *Vergundissent e seient conturbet* (< Lat *Erubescant et conturbentur*).

Voler: fol. 44v, line 10, *ne uoiles__* (< Lat *noli*).

VERBAL PREFIXES: *EX*/*ES*– (AC)

The Douce scribe also encountered a series of problems associated with ***ex/es***–. The initial spelling (before the erasures) often coincides with MS Arundel 230.

Abhominer: fol. 63v, line 1, *_abomina* (< Lat *abominatus est*), with traces of an erased ***es*** just before the ***a***, Arundel reading: *haiz est*.

Adrescer: fol. 44v, line 36, *adreciet* (< Lat *dirigentur*), same reading in Arundel; fol. 49v, line 36, *adreceai* (< Lat *direxi*), same reading in Arundel. Taking into account the size of the letter written over these two erasures, as well as the size of the erasure itself, it is entirely possible that the initial spelling was written with the prefix ***es***–.

Enhaucer: fol. 37r, line 25, *exalchanz* (< Lat *exaltans*); fol. 40r, line 24, *seit exalcet* (< Lat *exaltetur*), Arundel reading: *seit essalcet*; fol. 40r, line 26, *exalceras* (< Lat *exaltabis*), Arundel reading: *exhalceras*; fol. 40v, line 30, *Seies exalcet* (< Lat *exaltare*), Arundel reading: *seies essaulcez*; fol. 42r, line 10 (twice), *exalceat* (< Lat *exaltavit*), Arundel reading: *exalceat*; *exhalchat*; fol. 42r, line 35, *exalce* (< Lat *extolle*), same reading in Arundel.

Enquerre: fol. 43v, line 20, *esquis* (< Lat *exquisivi*), Arundel reading: *exquis*.

Esjoir (***s'***): fol. 46r, line 19-20, *ne _ sesiorrat* (< Lat *non gaudebit*), Arundel reading: *nient sesioirat*. The erasure seems to focus on the agglutination of the reflexive pronoun, as well as the root of the verb, perhaps a previous ***ex***–. *Vide infra*: reflexive pronouns.

Esleescer: fol. 50v, line 21, *esledecerai* (< Lat *exultabo*). Arundel reading: *eslecerai*.

Esprover: fol. 44r, line 7, *espruuerent* (< Lat *exprobraverunt*), same reading in Arundel; fol. 46v, line 28, *del esprouant* (< Lat *exprobrantis*), same reading in Arundel. Only one letter seems to have been erased at the beginning of the word; the scribe could have written *eprouant* at first.

Espuiser: fol. 54r, line 16, *expuisede* (< Lat *exinanita*), same reading in Arundel.

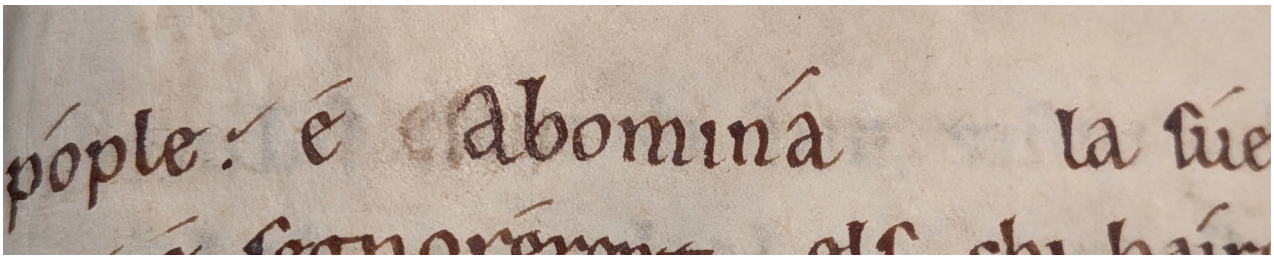
Essardre: fol. 48r, line 7, *exard_rat* (< Lat *exardescet*), Arundel reading: *exarderat*.

Guerduner: fol. 39v, line 37, *_guerredurrat* (< Lat *retribuet*), with traces of a previous ***ex***–, Arundel reading: *guerdunrat*.

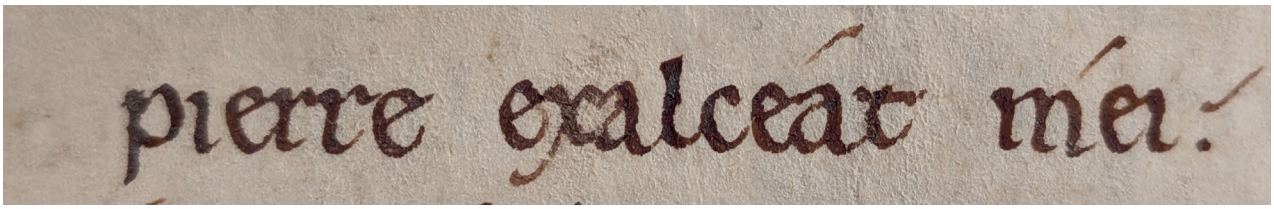
Mover: fol. 39v, line 2, *ne seient _moues* (< Lat *non moveantur*), Arundel reading: *ne seient mouez*; fol. 39r, line 21, *ne serat _mout* (< Lat *non movebitur*), with evident traces of an erased ***es***–, same reading in Arundel.

Tendre: fol. 38v, line 16, *_tendirent* (< Lat *intenderunt*), same reading in Arundel.

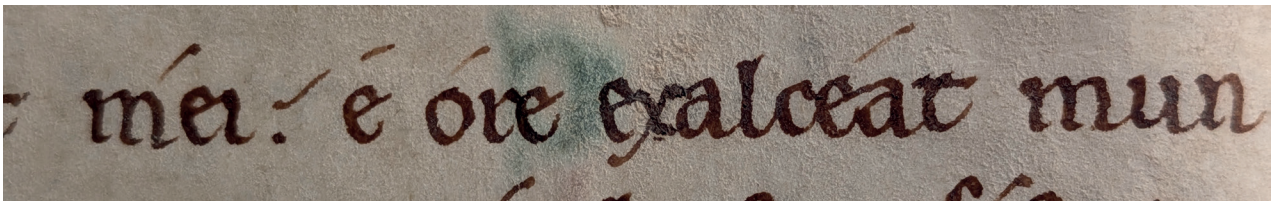
fol. 63v line 1



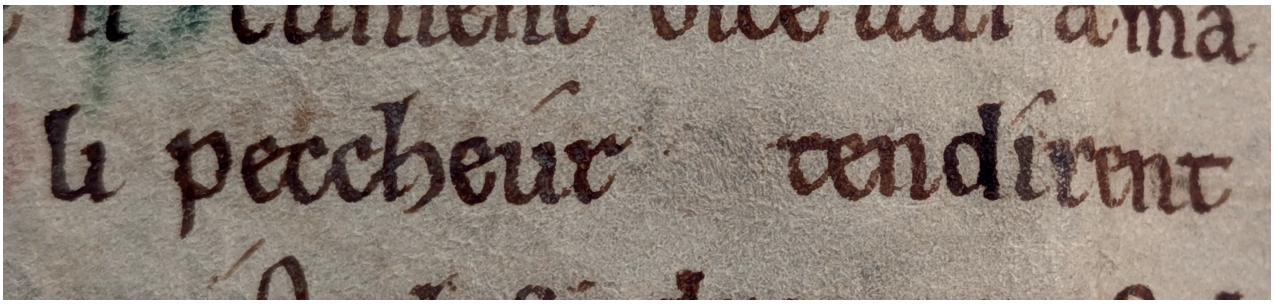
fol. 42r line 10 (1)



fol. 42r line 10 (2)



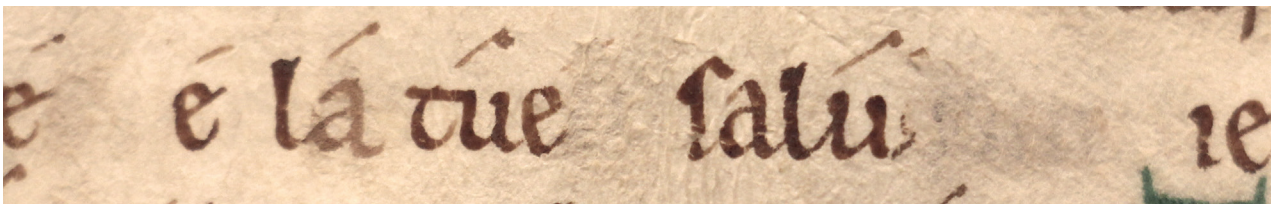
fol. 38v line 16



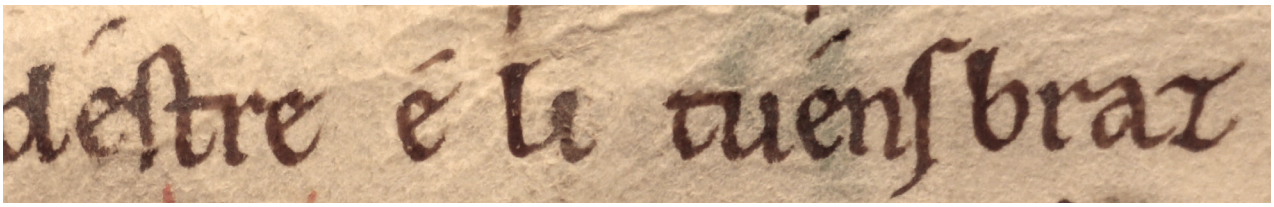
ARTICLE ERASURES (AC)

In the following category of erasures, the scribe of MS Douce 320 corrected a series of articles preceding the noun, some of which are linked to the prepositions ***a***, ***de***, and ***en*** (cf. Sneddon 1972, p. 88–89; 120–123; Short 2015, p. 23–24; for grammar, see also Pope 1952, §834, 1252–1253). Several examples from the latter category cannot occur in an autograph translation from a Latin source. The use of a vernacular antigraph is once again inevitable.

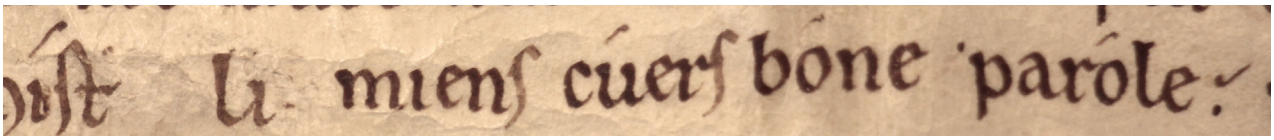
Articles without preposition: fol. 38r, line 29, *li_ piez* (Lat *pes*, nominative singular), same reading in Arundel (perhaps an erased *les* corrected to *li*); fol. 38v, line 7-8, *que tu ne ublies les poures* (< Lat *ne obliviscaris pauperum*, oblique plural), Arundel reading: *que tu ne ublies des poueres* (traces of an ascender suggest that the Douce scribe could have written *des* at first, just as in Arundel, mirroring the Latin phrase *oblivisci* + genitive); fol. 39v, lines 2-3, *la tue oreile* (< Lat *aurem tuam*, oblique singular), same reading in Arundel; fol. 40r, line 32, *Ne sunt _ paroles* (< Lat *Non sunt loquelae*, nominative plural), same reading in Arundel (perhaps an erased *les*); fol. 40r, line 39, *li cumandemenz* (< Lat *praeceptum*), Arundel reading: *li cumandement* (perhaps the Douce scribe wrote *le* at first); fol. 42r, line 31, *Sire li miens aiuerre* (< Lat *Dominus adiutor meus*, nominative singular), Arundel reading: *Sire li miens aidere*; fol. 43r, line 23 *_lespine* (< Lat *spina*, nominative singular), same reading in Arundel (possible elision *la* > *l'*); fol. 43v, line 7, *li poples* (< Lat *populus*, nominative singular), Arundel reading: *li pople* (traces of an erased letter suggest that the Douce scribe corrected *le* > *li*); fol. 44r, line 5-6, *e _esculurgement* (< Lat *et lubricum*), Arundel reading: *et esculuriable* (the traces of the ascender of an erased letter suggest that the Douce scribe wrote the contracted form *l'* at first); fol. 44r, line 8, *le pernement* (< Lat *captio*, nominative singular), same reading in Arundel (at first, the Douce scribe could have written either a feminine form, mirroring Latin *captio*, or a masculine *li*; the scribe corrected it as an accusative instead of the required nominative); fol. 45r, line 26, *Li_miens cuer* (< Lat *cor meum*, nominative singular), Arundel reading: *li miens quors*; fol. 45v, line 11, *Tresor aune ; e ne set a qui il le a_ ssemblerat* (< Lat *thesaurizat et ignorat cui congregabit ea*), Arundel reading: *Tressor aune et ne set a cui il asemblerat*; fol. 45v, line 16, *_laneme* (< Lat *animam*, oblique singular), with evident traces of an erased *la*, Arundel reading: *la aneme*; fol. 45v, line 34, *la tue_ salu_* (< Lat *salutare tuum*, oblique singular), Arundel reading: *et le tuen salut*; fol. 46r, line 33, *Li abisme_labisme apelet* (< Lat *Abyssus abyssum invocat*, oblique singular), Arundel reading: *le abisme* (possible elision *li*/*le* > *l'*); fol. 46v, line 15, *li tuens braz* (< Lat *brachium tuum*, nominative singular), Arundel reading: *li tuen braz* (the final ***s*** in *tuens* was written later, in the blank space between the possessive and the noun; at first, the scribe wrote *le tuen braz*, a singular oblique case; the Douce scribe corrected it into a nominative singular, similar to the preceding *la tue destre* < Lat *dextera tua*—in the phrase that follows, *_lenluminement* (< Lat *illuminatio*), does not agree with the declension of a nominative singular); fol. 46v, line 15, *_lenluminement* (< Lat *illuminatio*, nominative singular), same reading in Arundel (possible elision *li*/*le* > *l'*); fol. 46v, line 32, *_um-*



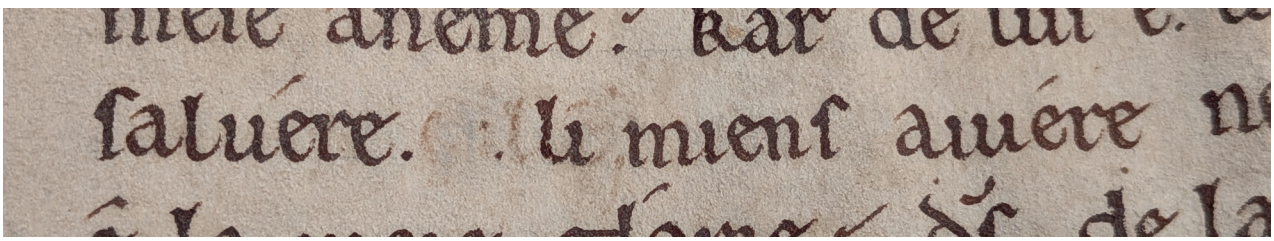
fol. 45v line 34



fol. 46v line 15

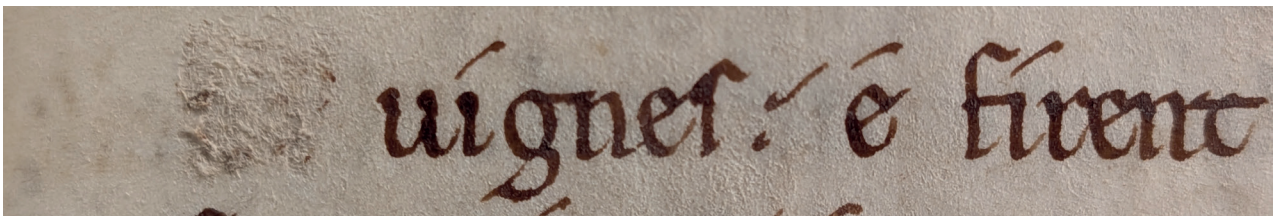


fol. 46v line 40

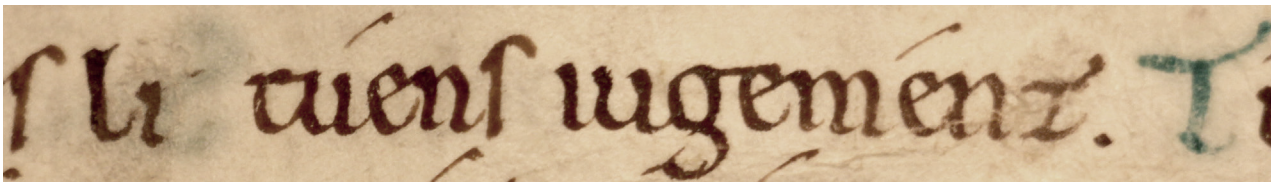


fol. 50v line 4

f. 64r
line 12



fol. 68r
line 35



bre (< Lat *umbra*, nominative singular), Arundel reading: *la umbre*; fol. 46v, line 40, *li miens cuers* (< Lat *cor meum*, nominative singular), same reading in Arundel (the Douce scribe wrote the form *le* at first; the final ***s*** in *miens* and *cuers* was also added later); fol. 47r, line 29, *li regne* (< Lat *regna*, nominative plural), same reading in Arundel; fol. 47v, line 4, *en la_ citet* (< Lat *in civitate*), with traces of a previous ***c***, as if the scribe had written *en lac* at first; fol. 47v, line 14, *li monz* (< Lat *mons*, nominative singular), same reading in Arundel (perhaps *le* was written at first); fol. 47v, line 23, *_liniquitet* (< Lat *iniquitas*, nominative singular), Arundel reading: *li iniquitet* (possible elision *la* > *l'*); fol. 48r, line 14, *li iument* (< Lat *iumenta*, nominative plural), Arundel reading: *li iumenz* (the traces of the erased letters suggest that the scribe of Douce wrote the accusative plural *les* at first); fol. 48r, line 18, *_les tuens uoz* (< Lat *vota tua*, oblique plural), Arundel reading: *les tues uouz*; fol. 48r, line 39, *li os humilie_* (< Lat *ossa humiliata*, nominative plural), Arundel reading: *li os humiliet* (the Douce scribe could have written the plural accusative *les* at first); fol. 49v, line 3, *les quels ie rendrai* (< Lat *quae reddam*, oblique plural), same reading in Arundel; fol. 49v, line 9, *la sue misericorde* (< Lat *misericordiam suam*, oblique singular), same reading in Arundel (the possessive *sue* is written in the interline, between *la* and *misericorde*; the Douce scribe could have written the possessive weak form *sa misericorde* at first, then decided to use the strong form); fol. 49v, line 36, *li miens pecchiez* (< Lat *peccatum meum*, nominative singular), Arundel reading: *li miens pecchet* (traces of *le* under the erasure); fol. 50v, line 4, *_li miens aiuére* (< Latin *adiutor meus*, nominative singular), with clear traces of *il* and an abbreviated *est*, Arundel reading: *li miens aidere* (the Douce scribe could have written *e il ē* (= *est*) at first, similar to what he had written in previous phrasings; there are also traces of a descending comma, similar to those used for later additions or the separation of words); fol. 51r, line 10, *Li fluues* (< Lat *flumen*), same reading in Arundel (the Douce scribe could have written the plural accusative *les* at first); f. 51v, line 23, *li monz* (< Lat *mons*, nominative singular), same reading in Arundel (at first, the Douce scribe could have written *le*); fol. 51v, line 24, *_ monz* (< Lat *mons*, nominative), same reading in Arundel (possibly a definite article was erased); fol. 51v, line 25, *Li monz* (< Lat *mons*, nominative singular), same reading in Arundel (a correction of *le* or *les*?); fol. 51v, line 26, *Li curres* (< Lat *currus*, nominative plural),

Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320.
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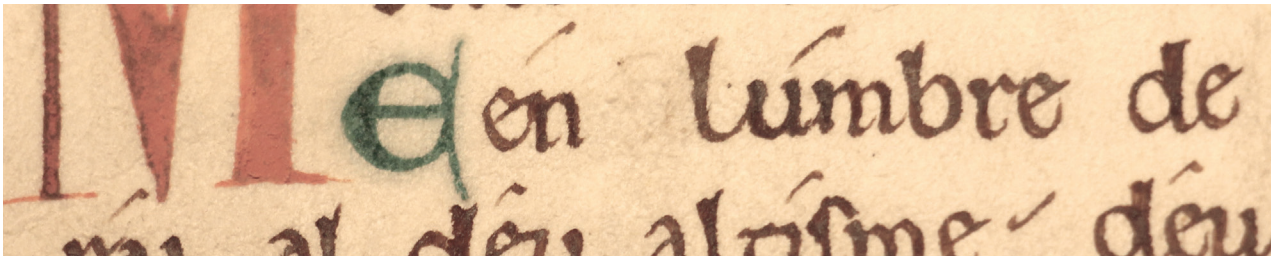
Arundel reading: *si curres* (a correction of *le* or *les* in Douce?); fol. 51v, line 27, *li sire* (< Lat *dominus*, nominative singular), same reading in Arundel; fol. 51v, line 32, *la uertiz* (< Lat *verticem*), same reading in Arundel; fol. 55r, line 18, *li altismes* (< Lat *excelsus*, nominative singular) (possibly *l'* at first); fol. 55r, line 19, *Li_cuers* (< Lat *cor*, nominative singular), same reading in Arundel; fol. 55v, line 1, *el_ mont* (< Lat *in montem*, oblique singular), with traces of an erased ***e***, same reading in Arundel (the Douce scribe wrote *le* at first, then erased ***–e*** and added ***é–*** before the ***l*** > the elided form *en* + *le*); fol. 55v, line 4, *deu le haltísme* (< Latin *deum excelsum*), Arundel reading: *le deu halt* (the correction in Douce could be linked to a modified translation choice), *vide infra*: lexical issues, *vide infra*: Orne fragments; fol. 56v, line 29, *li_ tuen_ tabernacle_* (< Lat *tabernacula tua*, nominative plural), same reading in Arundel (the correction probably concerned the declension); fol. 57v, line 24, *les_ susciterunt* (< Lat *suscitabunt*, oblique plural), Arundel reading: *les susciterent*; fol. 58r, line 8, *_orguillus* (< Lat *superbum*, oblique singular), same reading in Arundel (the traces of an erased letter suggest that the scribe probably wrote the elided *l'* at first); fol. 60v, lines 37-38, *Ot lorguillus _ oil . e ot le neient saulable _ cuer* (< Lat *superbo oculo et insatiabili corde cum hoc non edebam*, oblique singular), same reading in Arundel (definite articles erased?); fol. 61r, lines 27-28, *les gemissemenz* (< Lat *gemitus*), same reading in Arundel; fol. 62r, line 6, *li fust* (< Lat *ligna*, nominative plural), same reading in Arundel (the Douce text probably read les at first); fol. 64r, line 13, *_uignes* (< Lat *vineas*, oblique plural), with possible traces of an erased *les*, same reading in Arundel; fol. 66r, line 33, *le quel fist _ nostre sire* (< Lat *quam fecit Dominus*, nominative singular), with traces of a previous *le* before *nostre*, Arundel reading: *la quele fist nostre sire*; fol. 67v, line 33, *_ mes purpens est* (< Lat *meditatio mea*, nominative singular), same reading in Arundel (perhaps *li* was written at first, then erased); fol. 68r, line 35, *li tuens iugemenz* (< Lat *iudicium tuum*, nominative singular), same reading in Arundel (the Douce scribe possibly wrote *le tuen iugement* at first); fol. 72r, line 29, *li miens refuges* (< *refugium meum*, nominative singular), Arundel

reading: *li mien refuges* (perhaps *le* was written at first in the text of Douce); fol. 75v, line 5, *e deuorerunt els _ oisel* (< Latin *et devorabunt eos aves*), with traces of a previous monosyllabic word ending in ***s***, Arundel reading: *et deuorerunt els oiseals* (perhaps an erased *les*).

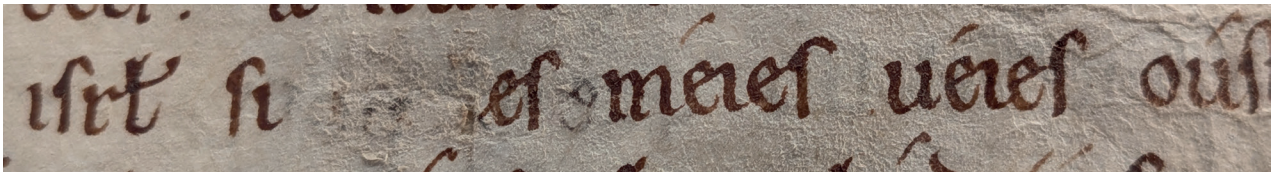
Preposition* a *+ article: fol. 39v, line 13, *_al tun esguardement* (< Lat *conspectui tuo*), Arundel reading: *al tuen esguardement*; fol. 41r, line 35, *Al segnur est la térre* (< Lat *Domini est terra*), Arundel reading: *Del seignur est la terre*; fol. 41v, line 16, *ensegnerat as suefs* (< Lat *docebit mites*), Arundel reading: *enseignerat les suefs* (in all probability, the Douce scribe wrote *les* at first, then erased *le* in order to write *a* and mend the word to the contracted form of *a* + les); fol. 48v, line 3, *Ie enseignerai as torcenus* (< Lat *docebo iniquos*), Arundel reading: *Ieo enseignerai les feluns* (once again, in all probability, *les* > *a* + *les*); fol. 51r, line 2, *e as noz impietez* (< Lat *et impietatibus nostris*), same reading in Arundel (again, *les* > *a* + *les*); fol. 51r, lines 17-18, *dunez glorie al loenge de lui* (< Lat *date gloriam laudi eius*), same reading in Arundel.

Preposition* de *+ article: fol. 38r, line 6, *de_ enfanz e de laitańz* (< Lat *infantium et lactentium*), with traces of a previous final ***s***, Arundel reading: *des enfanz et de laitanz*; fol. 40r, line 31, *Li iurz del iurn* (< Lat *dies diei*), same reading in Arundel; fol. 40v, line 27, *de _ terre* (< Lat *de terra*), Arundel reading: *de la terra* (the Douce scribe probably wrote *la*, then erased it); fol. 42r, line 32, *de la meie uoluntet* (< Lat *cor meum*, nominative singular), Arundel reading: *de le moie uolentet*.

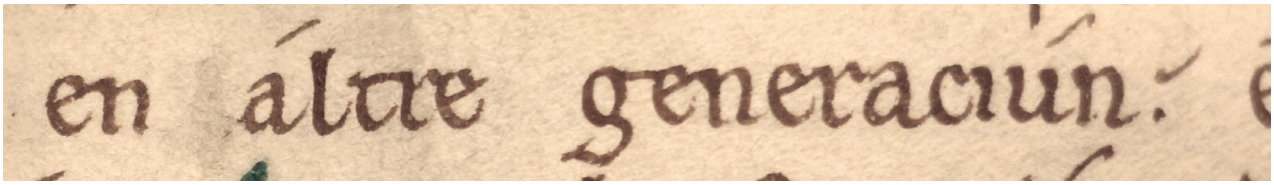
Preposition* en *+ article. A particular erasure and correction is repeated throughout the text: *en lesguardement* < Lat *in conspectu* (same reading in Arundel): fol. 48r, line 6, *en _lesguardement*; fol. 50r, line 34, *en _ lesguardement*; fol. 51v, line 8, *en _lesguardement*; fol. 51v, line 10, *en _lesguardement*; fol. 51v, line 14, *en_lesguardement*. I would like to add a list of similar occurrences: fol. 43r, line 2, *es_ túes mains* (< Lat *in manibus tuis*), Arundel reading: *en tes mains* (the Douce scribe probably wrote *en* at first, then erased a minim, in order to write ***s***: *en* > *en* + *les*); fol. 46r, line 9, *en _ laneme* (< Lat *in animam*, oblique singular), Arundel reading: *en aneme* (in all likelihood, a change from *la* to *l'*); fol. 46r, line 10, *en _lenfermete_* (< Lat *in infirmitate*), Arundel reading: *en lenfermetet* (probable correction *la* > *l'*); fol. 49v, line 7, *en _lumbre* (< Lat *in umbra*), Arundel reading: *en umbre* (probable correction *la* > *l'*); fol. 51r, line 9, *les eissemenz de matin e el uespre tu deliteras* (< Lat *exitus matutini et vespere delectabis*), same reading in Arundel (in this particular case, the Douce scribe made an eye-skip and wrote the preposition *de* twice, then realised that the two Latin words—*matutini* and *vespere*—needed different phrasings); fol. 52r, lines 34-35, *en la meie sei_* (< Lat *in siti mea*, oblique singular), Arundel reading: *en la moie sei* (perhaps the word *ma* was written at first); fol. 55v, line 18, *en la terre* (< Lat *in terra*), Arundel reading: *en la tere*; fol. 56r, line 36, *_ es meies ueies* (< Lat *in viis meis*, oblique plural), with evident traces of an ***en*** and an ***l*** erased, Arundel reading: *en moies uoies* (it is likely that the Douce scribe wrote *en les méies uéies* at first, then corrected it to include the contracted form *es*); f. 60r, line 14, *el _ saintefiement* (< Latin *in sanctificatione*), with traces of an ascender ***l*** before *saintefiement*, and traces of an ascender ***s*** above the first ***i***, Arundel reading: *en le seintefiement* (the Douce scribe could have written *en le s*(*aintefiement*) at first); fol. 61r, line 25, *en _altre generaciun* (< Lat *in generatione altera*, oblique singular), with evident traces of a previous ***l***, same reading in Arundel; fol. 62v, line 16, *es _ sers de lui* (< Lat *in servos eius*), same reading in Arundel (in all probability, the erasure concerned a previous *les*, perhaps a redundant repetition of the article); fol. 71v, line 33, *es_bien ploudes choses* (< Lat *in beneplacitis*), Arundel reading: *en bien plues coses* (probable presence of an *en* at first; the Douce scribe probably erased a minim of the ***n***, to correct it into an ***s***: *en* > *en* + *les*).



fol. 49v line 7



fol. 56r line 36



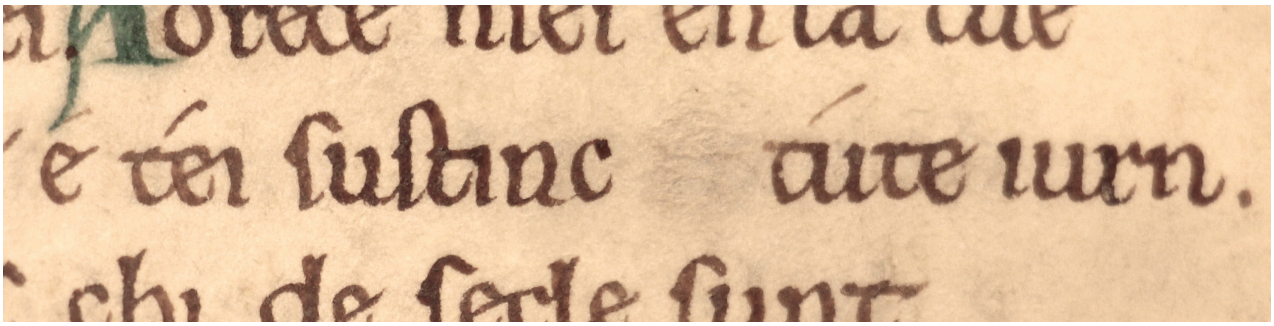
fol. 61r line 25

ERASURES IN PERSONAL PRONOUNS (AC)

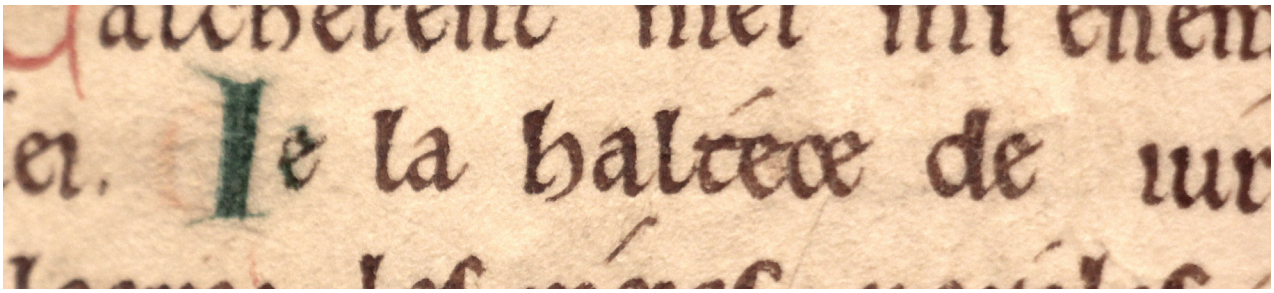
Another survey of erasures concerns masculine and feminine personal pronouns. These erasures and corrections mend scribal errors, spelling and changes in translation choices; morphological issues concerning pronouns (strong and weak forms; pronoun + article / preposition). When the erasure of the pronoun is linked to the erasure of a verbal form, it is hard to define the exact nature of the problem.

Ie: fol. 37r, line 14, *Mais ie_ sui establit* (< Lat *Ego autem constitutus sum*); fol. 38r, line 14, *ie recunterai* (< Lat *narrabo*), Arundel reading: *io cuncterai*, *vide supra*: verbal forms; fol. 41v, line 11, *e tei sustinc _ tute iurn* (< Lat *et te sustinui tota die*), Arundel reading: *et tei sustinc tut en iurn* (possible reading *ie* or *en*, erased); fol. 49r, line 33, *Ie la haltece de iurn crend_rai* (< Lat *Ab altitudine diei timebo*), Arundel reading: *De la haltece de iurn criendrai* (the Douce scribe transcribed the wrong majuscule); fol. 50v, line 17, *beneistrai _ tei* (< Lat *benedicam te*), with evident traces of a previous ***ie*** under the erasure, same reading in Arundel; fol. 52r, line 33, *ie sustinc* (< Lat *sustinui*), Arundel reading: *et sustinc*, *vide supra*: verbal forms; fol. 55v, line 28, *_ iraistras* (< Lat *irasceris*), with evident traces of a previous ***ie*** under the erasure, Arundel reading: *seras tu curuce*; fol. 72r, line 3, *Ie esguardowe* (< Lat *Considerabam*), Arundel reading: *io esguardou* (a low serif has been erased in Douce, as if the scribe had written an ***l*** at first). Several of these corrections mend scribal errors, thus proving once again the existence of an antigraph of MS Douce 320.

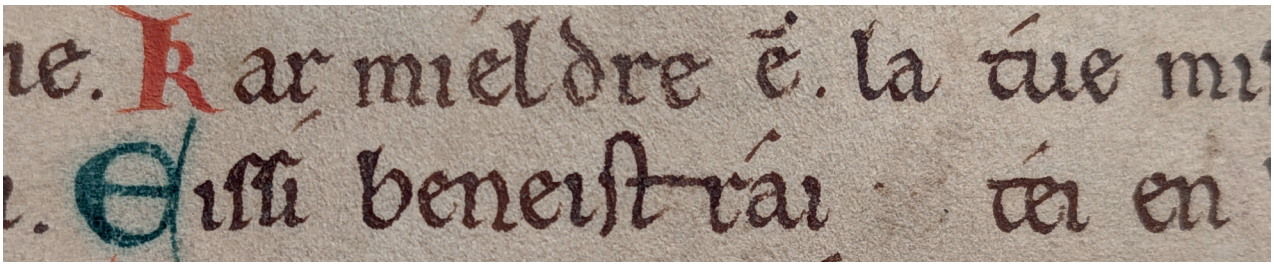
Me/Mei: fol. 37r, line 28, *fai me_ salf* (< Lat *salvum me fac*) (probable erasure of the final ***i*** in the tonic form *mei*, strong form > weak form); fol. 39r, line 29, *cruissirent en mei* (< Lat *increpuerunt me*), same reading in Arundel, *vide supra*: verbal forms; fol. 39v, lines 17-18, *Auirunerent _mei les dulurs* (< Lat *Circumdederunt me dolores*), with possible traces of an ***l*** under the ***m***, same reading in Arundel (perhaps the scribe of Douce wrote the article *les* at first, instead of the pronoun); fol. 39v, line 36, *salf me_ fist* (< Lat *salvum me fecit*), with evident traces of a previous ***i*** at the end of ***me*** (strong form > weak form),



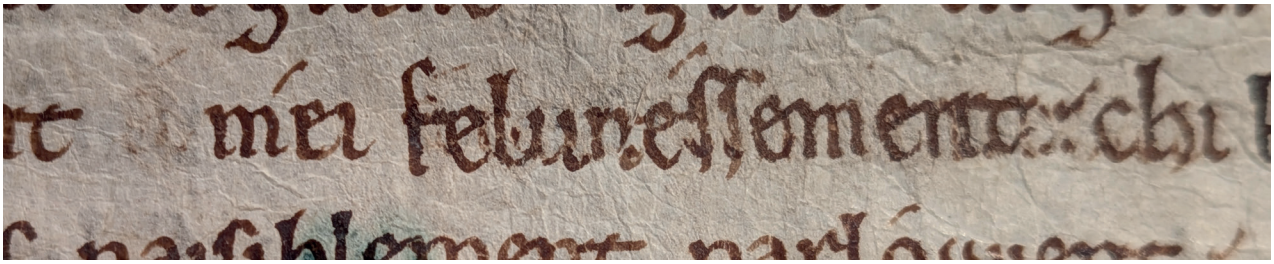
fol. 41v line 11



fol. 49r line 33



fol. 50v line 17

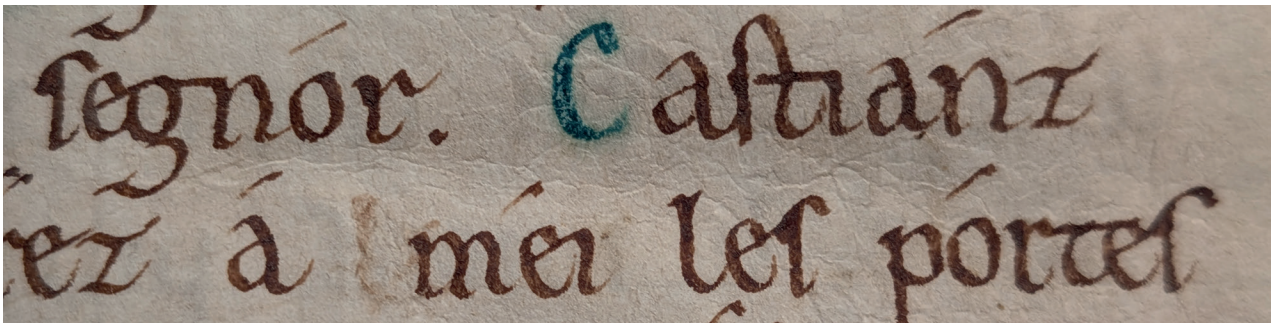


fol. 44r line 22

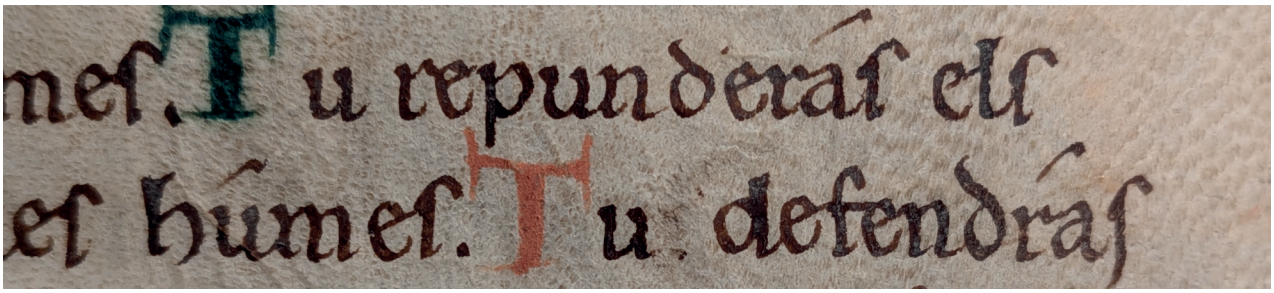
Arundel reading: *salf mei feist*; fol. 40v, line 32, *pur quei me_ deguerpis ?* (< Lat *quare me dereliquisti ?*), with traces of a previous ***i*** (strong form > weak form), Arundel reading: *purquei mei deguerpis* (the scribe of Douce had written *mei* at first as in the previous segment of the same verse—*Deus li miens deus reguarde mei* / Lat *Deus, Deus meus, respice in me*); fol. 41v, line 8, *Ne ne me_ escharnissent* (< Lat *neque irrideant me*), Arundel reading: *ne ne charnissent mi enemi* (a letter was erased at the end of *me*, probably an ***i***; strong form > weak form); fol. 44r, line 22, *chi cuntralient _ mei* (< Lat *qui adversantur mihi*), with clear traces of an erased ***a*** before *mei*, Arundel reading: *a mei* (the Douce scribe probably wrote *mi* at first, then corrected it to *mei*, without erasure); fol. 49v, line 34, *salue mei* (< Lat *salva me*), Arundel reading: *salf mei, vide supra*: verbal forms; fol. 66r, line 27, *Aourez a _mei* (< Lat *Aperite mihi*), with traces of a previous ***li***, same reading in Arundel.

Tu/Tei: fol. 37r, line 28, *esdrece tei sire* (< Lat *exsurge domine*), *vide supra*: verbal forms; fol. 38r, line 6-7, *tu parfesis* (< Latin *perfecisti*), same reading in Arundel; fol. 40v, line 29, *Kar tu_ poseras* (< Lat *Quoniam poses*), with traces of a previous ***s***, same reading in Arundel (the ***s*** written at first could concern the combined form *tus* = *tu* + *les*; cf. Ps 2:9 and Ps 9:35a); fol. 43r, lines 10-11, *Tu_ defendras _els* (< Lat *proteges eos*), with traces of an ***s*** erased after *tu*, Arundel reading: *Tu ueras icouls* (at first, the Douce scribe could have written *tus* = *tu* + *les*, in order to translate the two pronouns—the stressed *tu* and the unstressed *les*, reconstructed as *Tus defendras*, with *defendras* written between lines 10 and 11; a part of the verb was probably erased on line 11 and rewritten on line 10, in the margin of the column, in order to make space for the new pronoun *els*); fol. 45r, line 33, *tu exorras* (< Lat *tu exaudies me*), same reading in Arundel; fol. 46v, line 9, *e pur quei cunturbes _ mei ?* (< Lat *et quare conturbas me ?*), with traces of a previous *tu*, Arundel reading: *et purquei contrubles mei ?*; fol. 47v, line 37, *ne criémes _* (< Latin *ne timueris*), Arundel

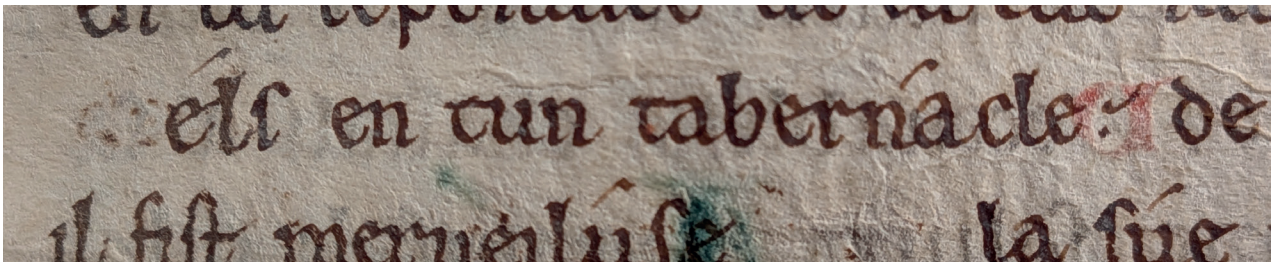
Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320.
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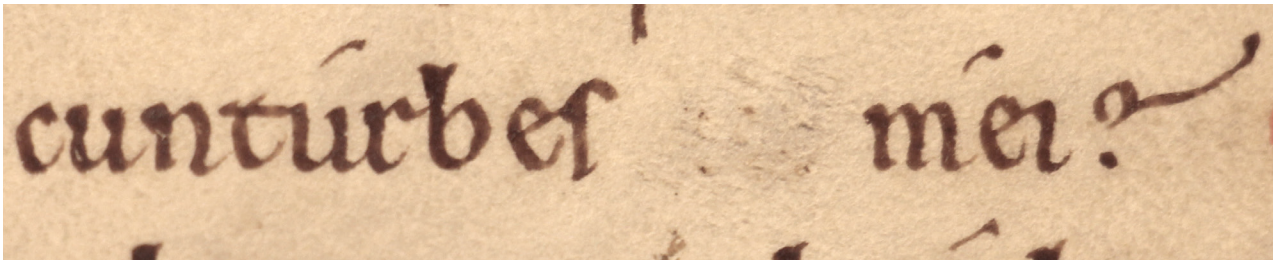
fol. 66r line 27



fol. 43r line 10

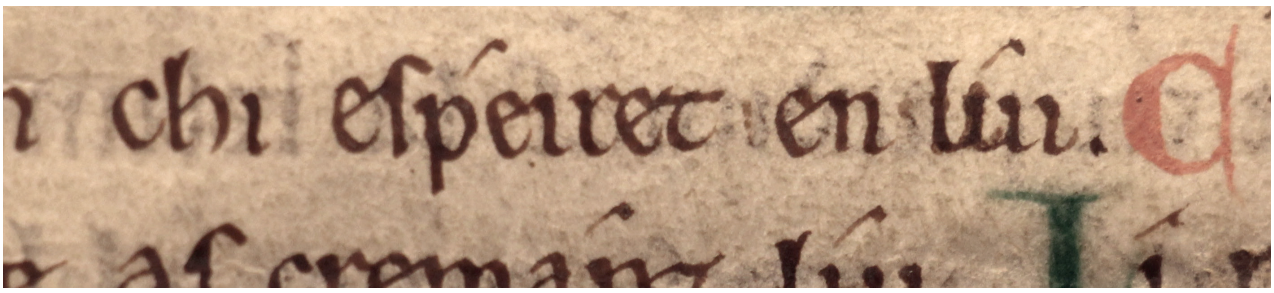


fol. 43r line 11

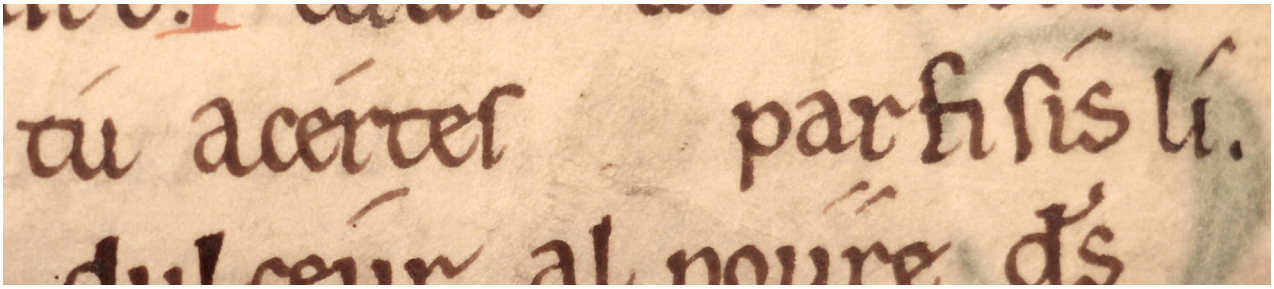


fol. 46v line 9

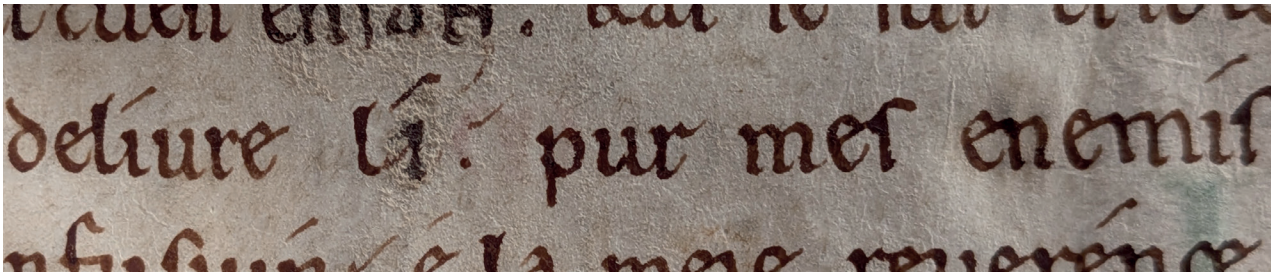
fol. 41v line 11



fol. 51v line 17



fol. 52r line 31



Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320.
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reading: *ne crienges* (at first, *tu* could have been written in the blank space, particularly if the scribe of Douce thought that he was writing an interrogative clause), *vide supra*: verbal forms; fol. 71r, line 12, *_ exoi_ mei* (< Lat *exaudi me*), with evident traces of a previous *tu* before *exoi*, Arundel reading: *exoie mei*. Once again, many of these erasures concern scribal errors and document the existence of an antigraph of MS Douce 320.

Il: fol. 72v, line 39, *Chi guarde uerited en siecle ; __ fait iugement as suffranz torcenurie* (< Lat *Qui custodit veritatem in saeculum facit iudicium iniuriam patientibus*), with evident traces of a previous pronom *il* (subject), Arundel reading: *Ki guarde ueritet en siecle fait iugement torcenerie as sufranz*.

Lui/Li* (masculine pronoun)**: fol. 39v, lines 9-10 (twice), *Esdrece tei sire deuancis lui e supplante lui* (< Lat *Exsurge Domine praeveni eum et supplanta eum*), Arundel reading: *Esdrece tei sire deuancis ei lui et suplante lui*, *vide supra*: verbal forms; fol. 40v, line 39, *Il esperat el segnur deliuret lui ; salf le facet ; kar il uult lui .* (< Lat *Speravit in Domino eripiat eum salvum faciat eum quoniam vult eum*), Arundel reading: *Jl esperat elei(?) el seigneur liuret lui; salf facet lui kar il uolt lui*; fol. 41r, line 14, *Chi cremez le segnur loez lui* (< Lat *Qui timetis Dominum laudate eum*), same reading in Arundel; fol. 43v, line 25, *en lui* (< Lat *in eo*), Arundel reading: *en lui* (no traces of an erasure, but the Douce scribe corrected *li* into *lui*); fol. 45r, line 6, *_ mortifier lui* (< Lat *mortificare eum*), same reading in Arundel; fol. 45r, line 7, *ne deguerpira_ lui* (< Lat *non derelinquet eum*), Arundel reading: *nient deguerpirat lui* (the Douce scribe corrected the ending of the verb, as documented by an erased final ***t or ***z***; the pronoun was also corrected upon erasure); fol. 55v, line 19, *e susleua lui* (< Lat *et sustulit eum*), same reading in Arundel, *vide supra*: verbal forms; fol. 55v, line 20, *recut lui* (< Lat *accepit eum*), Arundel reading: *receut luj*, *vide supra*: verbal forms; fol. 60r, line 33, *Aorez lui* (< Lat *Adorate eum*), same reading in Arundel; fol. 62v, line 3, *de li* (< Lat *incolae eius*), Arundel reading: *de lui*, *vide infra*: eius; fol. 70v, line 37, *el milliu de li* (< Lat *in medio eius*), with evident traces of a previous *lui*, Arundel reading: *el milliu de lui*, *vide infra*: *eius*; fol. 72v, line 7, *beneure li poples /* li sire // /* del quel // est. li suens deus* (< Lat *beatus populus cuius Dominus Deus eius*), with traces of *li sire*, Arundel reading: *boneurez li pople del quel li sire est deus de lui* (the Douce scribe muddled the word order; the error is odd, since the first version of the text, before the erasure, was correct), *vide infra*: *eius*.

Lui/Li* (feminine pronoun)**: fol. 47v, line 15, *Auirunez syon e embracez li* (< Lat *Circumdate Sion et complectimini eam*), same reading in Arundel (the scribe could have replaced the weak oblique form *la* with the strong oblique form *li*); fol. 51r, line 9, *Tu uisitas la terre e eniuras li ; multiplias a enrichir li* (< Lat *Visitasti terram et inebriasti eam*), same reading in Arundel (same oblique *la* replaced with strong *li*); fol. 51v, line 17, *tu acertes _ parfisis li* (< Lat *tu vero perfecisti eam*), same reading in Arundel (oblique *la* > strong *li*); fol. 52r, line 31, *Entent a la meie aneme e deliure li* (< Lat *Intende animae meae et libera eam*), with traces of a previous ***a, same reading in Arundel (oblique *la* > strong *li*).

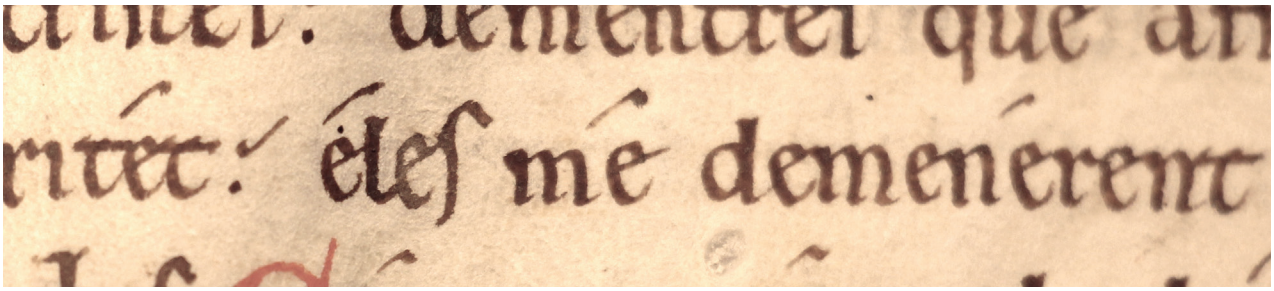
Eles: fol. 46v, line 6, *eles me demenerent* (< Lat *ipsa me deduxerunt*), same reading in Arundel (at first, the Douce

scribe probably wrote the masculine pronoun *els*).

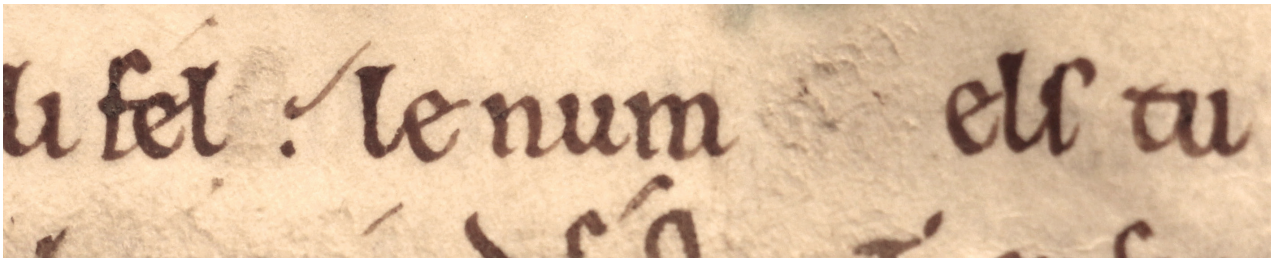
Il/Els: fol. 40r, line 21, *eslauerai els* (< Lat *delebo eos*), Arundel reading: *eslauerai ils*, *vide supra*: verbal forms; fol. 43v, line 24, *e deliuerat els* (< Lat *et eripiet eos*), Arundel reading: *et sustreirat els* (no trace of a pronoun under *els*, thus suggesting that the Douce scribe wrote, at first, a phrase such as *les* + verb; the traces of an ***r*** from a previous verbal form are actually visible between the final ***t*** of the verb and *els*), *vide supra*: verbal forms; fol. 46v, line 23, *e chi hairent nus departeient a els* (< Lat *et qui oderunt nos diripiebant sibi*), Arundel reading: *et ki hairent nus departeient a sei* (the traces of a serif above the ***e*** of *els* suggest that the Douce scribe wrote *a se* at first); fol. 47v, line 34, *depaistrat els* (< Lat *depascet eos*), same reading in Arundel, *vide supra*: verbal forms; fol. 53r, line 37, *en els* (< Lat *in eis*), same reading in Arundel; fol. 60r, line 7, *si il enterrunt* (< Lat *si introibunt*), same reading in Arundel.

De + els: the extended form *de els* is used from fol. 37r to fol. 53r. The contracted *dels* (agglutinated to the pronoun = *d+els*) is used from fol. 42r to fol. 75r. In a series of erasures going from fol. 38r, line 18, to fol. 52r, line 40, the Douce scribe changes *de els* to a contracted *dels*—fol. 38r, line 18, *le num _ els* (< Lat *nomen eorum*), with evident traces of a previous *de*, Arundel reading: *le num de couls*; fol. 43v, line 33, *la memorie _ dels* (< Lat *memoriam eorum*), Arundel reading: *la memorie de els*; fol. 44r, line 21, *de la malignitet _ dels* (< Lat *malignitate eorum*), Arundel reading: *del malignitet de els*; fol. 46v, lines 24-25, *es changemenz _ dels* (< Lat *in commutationibus eorum*), Arundel reading: *es changemenz de els*; fol. 47r, line 26, *les ewes _ dels* (< Lat *aquae eorum*), Arundel reading: *les ewes de els*; fol. 47v, lines 29-30, *les sepulchres _ . dels* (< Lat *sepulchra eorum*), Arundel reading: *les supulcres de els* (*de* was probably erased after *sepulchres*, and another ***d*** was added to the pronoun *els* in the following line); fol. 47v, line 30, *Les tabernacles _ dels* (< Lat *tabernacula eorum*), Arundel reading: *les tabernacles de els*; fol. 49r, line 12, *les langues _dels* (< Lat *linguas eorum*), Arundel reading: *les langues* (without the translation of *eorum*); fol. 49v, line 11, *les denz _dels* (< Lat *dentes eorum*), Arundel reading: *les denz de els*; fol. 49v, line 40, *es leures _ dels* (< Lat *in labiis eorum*), Arundel reading: *es leueres de icels*; fol. 50v, line 35, *plaies _ dels* (< Latin *plagae eorum*), Arundel reading: *plaies de els*; fol. 51r, line 11, *la uiande _ dels* (< Lat *cibum illorum*), with evident traces of a previous *de*, Arundel reading: *la uiande de els*; fol. 51v, line 38-39, *duitur _ dels* (< Lat *duces eorum*), Arundel reading: *duitres de cels*, *vide infra*: lexical issues; fol. 52r, line 40, *la felunie _ dels* (< Lat *iniquitatem eorum*), Arundel reading: *la felunie de els*; fol. 53r, line 19, *dicels* (< Lat *eorum*), Arundel reading: *de els* (at first, the Douce scribe seems to have written *de els*), *vide infra*: demonstrative pronouns.

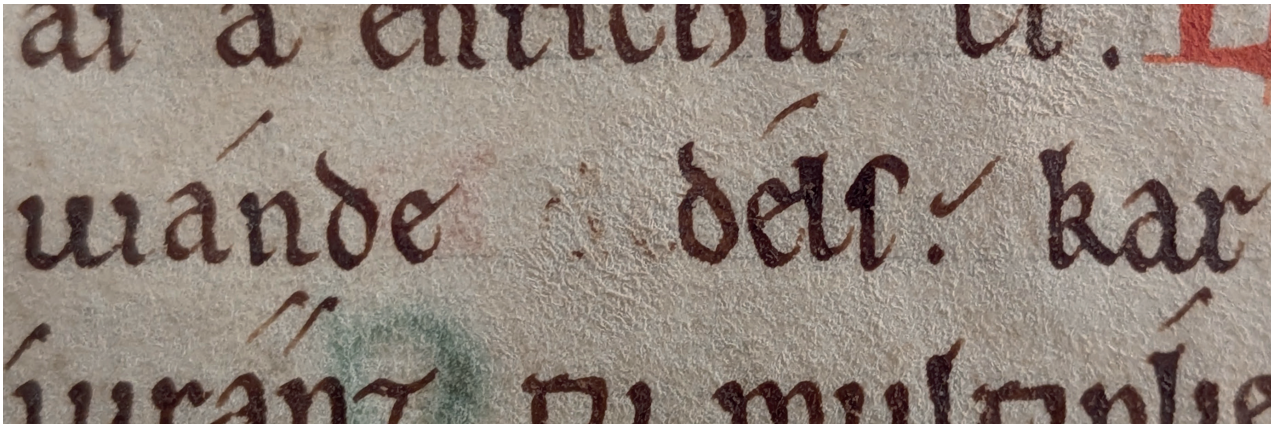
For pronouns, see also Pope 1952, §826-843, 1248-1251; Short 2015, p. 24–25; Sneddon 1972, p. 89–90, 123–124.



fol. 46v
line 6



fol. 38r
line 18

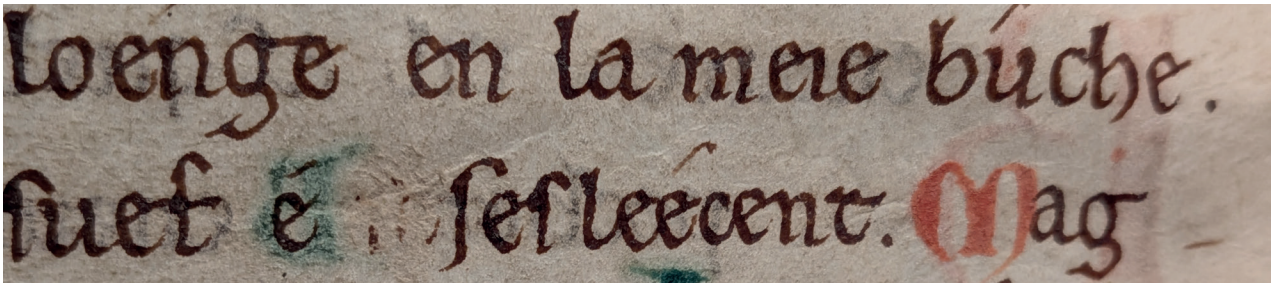


fol. 51r
line 11

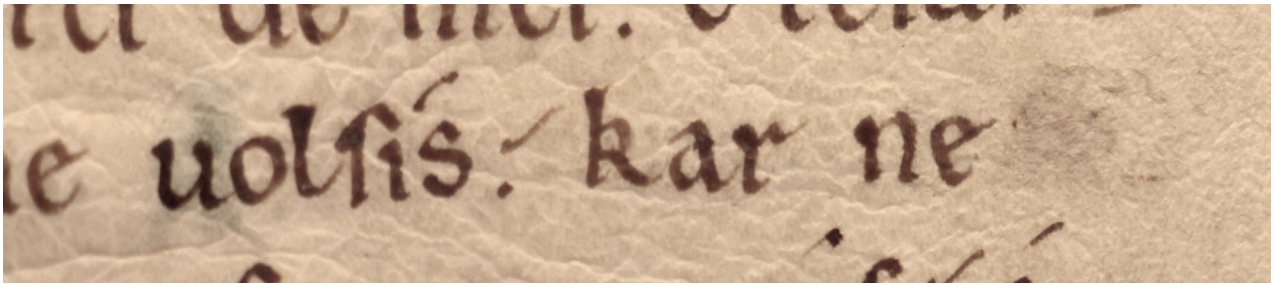
ERASURES IN REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS (AC)

Other erasures concern the elision of reflexive pronouns *se* (singular and plural) and *me*. The erasures and corrections are the following: fol. 37r, line 23, *_sesdrecent* (< Lat *insurgunt*); fol. 37v, line 14, *sesglorierunt* (< Lat *gloriabuntur*), Arundel reading: *se lecerunt*, *vide supra*: verbal forms; fol. 37v, line 14, *sesioirunt* (< Lat *exultabunt*). Arundel reading: *ses gloriesent*, *vide supra*: verbal forms; fol. 38r, lines 14-15, *Ie _ esleecerai* (< Lat *laetabor*), with traces of an erased *me* after *Ie*, Arundel reading: *Jo eslescerai*; fol. 38r, line 27, *Ie _mesleecerai* (< Lat *exultabo*), Arundel reading: *Jo meslaescerai*; f. 38v, line 28, *_mesdrecerai* (< Latin *exurgam*), Arundel reading: *me esdrecerai*; fol. 38v, line 38 *_sesleecerunt* (< Lat *exultabunt*), Arundel reading: *se eslecerunt*; fol. 39r, lines 3-4, *Tuit _ declinerent ensembleement* (< Lat *omnes declinaverunt*), with evident traces of a previous reflexive pronoun *se*, same reading in Arundel; fol. 39r, line 14, *_sesiorrat* (< Latin *exultabit*), Arundel reading: *sesioirat*; fol. 39r, line 14, *_sesleecerat* (< Lat *laetabitur*), Arundel reading: *sesleecerat*; fol. 40r, line 36, *se_ repunge* (< Lat *se abscondat*), with traces of an erased *s* at the end of *se*, Arundel reading: *se repuinge* (at first, the Douce scribe could have written the possessive form *ses*), *vide supra*: verbal forms; fol. 43v, line 19, *_sesleecent* (< Lat *laetentur*), Arundel reading: *si se esleecent*; fol. 44r, line 30, *_sesleecent* (< Lat *gratulantur*), Arundel reading: *sesleecent*; fol. 46r, lines 19-20, *ne _ sesiorrat* (< Lat *non gaudebit*), Arundel reading: *nient sesioirat*; fol. 49r, line 9, *_mesluignai* (< Lat *elongavi*), with evident traces of a previous *me* under the erasure, Arundel reading: *enlunignai*; fol. 50r, line 19, *_mesledecerai* (< Lat *laetabor*), Arundel reading: *meslescerai*; fol. 50v, line 9, *que il medesme __ deceiuent de uanite en ice medesme* (< Lat *ut decipiant ipsi de vanitate in idipsum*), Arundel reading: *que il deceiuant de uanite en ice mesme* (the extent of the erasure in MS Douce 320 suggest that the scribe wrote a monosyllabic word of two letters at first; perhaps *se*, to reinforce the reflexive aspect).

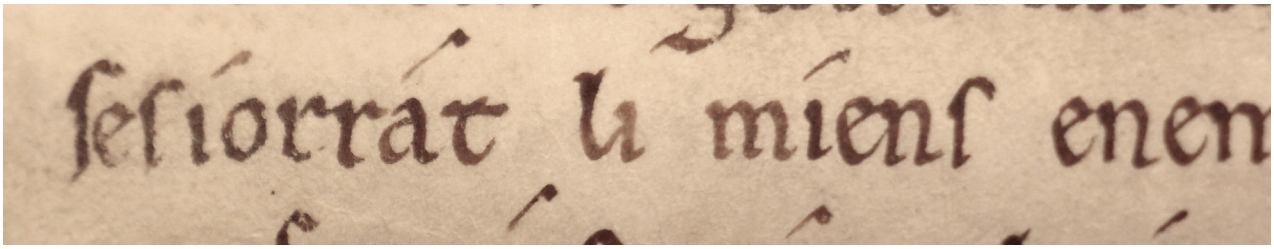
Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320.
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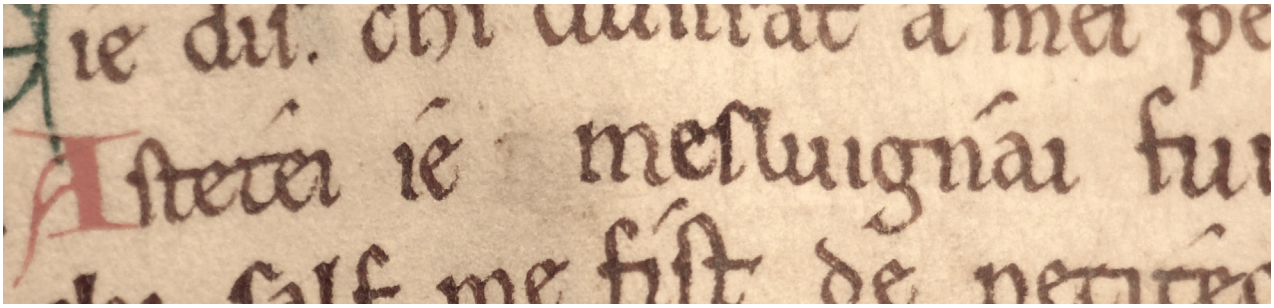
fol. 43v line 19



fol. 46r line 19



fol. 46r line 20



fol. 49r line 9

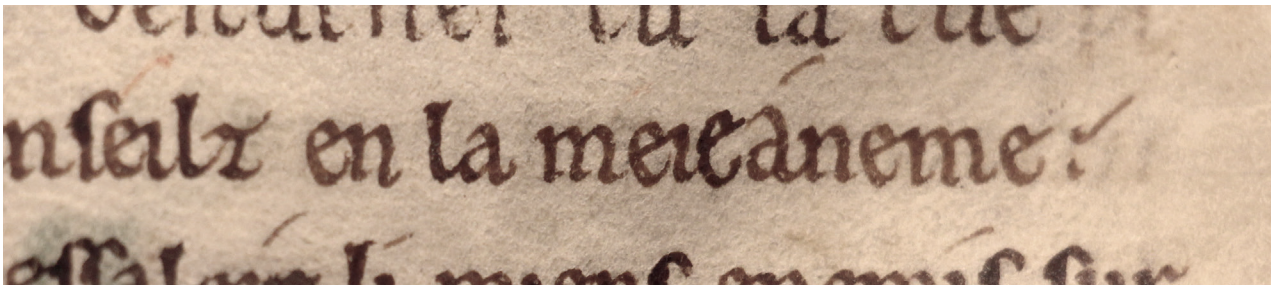
ERASURES IN POSSESSIVE FORMS (AC)

A series of issues related to the use of strong and weak possessive forms led to a plentiful category of erasures. Since these erasures concern the use of possessive forms in relation with certain nouns, they must be presented as separate groups, with the nouns in question.

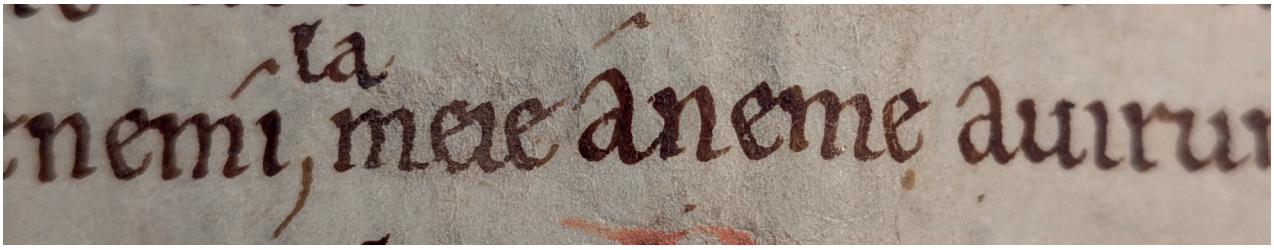
Possessive* + aneme**: (a) **La meie aneme / Ma aneme**. The phrase *la meie aneme*, built on the use of the strong possessive form *meie*, is undoubtedly most frequent, from the beginning (fol. 37r, line 24) to the end (fol. 74r, line 35) of the text of MS Douce 320. It is often preceded by the prepositions *a*, *de*, *en*, and it can render both a nominative singular and an oblique singular. On many occasions, the phrase is corrected by the scribe. For instance, he writes *mei aneme* twice at the beginning of the manuscript, and he uses the spelling of the personal pronoun (*mei*) instead of the possessive one (*meie*). In the case of fol. 38v, line 34, the scribe corrects the text without erasure, simply by adding an ***e at the end of *mei*. On fol. 41v, line 7, nevertheless, he makes no correction. It is worth noting that the form *mei* is used in a possessive construction with feminine noun on fol. 37v, line 24 (*la mei preiere*) + lines 31–32 (*la mei uie*); and fol. 67r, line 23 (*la mei partie*).

Other corrections are written upon erasures: fol. 39v, line 6, *la meie aneme* (< Lat *animam meam*, oblique singular), Arundel reading: *la moie aneme*; fol. 39v, line 10 : *la meie aneme* (< Lat *animam meam*, oblique singular), Arundel reading: *la moie aneme*. In these two situations, the article *la* is written in the interline, before the possessive and upon erasure. The Douce scribe probably replaced the weak form *ma* with the strong form *meie*.

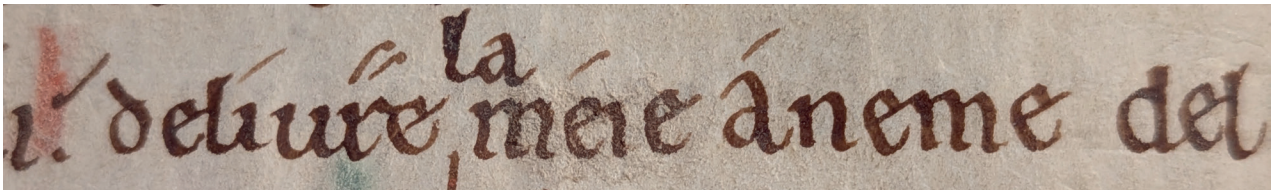
However, the Douce scribe changes the phrase that includes the weak possessive form (*ma*) in a rather different manner, on two other occasions: fol. 44r, line 2, *a _maneme* (< Lat *animae meae*, oblique singular), Arundel reading: *a ma aneme*; fol. 44r, line 13, *de _maneme* (< Lat *animae meae*, oblique singular), Arundel reading: *de la moie aneme*. The scribal intervention favours the elision of the weak form of the possessive. Elided ***m*** is partly written upon erasure, and preceded by an erased space. In the latter case, traces of the previous *ma* are also visible.



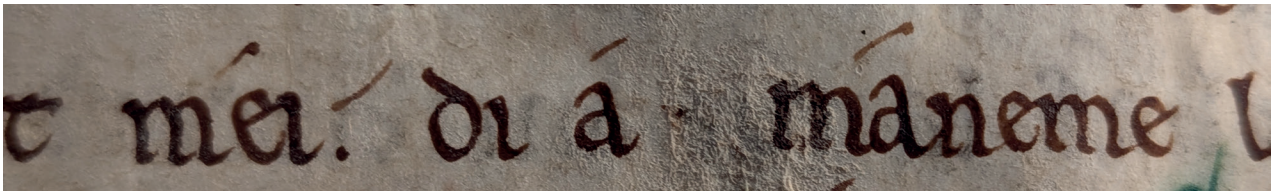
fol. 38v line 34



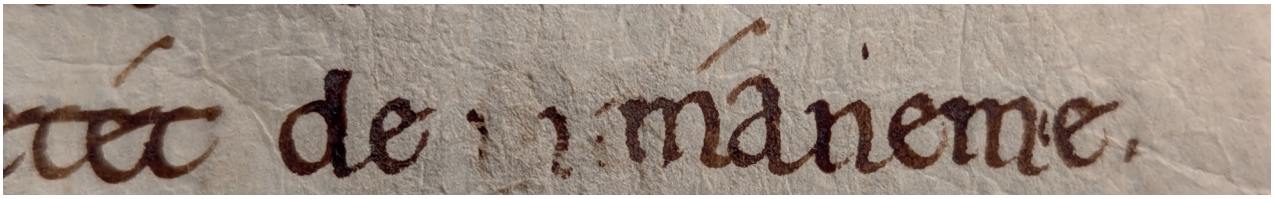
fol. 39v line 6



fol. 39v line 10

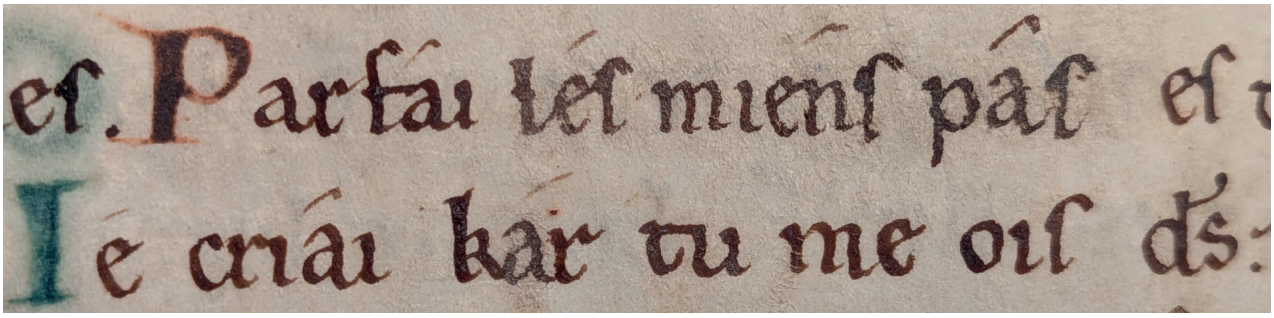


fol. 44r line 2

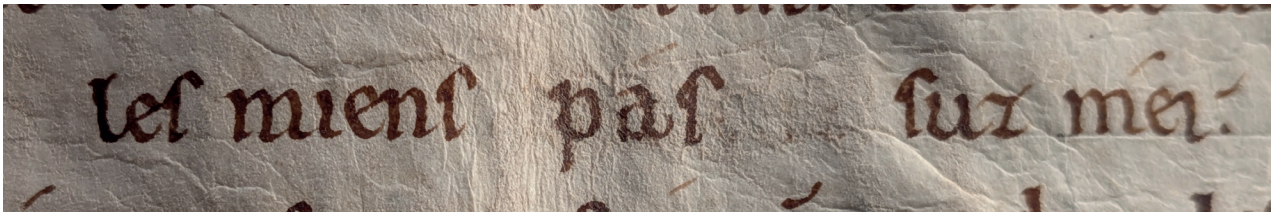


fol. 44r line 13

fol. 39v line 1



fol. 40r line 14



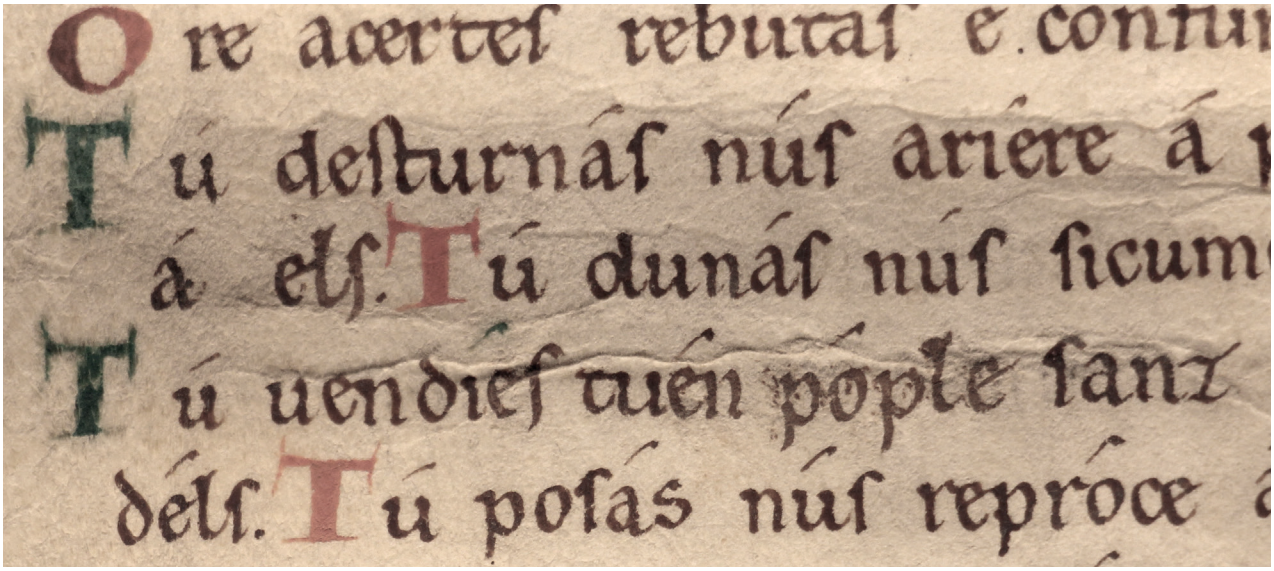
Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320. Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023-2026. Courtesy of the Imaging Services of The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Creative Commons licence CC-BY-NC 4.0.

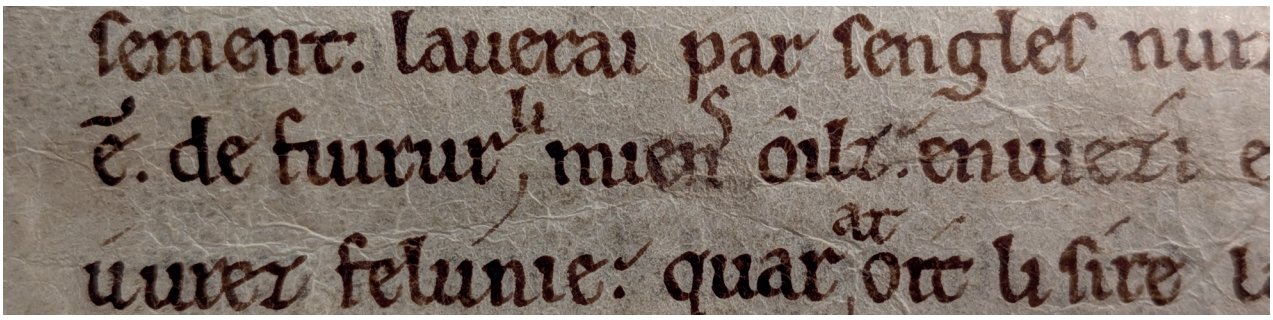
***Possessive* + aneme**: (a) **La sue aneme / Sa aneme**. The phrase *la sue aneme* (strong possessive form), appears three times, without any sign of erasure: fol. 41r, line 39 (oblique singular); fol. 41v, line 19 (nominative singular); fol. 58v, line 13 (oblique singular). There is only one case of erasure, on fol. 38v, line 20, *la sue aneme* (< Lat *animam suam*, oblique singular), with the same reading in Arundel. The Douce scribe also made an elision based on the weak possessive form: fol. 47v, line 26, *de _saneme* (< Lat *animae suae*, oblique singular), Arundel reading: *de sa anene*. Both situations are probably similar to those analysed in the previous paragraph.

***Possessive* + ire**: Three other situations concern the noun *ire*: fol. 38r, line 37-38, *de la sue ire* (< Lat *irae suae*, oblique singular), same reading in Arundel (the phrase *de la* was added in the margin; probably a weak form *sa* was written at first); fol. 40v, line 27, *en la sue ire* (< Lat *in ira sua*, oblique singular), same reading in Arundel (the article *la* is written in the interline, before the possessive; a previous weak form *sa* could have been written before the erasure); fol. 45r, line 18, *de la face de_tire* (< Lat *a facie irae tuae*), Arundel reading: *de la face de ta ire* (the Douce scribe must have written *de ta ire* at first, then erased the extensive possessive weak form in order to write the contracted form).

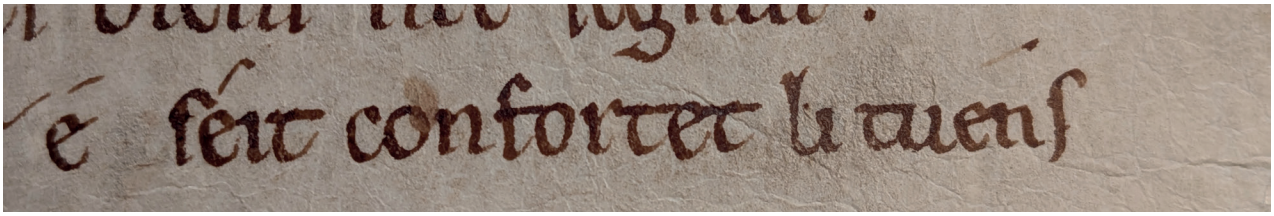
***Possessive* + pas**: Two more situations are linked to the noun *pas*: fol. 39v, line 1, *les miens pas* (< Lat *gressus meos*); fol. 40r, line 14, *les miens pas__* (< Lat *gressus meos*). Arundel reads: *les mens alemenz* and *les miens alemens*. It is rather plausible that the Douce scribe wrote a phrase such as *mes alemenz* in place of the first erasure; in the second erasure, the first translation choice, before the correction, could also be *alemenz*. These are the first two occurrences of the phrase *gressus meos* in the text. In all other occurrences, the scribe generalised the translation choice *pas*, without erasure: fol. 53r, line 30 (*li mien pas* < *gressus mei*); fol. 57r, line 21 (*ses pas* < *gressus suos*); fol. 68r, line 29 (*les miens pas* < *gressus meos*); fol. 71v, line 12 (*les miens pas* < *gressus meos*). The interlinear gloss of Arundel continues to use *alemenz* in the third occurrence as well, before switching to *pas* in the fourth and fifth situation. Another feature worth mentioning is that the two erasures of Douce occur in two verses in which the scribe also reworked

fol. 46v line 24





fol. 37v line 23



fol. 42r line 20

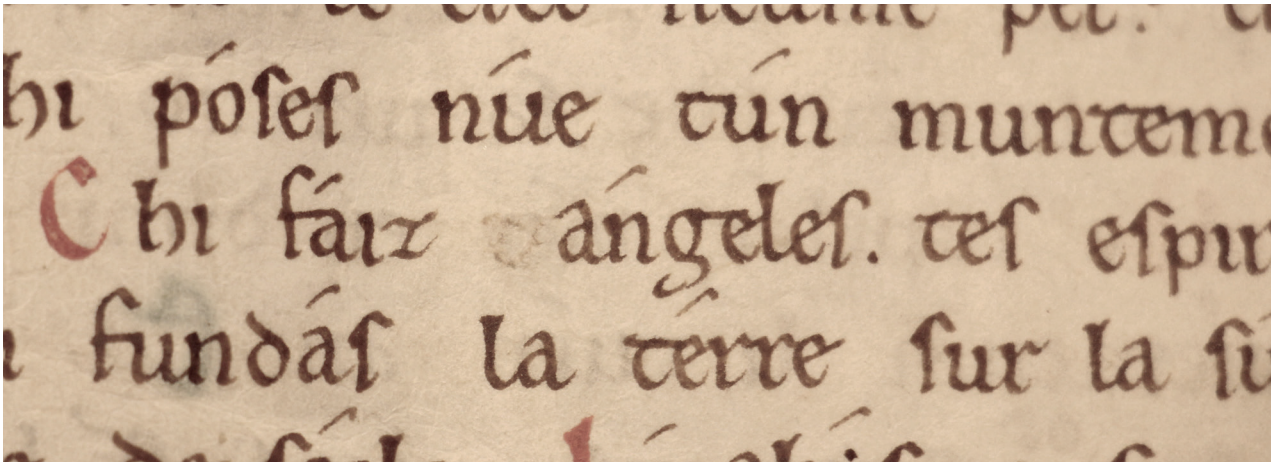
the translation of Latin *vestigia*; *vide infra*: lexical issues.

***Possessive* + pople**: fol. 46v, line 24, *tuen pople* (< Lat *populum tuum*, oblique singular), Arundel reading: *tun pople*. In this particular erasure, the weak form *tun* could have been replaced by the strong form *tuen*. In order to save space and write more letters, the scribe erased the same word *pople* and rewrote it slightly to the right (traces of similar letters are visible under the erasure). In all the other occurrences of *tuen pople*, the strong form of the possessive is preceded by an article or a preposition + article. The original use of *tun*, before the erasure, was correct. Throughout the text, nevertheless, *tuen* is used for an oblique singular: fol. 39r, line 35 (*ot tuen uult*); fol. 52v, line 33 (*tuen saluedur*); fol. 53r, line 6 (*tuen iugement*); fol. 55v, line 29 (*tuen num*). For the variant *tun pople*, used to translate a direct object (oblique singular), see: fol. 42r, line 34; fol. 53r, line 7. For other variants with prepositions (oblique singular), see: fol. 37r, line 30 (*sur tun pople*); fol. 57r, line 7 (*de tun pople*); fol. 74v, line 31-32 (*de tun pople*). Other erasures involving corrections with the strong form *tuen* are: fol. 50r, line 16, *al tuen pople* (< Lat *populo tuo*, oblique singular), same reading in Arundel (the Douce scribe possibly wrote *a tun* at first); fol. 51v, line 14, *del tuen pople* (< Lat *populi tui*, oblique singular), Arundel reading: *de tuen pople* (same explanation).

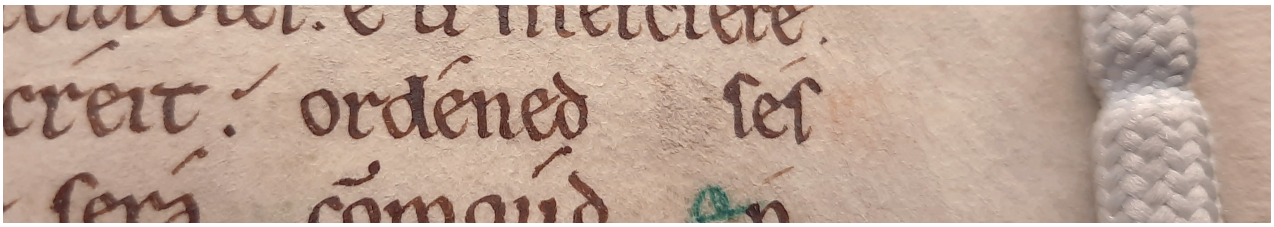
Possessive* + *part of the body: This other category requires the presentation of each example individually: fol. 37v, line 23, *li miens oilz* (< Lat *oculus meus*, nominative singular). Arundel reading: *Oilsz li mens*. The article *li* is written in the interline, before the possessive form. The final ***s*** of *miens* is also written in the interline, at the end of the word. Cf. fol. 38r, line 30, *de ses mains* (< Lat *manuum suaruum*, oblique plural), same reading in Arundel (perhaps *sa* was written at first). Cf. fol. 38v, lines 33–34, *la tue _ _ face* (< Lat *faciem tuam*), same reading in Arundel. Clear traces of an initial *fa–* are visible immediately after *tue*. There are traces of two erased letters at the beginning of the next line (34). It is possible that the scribe had initially written *face* with a line-break (*fa-ce*). Cf. fol. 39r, lines 31–32, *li miens cuers* (< Lat *cor meum*, nominative singular), Arundel reading: *li mens cors*. Cf. fol. 42r, lines 20–21, *li tuens cuers* (< Lat *cor tuum*, nominative singular), same reading in Arundel. The erasure covers a space of three letters under *li t–*. The ending *–uens* is written on the margin. The word written at first was probably shorter than the strong form inserted after the erasure and correction. Initially, the Douce scribe probably used a weak form. Cf. fol. 47v, line 24, *del mien talun* (< Lat *calcanei mei*, oblique singular), same reading in Arundel. Cf. fol. 48r, line 39, *la tue face* (< Lat *faciem tuam*, oblique singular), same reading in Arundel. (perhaps *ta face* was written by the Douce scribe at first); Cf. fol. 49v, lines 13–14, *Foirent deuant la meie face fosse* (Lat *foderunt ante faciem meam foveam*), Arundel reading: *Foirent deuant la moie face fosse*. Cf. fol. 49v, line 15, *mis_ cuers* (< Lat *cor meum*, nominative singular), same reading in Arundel. In the same verse, *cor meum* was also translated as *li miens cuers* (similar to the translation choice of Arundel). The Douce scribe probably wrote *miens* at first. Cf. fol. 51r, line 26, *les miens piez* (< Lat *pedes meos*, oblique plural), same reading in Arundel. Cf. fol. 52r, line 18, *la meie face* (< Lat *faciem meam*, oblique singular), Arundel reading: *la moie face* (the Douce text probably read *ma face* before the erasure and correction). Cf. fol. 52r, line 29, *E ne desturner la tue face* (< Lat *faciem tuam*, oblique singular), Arundel reading: *Et ne destrunes ta face*. The extent of the erasure and the fact that the correction goes beyond the textual column suggest that the possessive phrase could have been *ta face* at first. Cf. fol. 52r, line 33, *mis cuers* (< Lat *cor meum*, nominative singular), same reading in Arundel. Cf. fol. 61r, line 5, *ta face* (< Lat *faciem tuam*, oblique singular), same reading in Arundel.

Possessive* + *various other nouns: Another situation can be found on fol. 38r, line 27, *pur ce que ie annunce tuz les tuens loenges* (< Lat *ut annuntiem omnes laudationes tuas*, oblique plural), same reading in Arundel. At first, the scribe could have written *tutes les tues loenges*, a feminine phrasing that he had already used at the beginning of the same Psalm on fol. 38r, line 14: *tutes les tues merueiles*. The decision to change it to a masculine noun may be linked to the Douce scribe's hesitations concerning the gender of the word *loenge*. The word is usually used in the feminine, but on this occasion, as well as on fol. 51r, line 17 (*al loenge de lui*), it is interpreted as a masculine one; *vide infra*: *toz/tuit*. A different situation on fol. 39v, line 11, concerns word order: *des tues repostailes ._ aempliz est le uentre de els* (< Lat *de absconditis tuis adimpletus est venter eorum*), Arundel reading: *des tues respostailes aempliez est le uentre de els*. The Douce scribe initially followed the Latin word order and wrote *de les repostailes tues aempliz est le uentre de els*. There are traces of *tues* in the blank

fol. 61v line 32



fol. 65r line 20



space. See also fol. 39v, line 15, _ *li miens aiuere* (< Lat *adiutor meus*, nominative singular), Arundel reading: *li miens aidere* (perhaps the Douce text read *e mis* at first). Cf. fol. 39v, line 39, *el mien esguardement* (< Lat *in conspectu meo*, oblique singular), same reading in Arundel. Only one letter seems to be erased; it is possible that the scribe originally wrote the weak form *mis* instead of the strong form *mien*. Cf. fol. 40v, line 13, *les tues peticiuns* (< Lat *petitiones tuas*, oblique plural), Arundel reading: *tute les tuens peticiuns*. Cf. fol. 41r, line 9, _*mes uestemenz* (< Lat *vestimenta mea*, oblique plural), same reading in Arundel. There seem to be traces of a ***t*** before the possessive form. At first, the Douce scribe could have written *tot*/*toz*; *vide infra*: *toz/tuit*. Cf. fol. 42v, line 15, *en la tue uoluntet*, Arundel reading: *Sire en la tue uolentet*. The article *la* was written in the space above *en* and *tue*; the Douce scribe probably wrote *ta* at first. Also, on fol. 43r, lines 18–19, *Beneure cil as quels sunt pardunees lur felunies ; e des quels sunt cuuert* __ *pechet* (< Lat *Beati quorum remissae sunt iniquitates et quorum tecta sunt peccata*), Arundel reading: *Ꝺcil sunt bounourez de quels sunt pardonees lur felunies; et des quelq sunt cuuersz lur pecchet*. Given the traces of erased letters, the Douce scribe probably wrote the possessive form *lur* at first. Cf. fol. 44r, line 30, *a mes mals* (< Lat *malis meis*, oblique plural), same reading in Arundel. Cf. fol. 45v, line 1, *Entent en la meie adiutorie* (< Lat *intende in adiutorium meum*), Arundel reading: *entent en la moie adiutorie*. Cf. fol. 46v, line 7, *es tuens tabernacles* (< Lat *in tabernacula tua*), same reading in Arundel. Cf. fol. 47r, line 7, *Li tuens sieges* (< Lat *sedes tua*, nominative singular), Arundel reading: *la tue sege*. The Douce scribe could have used the weak form *tun* (oblique singular) at first, then corrected it into the strong form of the nominative singular. Cf. fol. 47v, line 26, *le suen apaisement* (< Lat *placationem suam*, oblique singular), Arundel reading: *sun apaissement*. Cf. fol. 48r, line 34, *es tues paroles* (< Lat *in sermonibus tuis*, oblique plural), same reading in Arundel. Perhaps the Douce scribe wrote *en tes sermuns* at first; *vide infra*: lexical issues. Cf. fol. 50r, line 37, *la meie salu* (< Lat *salutare meum*, nominative singular), Arundel reading: *la moie salut*. It is possible that the Douce scribe initially wrote a variant with the weak form of the possessive (*ma salu*). The ***l*** of *la* seems to be written in the blank space before the erasure. Cf. fol. 51r, line 4, *de ta maisun* (< Lat *domus tuae*, oblique singular), same reading in Arundel. Cf. fol. 52r, line 40, *en la tue iustise* (< Lat *in iustitiam tuam*), same reading in Arundel. See also fol. 52v, line 21, *la meie _ pacience* (< Lat *patientia mea*, nominative singular), Arundel reading: *la moie pacience*. There seem to be traces of a previous *ma* under the erasure. The correction could be due to a hesitation between the strong and weak forms. Cf. fol. 58v, line 33, *e pur ta crieme* (< Lat *prae timore tuo*, oblique singular), Arundel reading: *et pur pour*. Probably a previous reading *la tue*. Cf. fol. 61v, line 32, *Chi faiz _angeles . tes espiríz* (< Lat *qui facis angelos tuos spiritus*, oblique plural), Arundel reading: *ki fais angles tes espiriz*. There are traces of a ***t*** under the erasure. Cf. fol. 64r, line 24, *la tue uerited* (< Lat *veritas tua*, nominative singular), Arundel reading: *la tue ueritet*). Cf. fol. 65r, line 20, *ordened _ses paroles en iugement* (< Lat *sermones suos*), same reading in Arundel. There are traces of a ***le*** at the level of the erasure. Perhaps the Douce scribe initially wrote *les* instead of *ses*. Having changed his mind, he erased *le* and used the final ***s*** of the article as a new initial for the possessive form *ses*. Last but not least, on fol. 67r, line 25, *les meies_ ueies* (< Lat *vias meas*, oblique plural), Arundel reading: *les moies uoies*. The word *ueies* is written in the interline, just after *meies*. A letter was erased immediately after the punctus. The Douce scribe could have made here a confusion between *meies* et *ueies*.

Contrary to the opinion of Sneddon 1972, p. 90-91, the form *mis* (always used for nominative singular) occurs more than once in our text. Here is the complete list: fol. 42r, line 15-16 (*mis perre*); fol. 42r, lines 31-32 (*mis defenderre* / *mis cuers*); fol. 42v, line 19 (*mis aiuerre*); fol. 49v, line 15 (*mis cuers*); fol. 52r, line 33 (*mis cuers*); fol. 74r, line 5 (*mis cuers*). For other mentions, see Short 2015, p. 25. For grammar, see Pope 1952, §851–861, 1260–1261.

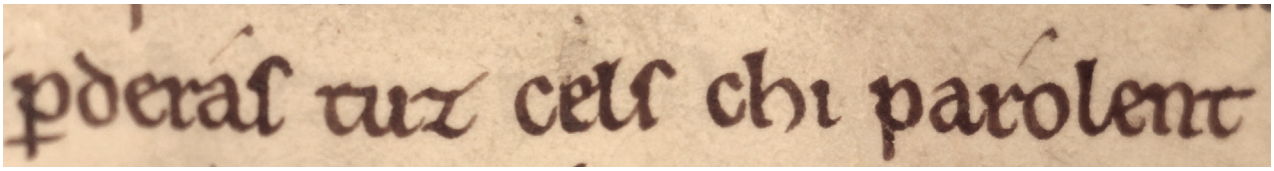
ERASURES IN DEMONSTRATIVES (AC)

The paradigm of the demonstrative strengthened forms (cf. Pope 1952: § 844-845, 1254–1257)—*cil / cil* (nominative) and *cel / cels* (oblique)—is often respected. The issue was briefly explored by Sneddon 1972, p. 91–92, and Short 2015, p. 25. Nevertheless, a certain group of erasures concern such forms.

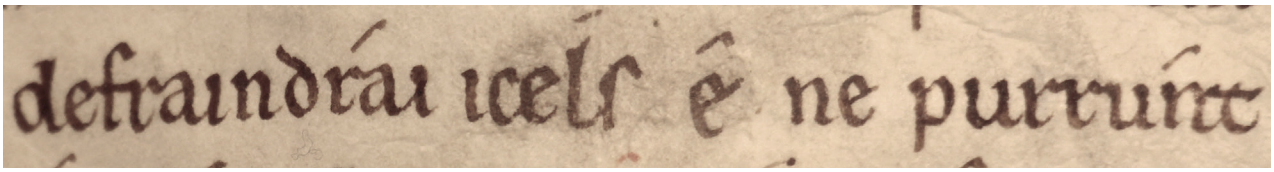
fol. 37v, line 6, *perderas tuz cels chi parolent menceunge* (< Lat *perdes omnes qui loquuntur mendacium*). A vowel was corrected under the ***e***. It could be an ***i*** with traces of an erased accent. At first, the Douce scribe could have written *cil*. The Latin text has a nominative plural, but the scribe ultimately chose the French oblique plural. Similar forms—*cels* (oblique plural, corresponding to Latin)—without any sign of erasure, occur on: fol. 43r, line 8; fol. 43v, line 13 + line 34; fol. 44r, line 1; fol. 44v, line 6; fol. 48v, line 31; fol. 52r, line 26; fol. 53v, line 5; fol. 71v, line 4. In the last case, the Gallicanum has a subject in the plural (*Nonne qui oderunt te, Domine, oderam*), that the Douce scribe renders by a pronoun in the oblique plural (*Dum ne hai ie sire cels chi hairent tei*). The error could be due to the phrasing of the Latin text. *Cil* (nominative plural, corresponding to Latin) without any sign of erasure, can be found on: fol. 37r, line 23; fol. 41v, line 8; fol. 43r, line 18; fol. 44v, line 19; fol. 56v, line 33; fol. 69v, line 1; fol. 70v, line 16. There is also the expression *put cel estre* (< Lat *forsitan*), which presents the neuter form *cel*. It was transcribed without any sign of erasure on: fol. 56r, line 36; fol. 69r, line 33 + line 34, fol. 71r, line 30. It could be linked to an erasure of 2–3 letters in a single case, on fol. 49r, line 16, *ie me reposisse* ___ *putcelestre de lui* (< Lat *abscondissem me forsitan ab eo*). Unfortunately, there is no medieval vernacular interlinear gloss in Arundel for this verse.

The paradigm is also respected in most reinforced forms such as *icil / icil* (nominative), *icel / icels* (oblique). The ten erasures of this category always concern an oblique plural. The first one occurs on fol. 39v, line 30, *e departit icels* (< Lat *et dissipavit eos*), same reading in Arundel. The scribe could have written *els*. The second erasure occurs on fol. 40r, line 16, *Ie defraindrai icels e ne purrunt ester* (< Lat *Confringam illos nec poterunt stare*), Arundel reading: *Jo confreindrai els et ne purrunt ester*. At first, the Douce scribe could have written *els*. He probably erased the conjunction in order to save space and write *icels*.

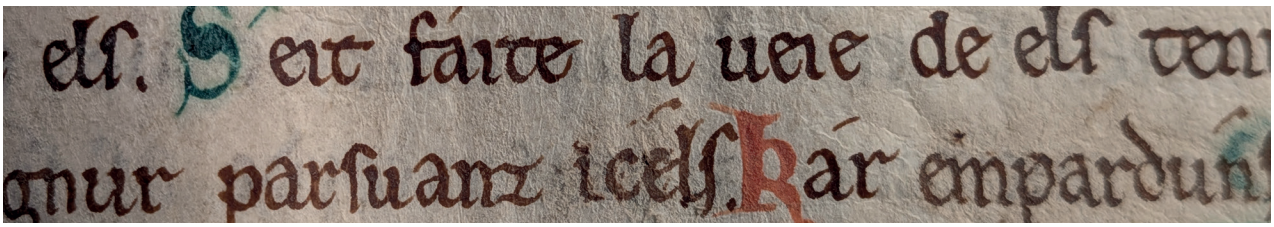
Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320.
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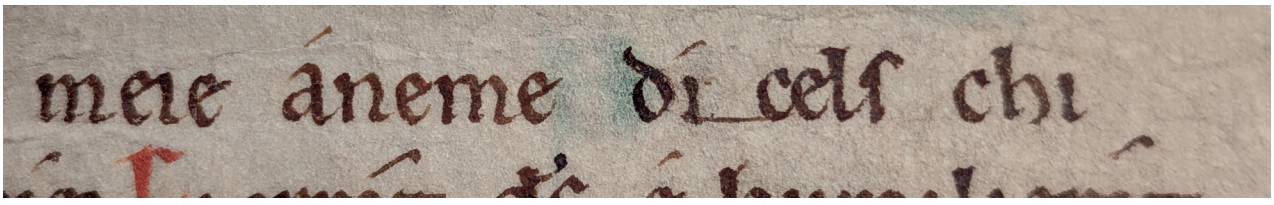
fol. 37v line 6



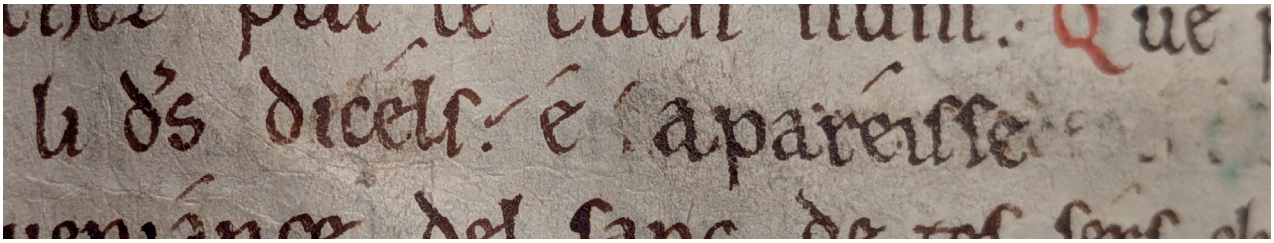
fol. 40r line 16



fol. 44r line 6



fol. 49r line 22



fol. 55v line 35

There are eight more erasures of the same type. See, for instance, fol. 40v, line 26, *Poseras icels* (< Lat *pones eos*), same reading in Arundel, *vide supra*: verbal forms. The exact same Latin phrase is translated as *tu poseras els* a few lines below, on the same folio. At first, the Douce scribe probably wrote an incorrect verbal inflection. He could also have written the pronoun *els* at first. Four folios later, on f. 44r, line 6, the erasure concerns *e li angele del seignur parsuanz icels* (< Lat *et angelus Domini persequens eos*), Arundel reading: *et li angele del seignur parsuiuant els*. This erasure covers the space of approximately three letters, and the final letters ***-ls*** (followed by a punctus) are written in the unerased space between the original punctus (object of an erasure) and the majuscule of the following verse. The erased punctus is still visible below the ***l***. In all likelihood, the Douce scribe possibly wrote the form *els* at first. The fifth situation is on fol. 49r, line 22, *Raiend_rat en pais la meie aneme di_cels chi aprisment a mei* (< Lat *Redimet in pace animam meam ab his qui appropinquant mihi*), Arundel reading: *Raindrat en pais la moie aneme de icels ki aprisment a mei*. At first, the Douce scribe probably wrote *de cels*, then changed his mind, correcting *de* into *d* and writing the *i* on the erasure, with a low dash to connect the two groups of letters. The next example is on fol. 49v, line 29, *sicum uiuanz. eissi en ire deuoret icels* (< Lat *sicut viventes sic in ira absorbet eos*), Arundel reading: *sicume uiuanz eissi en ire deuoret icels*. The Douce scribe probably wrote *els* at first. The seventh one is on fol. 54v, line 32, *Il entrerumpiet la mer e parmena_ icels* (< Lat *Interrupit mare et perduxit eos*), Arundel reading: *Jl entrerumpiet la mer e parmenat icels*. Here, the Douce scribe also wrote *els* at first. On fol. 55v, line 35, Douce reads *u est li deus dicels* (< Lat *ubi est Deus eorum*), Arundel reading: *u est li deus de icels*. Traces of previous letters suggest that the Douce scribe wrote *dels* at first. The penultimate example is on fol. 62r, line 8, *La maisun de falcun duitre est dicels* (< Lat *herodii domus dux est eorum*). Once again, the Douce scribe probably wrote *de els* at first, then erased it and corrected the final ***e***, also adding a ***c*** in order to write *de + icels*. The last situation is on fol. 64v, line 17, *Iceste oure _dicels chi detraient mei enuers nostre segnor* (< Lat *Hoc opus eorum qui detrahunt mihi apud Dominum*), Arundel reading: *Jceste oure de icels ki trahient a mei en uers nostre seignur*. There are traces of a ***d*** before *dicels*. Given the space covered by the erasure, the Douce scribe must have written *de cels*, as he had done on fol. 48v, line 31 (*de cels*) and fol. 52r, line 26 (*de cels*). The original preposition was deleted by the erasure. As a result, he ended up writing a contracted form ***d'***, and added an ***i*** to write *icels*.

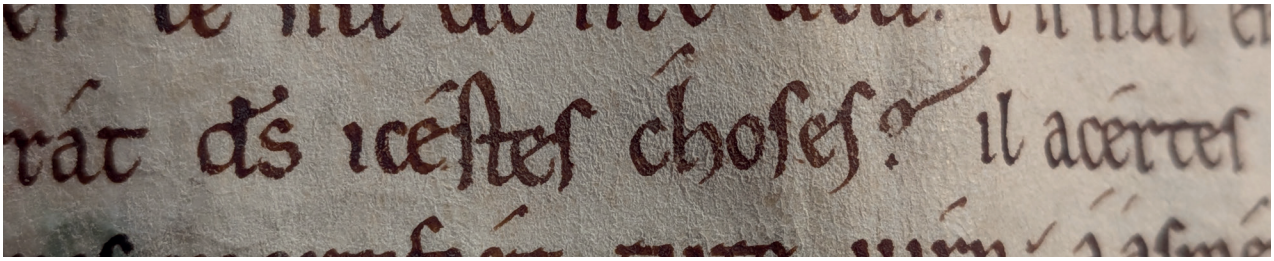
It is also worth mentioning all the situations in which he wrote the demonstrative without any sign of erasure. *Icel / icels* (oblique singular and plural, corresponding to Latin) can be found on: fol. 41r, line 32 (*encuntre icels*); fol. 46v, line 25 (*a icels*); fol. 49r, line 20 (*dicels*); fol. 50v, line 36 (*di cels*); fol. 53r, line 31 (*dicels*); fol. 53r, line 28 (*a icels*); fol. 53v, line 7 (*di cels*); fol. 54r, line 6 (*di cels*); fol. 54v, line 19 (*di cels*); fol. 54v, line 31 (*dicels*); fol. 55r, line 12 + 19 + 21 + 29 + 36 + 40 (*dicels*); fol. 55v, line 10 + 12 + 39 (*dicéls*); fol. 55v, line 27 (*a icels*); fol. 56v, line 20 + 25 (*dicels*); fol. 57r, line 4 (*icels*); fol. 57r, line 15 (*en icels*); fol. 60v, line 18 (*entre icels*); fol. 61v, line 20 (*a icels*); fol. 62r, line 20 (*a icels*); fol. 62v, line 15 + 20 + 26 + 29 (*dicels*); fol. 63r, line 10 (*dicels*); fol. 63v, line 3 + 17 (*dicels*); fol. 65v, line 8 (*dicels*); fol. 65v, line 14 (*icels*); fol. 67r, line 38 (*dicels*); fol. 69r, line 36 (*dicels*); fol. 70v, line 15 + 31 (*dicels*); fol. 71v, line 19 + line 33 (*dicels*); fol. 72r, line 37 (*dicels*); fol. 72v, line 2 (*dicels*); fol. 72v, line 4 + 35 (*en icel*); fol. 73r, line 16 (*en icels*); fol. 73v, line 19 (*en icel*); fol. 75v, line 9 + 15 + 16 + 17 + 18 + 20 + 23 + 34 (*dicels*). There are also four interesting cases where the scribe wrote separately: *di cels. Icelui* (oblique singular, corresponding to Latin) occurs on: fol. 73v, line 2; fol. 75r, line 40; fol. 75v, line 1. *Icil* (nominative singular and plural, corresponding to Latin) occurs on: fol. 37r, line 22; fol. 46r, line 16; fol. 53r, line 38; fol. 54r, line 9; fol. 57v, line 7; fol. 59r, line 29; fol. 65v, line 24; fol. 66v, line 3; fol. 68v, line 23; fol. 69v, line 22; fol. 75r, line 15.

Another set of erasures concerns the masculine and feminine forms *icist / icist* (nominative), *icest / icez* (oblique), *cist / cist* (nominative), *cest / cez* (oblique); *iceste / icestes-icez* (nominative and oblique), *ceste / cestes-cez* (nominative and oblique). There are six erasures of this type.

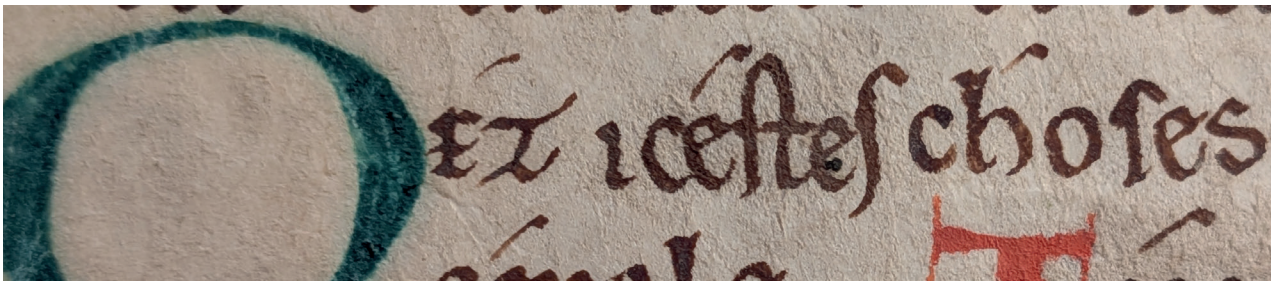
The first case is on fol. 40v, line 14-15 (x 2), *Icist en curres e icist en chauals* (< Lat *Hi in curribus, et hi in equis*, nominative plural), same reading in Arundel. Cf. fol. 41v, line 3, *Chi est icist reis de glorie ?* (< Lat *Quis est iste rex gloriae ?*, nominative singular), Arundel reading: *Li quels est icist li reis de glorie*. The third erasure is on fol. 43v, line 35-36, *Multes sunt les tribulatiuns des iustes ; e de tutes icestes les deliuerrat li sire* (< Lat *Multae tribulationes iustorum ; et de omnibus his liberabit eos Dominus*), Arundel reading: *Multes les tribulaciuns des iustes; et de tutes icestes deliuirat icouls li sire*. See also: fol. 44r, line 9, *en laz chede en icest meisme* (< Lat *et in laqueum cadat in ipsum*, oblique singular), Arundel reading: *et en laz cheet en lui mesme*. The fifth is on fol. 49r, line 15, *E si cist chi aueit hait mei sur mei granz choses oust parlet* (< Lat *Et si is qui oderat me super me magna locutus fuisset*, nominative singular), Arundel reading: *Et si cist ki auoit hait mei sur mei grant choses hout parlet*. The sixth and last erasure is on fol. 66r, line 32, *Icist est li iurz lequel fist _ nostre sire* (< Lat *Haec est dies quam fecit Dominus*, nominative singular), Arundel reading: *Iceste est li iurz laquele fist nostre sire*.

There are, obviously, many situations in which the Douce scribe wrote this demonstrative without any sign of erasure. The nominative (singular and plural) form *icist* (corresponding to Latin), without any erasure, is found on: fol. 41r, line 40; fol. 41v, line 5; fol. 43v, line 22; fol. 47v, line 17; fol. 53r, line 37; fol. 60r, line 6; fol. 60v, line 40; fol. 62r, line 18; fol. 74r, line 24, fol. 74v, line 6. The oblique singular form *icest* occurs on: fol. 38r, line 28; fol. 54v, line 2 (OFr oblique < Lat nominative); fol. 70r, line 24 (OFr oblique < Lat nominative). In these two cases, the scribe was probably dealing with two Latin phrases that did not have a verb accompanying the subject: *Et dixi : Nunc coepi ; haec mutatio dexterae Excelsi and Haec requies mea in saeculum saeculi.*The oblique plural form *icez* (corresponding to Lat) is found on: fol. 43v, line 36; fol. 69r, line 6; fol. 70r, line 22, fol. 75v, line 30. The oblique singular form *cest* (corresponding to Latin) is found on: fol. 42v, line 27; fol. 57v, line 10; fol. 72v, line 4. There is also the oblique plural form *cez* (corresponding to Latin) on f. 39v, line 34. An oblique singular form *cestui* (corresponding to Latin) occurs on: fol. 54r, line 14 (Lat nominative > OFr oblique) + line 15 (x 2). The oblique singular form *icestui* (corresponding to Latin) is found on: fol. 54r, line 13 (Latin nominative > French oblique); fol. 60v, line 37 + line 38.

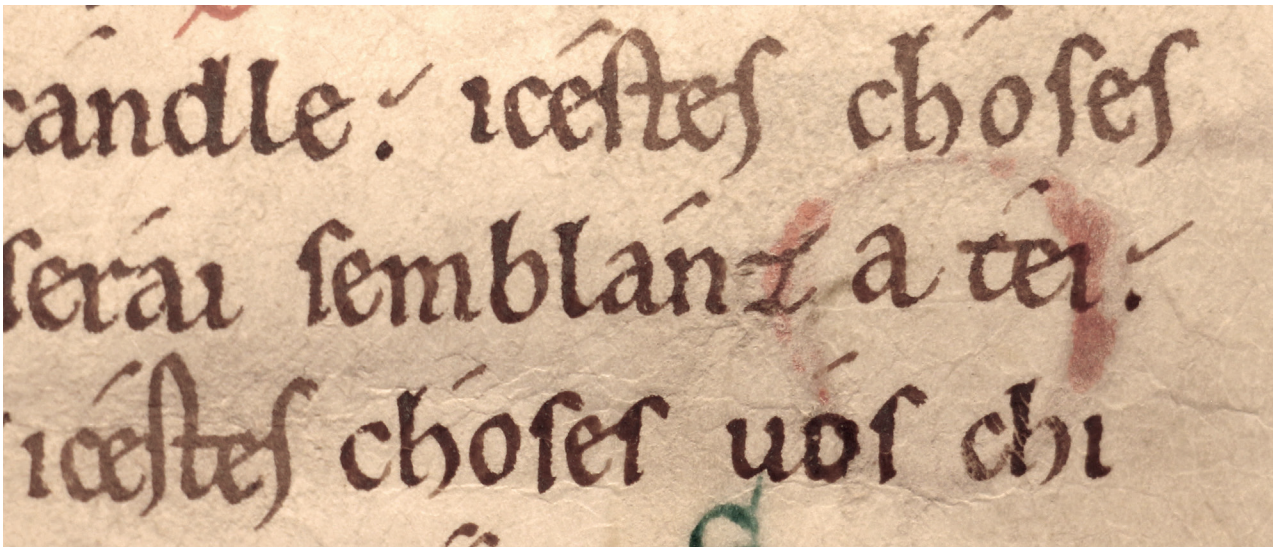
Whenever the Douce text concerns feminine examples, the paradigm is followed and corresponds to the Latin



fol. 46v line 34



fol. 47v line 19



fol. 48r line 24

fol. 48r line 26

Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320.
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cases. The form *iceste* (corresponding to Latin, nominative and oblique singular) is found without any erasure on: fol. 41v, line 1; fol. 56r, line 16; fol. 62r, line 16; fol. 64v, line 17 + 25; fol. 66r, line 28 + 31; fol. 67r, line 15 + 21; fol. 72r, line 2; fol. 73v, line 9. The form *ceste* (corresponding to Latin, oblique singular) is found on: fol. 38v, line 30; fol. 42r, line 6; fol. 43r, line 29. *Icele* (corresponding to Latin, nominative and oblique singular) is found on: fol. 60r, line 5; fol. 62r, line 11; fol. 74r, line 13. *Iceles* (corresponding to Latin, oblique plural) is found on: fol. 67v, line 26. Feminine oblique form *icesti* (singular, corresponding to Latin) occurs on: fol. 37v, line 34.

The Douce scribe also encountered a series of problems in the transcription of a feminine phrasing based on demonstrative + *choses* (oblique plural): fol. 46v, line 34, *icestes choses* (< Lat *ista*, oblique plural), same reading in Arundel; fol. 47v, line 19, *icestes choses* (< Lat *haec*, oblique plural), same reading in Arundel; fol. 48r, line 24, *icestes choses* (< Lat *haec*, oblique plural), same reading in Arundel; fol. 48r, line 26, *icéstes chóses* (< Latin *haec*, oblique plural), Arundel reading: *icestes coses*. The correction made upon each of the erasures follows closely the cases of the Latin text. Apart from these erasures, the phrase occurs without any sign of erasure as *icestes choses* (corresponding to Latin, oblique plural) on fol. 39r, line 21; *iceste chose* (corresponding to Latin, oblique singular) on fol. 53v, line 38 (*di ceste chose*); fol. 66r, line 32; fol. 73v, line 22; and *iceles choses* / *coses* (corresponding to Latin, oblique plural) on fol. 62r, line 1; fol. 70r, line 15 (Lat singular > OFr plural); fol. 70v, line 16; fol. 73r, line 23 + 31. The form *icez choses* / *coses* (corresponding to Latin, nominative and oblique plural) can be found on: fol. 46r, line 27; fol. 46v, line 29; fol. 50v, line 11; fol. 55r, line 14; fol. 59r, line 28; fol. 61r, line 25; fol. 64r, line 19; fol. 69r, line 15; fol. 72v, line 6-7; fol. 75r, line 14; fol. 75v, line 11 + 19.

It is also important to point out that several translation choices based on the word *choses* caused problems to the Douce scribe, irrespective of the phrase based on the demonstrative: fol. 40v, line 3-4, *de mes occultes choses neie mei e de estranges esparne a tun serf* (< Lat *ab occultis meis munda me*), Arundel reading: *de mes repostailles choses neie mei; et des estrainges esparniue a tun serf*; fol. 45v, line 7, *que ie sace quel chose desseit a mei* (< Lat *ut sciam quid desit mihi*), Arundel reading: *que io sache quel cose deseit a mei.*

THE ISSUE OF *EIUS* (AC)

This section deals with a number of erasures related to the translation choices (and phrasing) used for the rendering of the Latin demonstrative pronoun *is* in the genitive singular: *eius*. As pointed out by Sneddon 1972, p. 163-164, Gallicanum expresses possession either by a possessive adjective (e.g., *meus*) or (in the case of 'his' and 'theirs') by *eius* and *eorum*. Old French translators could use *de* + *pronoun* or two forms of possessive adjectives, the strong one (e.g., *li miens*) or the weak one (e.g., *mun*). Sneddon assumed that the three different translation choices made by the Douce scribe resulted from a poetic approach to translation. In her opinion, "the reason for change from the strong to weak form (…) may perhaps be the rhythm." Sneddon also stated that "the use of *de* + *pronoun* gives greater emphasis to the possessive aspect (…)."

It is true that the scribe of MS Douce 320 often uses a strong or a weak form of a possessive adjective in the translation of Latin *eius*, but he also uses the phrasing *de* + *pronoun*. In many cases listed below, the scribe often hesitates in his translation choices, being confronted with various difficulties when rendering a Latin phrase such as *noun* + *eius*. Thus, in order to gain a better understanding of the scribal practice, I chose to present the erasures in the form of a list of all his translation choices for such phrasings. It will become obvious that the scribe had a clear preference for the use of the *possessive adjective* + *noun* in the first part of the text (approximately until fol. 53). In the second part of the text (starting from fol. 54), the Douce scribe had an increasing preference for the phrasing *de* + *pronoun*. This change seems to indicate a simplification or harmonisation of the translation strategy, favouring the use of *de lui* (and, occasionally, *de li*), all while gradually using less and less strong and weak possessive adjectives.

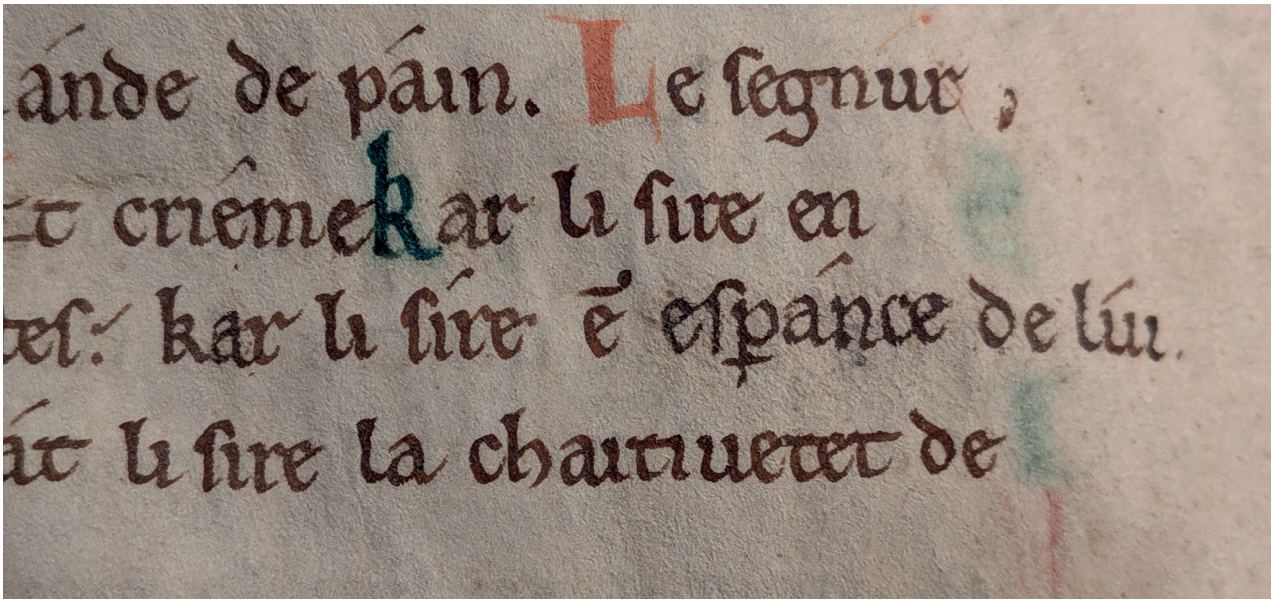
The large majority of the *eius*-type erasures occur in the first part of the text. The Douce scribe often hesitated in the translation of the noun as well. However, his most frequent hesitation concerns *eius*. More often than not, the scribe could have written a *possessive adjective* + *noun* at first, he erased it and corrected it later to *noun* + *preposition 'de'* + *pronoun*.

fol. 38v, line 18-19, *li oil de lui* (< Lat *oculi eius*). Same reading in Arundel. In all likelihood, the Douce scribe wrote *de li* and corrected it into *de lui*, which extends farther than the erasure. Traces of a curved letter are visible after the ***e*** of *de* (perhaps a previous preposition *de* from the phrasing *de li*). The erasure could be related to the scribe's hesitation between *li* and *lui*; *vide supra*: personal pronouns.

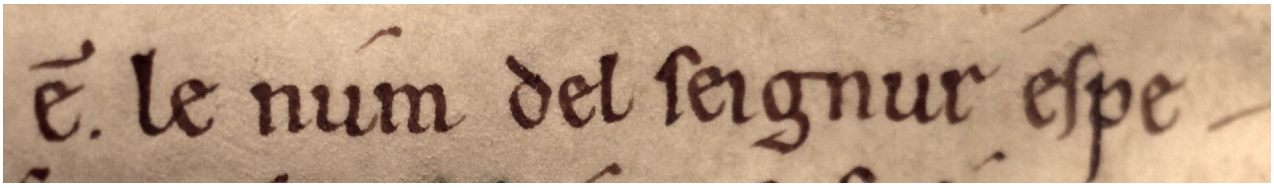
fol. 38v, line 22, *li suens . uolz .* (< *vultus eius*, oblique singular). Arundel reading: *uolz de luj*. Clear traces of the previous possessive *ses* are visible under the current article *li*. The scribe probably wrote *ses uolz* followed by a punctus at first, the trace of which is visible after *suens*, *vide supra* possessive forms.

fol. 39r, line 12, *kar li sire est esperance de lui* (< Lat *quoniam Dominus spes eius est*). Same reading in Arundel. The word is abbreviated (*p* with a stroke for *per*) and followed by the phrase *de lui*, which extends into the margin of the folio. This suggests that *de lui* was written there after the decision to erase the previous text. The entire segment *esperance de lui* was rewritten with a sharper calamus and in a tone of ink than seems to be diluted in comparison with the remainder of the text. In all likelihood, the initial translation choice was either the strong form *la sue* (covering the entire erasure) or the weak form *sa*, perhaps in elision with *esperance* (> *sesperance*). Another interesting erasure which concerns the exact same noun can be found at fol. 45v, lines 25–26: *Beneurez li huem del quel est. le num del seignur esperance de lui* (< Lat *Beatus vir cuius est nomen Domini spes eius*). The sequence *espe-* was written into the margin of line 25 at the same time as the erasure and correction of line 26. In fact, just as in the case of fol. 39r, line 12, it is rather obvious that the scribe wrote *la sue* or *sa* in the initial version of the text, before the erasure. The word *spes* (in all its forms) is rendered without erasures on fol. 37v, line 1; fol. 39r, line 32; fol. 40v, line 40; fol. 50r, line 21-22 + line 29; fol. 50v, line 5; fol. 51r, line 5;

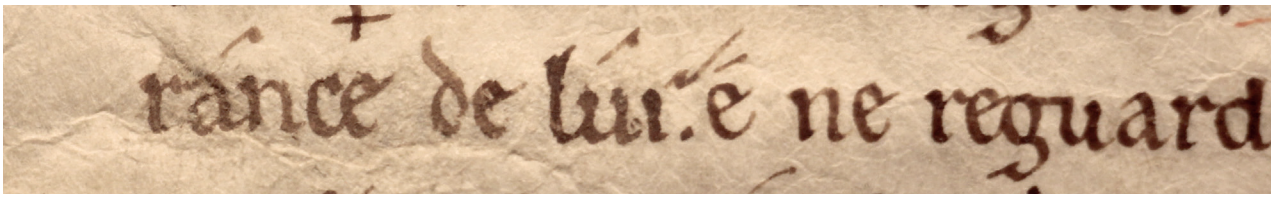
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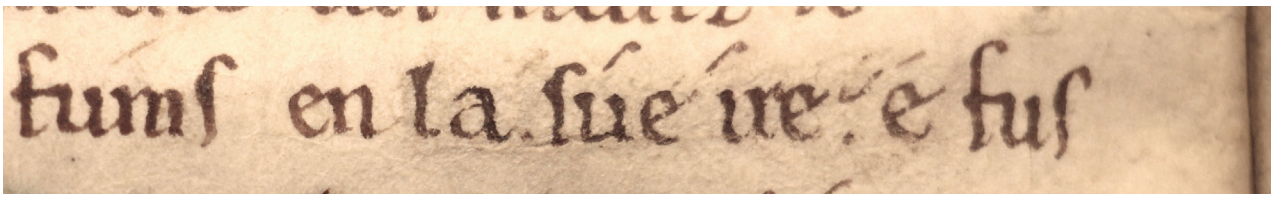
fol. 39r
line 12



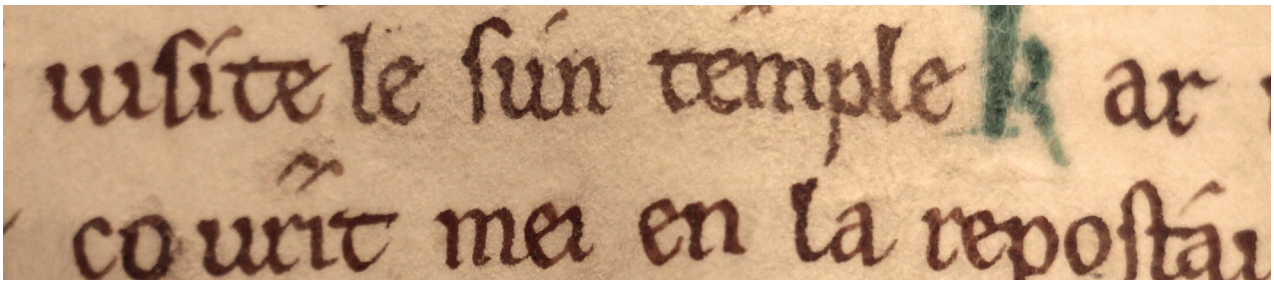
fol. 45v
line 25



fol. 45v
line 26



fol. 39v
line 23



fol. 42r
line 8

fol. 52v, line 21; fol. 53v, line 16; fol. 54v, line 24; fol. 55r, line 40; fol. 59r, line 12; fol. 59v, line 31; fol. 64r, line 29; fol. 67r, line 15; fol. 72r, line 5; and fol. 72v, line 37 (this last occurrence is the third one from the series of the phrase *spes eius*, but it is written without erasure: *esperance de lui*).

fol. 39v, line 23, *en la sue ire ; e fus* (< Lat *Ascendit fumus in ira eius, et ignis a facie eius exarsit*). Same reading in Arundel. In this particular situation, the scribe could have written *en sa ire ; e fus* at first. This sequence of letters and characters fits perfectly in the space covered by the erasure. The substitution of the weak form with the tonic (and longer) form of the same possessive pronoun led the scribe to erase and rewrite the entire segment of text, transcribing the word *fus* farther, in the margin of the folio. As a matter of fact, the traces of an accented ***í*** from *ire* are still visible between the words *la* and *sue*. Furthermore, the phrase *sa ire* occurs at fol. 37r, line 14: *en sa ire* (< Lat *in ira sua*). This is the only time when *sa ire* is used in the final text. The variant *la see ire* is used nine times. *Vide supra*: possessive forms.

fol. 41v, line 17, *as requeranz sun testament. e ses testimonies* (< Lat *requirentibus testamentum eius et testimonia eius*). Arundel reading: *al requeranz testamenz de lui et le testemonies de lui*. The possessive adjective itself seems to be the problem here. It is possible that the scribe had written *sun* at first (traces of ink suggest in fact the existence of a final ***–n*** in the word before the erasure).

fol. 42r, line 8, *le sun temple* (< Lat *templum eius*). Same reading in Arundel. Traces of a simple punctus or a partially erased letter are visible between the letters ***p*** and ***l*** of *temple*. Traces of an ***l*** or ***s*** are visible above the ***e*** of *le*. It is not clear if the erasure ends before or after the final letters ***–le*** of *temple*. The strong form *le sun* is used twice in the entire text: in Ps 24 (fol. 41v, line 21, *le sun testament*) and in Ps 26 (our erasure). On fol. 42v, line 6, the phrase *in templo eius* is rendered as *el sun temple*. The Douce scribe could have written *el sun temple* at first, although it is difficult to understand why he did not simply erase *el* and replace it with *le*. It is also unlikely that he had written *li sun* at first (as he did on a few rare occasions), since this does not explain the extent of the erasure. It is possible, nevertheless, that he had written a phrase based on the weak form *sun* at first, then erased everything to rewrite the strong form *le sun*.

fol. 42v, lines 12–13, *en lindignatiun de lui* (< Lat *in indignatione eius*). Arundel reading: *en le indignaciun de lui*. There are traces of *sa* under the letters *li* of *lindignatiun*. In all likelihood, the scribe wrote *en sa indignatiun* at first, with the word *indignatiun* divided at the end of line 12.

fol. 43v, line 16, *Kar en lui esleecerat li nostre cuer e el saint num de lui espererums* (< Lat *Quia in eo laetabitur cor nostrum et in nomine sancto eius speravimus*). Arundel reading: *Kar en lui esleescerat li notre quers ; et en le seint nun de lui esperuns*. The scribe could have written *e en sun saint num* at first. The traces of minims and accents suggest that this is the best interpretation. This erasure occurs after a sequence *li nre cuer*, written in the inner margin of the folio; the Douce scribe probably forgot to copy a part of the text. I cannot, however, exclude the possibility that the scribe wrote a shorter sequence of words and letters in the space covered by the erasure, although it is difficult to ascertain how the Latin *cor nostrum* would be translated in this case).

fol. 45r, line 6-7, *es mains de celui* (< Lat *in manibus eius*). Same reading in Arundel. This is the only time when the Douce scribe translated *eius* as *de celui*. Since the *es* of line 6 was written into the outer margin of the folio, the scribe probably wrote *en ses mains* at first.

fol. 48r, line 8, *Asemblez a lui les sainz de lui ; chi ordenent sun testament sur sacrifises* (< Lat *Congregate illi sanctos eius, qui ordinant testamentum eius super sacrificia*). Arundel reading: *Asemplet a lui les seint de lur ki ordenent sun testament sur sacrifises*. The most obvious explanation is an eye-skip. The Douce scribe could have written *chi ordenent* after *Asemblez a lui*, then realising that he had missed the translation of *sanctos eius*. The subsequent insertion of the phrase *les sainz de lui*, could explain why *chi ordenent* was written partly on the erasure and partly into the margin of the folio.

fol. 48r, line 16, *kar miens est. li cercle de la terre e la plentet . de li* (< Lat *meus est enim orbis terrae et plenitudo eius*). Arundel reading: *kar miens est li cercle de la terre et le plentet de lui*. At first, the Douce scribe could have written the possessive form *sa*, then correcting the sentence by its replacement with the definite article *la*, as well as the addition of *de li* after the punctus that follows *plentet*. The word *li* was written on another erased segment of the parchment, which is the result of a different erasure, linked to the following verse.

fol. 49r, line 12, *sur les murs de li* (< Lat *super muros eius*). Same reading in Arundel. It is possible that the Douce scribe initially wrote *sur murs de felunie* (?).

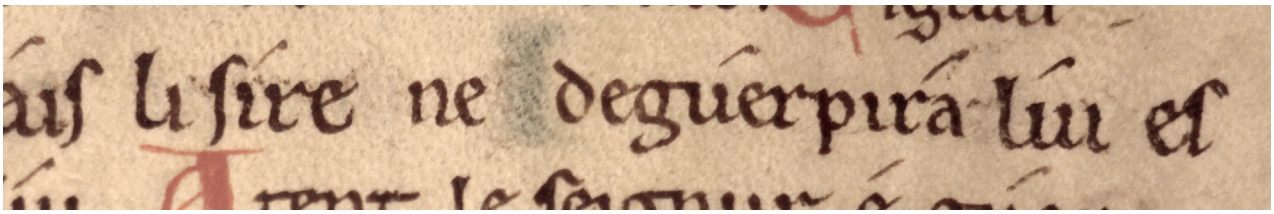
fol. 49r, line 26, *del suen uolt* (< Lat *vultus eius*). Arundel reading: *de sun uult*. The Douce scribe could have written the weak form *sun* at first, then corrected it into the strong form *suen*.

fol. 50r, line 2, *la misericorde de lui* (< Lat *misericordia eius*). Same reading in Arundel. In this particular case, the initial translation choice of the Douce scribe could have been *la sue misericorde*, similar to what he wrote on eight other occasions.

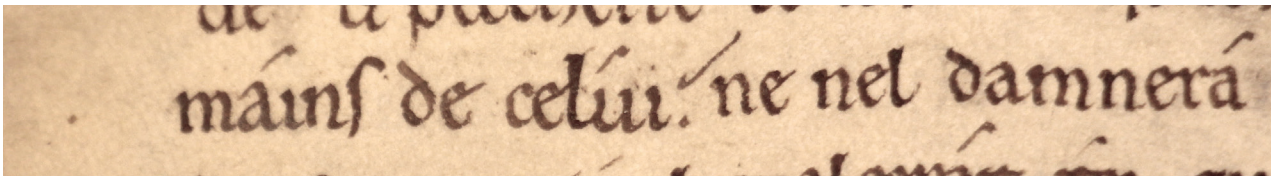
fol. 50v, line 37, *les faiz de lui* (< Lat *facta eius*). Same reading in Arundel. The Douce scribe could have written *e li suens faiz* at first. Traces of an ***é*** are visible between the new ***é*** and the ***l*** of *les*. The erasure eliminated the old ***é***. The scribe had to rewrite it close to the punctus elevatus, in order to save space and write more letters.

fol. 51r, line 25, *de la loenge de lui . Chi posat* (< Lat *laudis eius*). Same reading in Arundel. The ***l*** of *la* seems to be written upon an erasure that could have touched the letter ***s*** of the possessive adjective *sa*. The Douce scribe could have written *sa loenge. (C)hi po–* at first. The sub-

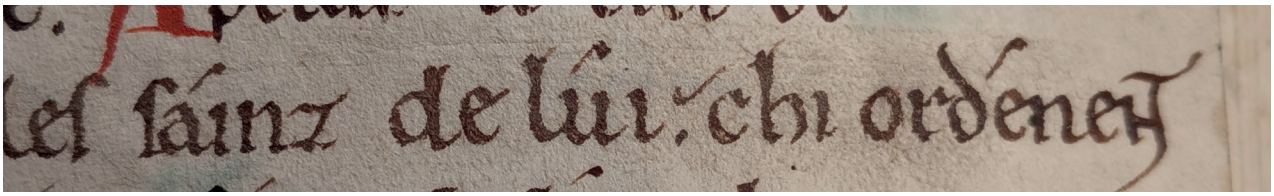
fol. 45r line 6



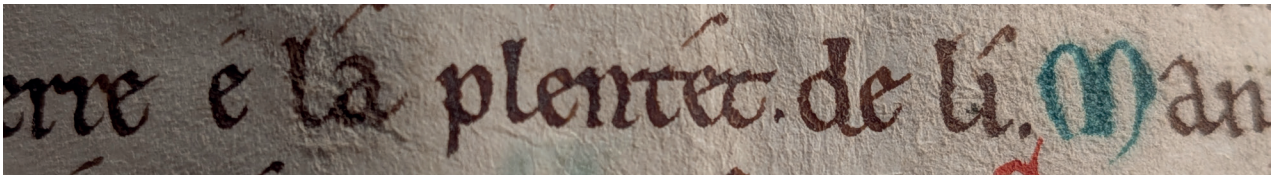
fol. 45r line 7



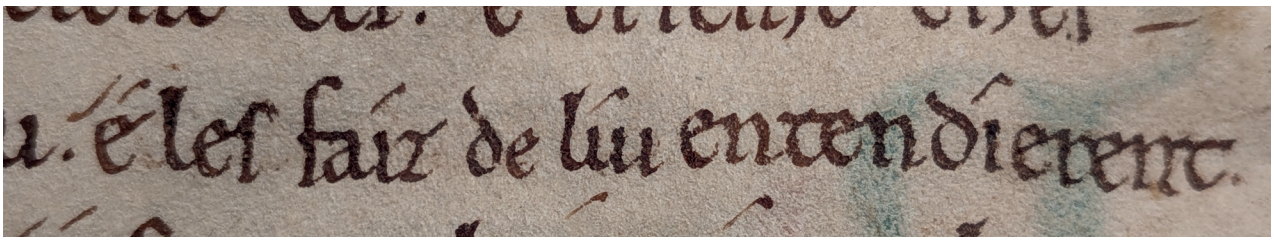
fol. 48r line 8



fol. 48r line 16



fol. 50v line 37



stitution of the possessive by an article could have led to the correct of ***s*** into ***l***, followed by the erasure of *(C)hi po–* in order to add *de lui*; and the rewriting of the same *(C)hi po–* into the margin of the folio.

fol. 51v, line 5-6, *e seient departit li enemi de lui ; e fuient chi hairent lui de la face de lui* (< Lat *et dissipentur inimici eius ; et fugiant qui oderunt eum a facie eius*). Same reading in Arundel. The erasure upon which the Douce scribe later wrote *li* could have been covered by another possessive form. In the following segment, the first translation choice could have been *e fuient chi hairent lui*. The erasure would not concern changes in this part of the text, only its displacement to make way for *de lui*. This led to the writing of the second word *lui* in the margin of the folio. It is also possible that the initial translation choice for *de la face de lui* could have been *de sa face*.

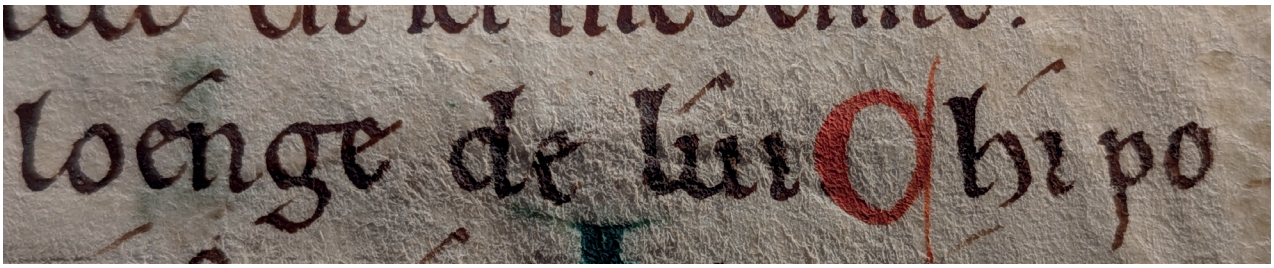
fol. 51v, line 22, *del dos de li* (< Lat *dorsi eius*). Arundel reading: *del dos de lui*. At first, the Douce scribe could have written a phrase based on *del sun/suen dos* (similar to the one we find at fol. 49r, line 26, *del sun/suen uolt*).

fol. 53r, line 11, *es_ suens iurz* (< Lat *in diebus eius*). Arundel reading: *es suens iurz*. In this particular situation, there are traces of a letter ***u*** under the erasure. The Douce scribe could have made a mistake in the translation of *in*, writing *es* (*en* + *les*) at first, with a temporal value, then the adverb of place *u*, subsequently erased.

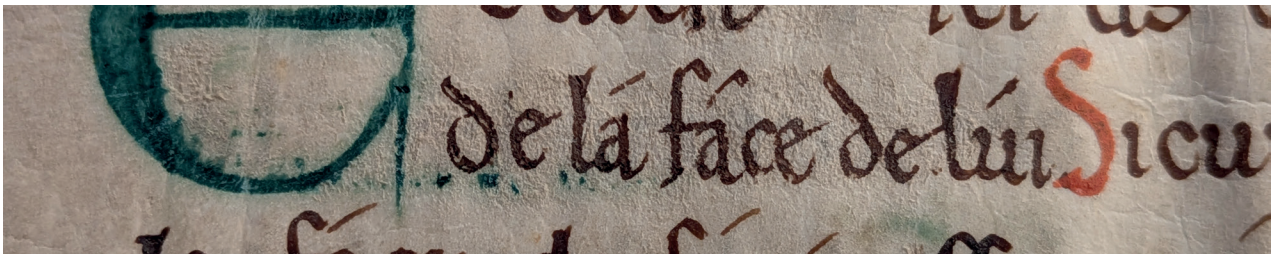
fol. 56r, line 28, *_sun dos* (< Lat *dorsum eius*). Same reading in Arundel. There are traces of *le* under the erasure.

Several erasures concerning the translation of *eius* seem to be linked to various types of scribal errors, thus documenting the existence of an antigraph. It is difficult to estimate if the rhythmic or emphatic-poetic translation choice (suggested by Sneddon 1972, p. 112) is indeed a valid interpretation (cf. Short 2015, p. 25, who simply states that the possessive can be translated in two different manners). It is evident, nevertheless, that the Douce scribe favoured a hesitant use of the two translation choices in the first part of his text (perhaps also in a desire to confer a certain sense of rhythm), whereas in the second part he enforced standardisation, as if a translation automatism had been already established by then. Whether this translation automatism was dictated by a desire to confer more emphasis to the vernacular text or not is something that still needs to be proven.

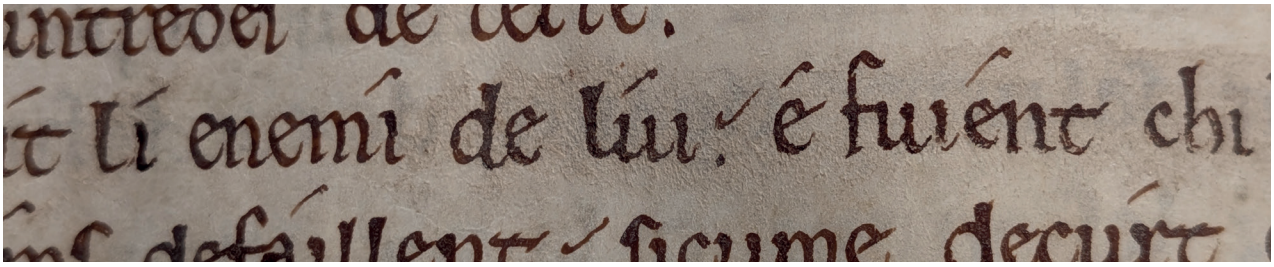
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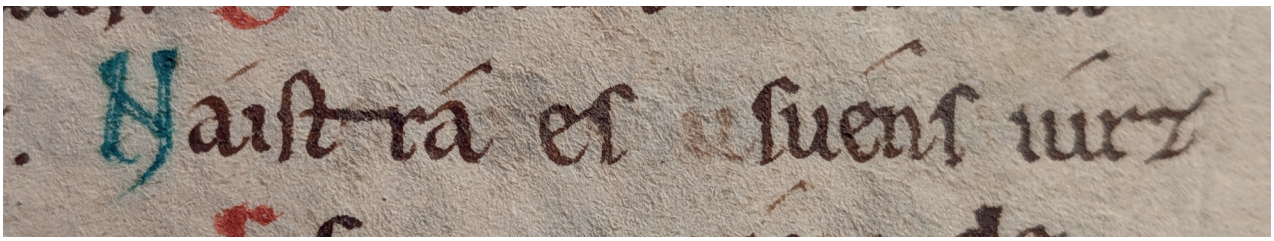
fol. 51r line 25



fol. 51v line 6



fol. 51v line 5



fol. 53r line 11

á tei túrt pople. E lledecent é eliodent lef genz. kar tú iuges lef poples en o-
elté: é lef genz en térre adrecef. Regebiſſent á tei li pople dſ: regebiſſent á
tei túrt pople: la térre dunat ſun fruit. Benediet nuſ dſ li nre dſ. benedi-
et nuſ dſ: é crement liu túrt lef cunfinedef de térre.

Esdreſt ſei dſ é ſeient departit li enemi de liu: é fuient chi hairent liu
de la face de liu. Sicume defalt fumſ defaillent: ſicume decurt cire de
la face de fu: eiſſi periſſent li pecchedur de la face de déu. E li iuſte man-
ucent é elledecent en leſguardement de déu: é ſeient delitét en ledece.
Cantét á déu. ſalme dites al ſun ndm: éire faitef á liu chi muntat ſur lé
dechedement. ſire é. num á liu. E lledecét en leſguardement de liu. ſeruſ
turbét de la face de liu, del pére def orfenins. é del iugedur def uéduef. Ds en
ſun ſaint liu. dſ chi enhabitét fait dune cuſtume en maiſun. Chi forſ-
méinet lef liez en forrece: enſement elſ chi enaſpriſſent: chi habitent
en ſepulchref Ds cú tu forſ euſſeief en leſguardement del tuen pople:
cú tu treſpaſſoſwef el deſert. La térre é. moude. kar li ciel degutérent
de la face de déu de ſinay: de la face de déu de iſrl. Pluuie uoluntiue
deſſeuerraſt dſ á la tue bereditét é enfermede é: tu acértef parfiſis li.
Let, del almaillef habitcerunt en li: tu apreſtaſt en ta dulceur al poure dſ.
Li ſire dunrat parole aſ predecanz par multe uertut. Li reiſ de uertuz
de amé. del amé: é de la bealtét de maiſun adepartir eſpuilles. Si
uuſ dormez entre meiens clergiez pennef de columbe ſur argentedef:
é lef deraunetez del doſ de li en pallor dor. Dementref que deſſeurét
li celeſtielſ. lef reiſ ſur li. de neif ſerunt enblancit en ſelmon: li monz de
déu. monz graſ. Monz aſſemblez monz graſ. á quei ſuſchez uuſ lef monz
aſſemblez? Li monz él quel bien plout é. á déu á habitcer en liu: kar li ſire
habitcerat en fin. Li cúrref de déu. á dſ milliers multipliable: milliers
deſſedeceanz. li ſire en elſ en ſinái en ſaint. Tu muntaſt en halt preſiſ cáti-
uetét: receuſt dunſ en bumes. Acértef lef nun credanz: habitcer noſtre ſeignur
déu. Benedeiz liſire el iurn chelcun iurn: proſpre éire ferat á nuſ
dſ def noz ſaluz. Li noſtre dſ. dſ de ſalfſ faiſanz: é de ſeignur del ſegnur
de eiſſement de mort. Mais nequedémt dſ fraundrat lef chief de ſef enemiſ:
la uertiz del chef def paralanz en lur meſfaiz. Duſt li ſire dé baſan
conuertirai: conuertirai el parfund de la mér Pur ce que ſeit entéinz li tuenſ
piez en ſanc: la langue de ref chienſ def enemiſ de liu. Ii uirent lef tuenſ
entremenz dſ: lef entremenz del mien déu. del mien rei chi é. en ſaint. Deuanc-
rent li prince coniunt aſ cantanz: el milliu def iuuencelef tympaniſtref.
En iglifef benedifez á déu: al ſeignur def fonteineſ de iſrael. Iluec é. ben-
iamin li iuuencelf: el treſpaſſement de penſe. Li prince de iuda ſe. duitur
delſ: li prince de zabulon. é li prince de nepthalim. Mande dſ la tue
uertut: conferme dſ ice que tu aſ ouuret en nuſ. De tun temple en

▲ *Drawing of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320, fol. 51v (erasures marked in yellow). Various types of erasures in pronominal forms are visible in the drawing.*
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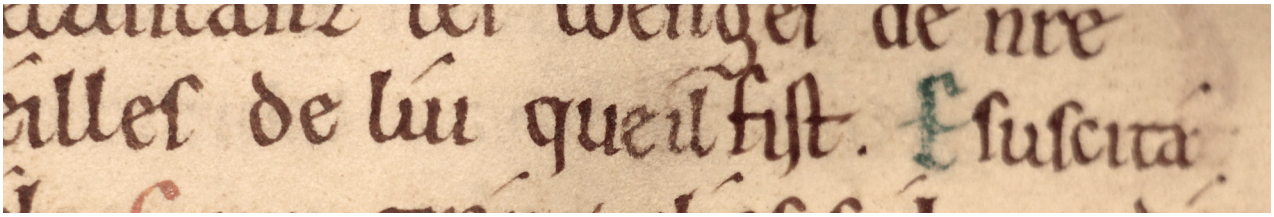
▶ *Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320.*
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ERASURES IN RELATIVES AND THE CONJUNCTION *QUE* (AC)

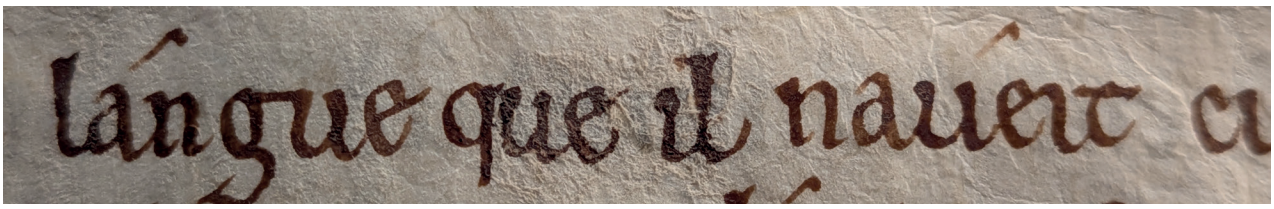
The following category of erasures concern changes in the use of relative forms such as *que il*, *pur ce que*, *que*, *chi*, *cui*. Cf. Sneddon 1972, p. 92–93, 113–114; Short 2015, p. 25–26. For grammar, see Pope 1952, §862-867, 1262.

Que il: Many erasures concern the phrase *que il* and they occur in a specific part of the text, precisely between fol. 53 and f. 60. In certain cases, *que* is used as a relative pronoun; in other situations, it is used with the value of a conjunction. All the remaining occurrences of *que il* are written without any sign of erasure after fol. 60. The wavering of fol. 53–60 overlaps the turning point identified in other categories of erasures. ***(1)* Que *as a relative pronoun (oblique)***. It is very likely the erasure corrected a previous reading *quil*. See fol. 54v, line 20, *e les merueilles de lui que il fist* (< Lat *et mirabilia eius quae fecit*), same reading in Arundel; fol. 55r, line 29, *e les pluies dels que il ne beussent* (< Lat *et imbres eorum ne biberent*), Arundel reading: *e les pluies de icels que il ne buisant*; fol. 55v, line 18, *en la terre que il funda_ en siecles* (< Lat *in terra quam fundavit in saecula*), Arundel reading: *en la tere laquele il fundat en siecles*; fol. 55v, line 39, *la reproce dels medesmes que il repruuerent a tei sire* (< Lat *improperium ipsorum quod exprobraverunt tibi Domine*), Arundel reading: *la reproce des meimes que il reprouerent a tei sire*; fol. 56r, line 27, *la langue que il naueit cuneude oit* (< Lat *linguam quam non noverat audivit*), Arundel reading: *la langue lequele il ne audit conout oit*; fol. 56v, line 36, *en la ualede de lermes el liu que il posa* (< Lat *in valle lacrimarum in loco quem posuit*), same reading in Arundel; fol. 60v, line 21, *e le cumandement que il dunad a els* (< Lat *et praeceptum quod dedit illis*), same reading in Arundel. ***(2)* Que *as a conjunction***. In this subcategory, the majority of erasures seem to be corrections of a phrase initially written *quil*: fol. 53v, line 5, *degetas els dementres que il esteient alege* (< Lat *deiecisti eos dum allevarentur*), with traces of a final ***l***, same reading in Arundel (the word *il* is written in the blank space); fol. 54r, line 39, *u naposera_ que il plus paisible seit uncore?* (< Lat *aut non apponet ut complacitior sit adhuc?*); fol. 54v, line 25, *Que il ne seient fait sicume li pere dels* (< Lat *ne fiant sicut patres eorum*), Arundel reading: *que il ne seient fait sicume la pere de icels*; fol. 54v, line 38, *que il requesissent uiandes a lur anemes* (< Lat *ut peterent escas animabus suis*), same reading in Arundel; fol. 55r, line 22, *E abunda_ que il desturnast la sue ire* (< Lat *Et abundavit ut averteret iram suam*), same reading in Arundel; fol. 55r, line 23, *E recorda_ que il car sunt* (< Lat *Et recordatus est quia caro sunt*), Arundel reading: *e recorda est que il char sunt*; fol. 57r, line 33, *esledest li miens cuers que il crenged le tuen num* (< Lat *laetetur cor meum ut timeat nomen tuum*), Arundel reading: *eslecece li miens cuer que il crenget le tuen nun* (the word *il* is written slightly in the margin of the text column); fol. 59r, line 14, *que il guardent tei en trestutes les tues ueies* (< Lat *ut custodiant te in omnibus viis tuis*), same reading in Arundel; fol. 59r, line 29, *Que il perissent en siecle de secle* (< Lat *ut intereant in saeculum saeculi*), same reading in Arundel; fol. 59r, line 39, *e bien pacient serunt que il annuncent* (< Lat *et bene patientes erunt ut annuntient*), Arundel reading: *et bien suferanz serunt que il annuncent*; fol. 60v, line 39, *Li mien oil as fedeilz de terre, que il siecent ensemble ot mei* (< Lat *Oculi mei ad fideles terrae ut sedeant mecum*), Arundel reading: *Li mien oil as feils de tere que il sient ensemsemblement ot mei.*

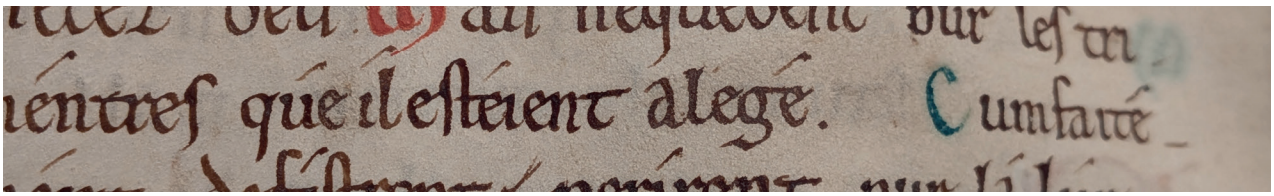
As already argued, most of these erasures corrected an initial reading with an elided *quil*. The Douce text of the Psalms presents several elided forms *quil* with the value of a relative pronoun (both nominative and oblique), or as a conjunction, part of the phrase *pur ce que*: fol. 54v, line 24 (*Pur ce quil posent en deu lur esperance* < *ut ponant in Deo spem suam*); fol. 59r, line 17 (*Pur ce quil en mei espera deliuerrai lui* < *Quoniam in me speravit liberabo eum*); fol. 61r, line 27 (*Pur ce quil oíst les gemissemenz des liéz* < *ut audiret gemitus compeditorum*); fol. 61, line 30 (*e les reis quil seruent al segnor* < *et reges ut serviant Domino*); fol. 62r, line 5 (*Pur ce quil halegre sa face en olie* < *ut exhilaret faciem in oleo*); fol. 62r, line 12 (*Li chael des leons rugianz quil rauissent* < *catuli leonum rugientes ut rapiant*); fol. 62r, line 29 (*e li felun issi quil ne seient* < *et iniqui ita*



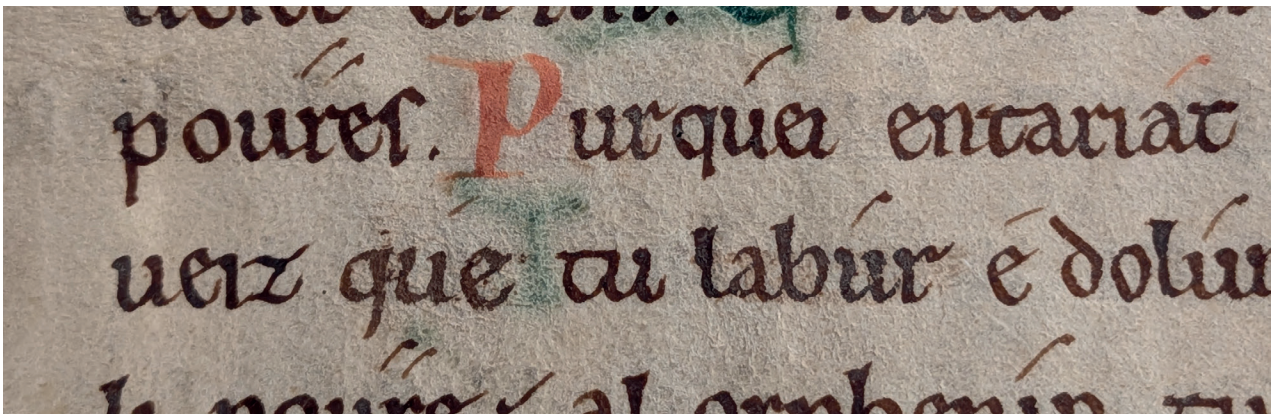
fol. 54v line 20



fol. 56r line 27



fol. 53v line 5



fol. 38v
line 9

▲ *Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320.*
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ut non sint); fol. 62r, line 39 (*de la parole quil manda en mil generaciúns* < *verbi quod mandavit in mille generationes*); fol. 62v, line 11 (*Pur ce quil aprisist les princes de lui* < *ut erudiret principes eius sicut semetipsum*); fol. 62r, line 35 (*e fu . quil luisist a els par nuit .* < *et ignem ut luceret eis per noctem*); fol. 62v, line 33 (*quil out a abraham sun enfant* < *quod habuit ad Abraham puerum suum*); fol. 62v, line 35 (*Pur ce quil guardent les iustifiemenz de lui* < *ut custodiant iustificationes eius*); fol. 63r, line 7 (*pur ce quil coneude fesist la sue potence* < *ut notam faceret potentiam suam*); fol. 63r, line 21 (*E dist . quil deperdreit els* < *Et dixit ut disperderet eos*); fol. 63r, line 23 (*Qued il desturnast lire de lui quil ne deperdiest els* < *ut averteret iram eius ne disperderet eos*); fol. 63r, line 26 (*quil acrauentast els el desert* < *ut prosterneret eos in desérto*); fol. 63v, line 19 (*quil alassent en cited dabitaciun* < *ut irent in civitatem habitationis*); fol. 64r, line 5 (*E esledecerent purce quil se turent* < *Et laetati sunt quia siluerunt*); fol. 64r, line 38 (*Pur ice quil mei amassent detraeient a mei* < *Pro eo ut me diligerent detrahebant mihi*). It should be noted that all these occurrences can be found in the same 'turning point' as the erasures listed in the previous paragraph (fol. 54–64). The existence of this type of *quil* is just a witness of the wavering in spelling of the Douce scribe. The spelling *que il*, written without any trace of erasures, is used throughout the text with the value of a conjunction or as relative pronoun (oblique). There is also an error (a nominative *qui il* instead of the oblique form *que il*) on fol. 47r, line 39 (*speciem Iacob quam dilexit* > *la bealte de iacob qui il ama*).

Pur ce que: Six other erasures concern the phrase *pur ce que*, four of which can be found between fol. 43 and fol. 60, where they replace the conjunction *que* in the translation of Latin purpose clauses introduced by *ut*, or *quoniam*: fol. 43v, line 13, *Pur ce que il deliuret de mort les anemes de els* (< Lat *ut eruat a morte animas eorum*), with *ce que* written on the margin, Arundel reading: *que il delieuret de mort les anemes de els*; fol. 44v, lines 24-25, *Pur cé que il deceiuent le poure e le sufraitus* (< Lat *ut dejiciant pauperem et inopem*), with *pur* written on the margin, Arundel reading: *pur ce que il deceiuent le poure et le sufraitus*; fol. 46r, lines 12-13, *E si il entrot pur ce que il ueist uaines choses parlot* (< Lat *Et si ingrediebatur ut videret, vana loquebatur*), Arundel reading: *Et si il entrout pur ce que il veist uaines choses parlout* (in this particular situation, a part of the text is written in the margin of the text column, particularly the beginning of the verb (***en***-); *que* is written outside of the erasure; in all likelihood, the space covered by the erasure initially comprised the verb and *que*); fol. 50r, line 18, *Tu dunas as criemanz tei significatiun ; que il fuient de la face darc. Pur ce que seient deliuret li tuen amet* (< Lat *Dedisti metuentibus te significationem ut fugiant a facie arcus ut liberentur dilecti tui*), Arundel reading: *Tu donas as cremanz tei significaciun; que il fuient de la face de tuen arc . Que il seient deliueret le tuen aiment* (in this example, the two subordinate clauses are linked to the main clause by the conjunction *ut*; in the first clause, the Douce scribe expressed purpose through a simple *que* + subjunctive; in the second clause, he used *pur ce que*, but he probably wrote a simple *que* at first; since *darc* is written in the margin of the text column, it is safe to assume that this word could have been written in the space now covered by the erasure; it was rewritten at the end of the preceding line, to save space and replace *que* with *pur ce que*); fol. 60r, line 23, *pur ce que il uint iuger la terre* (< Lat *quoniam venit iudicare terram*), Arundel reading: *pur co que il uint iuger la tere* (with traces of a correction *quil* > *que il*). I must also note that, on fol. 38r, line 26, the phrase *pur ce que* seems to be at the heart of an erasure that probably replaces another *que*: *pur ce que ie annunce tuz les tuens loenges es portes de la fille syon* (< Lat *ut annuntiem omnes laudationes tuas in portis filiae Sion*), Arundel reading: *que io annonce tuz les tuens loenges en portes filie syon.* There are traces of letters under the word *pur*; *ce que* is also written in the margin of the text column.

Que < ***Kar***. In two more erasures, *que* translates Lat *quoniam*), although the Douce scribe probably wrote *kar* at first. The readings of MS Arundel 230 and the traces of an erased accent above the ***u*** strengthen this conclusion: fol. 38v, line 9, *Tu ueiz que tu labur e dolur esguardes* (< Lat *Vides quoniam tu laborem et dolorem consideras*), Arundel reading: *Tu ueiz kar tu labur et dolur esguardes*; fol. 40v, line 13, *ore cunui que salf fist li sire sun crist* (< Lat *nunc cognovi quoniam salvum fecit Dominus christum suum*), Arundel reading: *ore cunui kar salf fist li sire sun crist.*

Finally, two more erasures concern *chi* and *cui*. See fol. 38r, line 12, *chi uunt par les sentes de la mer* (< Lat *qui perambulant semitas maris*), where the Douce scribe probably modified an initial reading *qui* in order to replace it with *chi*; same reading in Arundel. As for fol. 42r, line 1, *cui crenderai ie ?* (< Lat *quem timebo ?*), Arundel reading: *lequel io crendrai ?*, the descender of an erased ***q*** is still visible. No other occurrence of the spelling *cui* could be found in the translation of MS Douce 320.

Et enmenā ělſ el mónt de la ſíue ſanctificatiún: el mont le quel aquíſt la deſtre de lúi. Et forſgetā de lá fáce dells les genz: e pár ſort diuiſā á els la térre en funél de diuiſiún. Et habitér fíſt es tabernácles dells: les lignédes diſrael. Et tempterent é puruochérent déu le halſime: é les teſti mónies de lúi ne guardérent. Et deſturnérent séi é ne guardérent cóuenánt: enſement cume li pére dells ſunt treſturnéd en torcenúſ árc. En íre cómurent lúi es lur tértres: é en lur entailledures á enuídie lúi puruochérent. Oít dś é deſpíſt: é á neient mult demenā iſrt. Et de buta le tabernácle de ſyló: le ſuen tabernácle ú il habitā en húmes. Et liurā en caitiuetéd la uertúd dicells: é la bealtéd dells es máins del enemi. Et en cloſt en glaiue ſun póple: é la ſíue heredited deſpíſt. Les uuences dicells manā fúſ: é les urgines dells ne guáimentéreſ. Les ſacerdótes dells en glaiue caírent: é les lur uedues neſteient deplorédes. Et eſueillés é. ſicume dormánt li ſire: enſement cume beuánt engrutíz de uín. Et ferit ſes enemís es dederainetéz: reproce parmanáble dunā á els. Et deburā le tabernácle de ioſeph: é la lignéde deffraim ne eſliſt. Máis eſliſt la lignéde de iúda: le mónt de ſyón le quel il amā. Et edifiā ſicume uni córne le ſuen ſáint edifice: en la térre que il fundā en ſiécles. Et eſliſt dauid le ſuen ſerf: é ſuſleuā lúi del fulcs des oeilles: da preſ les fedunánz recút lúi. A páiſtre iacób le ſuen ſerf: é iſrt la ſíue heredited. Et pout els en innocence de lur cuer: é es entendemenz de lur máins demenā els.

Oś. uindrent genz en la tíue heredited: maluérent le tuén ſáint témple: poſérent rerlín en la guárde de pómes. Poſérent les carúignes de tes ſerf uiandes as oiſels del ciél: les carz des tuens ſáint as béſtes de la térre. Et ſpandiérent le ſanc dells enſement cume éwe en lauurunement de rerlín: é ne eſteit chi enſeueliſt. Et arc ſúmes reproce á nóz ueiſins: ſubſannatiún é illuſiún á icélſ chi en noſtre auirunement ſunt. Uſq; aquánt ſire iráiſtrás en fín? ſerá eſpríſe ſicume fúſ la tíue enuídie? Et ſpant la tíue íre es genz chi tei ne cuneúrent: é es régnes chi tuen núm ne apelérent. Kar il mangiérent iacób: é le liu de lúi deſconforterent. Ne remembrer des nóz feluniés anciénes: ignelmént deuanciſſent nús les túes miſericórdes: kar mult ſúmes fáit poüres. Aíude nus dś li nre ſaluáble: é pur la glórie del tuen núm ſire deliure nús: é propiciuſ ſeiés á nóz pecchéz pur le tuén núm. Que pár auentúre ne dient es genz. ú eſt li dś dicells: é apareiſſe es genz de uánt les nóz óilz. La uenián̄ce del ſanc de tes ſerf chi eſpandúz eſt: entred el tuen eſguardement. li gemiſſement des embríez Suluńc la grandéce del tuen brás: purſiéd les filz des mortifiedurs. Et rent as nóz ueiſins aſet duble el ſein dicells: la reproce dells medeſmes que il repruuérent á tei ſire. Mais nus li tuens póples. é oeilles de la tíue paſture:

▲ *Drawing of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320, fol. 55v (erasures marked in yellow).*
Various types of erasures in pronominal forms are visible in the drawing, as well as two erasures that concern ***que + il****.*

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THE PRONOMINAL ADJECTIVE *TOZ* / *TUIT* (AC)

The following category of erasures concerns forms of *toz* / *tuit* that translate Latin *omnis*, *quisque*, *totus*, and *universus*.

fol. 38r, line 11, *oeiles e tuz bues* (< Lat *oves et boves universas*), Arundel reading: *oeilles et boues tuz tuz*.

fol. 43v, lines 35-36, *Multes sunt les tribulatiuns des iustes ; e de tutes icestes les deliuerrat li sire* (< Lat *Multae tribulationes iustorum ; et de omnibus his liberabit eos Dominus*), Arundel reading: *Multes les tribulaciuns des iustes; et de tutes icestes deliuirat icouls li sire*. There are traces of a previous *z* in the blank space at the end of *icestes*. *Vide supra*: demonstratives.

fol. 45r, line 25, *Sire deuant tei est . tuz le miens desideries* (< Lat *Domine ante te omne desiderium meum*), Arundel reading: *Sire deuant tei est tut li mien desideries*. The adjective is in agreement with a masculine, nominative singular. The width of the erasure suggests that the Douce scribe erased two letters (in all likelihood: *tuit*, the usual form of nominative plural). He also added final *s* to *miens* and *desidéries*, in order to write a nominative plural.

fol. 45r, line 30, *e tricheries tute_ iurn purpensowent* (< Lat *et dolos tota die meditabantur*), same reading in Arundel. There are traces of a final letter in the blank space.

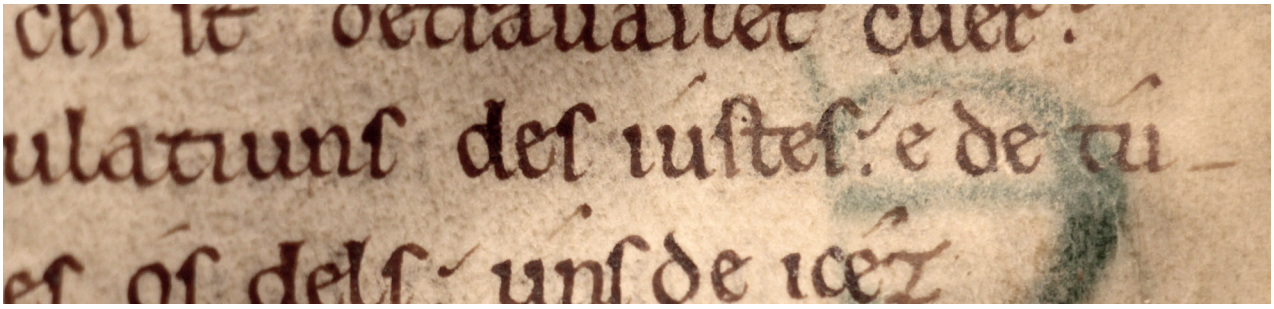
fol. 47v, lines 19-20, *ot oreilles receuez tuit chi habitez le cercle .* (< Lat *auribus percipite omnes qui habitatis orbem*), same reading in Arundel. At first, the scribe could have written a demonstrative such as *icels*. To translate *omnes* from the phrase *omnes qui*, the scribe used either *toz* + demonstrative *cil* / *icil* or the adjective *toz* alone. There are also a few cases where he preferred *trestuit* + *icil* or *trestuit* alone, but he also used a demonstrative followed by *chi*. *Vide supra*: demonstratives.

fol. 47v, line 20, *Tuit_ terrien_ e li fil des humes* (< Lat *quique terrigenae et filii hominum*), same reading in Arundel.

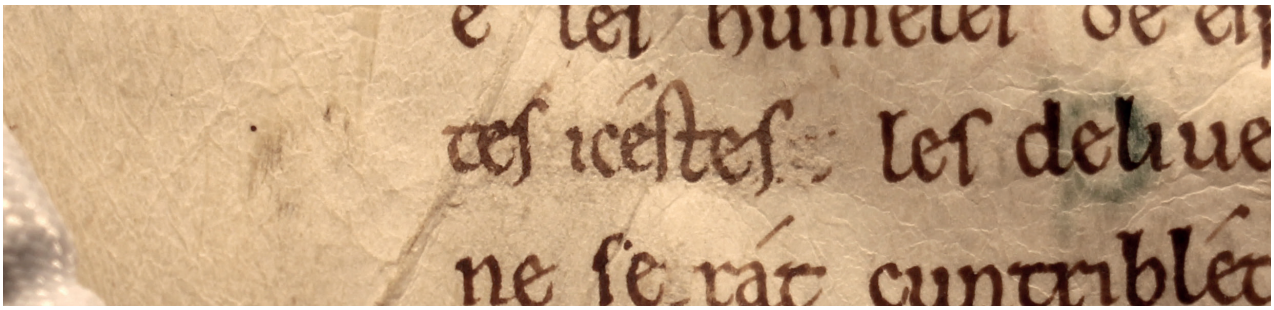
fol. 60r, line 22, *Dunc esledecerunt tuit li fust des selues* (< Lat *Tunc exsultabunt omnia ligna silvarum*). In all likelihood, the Douce scribe initially wrote *tuz* (singular nominative form). He erased the flectional *z*, to correct the nominative plural, then writing *i* on the erasure and adding a final *t* in the blank space.

Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320.
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023-2026.
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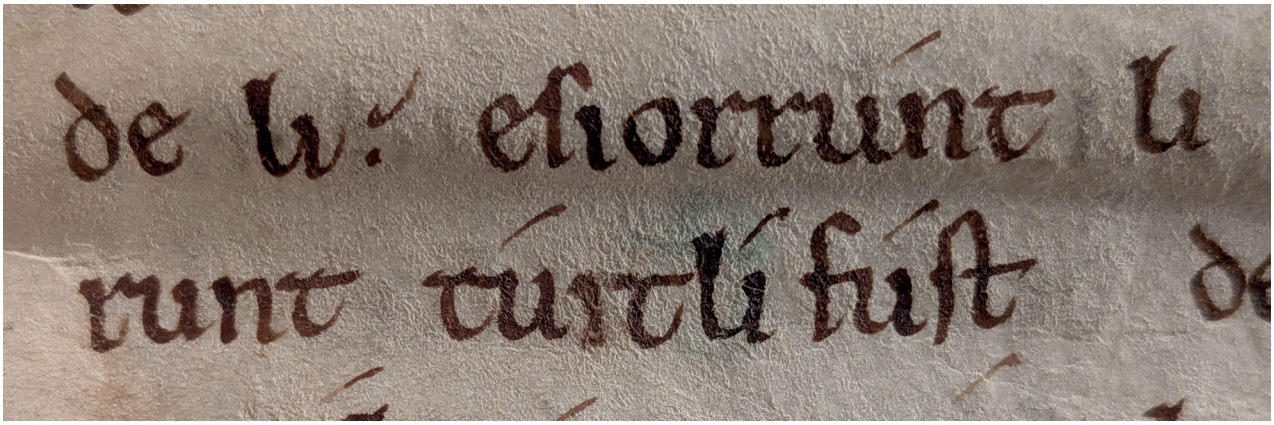
fol. 43v line 35

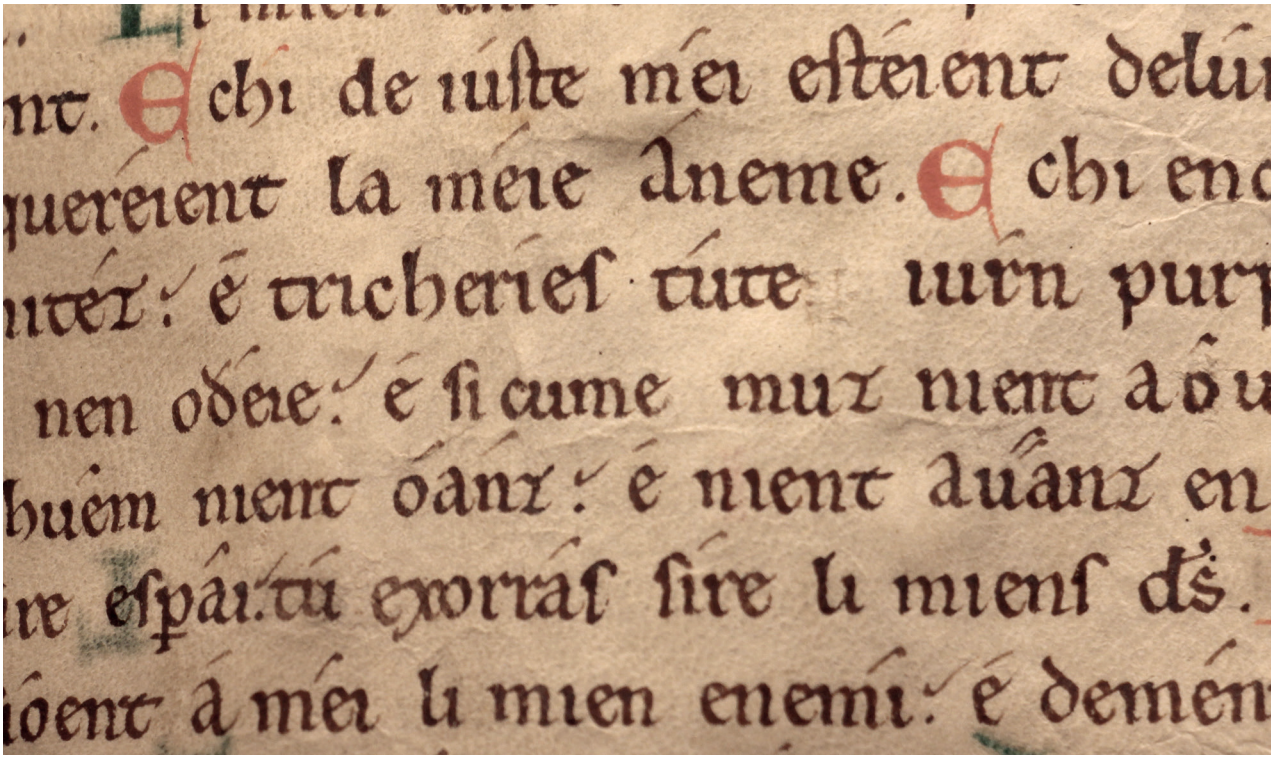


fol. 43v line 36

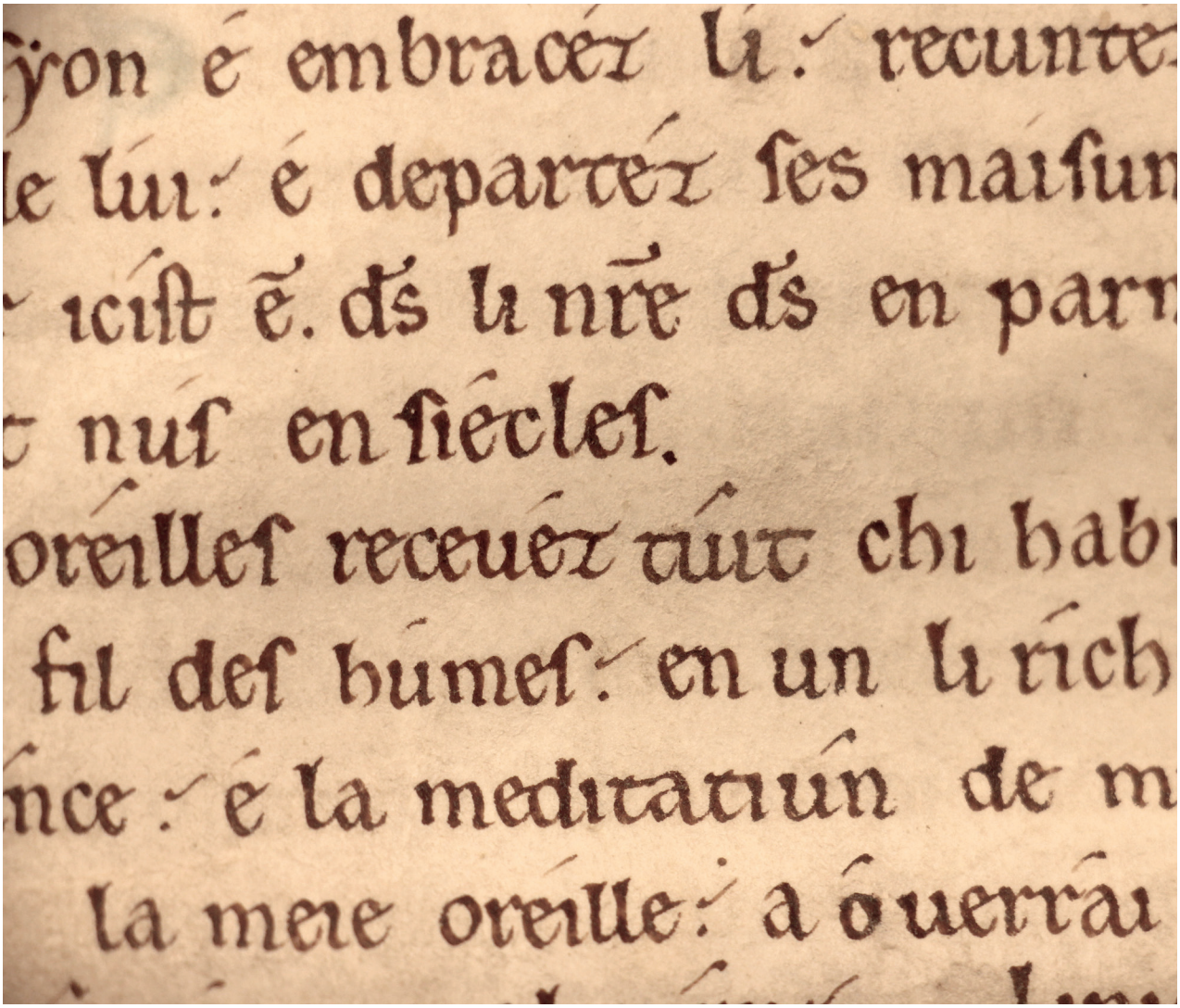


fol. 60r line 22





fol. 45r line 30



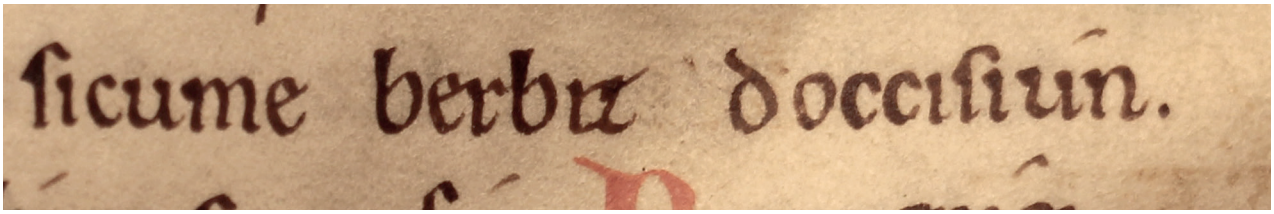
fol. 47v line 19

ERASURES IN PREPOSITIONS (AC)

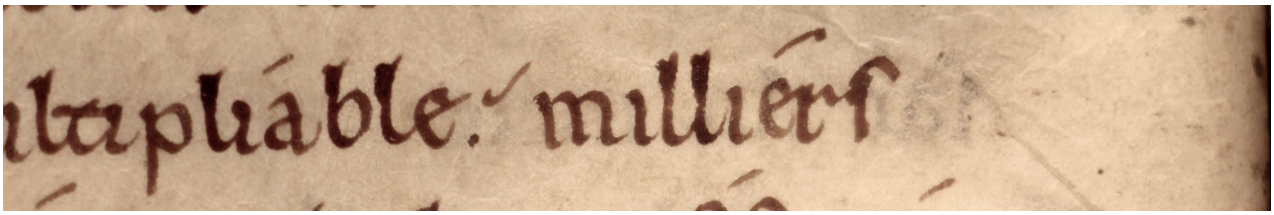
The previous sections listed several erasures that concern prepositions + pronouns, articles or possessives. The following list completes that survey and presents a series of erasures that involve the prepositions *de*, *a*, and *en*.

Preposition* de**. Most of these erasures are linked to the elision of the preposition (*de* > *d'*): fol. 46v, line 32, *en liu _ dafflictiun* (< Lat *in loco afflictionis*), Arundel reading: *en liu de aflictiun*; fol. 46v, line 35, *berbiz _ doccisiun* (< Lat *oves occisionis*), Arundel reading: *berbiz de occisiun*; fol. 47v, line 6, *les lez _ daquilon* (< Lat *latera aquilonis*), Arundel reading: *les lez de aquilon*; fol. 47v, line 14, *les filles _ iude* (< Lat *filiae Iudae*), with traces of an erased *de*, same reading in Arundel; fol. 50r, line 25, *la salu_ _dume* . (< Lat *salus hominis*), Arundel reading: *la saluz de hume* (the erasure also concerns an ***h at the beginning of *ume*); fol. 50v, line 19, *e par leures _desledecement* (< Lat *labiis exsultationis*), Arundel reading: *et par leueres de eslecement*; fol. 51v, line 12, *_ dune custume* (< Lat *unius moris*), same reading in Arundel; fol. 51v, line 22, *_dor* (< Lat *auri*), Arundel reading: *de or*; fol. 51v, lines 26-27, *milliers _ desledeceanz* (< Lat *millia laetantium*), Arundel reading: *milliers de leechanz* (the elided *d'* was added on the margin of the text column); fol. 52r, line 3-4, *li messagier _ degypte* (< Lat *legati ex aegypto*), Arundel reading: *li messager de egypte* (the elided *d'* was added on the margin of the text column); f. 52r, line

fol. 46v line 35



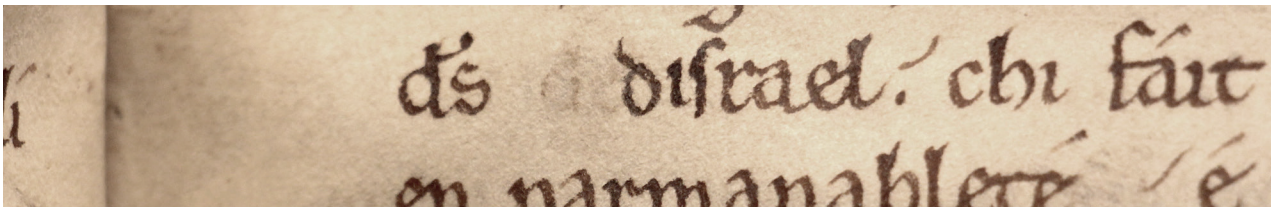
fol. 51v line 26



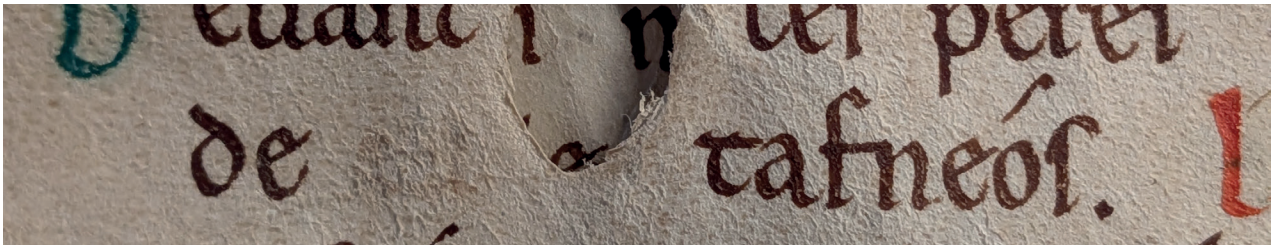
fol. 51v line 27



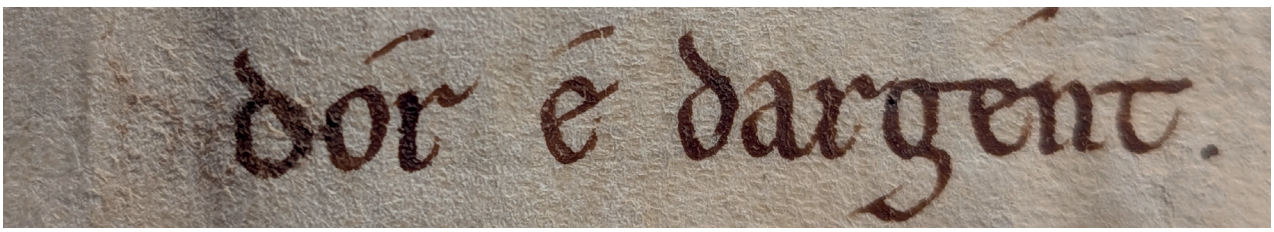
fol. 53r line 26

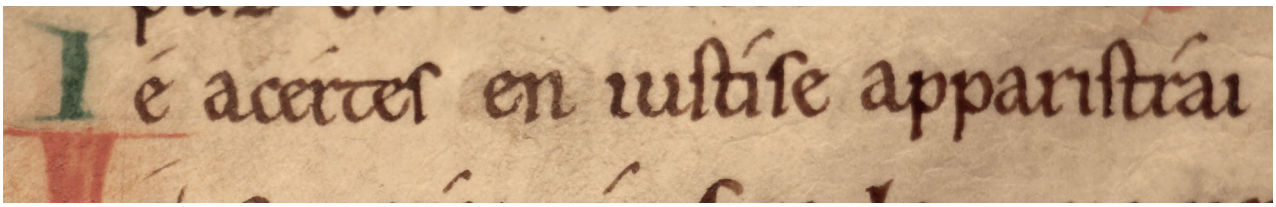


fol. 54v line 32

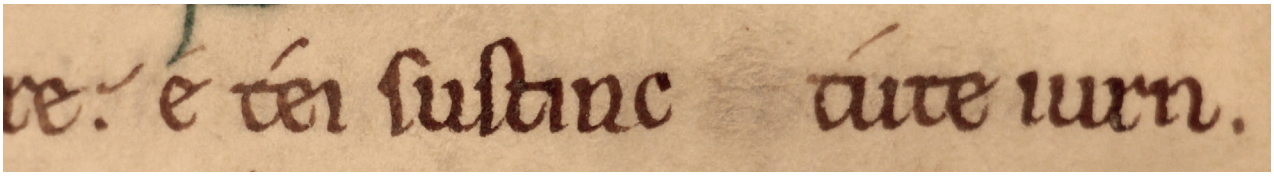


fol. 67r line 40

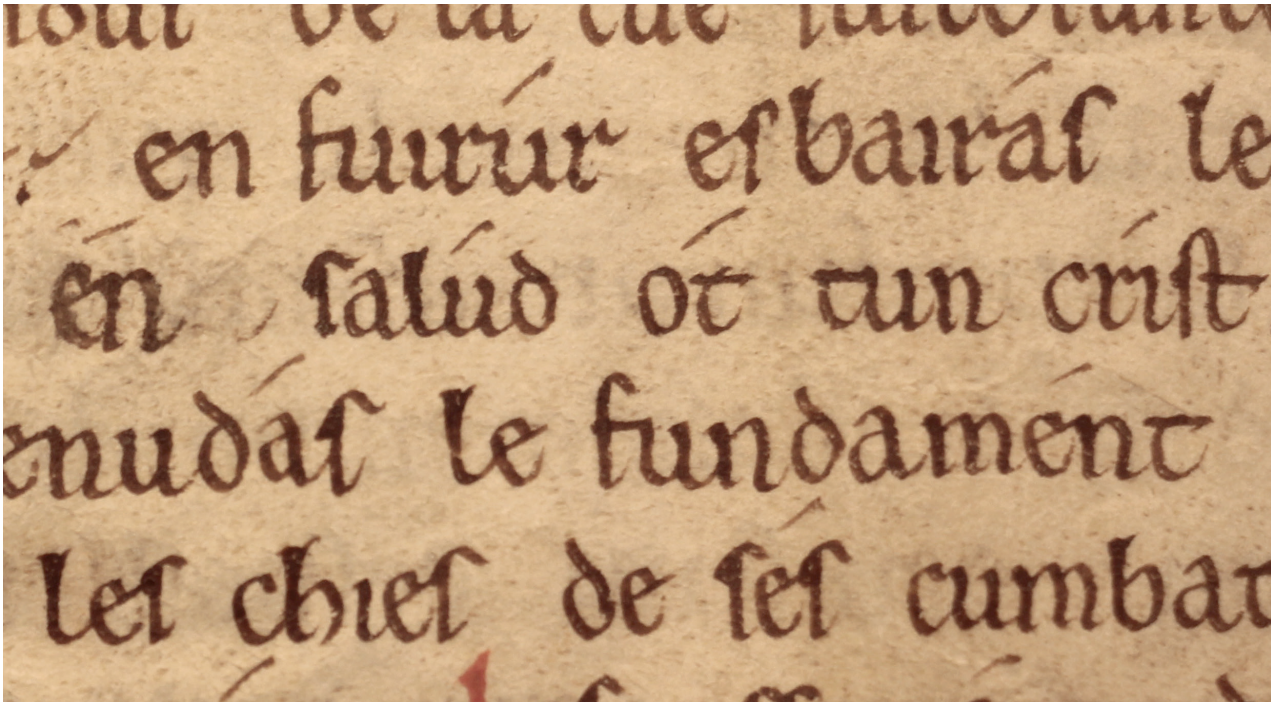




fol. 39v line 13



fol. 41v line 11



fol. 74v line 32

Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320.
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023-2026.
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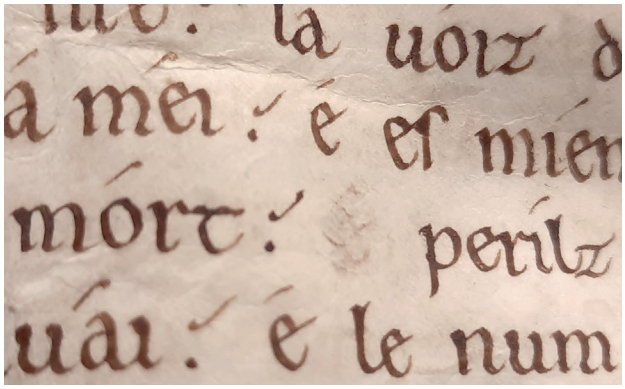
27, *tempestet _ dewe* (< Lat *tempestas aquae*), Arundel reading: *tempestet de ewe*; fol. 52r, line 35, *abeurerent mei _ daisil* (< Lat *potaverunt me aceto*), Arundel reading: *abeurent mei de aisils*; fol. 53r, line 26, *Benedeiz li sire deus _ disrael* (< Lat *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel*), Arundel reading: *Benedist li sire deus de israel*; fol. 54v, line 32, *el camp de _ tafneos* (< Lat *in campo Taneos*), with a hole in the parchment (in all likelihood, the Douce scribe started writing *tafneos*, but rewrote the entire word after the hole; however, the erasure could also be linked to *de*); fol. 65r, line 37, *EN leissement _israel* (< Lat *In exitu Israel*), with traces of an erased previous ***d*** before *israel*, Arundel reading: *En leissement israel de egypte*; fol. 67r, line 40: *_dor e dargent* (< Lat *auri et argenti*), Arundel reading: *de or et de argent*; f. 72r, line 36, *_de la main* (< Lat *de manu*), Arundel reading: *de main* (doubtful erasure).

Preposition* a**. There are only four instances where erasures concern this preposition: fol. 51v, line 26, *Li curres de deu . a dis milliers multipliable* (< Lat *Currus Dei decem millibus multiplex*), same reading in Arundel; fol. 52r, line 6, *ad orient* (< Lat *ad orientem*), same reading in Arundel; fol. 69r, line 3, *_a tei* (< Lat *tibi*), with traces of a previous ***i before the ***á***, same reading in Arundel; and the most interesting case is on fol. 67v, line 36, *kar tu posas _lei a mei* (< Lat *quia tua legem posuisti mihi*), same reading in Arundel. On the erasure preceding *lei*, there are evident traces of an ***a***. Given the similar ending of *lei* and *mei*, it is possible that the scribal error was an eye-skip. He could have started writing *a mei*, and then realised his mistake.

Preposition* en**. Three more erasures concern the preposition *en*: fol. 39v, line 13, *Ie acertes en iustise apparistrai* (< Lat *Ego autem in iustitia apparebo*), same reading in Arundel (there are clear traces of an ***a and perhaps of a descender of the letter ***p*** under the erasure; at first, the scribe could have begun writing the verb *apparistrai*); fol. 41v, line 11, *e tei sustinc _ tute iurn* (< Lat *et te sustinui tota die*), Arundel reading: *et tei sustinc tut en iurn* (perhaps an initial reading *en* or *ie*); fol. 74v, line 32, *en salud* (< Latin *in salutem*), Arundel reading: *en salut* (there are traces of two letters ***a*** under the erasure, the first of which carries an accent, partially erased; the Douce scribe must have made a mistake, copying a phrase that he had written in the previous line: *a la salud*).

ERASURES OF THE CONJUNCTION *É* (AC)

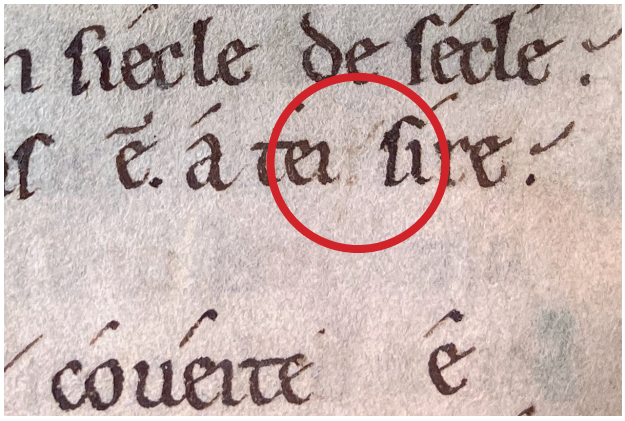
Some corrections upon erasures concern the conjunction *et* (*é*): fol. 48r, line 19, *e ie deliuerrai tei . _e tu honureras mei.* (< Lat *eruam te et honorificabis me*), same reading in Arundel (a single letter was erased before *e*); fol. 49r, line 39, *E sicume* (< Lat *sicut et*), Arundel reading: *Sicume et* (the Douce scribe probably changed his mind and inverted the two particles); fol. 65v, line 28, *_ perilz de enfern truuerent mei* (< Lat *et pericula inferni invenerunt me*), with evident traces of an ***é*** under the erasure, same reading in Arundel; fol. 68v, line 6, *_ en tes paroles suresperai* (< Lat *quia in verba tua supersperavi*), same reading in Arundel (at first, the Douce he scribe could have written an ***é***).



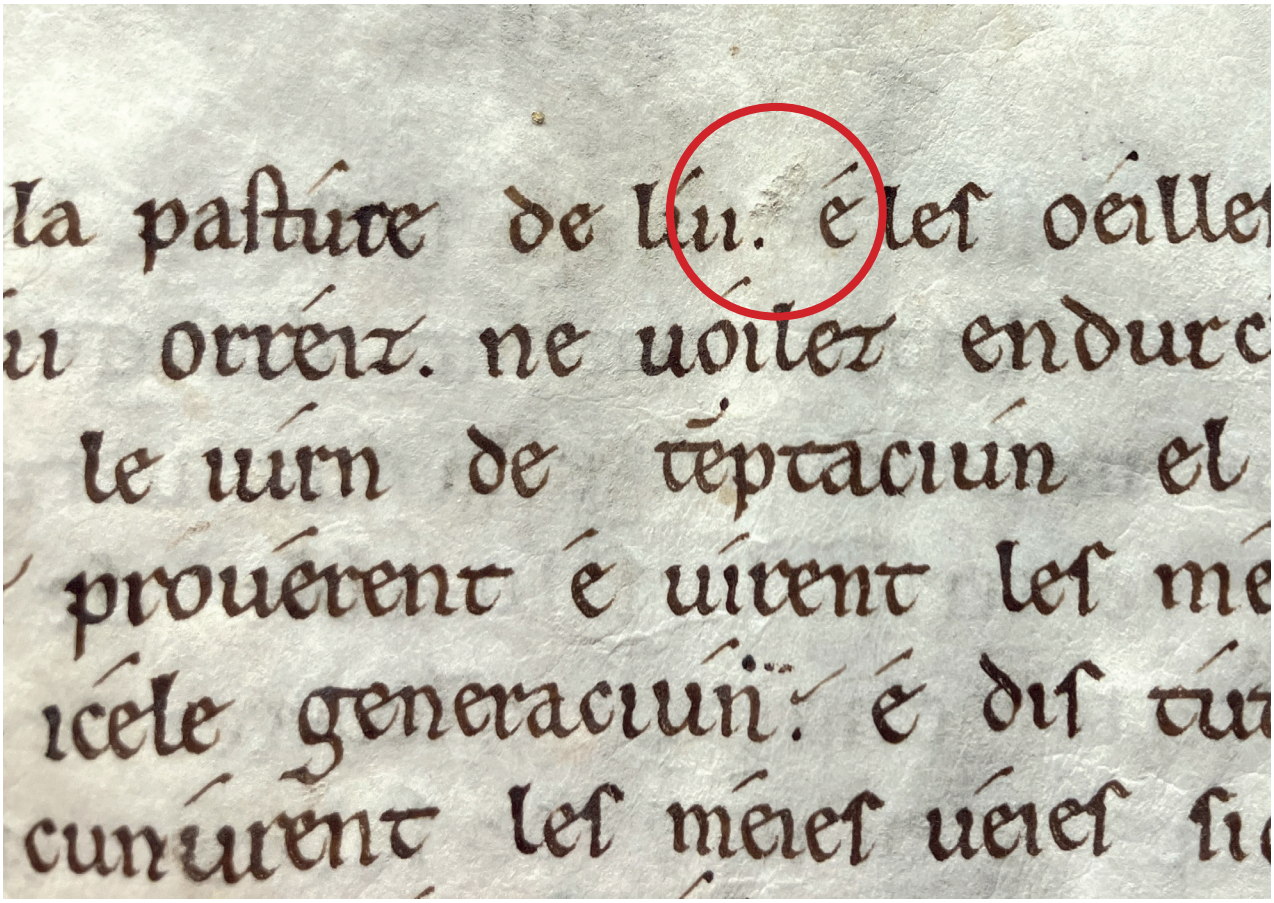
fol. 65v line 28

ERASURES IN PUNCTUATION MARKS (AC)

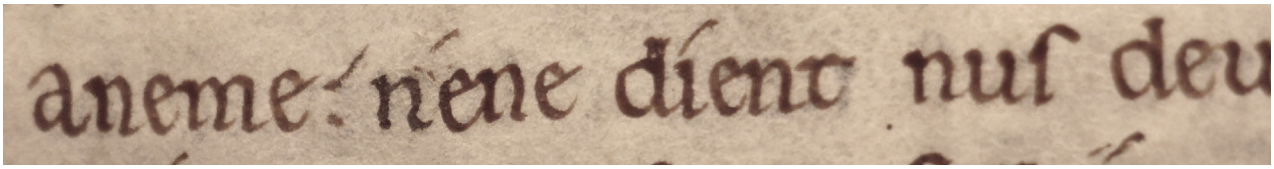
Other erasures and corrections concern the punctuation of the text: fol. 43v, line 10, *Nen est. saluet li reis par multe uertut ; e gaianz ne se_rat saluet en la multitudine de sa uertut* (the punctus elevatus is written upon an erasure); fol. 45v, line 7, *E le numbre de mes iurz _ chi est* (< Lat *et numerum dierum meorum quis est*), with traces of a punctus elevatus under the erasure; fol. 56v, line 27, *E cunuissent que nums est . a tei _ sire ;* (< Lat *Et cognoscant quia nomen tibi Dominus*), with evident traces of another previous punctus elevatus under the erasure; fol. 60r, line 1, *E nus li poples de la pasture de lui . e les oeilles de la sue main* (< Lat *et nos populus pascuae eius et oves manus eius*), where the upper segment of the punctus elevatus coming after *de lui* was erased and turned into a punctus.



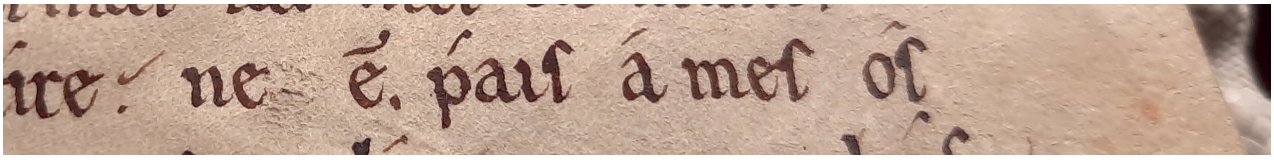
fol. 56v line 27



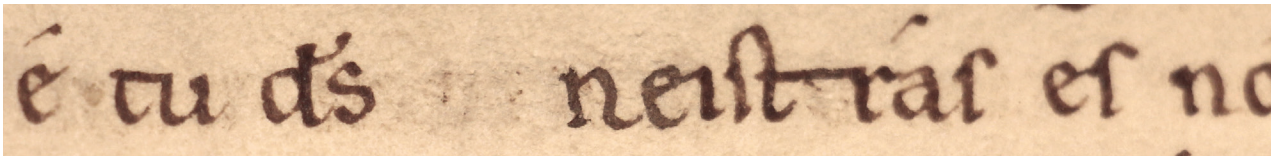
fol. 60r line 1



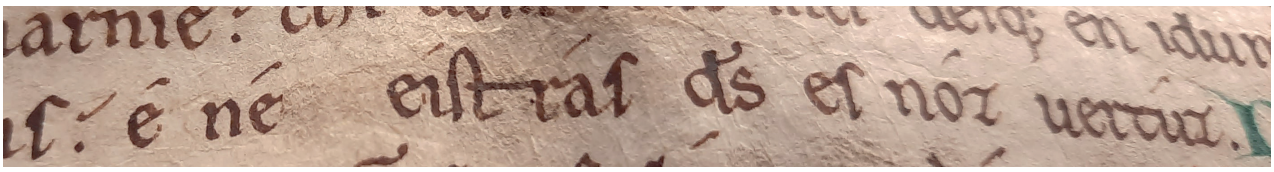
fol. 44r
line 29



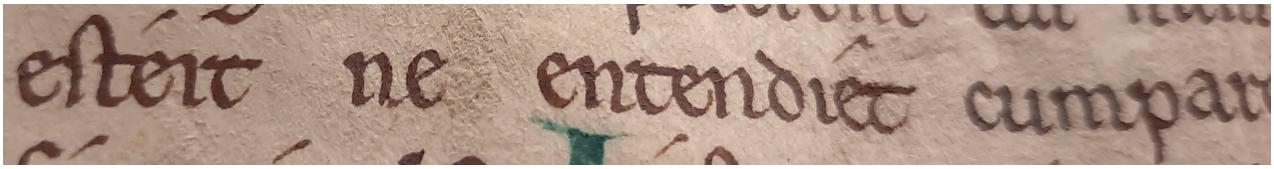
fol. 45r
line 18



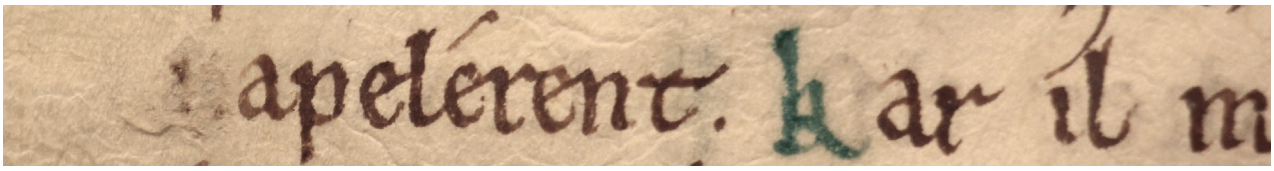
fol. 46v
line 21



fol. 50r
line 24



fol. 47v
line 32



fol. 55v
line 30

ERASURES IN NEGATIVE PARTICLES (AC)

The following section lists the cases in which the scribe made changes to the negative particle: fol. 44r, line 29, *nene dient nus deuorerums lui* (< Lat *nec dicant devoravimus eum*), with traces of an accented ***e*** under ***n***, Arundel reading: *et ne dient nus deuureums lui* (perhaps the Douce scribe wrote *e ne* at first); fol. 45r, line 18, *ne_ est. pais a mes os* (< Lat *non est pax ossibus meis*), with a letter erased at the end of *ne*, Arundel reading: *nient iest pais a mes os* (the letter erased by the Douce scribe could be the ***n*** of a previous *nen*, similar to the one from the beginning of the verse, where the syntactic structure is the same: *Nen est. sanctez* < Lat *Non est sanitas*); fol. 46v, line 21, *e tu deus _neist_ras es noz uertuz* (< Lat *et non egredieris Deus in virtutibus nostris*), Arundel reading: *et nient tu deus istras es noz uertuz*; fol. 50r, line 24, *e ne_ eist_ras deus es noz uertuz* (< Lat *et non egredieris Deus in virtutibus nostris*), with a single letter erased at the end of *ne* (probably ***n***), Arundel reading: *et nient eistras deus en noz uertuz* (the Douce scribe could have written *nen*, as on fol. 64r, line 32, where the phrasing it similar: *e nen eistras deus es noz uertuz* (< Lat *et non exibis Deus in virtutibus nostris*); fol. 47v, line 32, *ne_ entendiet* (< Lat *non intellexit*), with a letter erased at the end of *ne* (probably ***n***), Arundel reading: *nient entendiet*; fol. 52r, line 16, *Ne_ aient hunte* (< Lat *non erubescant*), again with a single letter erased at the end of *ne* (probably ***n***), Arundel reading: *Ne aient hunte*; fol. 55r, line 35, *nen_esparn_ad* (< Lat *non pepercit*), with evident traces of a previous ***n*** before *esparnad*, Arundel reading: *nient esparnat* (at first, the Douce scribe wrote *ne nesparnad*); fol. 55v, line 16, *e la lignede deffraim ne eslist* (< Latin *et tribum Ephraim non elegit*), Arundel reading: *nient eslist* (in this case, the Douce scribe's first choice could have been *neslist*); fol. 55v, line 29-30, *ne _apelerent* (< Lat *non invocaverunt*), with evident traces of an ***n*** under the erasure, same reading in Arundel (in all probability, the Douce scribe wrote a contracted form *napelerent*, then corrected it and wrote *ne* at the end of the preceding line); fol. 59r, line 7, *ne crendras* (< Lat *non timebis*), with traces of an accentuated ***e*** just before *ne*, as well as an ascender and a ***u*** in the blank space between *ne* and *crendras*, Arundel reading: *nient criendras* (the erasure in Douce could be due to a change in the translation choice); fol. 59r, line 13, *flaels ne aprismera_* (< Lat *et flagellum non appropinquabit*), Arundel reading: *et flaels ne aprismera* (the Douce probably wrote *naprismera* at first, as there are traces of an ***n*** under *ne*), *vide infra*: lexical issues; fol. 59r, line 16, *ne offendes* (< Lat *ne forte offendas*), Arundel reading : *ne curuces* (in all probability, the Douce scribe wrote *noffendes* at first).

FINAL *-T* AND *-D* IN THE DECLENSION OF NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES (AC)

Before proceeding to this other survey of erasures and the specific reasons behind them, a series of general observations must be made about this type of corrections in Douce MS 320:

—***t*** forms are prevalent in the first part of the text;

—***d*** forms are mainly present in the second part.

The erasures left blank, without any further correction, are found on fol. 40-41; fol. 45-47; fol. 50-51; fol. 53; whereas those followed by a correction occur on fol. 38-39; fol. 41; fol. 43; fol. 44-45; fol. 48; fol. 51; fol. 55; fol. 60. Such erasures often concern a final —***t*** or —***d***. It is worth noting that the scribe writes those terms without a final dental in the first part of the manuscript (see *iniquite*; *pense*). In certain cases, it appears that the scribe had problems with the declension, thus deciding to erase a final flexional —*z* instead of a final dental; or to replace a final dental with a final flexional —*z*. For these matters, see e.g., Pope 1952, §775, 794–807, 1241–1247; Sneddon 1972, p. 84–89, 115-117; Short 2015, p. 22–26; Meister 1877, p. 85–96.

Erasures not followed by corrections

All the following kinds of erasures concern feminine nouns. Sneddon 1972, p. 86 argued that, in the Oxford Psalter, "feminine nouns have basically the modern form, with flexional —***s*** [—*z* in our case] in the plural of both cases" (cf. Pope 1952, § 801-803). In one specific situation (*salu*), the scribe hesitated in the matter of the flexional —*z* for nominative singular (cf. Meister 1877, p. 86-87).

*bealté_*, fol. 47r, line 39. This variant with erasure was used for oblique singular. There are no traces of the erased final consonant, but the declension of the word may suggest a final dental. See *beltet*, on fol. 40v, line 22; *bealtet* on fol. 47r, line 4; fol. 48r, line 5; fol. 51v, line 20; *bealted*, on fol. 55v, line 10; *bealte*, on fol. 59v, line 1; fol. 60r, line 13 (nominative singular); fol. 61v, line 29. There is also *bealtez*, on fol. 51r, line 14 (nominative plural).

*cite_*, fol. 47r, line 27 (oblique singular). No traces of the erased end consonant are visible, but as the declension is respected, therefore one would expect a dental. *Citet* is both used for nominative and oblique singular on fol. 43r, line 12 (extensive erasure); fol. 47v, line 4 + line 6 + line 10 + line 11; fol. 49r, line 12; fol. 49v, line 39; fol. 50r, line 9 + line 23; fol. 53r, line 23. *Cited* is used on fol. 53v, line 7; fol. 57v, line 6; fol. 61r, line 3; fol. 63v, line 19; fol. 64r, line 12 + line 31; fol. 69r, line 17. *Cite* on fol. 63v, line 16; fol. 69v, line 15 (oblique singular). *Citez* is the spelling for nominative and oblique plural on fol. 38r, line 19; fol. 52v, line 7; fol. 71v, line 3.

*enfermete_*, fol. 46r, line 10, oblique singular. No traces of the erased letter unfortunately; impossible to decide if it was a dental or a flexional —*z*. The spelling *enfermetez* of fol. 39r, line 24, and fol. 61v, line 2-3, is used for nominative and oblique plural.

*erite_*, fol. 45r, line 8 (traces of an erased —***t***). The spelling is always used for an oblique singular. *Eritet* occurs on fol. 43v, line 7; fol. 44v, line 29; fol. 52v, line 7. *Erited* is found on fol. 74v, line 7. The related term *heredite_* shows signs of erasure on fol. 47r, line 38-39; fol. 50r, line 32. *Hereditet* spelled as such occurs from fol. 37r up to fol. 53v: fol. 37r, line 17; fol. 39r, line 26 + line 27 + line 28 (nominative singular); fol. 42r, line 34; fol. 51v, line 17. Spellings with a final —***d*** start on fol. 53v and are used until the end of the text: fol. 53v, line 20; fol. 55v, line 11 + line 20 + line 22; fol. 56v, line 21; fol. 59v, line 21; fol. 62v, line 2; fol. 63r, line 3; fol. 65r, line 8 (*eredited*); fol. 68r, line 5; fol. 70v, line 10 (twice) + line 31 (twice); fol. 75r, line 21. *Heredite* is found on fol. 59v, line 12; fol. 63v, line 1; fol. 69v, line 18 (*eredite*, nominative singular).

*este_*, fol. 53v, line 38 (oblique singular). It is the only occurrence of this word in the text.

*iniquite_*, fol. 45r, line 37; fol. 53r, line 19 (with evident traces of an erased —***t***). On fol. 50v, line 29, there is *iniquitet*. The word is always used here to express an oblique singular. On fol. 50v, one can argue that the erased letter was —*z*. *Iniquitet* is used for both the nominative and the oblique singular: fol. 38r, line 1; fol. 39v, line 18; fol. 43r, line 6-7; fol. 44r, line 38; fol. 47v, line 23 (extensive erasure); fol. 49r, line 11; fol. 49v, line 34 + line 36. *Iniquited* on fol. 58r, line 23, and fol. 63v, line 31, is an oblique singular. *Iniquite*, nominative singular, but also oblique singular, is found on: fol. 39r, line 39; fol. 50v, line 9. The spelling *iniquitez* on fol. 45r, line 19; fol. 45v, line 13 + line 38; fol. 50v, line 33; fol. 61v, line 2, is used both for nominative and oblique plural.

*maieste_*, fol. 53r, line 26 + line 27 (oblique singular). Cf. fol. 42r, line 39, *maiestet* (oblique singular).

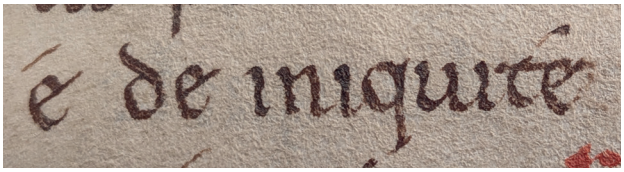
*oelte_* (oblique singular), fol. 45r, line 11 (with traces of an erased —***t***); fol. 51v, lines 2-3. *Oeltet* (oblique singular): fol. 38v, line 22; fol. 51r, line 4. *Oelted* (nominative or oblique singular) occurs on fol. 60r, line 19 + line 23; fol. 60v, line 11; fol. 65r, line 10; fol. 67r, line 4; fol. 67v, line 4; fol. 68v, line 2; fol. 72r, line 24. *Oelte* without any sign of erasure is found on fol. 68v, line 35 (nominative singular). There is also *oeltez* on fol. 39r, line 38 (oblique plural).

(*en*) *parmanablete_* (oblique singular): fol. 45r, line 1; fol. 46r, line 21 (traces of an erased —***t***); fol. 47r, line 22 (traces of an erased —***t***); fol. 50r, line 34; fol. 51r, line 23; fol. 52v, line 16; fol. 53r, line 27; fol. 53v, line 14. *En parmanabletet* is the formula transcribed by the scribe and not corrected from fol. 37v, line 14, to fol. 50v, line 7. He wrote *en parmanableted* from fol. 54r, line 39, to fol. 75v, lines 28-29 (with only one erased variant on fol. 57r, line 35, *en parmanableted*). As for *en parmanablete*, without erasure, it occurs on fol. 59r, line 30; fol. 63r, line 31; fol. 64v, line 37; fol. 65r, line 11; fol. 67v, line 21 + line 32; fol. 68r, line 7.

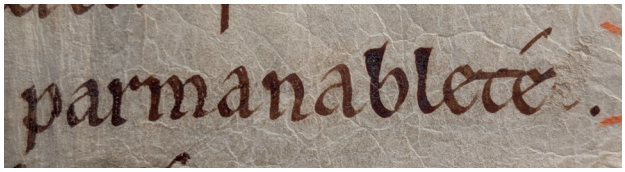
*pense_*, fol. 51v, line 38 (oblique singular). For other oblique singular uses of this term, the scribe wrote *pense* on fol. 43r, line 13; and *pensed* on fol. 54r, line 37.

*plente_*, fol. 51r, line 14 (oblique singular). *Plentet* on fol. 41r, line 35; fol. 44v, line 4; fol. 48r, line 16; and *plented* on fol. 58r, line 10; fol. 60v, line 8, are used for nominative and oblique singular. Traces of an erased letter suggest the initial transcription of a final —***t***. On fol. 60r, line 20, the flexional form *plentez* marks a nominative singular.

*salu_*, fol. 45v, line 1 + line 34; fol. 50r, line 25. The example of fol. 45 is a rather interesting one. On line 1, the scribe

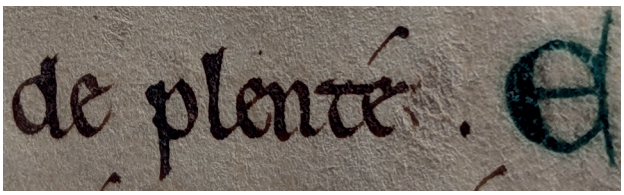


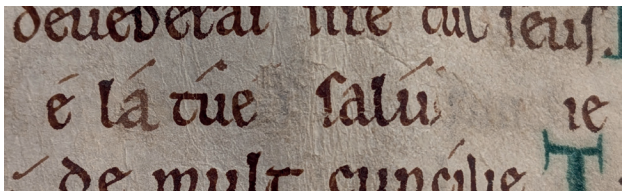
fol. 53r, line 19



fol. 46r, line 21

fol. 60v, line 8





fol. 45v, line 34

Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320.
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erased a final —*t*; on line 34, he clearly erased a final —*d*. The variant *salut* is used from fol. 37r to fol. 52v: fol. 37r, line 24; fol. 39v, line 16; fol. 40r, line 12 + line 24; fol. 40v, line 14 + line 18 + line 31-33; fol. 42r, line 1; fol. 43v, lines 11–12; fol. 44r, line 2; fol. 45r, line 13; fol. 48v, line 5; fol. 52r, line 25; fol. 52v, line 2. From that point onwards, he uses the variant *salud*: fol. 53v à fol. 74v: fol. 53v, line 33; fol. 57v, line 12; fol. 58r, line 28; fol. 64r, line 33; fol. 68v, line 15; fol. 71v, line 15; fol. 72r, line 39; fol. 72v, line 35; fol. 73v, line 5 + line 18; fol. 74r, line 24; fol. 74v, line 31 + line 32. *Salu*, without any signs of a final consonant, occurs on fol. 50r, line 37 (extensive erasure); fol. 50v, line 4; fol. 66r, line 23 (twice) + line 30 + line 39. The variants used in all examples (with or without final dental), nominative or oblique singulars. Last but not least, the *saluz* variant with a flexional —*z* is used for an oblique plural on fol. 40r, line 28; fol. 46v, line 16; fol. 51v, line 30. Flexional —*z* is also used on fol. 37r, line 29, for nominative singular. Thus, it is quite probable that the scribe erased a final flexional —*z* and not a final dental on fol. 50.

*uerite_* (nominative or oblique singular), fol. 45v, line 34 + line 35 + line 36 (traces of an erased —*t*); fol. 50r, lines 34-35 (traces of an erased —*d*); fol. 53r, line 2 (probable traces of an erased —*t*). *Ueritet* without erasure is used from fol. 37 to fol. 49 (nominative or oblique singular): fol. 37v, line 10; fol. 39r, line 16; fol. 41v, line 11 + line 17 + line 31; fol. 42v, line 18 + line 29; fol. 43r, line 15; fol. 44r, line 40; fol. 46v, line 6; fol. 47r, line 5; fol. 48r, line 36; fol. 48v, line 39; fol. 49v, line 9; fol. 49v, line 18. The variant *uertet* occurs on fol. 52r, line 24-25 (oblique singular). From fol. 57 until the end of the text, the scribe wrote *uerited* (nominative or oblique singular): fol. 57r, line 3 + line 17 + line 18 + line 33; fol. 57v, line 25-26 + line 36 + line 38; fol. 58r, line 1 + line 6 + line 13 + line 25 + line 37; fol. 58v, line 15; fol. 59r, line 7 + line 23; fol. 60r, line 24; fol. 60v, line 3 + line 30; fol. 64r, line 24; fol. 65r, line 9 + line 10; fol. 65v, line 7; fol. 66v, line 33; fol. 67r, line 8; fol. 67v, line 4 + line 17 + line 22; fol. 68r, line 36 + line 40; fol. 68v, line 11 + line 21; fol. 70r, line 20; fol. 71r, line 11; fol. 72r, line 11; fol. 72v, line 28 + line 38; fol. 74r, line 1 + line 3. Cf. *Uerite* on fol. 66r, line 8 (nominative singular). *Ueritez* on fol. 38v, line 23 (nominative plural).

*uertu_* (nominative or oblique singular): fol. 40v, line 18 + line 30; fol. 41r, line 6; fol. 45r, line 26; fol. 47r, line 23; fol. 50r, line 26 (here the scribe probably erased —*d*); fol. 50v, line 16 (traces of an erased —*t*); fol. 51r, line 6 (clear traces of an erased —*t*) + line 23. On fol. 53v, line 33, there is an erasure followed by correction and it changes the final letter into —*d*: *uertúd* (oblique singular). As this is the turning point where the scribe starts changing —*t* into —*d*, it is safe to assume that he had initially written a final —*t*. *Uertut* (nominative or oblique singular): fol. 39v, line 14; fol. 40r, line 9 + line 17; fol. 42v, line 1 + line 7-8 + line 15 + line 36; fol. 43r, line 40; fol. 43v, line 10 + line 11 + line 12; fol. 47v, line 16 + line 24; fol. 48v, line 34; fol. 50r, line 4; fol. 51r, line 19; fol. 51v, line 19 + line 40; fol. 52r, line 6 + line 7 + line 8; fol. 52v, line 26. *Uertud* (nominative or oblique singular): fol. 54v, line 7; fol. 55r, line 8; fol. 55v, line 10; fol. 56v, line 37 (twice); fol. 58r, line 8 + line 16; fol. 61r, line 31; fol. 61v, line 23; fol. 64r, line 34; fol. 65r, line 7; fol. 66r, line 25; fol. 69r, line 22; fol. 70v, line 28-29; fol. 71r, line 13; fol. 71v, line 15; fol. 72v, line 13; fol. 73r, line 8; fol. 73v, line 11. *Uertu* (oblique singular): fol. 64v, line 34 + line 35; f. 66r, line 24. *Uertúz* (oblique plural): fol. 40v, line 31 (extensive erasure); fol. 41v, line 5; fol. 46v, line 21; fol. 47r, line 30 + line 35; fol. 47v, line 11; fol. 49v, line 37; fol. 50r, line 24; fol. 51v, line 19; fol. 52r, line 17; fol. 54v, line 20; fol. 56r, line 6 + line 9 + line 16 + line 21; fol. 56v, line 29 + line 38; fol. 57r, line 4; fol. 58r, line 5; fol. 61v, line 25; fol. 64r, line 32; fol. 73r, line 28; fol. 73v, line 11.

*uolunte_* (oblique singular), fol. 45v, line 31. *Uoluntet* (nominative or oblique singular): fol. 37r, line 3; fol. 37v, line 16 (extensive erasure); fol. 40v, line 19; fol. 42r, line 8 + line 32; fol. 42v, line 13 + line 15; fol. 48v, line 9. *Uolunted* (oblique singular): fol. 53v, line 11; fol. 61v, line 25; fol. 64r, line 6; fol. 72r, line 22; fol. 72v, line 28; fol. 73r, line 14; fol. 75v, line 12. *Uolunte* (oblique singular): fol. 66v, line 5. *Uoluntez* (oblique plural): fol. 39r, line 24; fol. 61v, line 7; fol. 65r, line 4.

Erasures followed by corrections

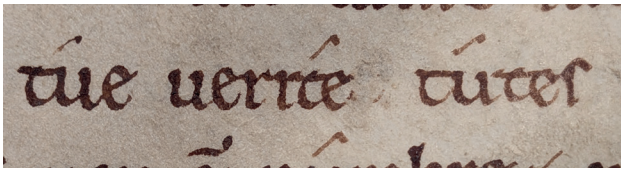
This other category concerns nouns (and sometimes adjectives) that render Latin masculines, feminines, or neuters. Some of them figure also in Meister 1877, p. 86-87.

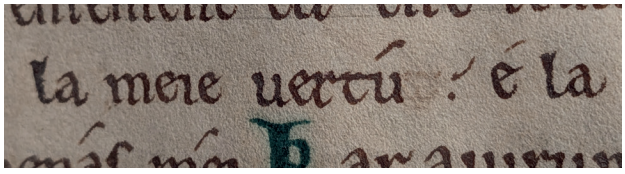
cuuenabletez, fol. 38r, line 34-35 (oblique plural). On the same folio (line 22), the term is written a second time and in the same case, yet without any trace of erasure. Traces of the previous letter under the erasure of fol. 38r point to an erased —*t*.

fort (adjective), fol. 48r, line 7 (*fort tempeste* < nominative singular, feminine). Perhaps the scribe initially wrote a final —*z*. *Fort*: on fol. 47v, line 3 (*fort deu* < nominative plural) + line 9 (*en fort espirit* < oblique singular). On fol. 48v, line 36 (*li fort* <nominative plural).

genz, fol. 55v, line 2 (oblique plural; follows the feminine declension with flexional —*z* on plural). The scribe must have written a final dental, then erased it and replaced it with —*z*. *Génz* (oblique plural): fol. 37r, line 17; fol. 38r, line 18 + line 24 ; fol. 38v, line 12; fol. 40r, line 22; fol. 41r, line 22 (twice) + line 22; fol. 43v, line 4; fol. 46v, line 12 + line 23 + line 26; fol. 47r, line 34 + line 38; fol.

fol. 45v, line 36





fol. 41r, line 6

47v, line 1; fol. 49v, line 17 + line 38; fol. 50r, line 1; fol. 51r, line 24 + line 40; fol. 51v, line 2; fol. 52r, line 3; fol. 53r, line 16 + line 25; fol. 55v, line 29 + line 35 (twice); fol. 56r, line 10; fol. 56v, line 8; fol. 58v, line 16; fol. 59v, line 16; fol. 60r, line 10 + line 13 + line 15 + line 18; fol. 60v, line 2; fol. 61r, line 22; fol. 62r, line 31; fol. 62v, line 34; fol. 63r, line 27 + line 34; fol. 63v, line 2 + line 9; fol. 64r, line 23; fol. 65r, line 8 + line 31; fol. 65v, line 9; fol. 69v, line 10; fol. 70v, line 8 + line 13; fol. 73v, line 7; fol. 74v, line 20 + line 31; fol. 75r, line 18. This spelling is also used for nominative plural: fol. 37r, line 10; fol. 38r, line 24 + line 30 + line 33 + line 34; fol. 47r, line 29 + line 36; fol. 47v, line 19; fol. 51r, line 7; fol. 51r, line 25; fol. 51v, line 1; fol. 55v, line 22; fol. 57r, line 30; fol. 63r, line 34; fol. 65v, line 8; fol. 66r, line 7 + line 18. *Gent* (nominative or oblique singular): fol. 43v, line 6; fol. 46v, line 3; fol. 56v, line 13; fol. 62v, line 3 (twice); fol. 63r, line 2; fol. 73r, line 26; fol. 75v, line 1 + line 11.

grant (feminine adjective, oblique singular), fol. 41r, line 17; fol. 44r, line 21; fol. 45v, line 32. *Grant*, without any signs of erasure, is used on fol. 48r, line 30 as a feminine adjective on oblique singular. There is also the form *grande* (feminine, nominative singular): fol. 40v, line 22; fol. 43r, line 7; fol. 62r, line 16; fol. 64r, line 23; fol. 71r, line 15. The use of this variant could explain certain erasures: on fol. 44r, line 21, there are perhaps traces of an ending ***—de***; and on fol. 45v, the erasure also concerns two letters. Only the situation of fol. 41r remains uncertain.

iugement, fol. 39v, line 38-39 (oblique plural). *Iugemént*, (nominative and oblique, both singular and plural): fol. 38r, line 17 + line 20 + line 29; fol. 39r, line 37-38; fol. 41v, line 16; fol. 43r, line 38; fol. 44r line 26; fol. 44v, line 1 + line 16; fol. 45r, line 1 + line 4; fol. 53r, line 6 + line 7; fol. 54r, line 26 + line 27; fol. 56r, line 26; fol. 58r, line 12; fol. 59v, line 21-22; fol. 60r, line 26; fol. 60v, line 15 + line 15-16 + line 31; fol. 61v, line 6; fol. 62v, line 39; fol. 65r, line 9 + line 21; fol. 67r, line 3; fol. 67v, line 4 + line 16; fol. 68r, line 17 + line 29; fol. 68v, line 9 + line 14 + line 16 + line 21 + line 38; fol. 69r, line 20; fol. 71v, line 22; fol. 72r, line 11; fol. 72v, line 39; fol. 73v, line 8-9; fol. 75v, line 29-30. *Iugemenz*, fol. 68r, line 35 (nominative singular). *Iugemenz* (oblique plural or nominative plural): fol. 38r, line 39; fol. 40v, line 1; fol. 47v, line 15; fol. 58r, line 33; fol. 60r, line 34; fol. 62r, line 35-36 + line 37-38; fol. 66v, line 8 + line 15 + 33; fol. 67r, line 8 + line 18 + line 29; fol. 67v, line 35 + line 40; fol. 68r, line 2 + line 13 + line 16; fol. 68v, line 25; fol. 73r, line 25 + line 26; fol. 75r, line 12. The word renders Latin neuter *iudicium*, but has an unstable and hesitant declension (cf. Sneddon 1972, p. 116).

iument, fol. 48r, line 14 (nominative plural). It renders Latin neuter *iumentum*. The correction of the scribe (probably an erased *—z*) suggests that he made efforts to follow the declension. *Iumenz* (nominative singular or oblique plural): fol. 44v, line 2; fol. 47v, line 32; 48r, line 2; fol. 53v, line 9; fol. 55r, line 33 + line 36; fol. 62r, line 4; fol. 64r, line 14; fol. 73r, line 13.

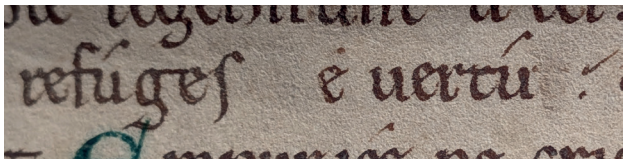
nuiz, fol. 53v, line 37 (nominative singular). Perhaps the scribe wished to follow the declension, but as many others feminine terms, *nuit*/*nuiz* is subject to alterations of a flexional final *—z*. The spelling *núiz* (oblique plural) is also found on fol. 37v, line 22; fol. 70r, line 37. *Nuit* (nominative or oblique singular): on fol. 39r, line 29 + line 39; fol. 40r, line 31 (twice); fol. 40v, line 34; fol. 43r, line 21; fol. 46r, line 26 + line 35; fol. 49r, line 12; fol. 54r, line 34 + line 38 (extensive erasure); fol. 54v, line 34; fol. 57v, line 12; fol. 58v, line 24; fol. 59r, line 24; fol. 62r, line 10; fol. 62v, line 30; fol. 67r, line 21 + line 28; fol. 69r, line 13; fol. 70r, line 2; fol. 70v, line 25; fol. 71r, line 31 + line 32.

monz (nominative singular), fol. 51v, line 23 + line 24 (twice) + line 25. *Monz* (extensive erasure): fol. 51v, line 24 (nominative singular); fol. 56v, line 24 (oblique plural). *Monz* (nominative singular or oblique plural, with one exception only): fol. 47v, line 14; fol. 51r, line 6; fol. 53r, line 22; fol. 53v, line 21; fol. 54r, line 13 + line 22; fol. 56r, line 12; fol. 57v, line 4; fol. 59v, line 37; fol. 61v, line 35 + line 39; fol. 62r, line 2 + line 26; fol. 65v, line 2 (nominative plural); fol. 69r, line 8; fol. 72r, line 33; fol. 73r, line 12 + line 34; fol. 75v, line 3. *Munz* (oblique plural): fol. 39v, line 22; fol. 48r, line 14. *Mont* (nominative plural or oblique singular, with two exceptions): fol. 46r, line 33; fol. 46v, line 7; fol. 47r, line 26; fol. 47v, line 5 (twice, once as nominative singular); fol. 55v, line 1 (twice) + line 17; fol. 58v, line 20; fol. 60r, line 29; fol. 60v, line 9 + line 23; fol. 61v, line 37; fol. 62r, line 9; fol. 65r, line 40; fol. 69r, line 40 (nominative singular); fol. 69v, line 2; fol. 70r, line 33; fol. 74v, line 7 + line 15 + line 20 + line 21 + line 27. *Munt* (nominative plural or oblique singular): fol. 37r, line 26; fol. 38v, line 15; fol. 39r, line 15; fol. 41r, line 37; fol. 44v, line 1; fol. 47r, line 25; fol. 53r, line 7.

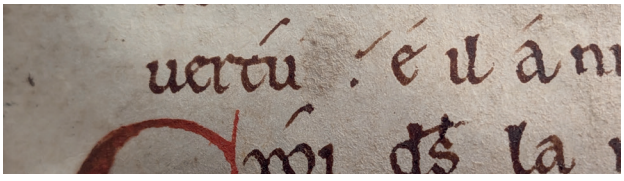
pechet, fol. 43r, line 19 (nominative plural). It translates Latin neuter plural *peccata*. *Pechet* (oblique singular), fol. 41v, line 18; fol. 48r, line 32. *Pecchet* (oblique singular), fol. 43r, line 19 + line 25; fol. 45v, line 30. Cf. the spelling *pechiet*, nominative singular, on fol. 38v, line 11; and oblique singular on fol. 45r, line 37; fol. 48r, line 33. *Pecched*: fol.



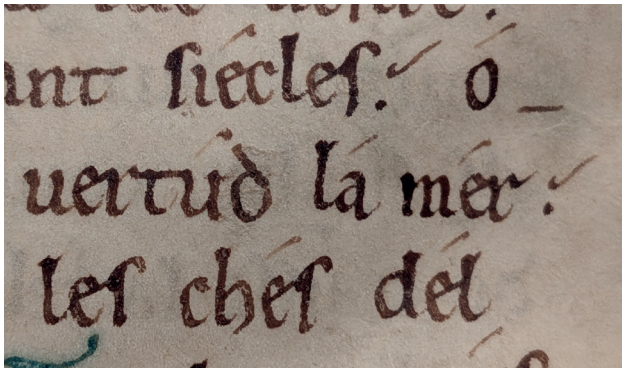
fol. 50r, line 34



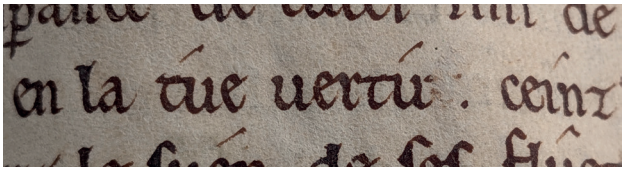
fol. 47r, line 23



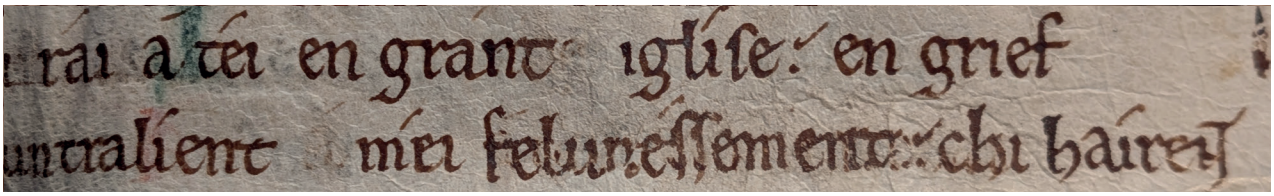
fol. 50r, line 26



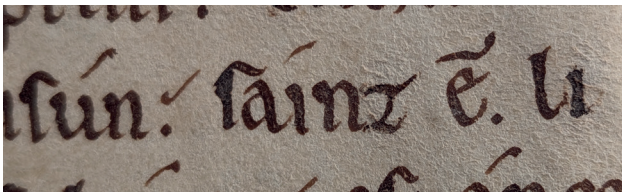
fol. 53v, line 33



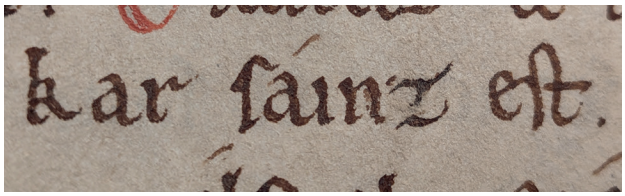
fol. 51r, line 6



fol. 44rv, line 21



fol. 51r, line 4



fol. 60v, line 17

Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320.
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64v, line 2 (oblique singular) + line 10 (nominative singular). *Pechiez*: fol. 48r, line 35 (oblique plural). *Pecchiéz*: fol. 48r, line 40 (oblique plural); fol. 49v, line 36 (nominative singular). *Pecchez* (oblique plural): fol. 45r, line 19; fol. 55r, line 21; fol. 55v, line 34; fol. 57r, line 7; fol. 58r, line 35; fol. 61v, line 10; fol. 71v, line 29-30.

reguarz, fol. 53r, line 31 (nominative singular). Perhaps the scribe wrote a final *–t* initially, then corrected it into *–z*, to follow the declension.

sainz, fol. 51r, line 4; fol. 60v, line 17 (nominative singular). In both cases there seem to be traces of an erased *–t* under the correction. *Sainz / sainz* (nominative singular or oblique plural): fol. 38v, line 23; fol. 39r, line 23; fol. 40r, line 2; fol. 43r, line 26 (extensive erasure); fol. 45r, line 1; fol. 48r, line 8 (extensive erasure); fol. 48v, line 23; fol. 52r, line 8; fol. 53r, line 2 (on top of an erasure); fol. 55v, line 24; fol. 56v, line 12; fol. 57r, line 15 + line 23; fol. 57v, line 4; fol. 58r, line 2 + line 3 + line 19; fol. 60r, line 36; fol. 60v, line 14 + line 23; fol. 64v, line 36; fol. 66r, line 2; fol. 72v, line 23 + line 26; fol. 73r, line 40; fol. 73v, line 1 + line 9 + line 10 + line 23; fol. 74r, line 7 + line 18; fol. 74v, line 15. *Saint* (nominative plural or oblique singular): fol. 37r, line 15 + line 26 + line 34; fol. 37v, line 8; fol. 38v, line 18; fol. 39r, line 15 + line 33; fol. 39v, line 21; fol. 40r, line 2 (extensive erasure); fol. 40v, line 9 + line 14 + line 34; fol. 41r, line 38; fol. 42r, line 25 + line 38; fol. 42v, line 12; fol. 43r, line 15; fol. 43v, line 16 (extensive erasure) + line 26; fol. 46v, line 7; fol. 47v, line 2 + line 4; fol. 48v, line 2; fol. 55v, line 23; fol. 50r, line 19; fol. 51v, line 12; fol. 54v, line 5; fol. 55r, line 25; fol. 55v, line 18; fol. 58r, line 18 + line 21 + line 38; fol. 60r, line 17; fol. 60v, line 1 + line 23; fol. 61r, line 27 + line 40; fol. 62r, line 32; fol. 63r, line 15; fol. 63v, line 10; fol. 65r, line 12; fol. 70r, line 18 + line 26; fol. 71r, line 10 + line 11; fol. 72v, line 18 + line 31; fol. 73v, line 5; fol. 74v, line 1.

tuz, fol. 45r, line 25. The adjective is agreed here with a masculine, nominative singular. The width of the erasure suggests that the scribe erased two letters. Initially, he possibly wrote *tuit*, the usual form of nobimative plural.

uanitez, fol. 45v, line 9 (nominative singular). *Uanitez* (oblique plural): fol. 42v, line 29; fol. 45r, line 30; fol. 45v, line 26; fol. 75r, line 40. *Uanitet* (oblique singular): fol. 37r, line 33; fol. 41v, line 32; fol. 48v, line 20. *Uanited* (oblique singular): fol. 55r, line 15; fol. 67r, line 1; fol. 71v, line 3; fol. 72r, line 32 + line 37; fol. 72v, line 1. *Uanite*: fol. 50v, line 9 (oblique singular).

At the end of this survey of dentals in both nominal and verbal endings, it is evident that there was a turning point in the habits (or perhaps even the routine) of the scribe. For future and past tenses, this break occurs on fol. 53–59. In the fist part of the text, the scribe erased a final *–t* and left only the final tonic vowel; whereas in the second part of the text, he either transcribed a form ending in a vowel, or a form ending in *–d*. Erasures in other verbal forms tend to disappear after fol. 56, and thus prove that the scribe managed to find a logic to those spellings. In the case of the past participle, a turning point happens on fol. 57. After that folio, the scribe ceases to erase final dentals and/or correct them into *–z*. As for noun declension, the last erasure of a dental and its replacement by a correction is on fol. 60, while the last erasure without correction is on fol. 53. This suggests that the turning point in the transcription of dental endings occurs approximately on fol. 53-60. It must be linked with other corrections made by the scribe, the turning point of which seems to occur on more or less the same folios.

The Douce scribe is not an unproficient speaker and writer of Old French. It is difficult (at least at this stage of our analysis) to postulate why certain translation choices were used in his initial transcription of the text. Certain erasures were clearly determined by the scribe's attempt at writing in a better language.

LATER EDIT:

fol. 40r, line 39, *li cumandemenz del segnur luisable* (< Lat *praeceptum domini lucidum*). The Douce scribe modified a *–t* into *–z*, in order to follow the declension (nominative singular) (nevertheless, he also missed the agreement of *lucidum*; agreed with *Domini*, not with *praeceptum*); fol. 41r, line 13, *humilite_* (< Lat *humilitatem*, oblique singular), with traces of a previous final *–t*; fol. 45v, line 22, *palu_* (Lat *lacu*, oblique singular), with traces of a final *–d*; fol. 47r, line 12, *dore_* (Lat *deaurato*, oblique singular), with traces of a final *–t*; fol. 47r, line 13, *uariete_* (Lat *varietate*, oblique singular), with traces of a final *–t*; fol. 47v, line 34, *morz* (< Lat *mors*, nominative singular), probably a previous *–t*; fol. 49v, line 36, *pecchiez* (< Lat *peccatum*, nominative singular); fol. 50v, line 9, *uanite_* (< Lat *vanitate*, oblique singular); fol. 50v, line 9, *iniquite_* (< Lat *iniquitate*, oblique singular); fol. 51v, line 24, *_ monz gras* (< Lat *mons pinguis*, nominative singular); fol. 52v, line 24, *forz* (< Lat *fortis*, nominative singular), with evident traces of a previous final *–t*; fol. 53v, line 7, *cited* (< Lat *civitate*, oblique singular) (in this particular case, the Douce scribe wrote *citet* at first, then corrected it without erasure into *cited*); fol. 53v, line 23, *solennite_* (< Lat *solemnitatis*, oblique singular), with the erasure of a previous final *–t*; fol. 55r, line 8, *carz* (< Lat *carnes*, nominative plural); fol. 53v, line 33, *salud* (< Lat *salutem*, oblique singular); fol. 71v, line 10, *serpenz* (< Lat *serpentis*, oblique singular).

ENFER(*N*), *IUR*(*N*), AND *CAR*(*N*) (AC)

Enfern

Three striking erasures concern the deletion of an **–*n*** in *enfer*(*n*) (oblique singular): fol. 57r, line 37 (*enfer_*); fol. 58v, line 14 (*enfer_*); fol. 59v, line 25 (*enfér_*). One must note that, in oblique singular, the same term is written without any trace of erasure (and no final **–*n***) from fol. 71r to fol. 75v: fol. 71r, line 27; fol. 71v, line 35; fol. 73v, line 24; fol. 75v, line 2. *Enfern* (oblique singular) is written with final **–*n*** and no erasure from the beginning of the text until fol. 65v: fol. 37v, line 21; fol. 38r, line 30; fol. 39r, line 33; fol. 39v, line 19; fol. 42v, line 10; fol. 43r, line 5; fol. 47v, line 34 + line 35 + line 37; fol. 49r, line 19; fol. 57v, line 15; fol. 65v, line 24 + line 28.

On fol. 73v, line 39, the word has a flexional **–*s***: *enfers* (nominative singular). On fol. 74r, line 14 (*enférs*, oblique) is difficult to explain (cf. versions of Gallicanum that read here *ad inferos* or *ad infernum*). In this specific situation, the scribe could have actually translated *ad inferos*.

Concerning the ending **–*n***, the scribe prefers this spelling at the beginning of his transcription process, but later decides to delete the final letter from fol. 57r to fol. 59v. This is, again, the turning point that I noticed in the spelling of final dentals. The choice of **–*n*** is consistent with the series of examples occurring from fol. 37v to fol. 65v, where the word is written with **–*n***. However, the scribe later changed his mind and wrote it without **–*n*** from fol. 62v to fol. 75v. This accounts for an overlap in his spelling choices. The overlap coincides with the erasures and corrections that he made from fol. 57r to fol. 59v.

Iurn

The deletion of final **–*n*** in the *iur*(*n*) follows a similar pattern. *Iur_* (oblique singular) occurs twice on fol. 50r, line 36, as part of a formula, but the erasure concerns only the first word (*de iur_ en iurn*). In this particular situation, it is worth noting, on the one hand, that the sequence *de iur* is part of an extensive erasure; on the other hand, that a small dot still visible close to the final **–*r*** bears witness to an erased letter **–*n***). Other erasures of the same type occur on fol. 57r, line 25 + line 28 (traces of an erased final **–*n***); fol. 57v, line 12; fol. 58r, line 15; fol. 60r, line 10 (in the formula *de iur en iur_*; which is a variant of the one from fol. 50r, line 36, but both words have no final **–*n*** here).

Iur, written without erasures and no final **–*n*** (nominative plural or oblique singular) occurs on fol. 38v, line 35; fol. 58v, line 28 + line 30; fol. 59r, line 8; fol. 61r, line 6 + line 7 + line 8 + line 13 + line 17; fol. 64v, line 2 + line 35 + line 39; fol. 66r, line 36; fol. 67v, line 15 + line 30; fol. 68v, line 25; fol. 69r, line 12; fol. 70v, line 24; fol. 71r, line 4 + line 12 + line 39; fol. 71v, line 9 + line 16; fol. 72r, line 32; fol. 72v, line 35; fol. 73v, line 20; fol. 74v, line 39. The spelling *iurn* (oblique singular or nominative plural) is found on fol. 37r, line 3; fol. 39v, line 34; fol. 40r, line 31; fol. 40v, line 8 + line 17 + line 33; fol. 41v, line 11; fol. 42r, line 9; fol. 43r, line 21 (twice); fol. 44r, line 34; fol. 44v, line 38; fol. 45r, line 22 + line 30; fol. 46r, line 7 + line 26 (twice) + line 34; fol. 46v, line 20 + line 27 + line 35; fol. 47v, line 23; fol. 48r, line 18; fol. 48v, line 13; fol. 49r, line 12 + line 21 + line 31 + line 32 + line 33 + line 35; fol. 49v, line 1; fol. 50r, line 12 + line 33 + line 36; fol. 51v, line 29 (twice, the first one on top of an erasure, also part of a repetition: *el iurn chescun iurn*); fol. 52v, line 25 + line 33; fol. 53r, line 4 + line 21 + line 37; fol. 53v, line 1; fol. 54r, line 5 + line 28 + line 33; fol. 54v, line 28 + line 33; fol. 55r, line 26; fol. 56r, line 25; fol. 57v, line 23 + line 32; fol. 60r, line 3.

Two other erasures concern the flexional final **-*z*** (nominative singular and oblique plural): *iurz*, f. 45v, line 8 (traces of an erased letter); fol. 40r, line 31 (extensive erasure); fol. 46v, line 12. The spelling *iurz* from fol. 37v, line 39 to fol. 75r, line 16, is used as oblique plural. In the following instances it is used as nominative singular: fol. 44v, line 24; fol. 53v, line 36; fol. 56v, line 40; fol. 58v, line 23; fol. 61v, line 16; fol. 66r, line 33; fol. 71r, line 32; fol. 75v, line 21.

The spelling in **–*n***, except for *iur* on fol. 38v, line 35, is the preferential choice of the scribe in the first part of the text. It is worth noting that the erasures are found at a turning point in the text (fol. 50r to fol. 60r), where the scribe changes *iurn* to *iur*. The exemple of *iurz* shows that the scribe followed the declension in this occurrence too.

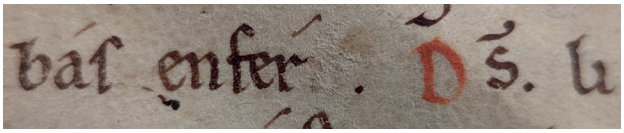
Carn

On fol. 56v, line 31, the scribe erases **–*n*** in *carn* (*car_*, nominative singular). The spelling *cárn* is used both for nominative and oblique singular on fol. 39r, line 32; fol. 42r, line 32; fol. 45r, line 18 + line 23; fol. 49r, line 35; fol. 50v, line 14; fol. 51r, line 1; fol. 53v, line 13; fol. 61r, line 11; fol. 64v, line 23 (*carn*).

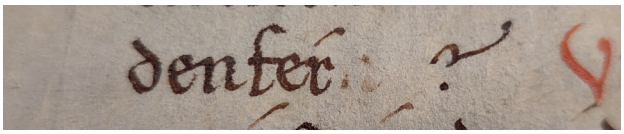
Car (nominative and oblique singular) is found on fol.

*Enfer_* with final **–*n*** erased (+ visible traces):

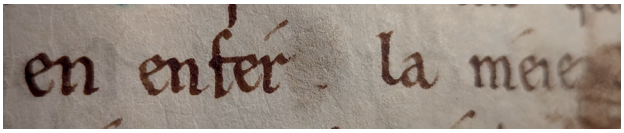
fol. 57r, line 35



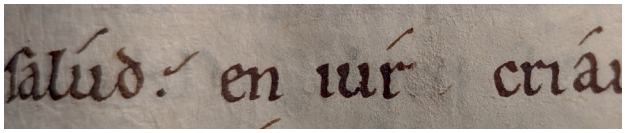
fol. 58v, line 14



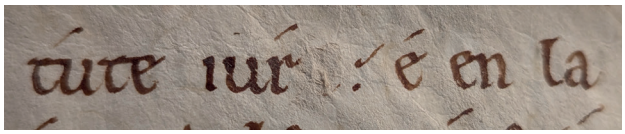
fol. 59v, line 25



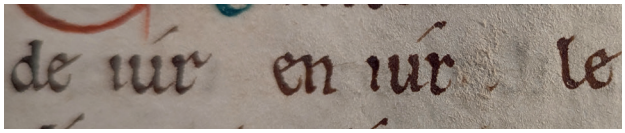
*Iúr_* with final **–*n*** erased (+ visible traces):



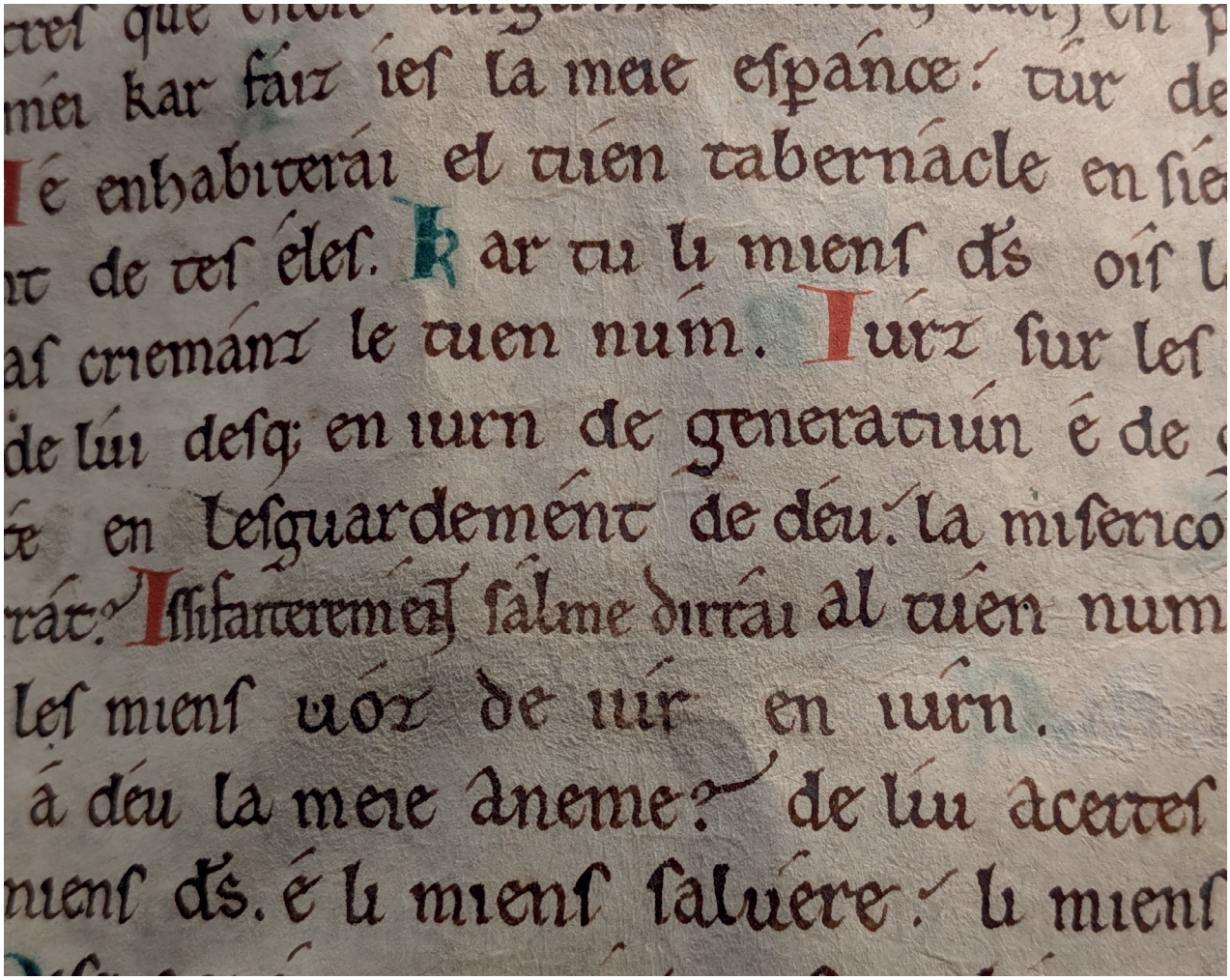
fol. 57v, line 12



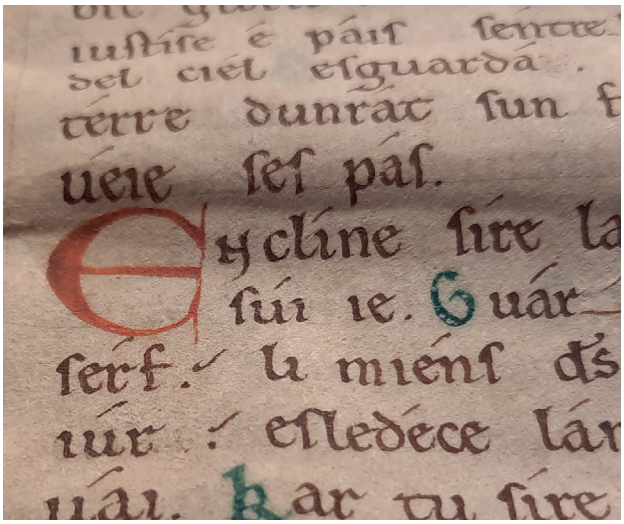
fol. 58r, line 15



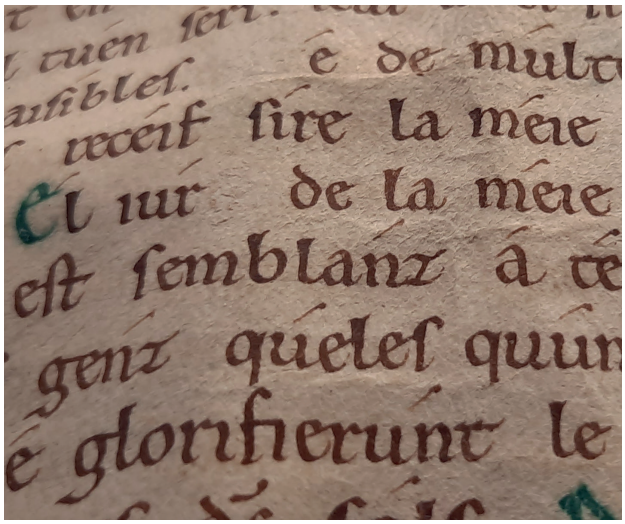
fol. 60r, line 10



fol. 50r, line 36



fol. 57r, line 25



fol. 57r, line 28

Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320.
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023-2026.
Courtesy of the Imaging Services of The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Creative Commons licence CC-BY-NC 4.0.

55r, line 23 (that is, on the folio before the erasure); fol. 72v, line 31. On fol. 42r, line 3, plural *carns* translates an oblique plural (just as in other cases after it). Yet on the next occurrence (fol. 48r, line 17, on top of an erasure), the plural becomes *carz*: *Mangerai ie dunc les carz*. The same plural is written as such on fol. 55r, line 8. The last example of a plural can be found on fol. 68r, line 15, where *carz* is not written on top of an erasure. However, on fol. 55v, line 24, our scribe wrote the flexional **–*z*** on top of an erasure: *carz*.

This short discussion of *carn* is less conclusive than the other two (*enfern* + *iurn*) in the matter of final **–*n***. The occurrences of the word are rarer. Nevertheless, one notes that the erasure appears in the same group of folios concerned by the erasure of a final **–*n***.

KAR, *QUAR*, AND *KER* (AC)

Another type of erasures concerns the adverbial conjunction *car*, written in various manners on the first folios of the text (more or less until fol. 40r). The word gradually stabilises as *kar* and does not change spellings in the remaining folios of the MS Douce 320.

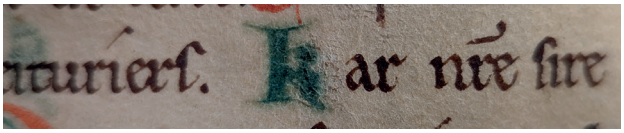
Kar seems to be the choice of the scribe (written as such, without erasures) on fol. 37r, line 28; fol. 37v, line 10; fol. 38r, line 40; fol. 38v, line 22 + line 23 (twice); fol. 39r, line 22; fol. 39r, line 33; fol. 39v, line 23; fol. 40v, line 20 + line 23 + line 24 + line 28 + line 29. This spelling is therefore well known to the scribe and he kept it thoroughly until the end of the manuscript. However, there are instances in which the same scribe preferred a different spelling.

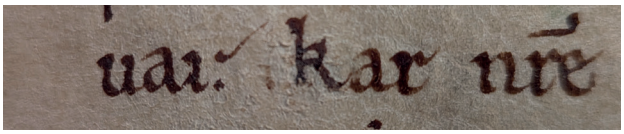
The first three times when the scribe corrects this word in his copy, on the first folio (fol. 37r–v), he scrapes off a space of two letters and replaces the erased segment with a single letter ***k***. Given the frequency of the spelling *quar* on the same first two folios of MS Douce 320 (fol. 37v, line 3 + line 4 + line 18 + line 20 + line 24; fol. 38r, line 5 + line 7 + line 16 + line 23 + line 24 + line 31 + line 36), it is safe to assume that the scribe had written *quar* on fol. 37r, line 9 + line 27, and on fol. 37v, line 1. Furthermore, in the specific case of fol. 37r, line 27, where the first letter of the word was written in minuscule, traces of an initial ***q–*** are still visible on the margins of the erasure. According to the *Anglo-Norman Dictionary*, this spelling is rather frequent, along with *qar*, *qare*, *quare*, and *quer* in texts of the 12th and 13th centuries. Cf. fol. 50v, line 11, *kar*.

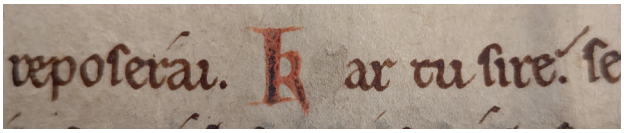
A second type of erasure concerns *kar* written on top of an erasure *k_r* or *k__*. There are ten instances in which the erased middle letter of this word was certainly ***e***, thus the initial spelling must have been *ker* (fol. 39r, line 11 + line 12; fol. 39r, line 30, *kar*, with traces of a previous ***e***; fol. 39v, line 2 + line 34 + line 36 + line 37; fol. 40r, line 3 + line 4 + line 5 + line 8). Two more erasures could also hide a reading *ker*. In these two cases, even though the final ***–r*** is also written on top of an erasure, this could be due to a clumsy movement of the blade. The scribe possibly damaged the final letter of the word in the process of scraping off ***e*** and had to write it again.

◆▶ *Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320.*
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023-2026.
Courtesy of the Imaging Services of The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Creative Commons licence CC-BY-NC 4.0.

Kar written on top of an erased *quar*:

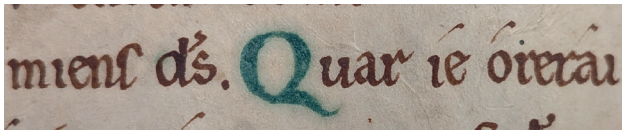

fol. 37r, line 9

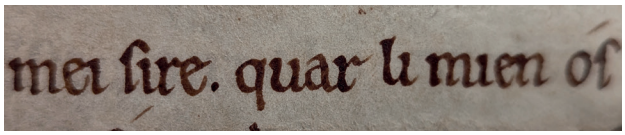

fol. 37r, line 27

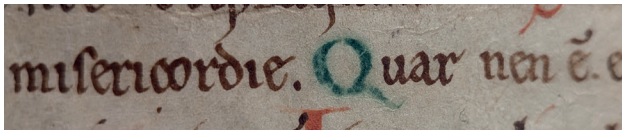

fol. 37v, line 1

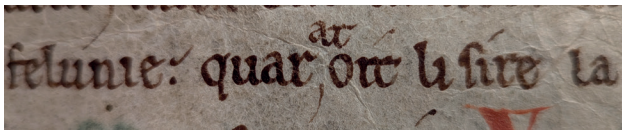
This *ker* spelling is used on three folios separated from a bilingual psalter, now at Maidstone, Kent History and Library Centre, Fa/Z1, dated mid-12th century, not long after MS Douce 320. The Maidstone scribe used only once the spelling *kar* (fol. 3ra, Ps 68:17). All the other thirteen instances use *ker* (Ps 55:13; Ps 56:2; Ps 57:3; Ps 58:4; Ps 58:8; Ps 58:10–11; Ps 58:17; Ps 58:18; Ps 59:4; Ps 68:18; Ps 68:27; Ps 68:34; Ps 68:36). This suggests that the spelling *ker* by the Douce scribe was frequent at the time, just as

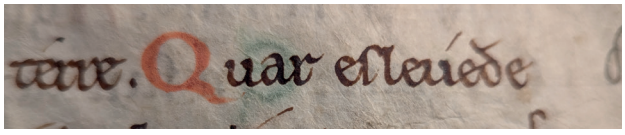
The use of *quar* on the first two folios (no erasures):

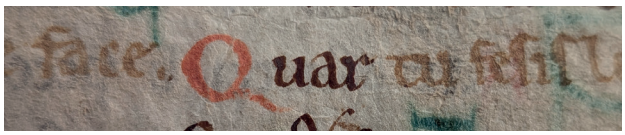

fol. 37v, line 3


fol. 37v, line 18

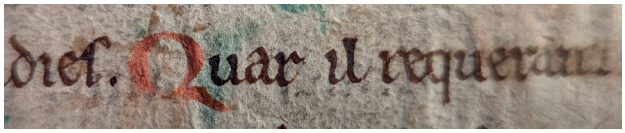

fol. 37v, line 20

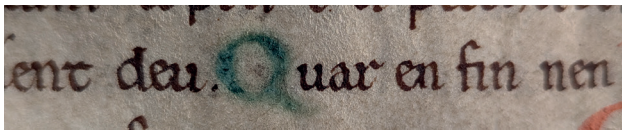

fol. 37v, line 24

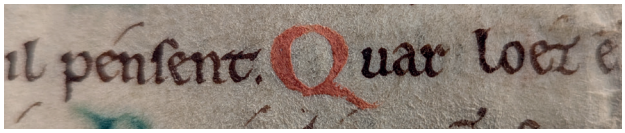

fol. 38r, line 5


fol. 38r, line 16


fol. 38r, line 23


fol. 38r, line 24


fol. 38r, line 31

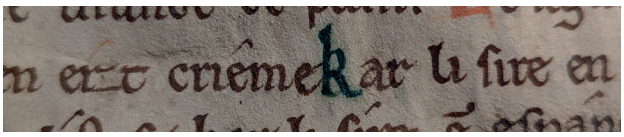

fol. 38r, line 36

kare, *kaar*, *kaer*, *car*, *care*, *char*, *kor*, and *quore*.

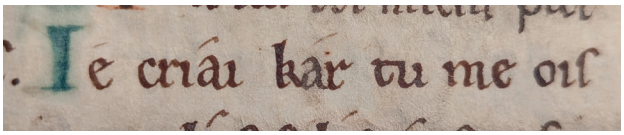
There are several other erasures on top of which the word *kar* was written on the first folios of MS Douce 320: fol. 37v, line 13 (*icels kar il entarierent tei sire*) + line 15 (*chi aiment le tuen num ; kar tu beneisteras al iuste*); fol. 38v, line 6 (*Kar il dist_ en sun cuer*)+ line 17 (*Kar lesquels choses tu parfesis il destrui–*); fol. 39v, line 38 (*ne felunessement ne fis contre le mien deu. Kar tuit li sun iuge–*); fol. 42v, line 34 (*e li miens uentres. Kar defist en do–*); fol. 43v, line 3 (*Kar íl meésme*). However, all of them are part of longer rewritings and concern issues of phraseology. For the time being, one can only assume that the use of three consecutive spellings on fol. 37r–40r (and reaching perhaps as far as fol. 44v) bear witness to the scribe's initial wavering, before a spelling automatism falls into place. For further details, see the facsimiles of fol. 37r and fol. 37v, where certain cases are treated in context (with reconstructions).

Kar with ***a*** written on top of an erased ***e*** (*ker*):

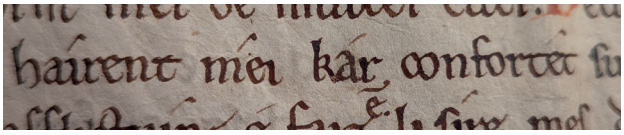
fol. 39r, lines 11–12



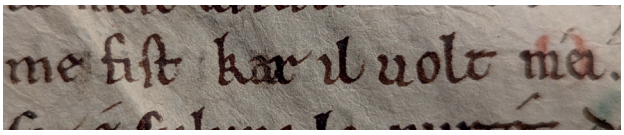
fol. 39v, line 2



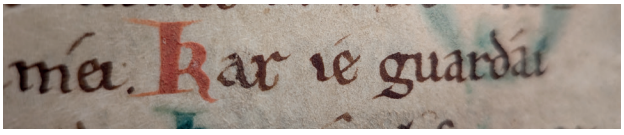
fol. 39v, line 34



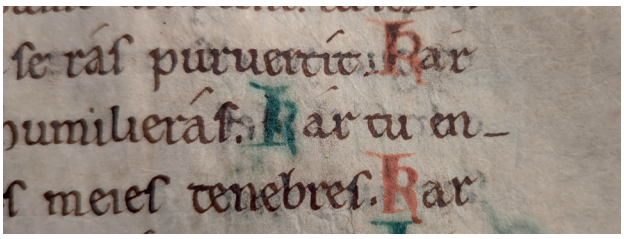
fol. 39v, line 36



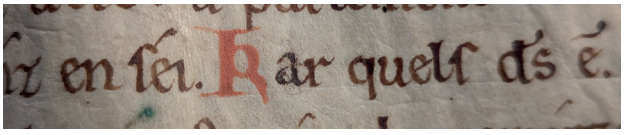
fol. 39v, line 37



fol. 40r, lines 3–5



fol. 40r, line 8

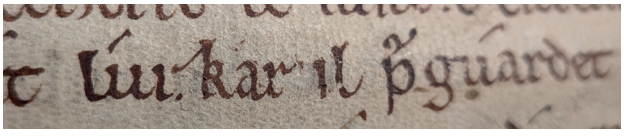


Kar with *–ar* written on top of *–er* (clumsy erasure?):

fol. 38v, line 16

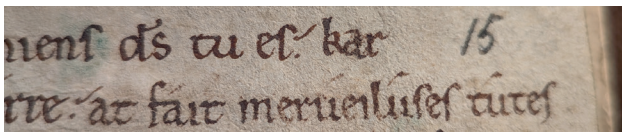


fol. 44v, line 23

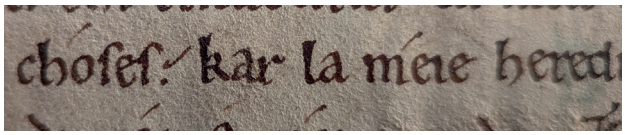


Unclear cases of *kar* (on top of an erased *ker*?):

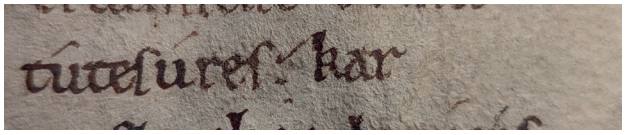
fol. 39r, line 22



fol. 39r, line 28

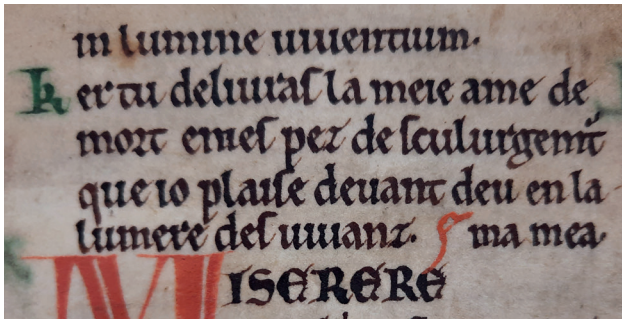


fol. 39r, line 30

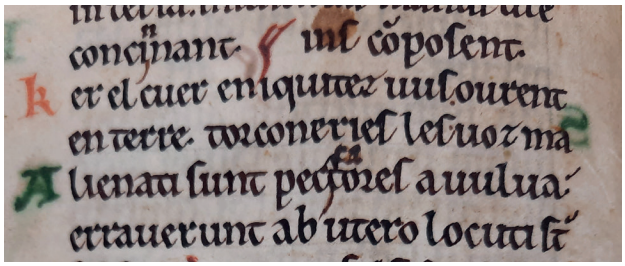


▼ *Close-ups of Maidstone, Kent History and Library Centre, Fa/Z1 (Faversham Fragment I.). The spelling* ker *on f. 1rb, line 2 (Ps 55:13); f. 1vb, line 3 (Ps 57:3); f. 2rb, line 6 (Ps 58:18).*
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei, 2023.
Courtesy of Kent Archive Service, Kent County Council.

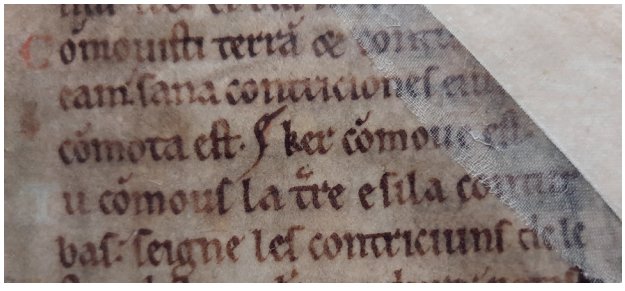
Kent, fol. 1rb, line 2



Kent, fol. 1vb, line 3



Kent, fol. 2rb, line 6



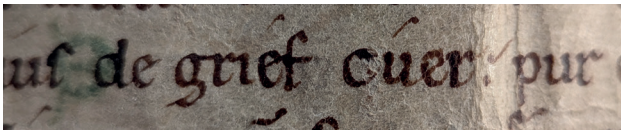
QUER > *CUER* (AC)

Cuer(*s*) modified from a previous *quer*(*s*) with the scraping off of the perpendicular bar of ***q*** is obvious in a great number of examples up to fol. 43v: f. 37r, line 33; fol. 37v, line 10 + line 37 + line 38; fol. 38r, line 14; fol. 38v, line 6 + line 8 + line 35; fol. 39r, line 1 + line 16 + line 38; fol. 40r, line 39; fol. 40v, line 7 + line 11 + line 19; fol. 41r, line 39; fol. 41v, line 23 + line 30; fol. 42r, line 5 + line 13 + line 21 + line 27 + line 32; fol. 43r, line 16 + line 34; fol. 43v, line 6 + line 9. This variant change is also pointed out by Sneddon 1972, p. 18. Cf. fol. 41r, line 5, *cuers*; fol. 42v, line 38, *cuer*.

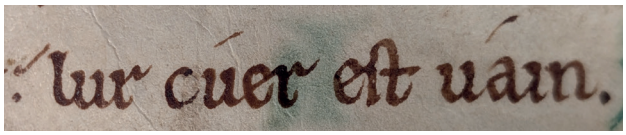
Other instances are not certain. There are, on the one hand, those which are part of longer erasures: *il dist en sun cuer* (fol. 38r, line 40); *li miéns cúers* (fol. 39r, lines 31-32); *escalfa li miens cuers* (fol. 45v, line 5); *anguissiez li miens cuers* (fol. 50r, line 28). On the other hand, the porosity seen on certain parts of various folios can be due to a varying number of factors that look very similar to erasures. Such cases occur on fol. 37r, line 36 + line 38; fol. 38v, line 13 +

Quer becomes *cuer* (the initial letter is half erased):

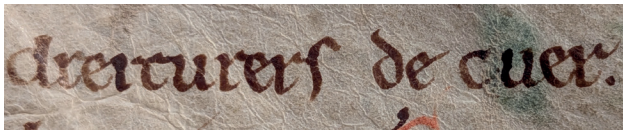
fol. 37r, line 33



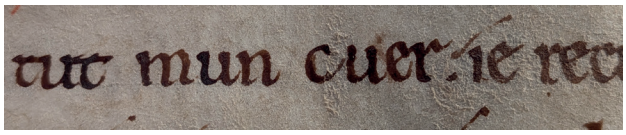
fol. 37v, line 10



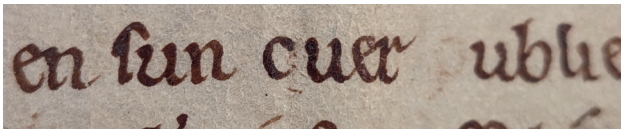
fol. 37v, line 38



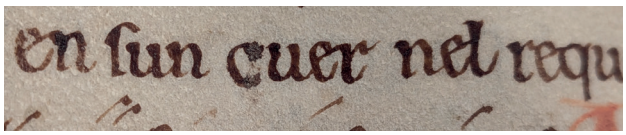
fol. 38r, line 14



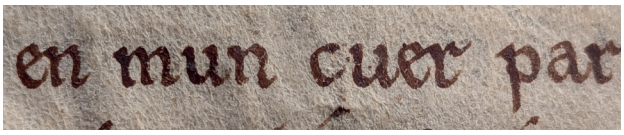
fol. 38v, line 6



fol. 38v, line 8



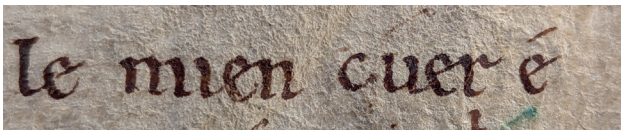
fol. 38v, line 35



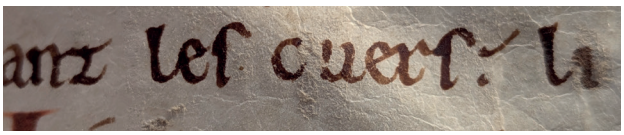
fol. 39r, line 1



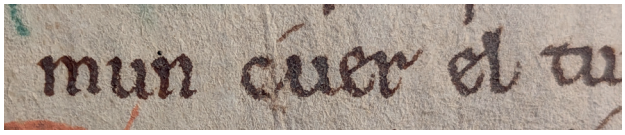
fol. 39r, line 38



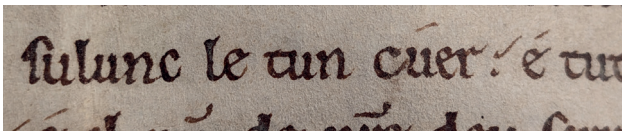
fol. 40r, line 39



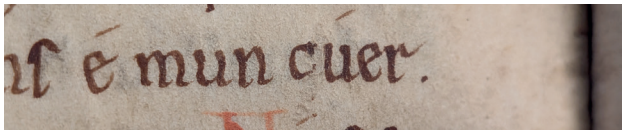
fol. 40v, line 07



fol. 40v, line 11



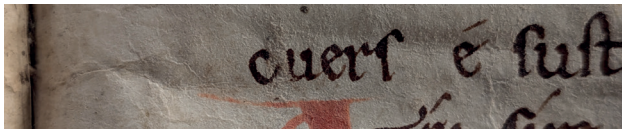
fol. 41v, line 30



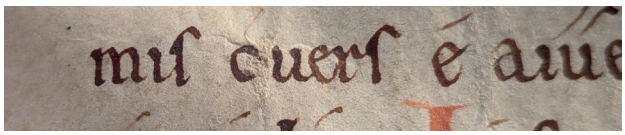
fol. 42r, line 21



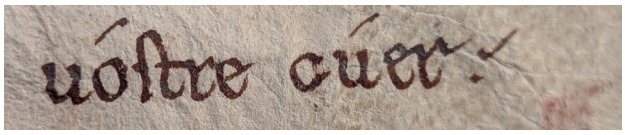
fol. 42r, line 27



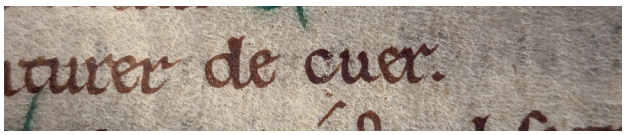
fol. 42r, line 32



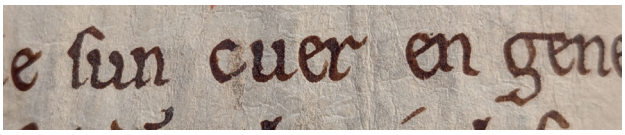
fol. 43r, line 16



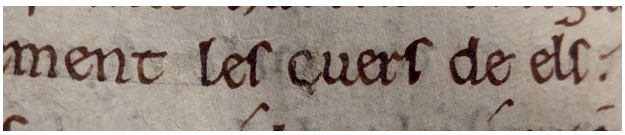
fol. 43r, line 34

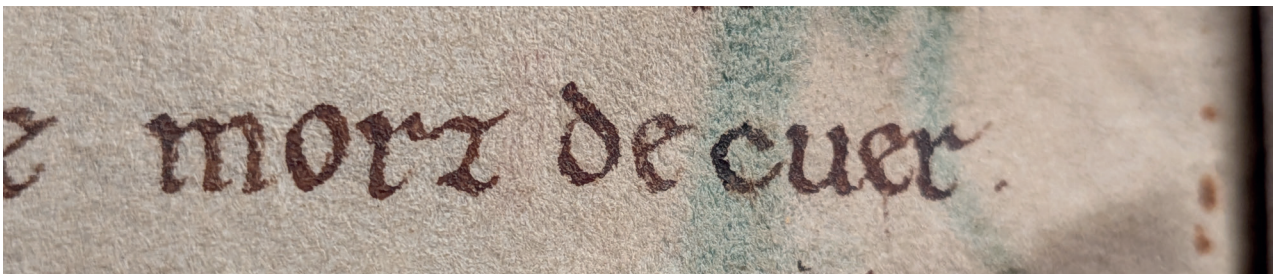


fol. 43v, line 6



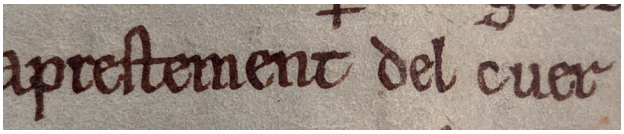
fol. 43v, line 9



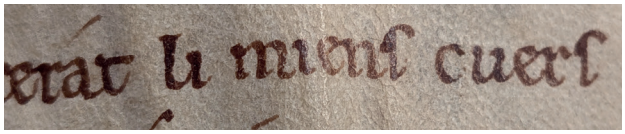


fol. 42v, line 38 (first certain spelling cuer *in the text)*

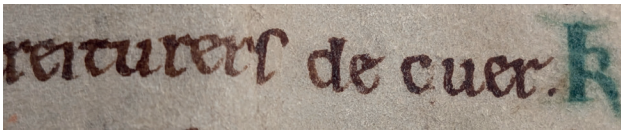
Cases of *cuer* in which the erasure is not certain:



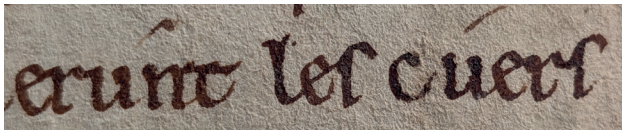
fol. 38v, line 13 (porosity due to folding?)



fol. 38v, line 39 (porosity due to folding?)



fol. 38v, line 17 (inconclusive case)

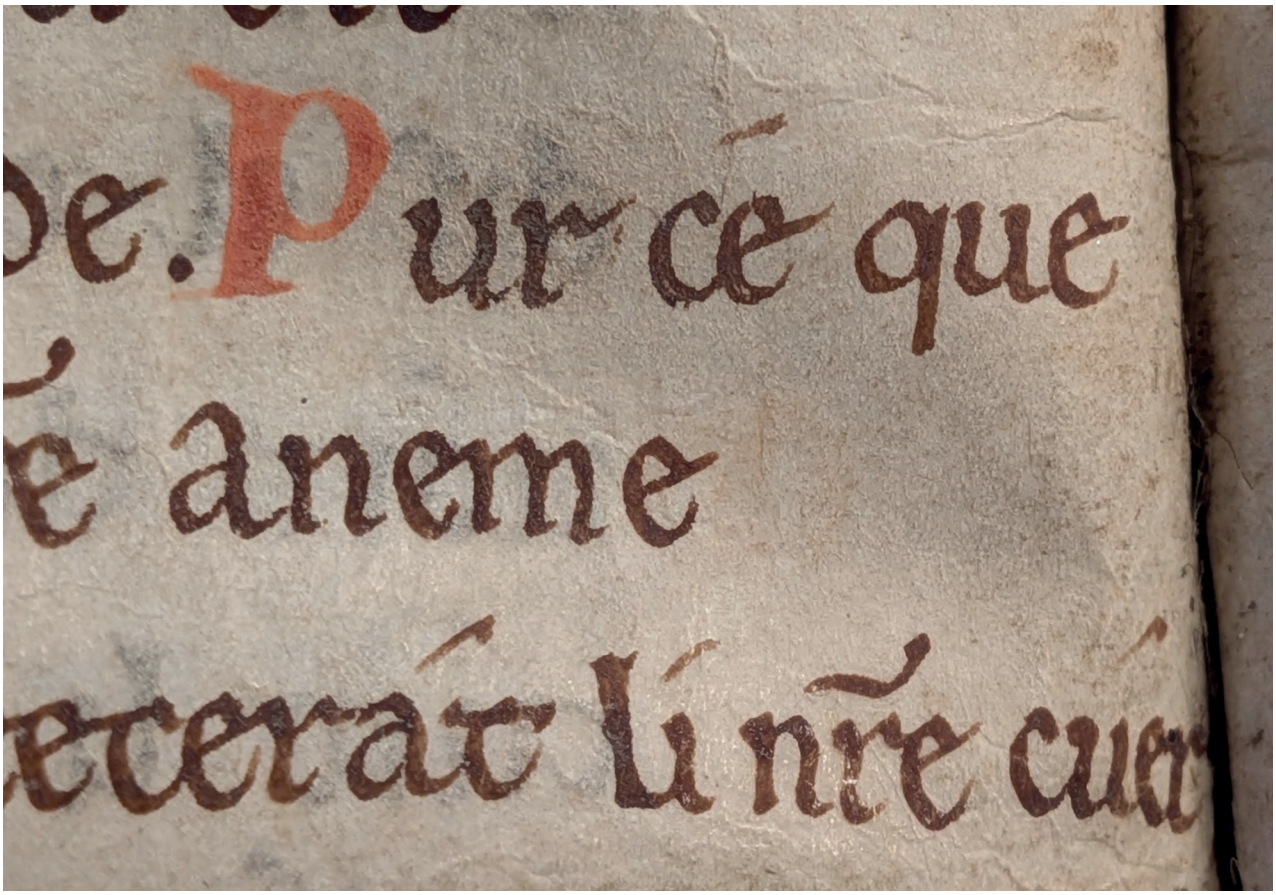


fol. 41r, line 19 (inconclusive case)

Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS *Douce 320.*
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023-2026.
Courtesy of the Imaging Services of The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Creative Commons licence CC-BY-NC 4.0.

line 17 + line 25 (twice); fol. 41r, line 19; fol. 42v, line 38. One of these causes can be identified with the folding of the Psalm translation quires at a historical date, previous to the binding of the current manuscript. This is clearly the case on fol. 38v, line 39.

The first time the scribe wrote unequivocally *cuer*, with no sign of erasure, is on fol. 42v. A second one, on fol. 43v, line 15, has the sequence *li nostre cuer* written in the margin of the folio. Since these words depass the average length of the other lines on the folio, and since the last letters of *cuer* are buried into the spine of the codex, this is clearly an addition made during the revision process (for more cases of the same type, *vide infra*). Throughout the remaining part of the manuscript, *cuer* is the only spelling used by the scribe.



fol. 43v, line 15

MAIS vs *ACERTES* (AC)

In several erasures, corrections concern a syntactic group made up of *mais* + subject, which renders the Latin syntactic group subject + *autem*. The first one occurs on fol. 40v, line 15: *mais nus* on top of an erasure in the sequence *mais nus el num del segnur de nostre deu apelerums* (cf. Lat *nos autem in nomine domini dei nostri invocabimus*). The second time it appears in the line below: fol. 40v, line 16, where *mais nus* was written on top of an erasure in the sequence *mais nus leuames e sumes esdrecet* (cf. Lat *nos autem surreximus, et erecti sumus*). In both situations, *mais* is part of an extensive erasure. Other examples follow on fol. 42r, line 16, where *mais nostre sire* was written on top of an erasure in the sequence *mais nostre sire receut mei* (cf. Lat *dominus autem assumpsit me*); but also fol. 43r, line 1, in *Mais ie en tei esperai* (cf. Lat *Ego autem in te speravi domine*). It is worth noting that in the same psalm, a few lines earlier, a different translation choice was used for the same Latin group: Lat *ego autem in domino speravi* was rendered as OFr *Ie acertes el segnur esperai* (fol. 42v, line 30). Moreover, at the end of the psalm, Lat *Ego autem dixi in excessu mentis mee* is once again rendered as *Ie acertes dis el trespas de la meie pense* (fol. 43r, lines 12-13).

Another example of *mais* on top of an erasure is visible on fol. 44r, line 9, where the longer sequence *Mais la meie aneme* was written on top of an erasure in the phrase *Mais . la meie aneme sesleecerat el seignur* (cf. Lat *Anima autem mea exsultabit in domino*). On the same folio, line 14, *mais ie* was written on top of an erasure in *Mais ie cum il a mei fussent moleste* (cf. Lat *Ego autem cum mihi molesti essent*). On fol. 45r, line 31, the erasure occurs once again at the be-ginning of the line, just as in the previous example: *Mais ie ensement cum surz nen oðeie* (cf. Lat *Ego autem tamquam surdus non audiebam*). On fol. 46r, line 5, the erasure is longer, a sign that the syntactic change affects not only the neighbouring words, but a larger group: *Mais ie sui mendis e poure*. Here, in the space between *mendis* and *e*, one still catches a glimpse of the letters left by the verbal form *sui*, which would be in the right place if the initial translation choice was *acertes*, which follows to the word order of Gallicanum (*Ego autem mendicus sum et pauper*) This is further supported by the fact that the majuscule ***M*** in *Mais* is written on top of the same extensive erasure; traces of a previous accent can be seen above the letter ***a*** in *mais*.

Certain erasures occur in compound phrases where the text source (a variant of Gallicanum) must have used a participle noun + *autem*: fol. 43r, line 32: *mais lesperant* (cf. Lat *sperantem autem*); fol. 43v, line 27: *mais li enquerant* (cf. Lat *inquirentes autem*); fol. 44v, line 19: *mais li sustenant* (cf. Lat *sustinentes autem*; a few lines further down, Lat *Mansueti autem hereditabunt terram* is rendered as OFr *Li suef acertes eriterunt la terre*; and Lat *Dominus autem irridebit eum* becomes OFr *Mais li sire escharnirat lui*). Last but not least, there is also fol. 44v, line 35 with *mais li maldisant* (cf. Lat *maledicentes autem*). There is ample proof that all these corrections on top of erasures were intended to replace an expression which used *acertes* instead of *mais*.

In addition to these erasures, one should note that there are two situations in which the OFr formula participle noun + *acertes* mirrors Lat verbal noun + *autem*, in the absence of any trace of erasure. The first one is on fol. 39r, line 19: *les cremanz acertes le segnur glorifie* (cf. Lat *timentes autem dominum glorificat*). The second one is on fol. 57v, line 30: *exalcéz acértes . humiliéz súi . é conturbéz* (cf. Lat *exaltatus autem, humiliatus sum et conturbatus*). However, f. 69v, line 6 bears witness to OFr *Mais les declinanz*, without any trace of erasure, which renders Lat *Declinantes autem in obligationes*. This suggest that the scribe had both types of expression in mind.

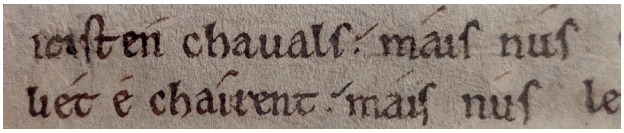
Apart from the situations noted on erasures, the Latin syntactic group noun + *autem* is rendered in the exact same ways throughout the entire text: sometimes as *mais* + subject, sometimes as subject + *acertes*.

Here are the examples illustrating the first choice: fol. 37r, line 14 (OFr *Mais ie sui establit reis de lui sur syon*; cf. Lat *Ego autem constitutus sum rex ab eo super Sion*); fol. 37r, lines 24-25 (OFr *Mais tu sire ies li miens receuerre*; cf. Lat *Tu autem domine susceptor meus es*); fol. 37v, line 7 (OFr *mais ie en la multitudine de la tue misericordie*; cf. Lat *Ego autem in multitudine misericordie tue*); fol. 38v, line 39 (OFr *mais ie en la tue misericordie esperai*; cf. Lat *ego autem in misericordia tua speravi*); fol. 45r, line 2-3 (OFr *Mais li iuste _eriterunt la terre*; cf. Lat *Iusti autem hereditabunt terram*); fol. 45r, line 6 (OFr *Mais li sire ne deguerpira*; cf. Lat *Dominus autem non derelinquet*); fol. 46r, line 18 (OFr *Mais tu sire aies merci de mei*; cf. Lat *Tu autem domine miserere mei*); fol. 48v, line 20–21 (OFr *Mais ie sicume oliue fruit portant en la maisun deu*; cf. Lat *Ego autem sicut oliva fructifera in domo dei*); fol. 49r, line 30 (OFr *mais ie espererai en tei sire*; cf. Lat *ego autem sperabo in te domine*); fol. 50r, line 10 (OFr *Mais ie canterai la tue fortece*; cf. Lat *Ego autem cantabo fortitudinem tuam*); fol. 52v, line 31–32 (OFr *Mais ie tutes ores espere-rái*; cf. Lat *Ego autem semper sperabo*); fol. 54r, line 17 (OFr *Mais ie annuncerai en siecle*; cf. Lat *Ego autem annuntiabo in seculum*); fol. 55r, line 21 (OFr *Mais il est . merciables*; cf. Lat *Ipse autem est misericors*); fol. 55v, line 40 (OFr *Mais nus li tuens poples*; cf. Lat *Nos autem populus tuus*); fol. 56v, line 7 (OFr *Mais uus sicume humes murrez*; cf. Lat *Vos autem sicut homines moriemini*); fol. 59r, line 30 (OFr *mais tu*

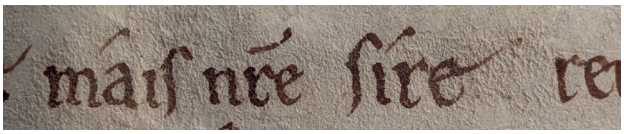
Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320.
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023-2026.
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Mais + subject possibly in place of subject + *acertes*:

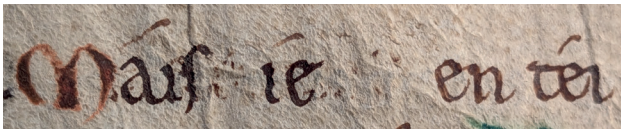
fol. 40v, lines 15–16



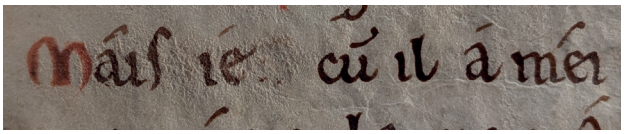
fol. 42r, line 16



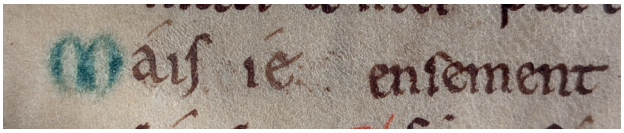
fol. 43r line 1



fol. 44r, line 14



fol. 45r, line 31





fol. 46r, line 5

altismes en parmanablete sire; cf. Lat *tu autem altissimus in eternum domine*); fol. 60r, line 13 (OFr *mais nostre sire fist les ciels*; cf. Lat *Dominus autem celos fecit*); fol. 61r, line 18 (OFr *Mais tu sire en parmanableted parmains*; cf. Lat *Tu autem domine in eternum permanes*); fol. 61r, line 35 (OFr *mais tu parmains*; cf. Lat *tu autem permanes*); fol. 61r, line 36 (OFr *mais tu un meesme ies*; cf. Lat *tu autem idem ipse es*); fol. 64v, line 27 (OFr *mais li tuens sers sesledecera*; cf. Lat *servus autem tuus letabitur*); fol. 66v, lines 25-26 (OFr *mais li tuens sers esteit trauaille*; cf. Lat *servus autem tuus exercebatur*); fol. 67r, lines 36–37 (OFr *mais ie en tut mun cuer escercherai*; cf. Lat *ego autem in toto corde meo scrutabor*); fol. 67v, line 8 (OFr *mais ie serai trauailliez*; cf. Lat *ego autem exercebor*); fol. 67v, line 19 (OFr *mais ie ne deguerpi les tuens comandemenz*; cf. Lat *ego autem non dereliqui mandata tua*); fol. 69v, line 13 (OFr *Mais uenanz uendrunt ot esledecement*; cf. Lat *Venientes autem venient cum exsultatione*).

Many other situations illustrate the formal / functional type of translation, in which the Latin word order was followed accordingly (subject + *acertes*): fol. 39v, line 13 (OFr *Ie acertes en iustise apparistrai _al tun esguardement*; cf. Lat *Ego autem in iustitia apparebo conspectui tuo*); fol. 40v, line 34 (OFr *Tu acertes en saint habites*; cf. Lat *Tu autem in sancto habitas*); fol. 40v, line 36 (OFr *Ie acertes sui uerm e nient huem*; cf. Lat *Ego autem sum vermis et non homo*); fol. 41r, line 10 (OFr *Tu acertes sire ne esluigneras ta aiue de mei*; cf. Lat *Tu autem domine ne elongaveris auxilium tuum a me*); fol. 41v, line 38 (OFr *Ie acertes en la meie nun nuisance sui entre_*; cf. Lat *Ego autem in innocentia mea ingressus sum*); fol. 42v, line 14 (OFr *Ie acertes dis en la meie abundance*; cf. Lat *Ego autem dixi in abundantia mea*); fol. 44v, line 3 (OFr *Li fil acertes des humes*; cf. Lat *Filii autem hominum*); fol. 45r, line 12 (OFr *Li torcenus acertes deperirunt ensemble*; cf. Lat *Iniusti autem disperibunt simul*); fol. 45r, lines 37-38 (OFr *Li mien enemi acertes uiuent*; cf. Lat *Inimici autem mei vivunt*); fol. 45v, line 35 (OFr *Tu acertes sire nient luinz faces*; cf. Lat *Tu autem domine ne longe facias*); fol. 46r, line 20 (OFr *Mei acertes pur nun_nuisance receus*; cf. Lat *Me autem propter innocentiam suscepisti*); fol. 48r, line 19 (OFr *A pecchedur acertes dist deus*; cf. Lat *Peccatori autem dixit deus*); fol. 53v, line 32 (OFr *Deus acertes li nostre reis deuant siecles*; cf. Lat *Deus autem rex noster ante secula*); fol. 55r, line 19 (OFr *Li _cuers acertes dicels ne esteit dreiturers ot lui*; cf. Lat *cor autem eorum non erat rectum cum eo*); fol. 64r, line 39 (OFr *ie acertes orowe*; cf. Lat *ego autem orabam*); fol. 65v, line 8 (OFr *Li nostre deus acertes el ciel*; cf. Lat *Deus autem noster in celo*); fol. 65v, line 36 (OFr *ie acertes humiliez sui mult*; cf. Lat *ego autem humiliatus sum nimis*); fol. 71v, line 31–32 (OFr *olie acertes de peccheur ne encraissera le mien chief*; cf. Lat *oleum autem peccatoris non impinguet caput meum*).

All these findings are consistent with the hypothesis that the scribe of MS Douce 320 wrote *acertes* when the Latin word was *autem* and later changed some of them into *mais*. The scribe also rendered *autem* as *mais*, from the start, on fol. 37r to fol. 69v; he corrected sporadically *acertes* into *mais* from fol. 40v to fol. 46r; and he left *acertes* uncorrected from fol. 40v to fol. 71v. The main reason for these erasures seems to be a need to avoid repetition, as pointed out by Sneddon in her article: "There would seem to be a definite attempt in order to avoid the excessive use of *acertes*, and this is achieved by sometimes translating *autem* and *enim* by *mais* and *kar*, and altering the word order (…)" (Sneddon 1978, p. 399; cf. Sneddon 1972, p. 20, 111)." This need is manifested by the rendering of *autem* as *mais*. Erasures are a testimony to the method that the scribe was perfecting. Sneddon compares examples from Oxford and Arundel Psalters. This comparative work, extended to all types of erasures, will be dealt with in the second instalment of the present article. For the time being, several cases show that the Arundel scribe makes the same corrections and in the same places as the scribe of MS Douce 320. In anticipation of the comparison that lies ahead, the alternating use of *mais* + noun / noun + *acertes* could be simply of a stylistic nature.

LATER EDIT. Cf. fol. 37v, line 7, *mais ie ___ en la multitudine de la tue misericorde* (< Lat *Ego autem in multitudine misericordie tue*), perhaps a previous *acertes*; fol. 38r, line 40, *Kar il dist en sun cuer* (< Latin *Dixit enim in corde suo*), Arundel reading: *Kar il dist adecertes en son quor* (there are traces of erasure and previous letters at the end of the preceding line as well); fol. 38v, line 6, *Kar il dist __ en sun cuer ubliez est deus* (< Latin *Dixit enim in corde suo oblitus est deus*), Arundel reading: *Kar il dist adecertes in sun quor obliez est deus* (clear traces of *acertes*, with *-rtes* rather visible); fol. 38v, line 8, *kar il dist__ en sun cuer nel requerrat* (< Latin *dixit enim in corde suo non requiret*), Arundel reading: *Kar il dist adecertes en sun quor nent requerat* (with traces of acertes). These are the only three occurrences of the Latin phrase *dixit enim*. In the remaining part of the text, *enim* is frequently translated as *kar* (Ps 24:11; Ps 43:4a; Ps 43:7; Ps 43:8: Ps 49:12; Ps 54:20b; Ps 72:25; Ps 80:11; Ps 88:22; Ps 88:48; Ps 106:17; Ps 118:3; Ps 118:120; Ps 121:4); and rarely as *acertes* (Ps 43:22a; Ps 50:7; Ps 50:8; Ps 53:6; Ps 61:2; Ps 134:17).

I must add two occurrences on fol. 40v, line 15, *mais nus* (< Lat *nos autem*), and fol. 40v, line 16, *mais nus* (< Lat *nos autem*). In both cases, the Arundel reading is *nus adecertes*. Traces of an *s* in the erased blank space after *nus* suggest that the Douce scribe wrote *nus acertes* before the erasure.

Other situations that must be noted are on fol. 42r, line 16, *mais nostre sire receut mei* (< Lat *Dominus autem assumpsit me*), Arundel reading: *li sire acertes receut mei* (at first, the Douce scribe probably wrote the same words as Arundel); fol. 44r, line 9, *Mais la meie aneme* (< Lat *Anima autem mea*), Arundel reading: *Mais le moie aneme* (the size of the erasure and the traces of erased letters suggest an initial text *Ma aneme* / *la meie aneme acertes* before the erasure); fol. 45r, line 13, *Mais la salut _ des iustes del segnur* (< Lat *Salus autem iustorum a domino*), Arundel reading: *Mais la salut des iustes del al seignur*; fol. 46r, line 18, *Mais tu sire aies merci de mei* (< Lat *Tu autem Domine miserere mei*), same reading in Arundel; fol. 49r, line 20, *Mais ie_ a deu criái* (< Lat *Ego autem ad Deum clamavi*), Arundel reading: *Jo acertes a deu criai.*

I add an example illustrating the first translation choice (*mais* + subject) on fol. 42r, lines 26-27 (*mais mal sunt en lur cuers* < Lat *mala autem in cordibus eorum*); and two examples illustrating the second translation choice (subject + *acertes*) on fol. 38v, line 18 (*le iuste acertes que fist* < Lat *iustus autem quid fecit*) + line 20 (*chi acertes aimet felunie* < Lat *qui autem diligit iniquitatem*).

HESITANT RENDERINGS FOR LATIN *–TIO* (AC)

The scribe did not know how to deal with this category of Latin borrowings into the French vernacular, at least not from the start. His hesitant renderings ***–tiun*** or ***–ciun***, written on top of an erasure, can suggest that he probably used several suffixes until he focused on some of them.

For instance, on fol. 52r, line 38, the term *(l)abitatiun* is written on top of an extensive erasure (*labitatiun dels deserte*). (*H*)*abitatiun* is written without any trace of erasure on fol. 41v, line 36; fol. 54r, line 20; fol. 57v, line 10. From fol. 63 onwards, the word becomes *habitaciun(s)*, as on fol. 63v, line 19; fol. 64r, line 12; fol. 64v, line 5; fol. 73v, line 23.

Similarly, on fol. 37r, line 36, *compunctiun* is written on top of an extensive erasure, as part of a sequence *aiez compunctiun*, the letters of which are packed in the little available space (and with an abbreviation). Yet *compunctiun* is written without any trace of erasure on fol. 50r, lines 16-17.

This also happens to *consummatiun* on fol. 50r, line 7. Nevertheless, the letters of the word are not crammed in. *Consummatiun* is written as such, without erasures, on fol. 50r, line 7, that is, on the exact same line. On fol. 67v, line 29, there is also *consummaciun*.

As for *contriciun*, it is written on top of an erasure on fol. 39r, line 8. Given the size of the erasure, one could guess that the previous word must have been much longer, composed of many more letters. Yet again, *contriciuns* is written without erasure on fol. 50r, line 15.

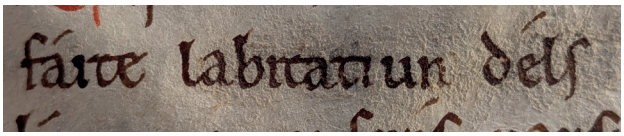
On fol. 42v, line 12, *(l)indignatiun* is also transcribed on an extensive erasure as part of *en lindignatiun de lui*. The sequence *en lindignatiun de*, written on the same line, is crammed in, while the word *de* crosses into the inner margin of the folio. However, on fol. 55r, line 34 (twice), and on fol. 57r, line 9, one may read *indignatiun*, without any erasure; while on fol. 61r, line 16, and fol. 74v, line 24, the word is written as *indignaciun*.

Finally, *tribulatiun* is on an extensive erasure (*refuges de la tribulatiun*) on fol. 43r, lines 27-28. In the specific case of this erasure, the word *refuges* may seem tightly written (for *refuges*, see the section dedicated to this word), but the rest of the text is stretched, particularly in the sequence *de la*, as if the erased text had more letters than the correction. With regard to the word *tribulatiun* itself, it should be noted that the erasure stops before the ***–i–*** of the suffix. Furthermore, the final ***–un***, which is written on the following line, was not erased. It must therefore be assumed that the scribe had previously written a word already ending in ***–un*** (in which case ***–i–*** would have been added after the erasure), or perhaps a word ending in ***–iun***. However, from fol. 37r to fol. 59r, the spelling *tribulatiun* appears on numerous occasions. On the other hand, we find *tribulaciun* on fol. 64r, line 15 + line 33; fol. 65v, line 29; fol. 66r, line 13; fol. 68v, line 1; fol. 71r, line 17; fol. 72r, line 1 + line 25; fol. 74v, line 39.

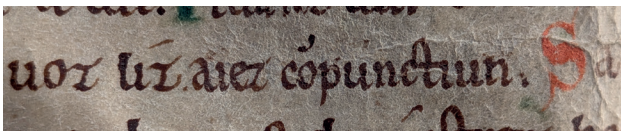
Before proceeding to the analysis of these general situations, special attention must be given to two other words, the transcription of which made the scribe even more hesitant. On fol. 40r, line 27, he wrote *naciuns* on top of an erasure. It is evident that the initial form of the word, be-

Erasures with ***–ciun*** / ***–tiun*** suffixes:

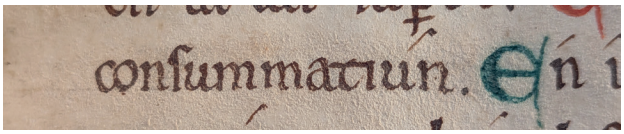
fol. 52r, line 38



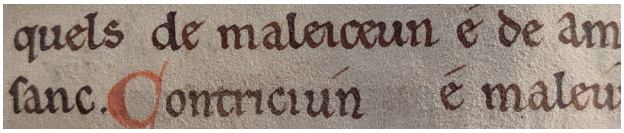
fol. 37r, line 36



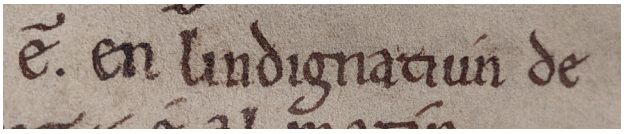
fol. 50r line 7



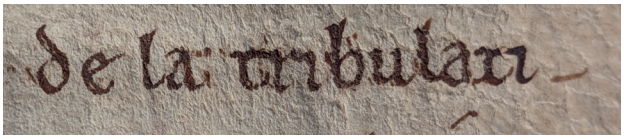
fol. 39r, line 8



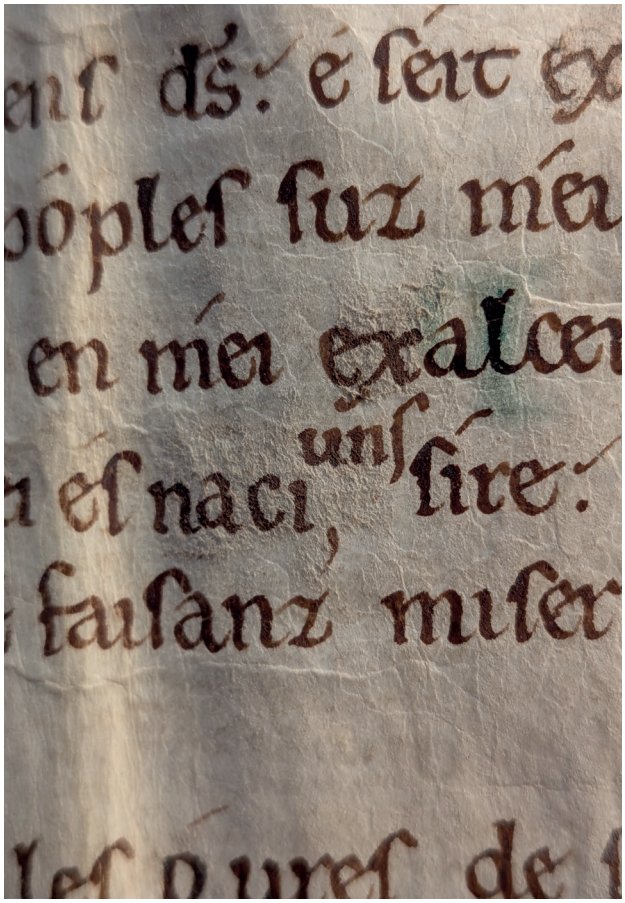
fol. 42v, line 12



fol. 43r, line 27



The particular erasure of *nace?* (now *naciuns*):

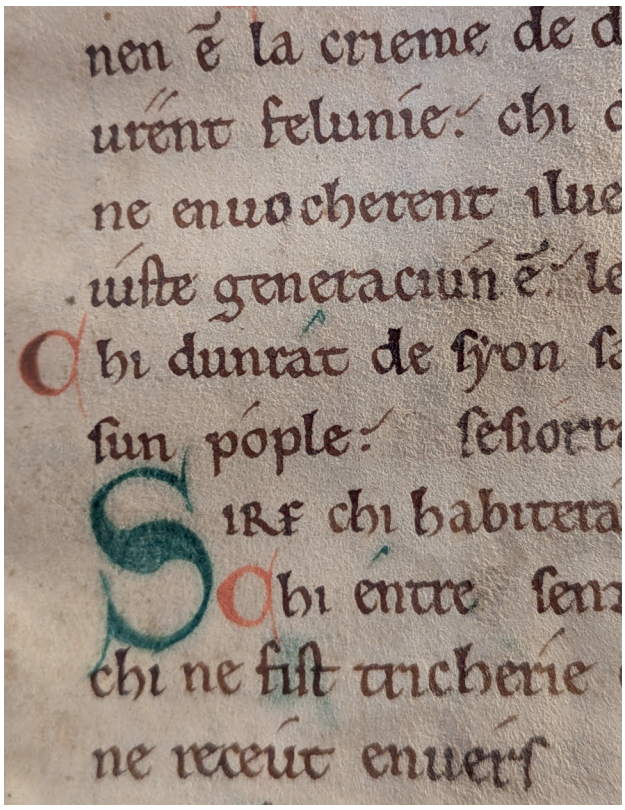


fol. 40r, line 27

fore the erasure, must have occupied the space of the first four letters, while the sequence **–*uns*** was written above the line during the correction process, as there was no more available space. The word *naciuns* appears again on fol. 64v, line 39, but there is no erasure there.

By far, the most interesting treatment is that of the word *generaciun*. On fol. 38r, line 40, *generaciun* is part of an extensive erasure (*en generaciun senz mal*). It appears again on fol. 39r, line 12 (*generaciun est*). Smaller erasures occur on fol. 41v, line 1 (*generaciuns*); fol. 43v, line 6 (twice: *generaciun* / *generaciun*); fol. 54v, line 26 (twice: *generaciuns* / *generaciun*), and fol. 65r, line 17 (*generaciun*). The latter is particularly interesting, on account of the position of the erasure, which concerns only the letter **–*i*–** and suggests that the scribe could have written either *generaceun* (thus mixing up two competitive variants found in the text) or perhaps *generace* (provided that the right half of the letter **–*u*–** and the entire letter **–*n*** were written in the blank spacing between the words, as documented by the test in the image below). Only **–*i*–** and the left half of the letter **–*u*–** could be written on top of the erasure, thus documenting the use of *generace*.

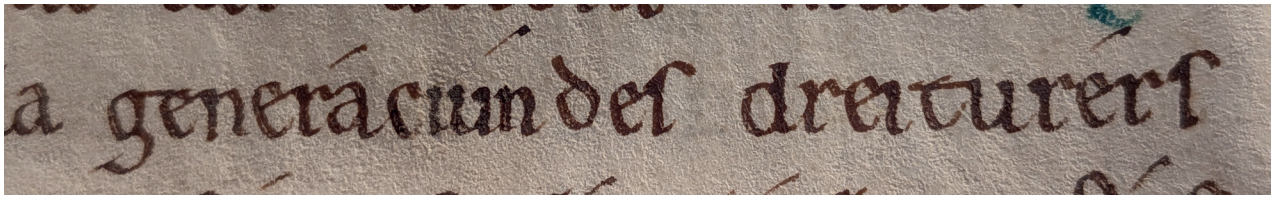
Four other cases (out of the eight already mentioned erasures) would equally be explained if the initial spelling of the word were *generace*. In the case of fol. 39r, line 12, **–*iun*** and the abbreviated **est** occupy the exact same space as an **–*e est***, reconstructed as *generace est*, written in full. On fol. 41v, line 1, **–*uns*** was written above the line, while the erasure concerns a single letter, now replaced by **–*i*–**, suggesting that the initial spelling was indeed *ge-*



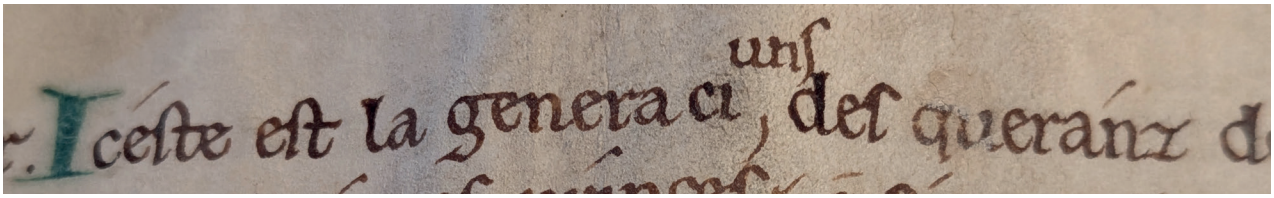
fol. 39r, line 12

Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320.
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023-2026.
Courtesy of the Imaging Services of The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Creative Commons licence CC-BY-NC 4.0.

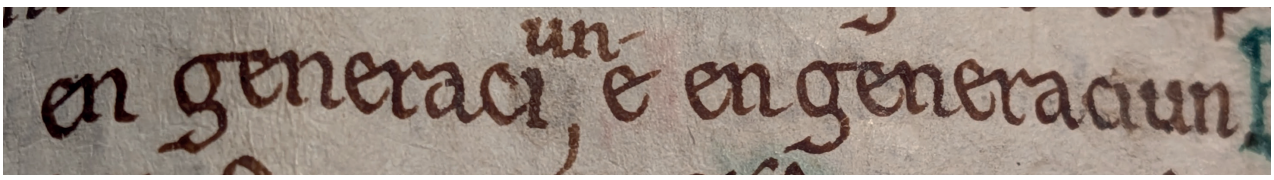
The particular erasure of *generace?* (+ spacing):



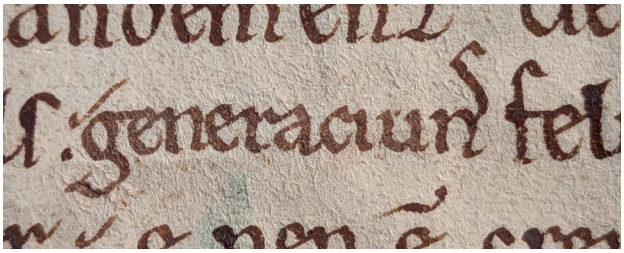
fol. 65r, line 17



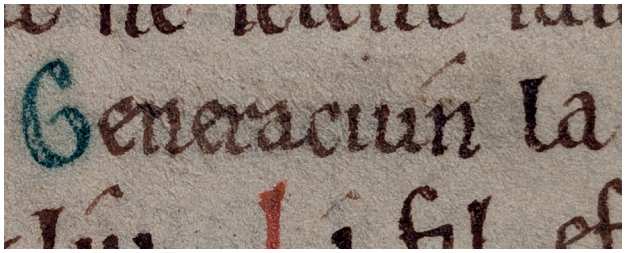
fol. 41v line 1



fol. 43v line 6



fol. 54v line 26 (1)



fol. 54v line 26 (2)

nerace. Next, on fol. 43v, line 6, both erasures of the same word had the initial spelling *generace*. The first one was corrected in the same manner as the case of fol. 41v, line 1, while the second one was dealt with as the one from fol. 65r, line 17.

The remaining cases are ambiguous, with the entire word written on top of an erasure, such as in the cases occuring on fol. 54v, line 26, where *generaciuns* and *generaciun* are difficult to interpret. *Generace* or *generasse* is nevertheless attested since the second half of the 12th century (e.g., *Et entour lui teus generace* / *Qui li rendent et gre et grace*, v. 6127–6128 in Gauthier d'Arras' *Eracle*, *c.*1154; ed. Raynaud de Lage 1976, p. 188–189). The word was probably created according to the same pattern as modern French words *preface* (< Lat *praefatio*) or *dedicace* (< Lat *dedicatio*) and had the meanings '(1) race, lineage, descent' or 'crowd (of people)' according to *DEAFél*. If this is the case, perhaps the same reconstruction can be applied to *naciuns* on fol. 40r, line 27, the initial spelling of each could cover only four letters. Even though the form *nace* or *nasse* is not attested by any dictionary, the correction follows the same pattern as those of *generace* > *generaciuns* on fol. 41v, line 1, and fol. 43v, line 6 (first example).

The ending ***–ace*** could also explain an unattested form *indignace* rapidly corrected into *indignatiun* on fol. 42v, line 12, thus requiring a rewriting of the preposition *de*, which crosses now into the inner margin of the folio. However, this is just speculation, as it does not explain the erasure of the preposition *en* that precedes *lindignatiun*.

Leaving aside words such as *compunctiun*, (*h*)*abitaciun*, and *tribulaciun*, corrected in extensive erasures and difficult to reconstruct, the ending ***–ace*** does not explain the erasures later corrected into *contriciun* (more letters in the initial spelling) or *consummatiun* (more or less the same amount of letters). Since the scribe rendered *sanctificatio* as *saintificatiun/–ciun* on fol. 55v, line 1, and fol. 70r, line 18 + line 29, but also as *saintefiement* on fol. 60r, line 14 + line 39, and fol. 65r, line 38, perhaps the initial ending of *contriciun* and *consummatiun* could be ***–ment***.

AS PREVIOUSLY NOTED, there is a break in the spelling of *tribulatiun*, written as such from fol. 37r to fol. 59r, and *tribulaciun* from fol. 64r to fol. 74v. This ***–c–*** and ***–t–*** feature may seem less revealing from a grammatical point of view. Still, it is extremely relevant as to the idiosyncracies of the scribe and to the chronology of his waverings.

A quick look at the specific features of *compunctiun* and *contriciun*, on fol. 50r in particular, where ***–ciun*** and ***–tiun*** occur at the same time, certifies that the scribe used both forms indiscriminately. However, when confronting them with other examples (*indignatiun*, *tribulatiun*, *consummatiun*, *habitatiun*), one notes that the use of the ***–t–*** variant tends to occur before the turning point of fol. 59. After this folio, the scribe starts favouring the spelling ***–c–***. This is amply demonstrated by the inventory of spellings for *cogitatiun(s)*, a word written without any sign of erasure throughout the text. On fol. 37v, line 12; fol. 43v, line 4 + line 6; fol. 45v, line 27; fol. 49r, line 36; and fol. 54r, lines 27-28 (twice), the word is written with ***–t–***. After fol. 59, the spelling changes into *cogitaciun(s)* with ***–c–***: fol. 59r, line 27; fol. 59v, line 17; fol. 68r, line 13; fol. 71r, line 21; fol. 71v, line 3; fol. 72v, line 36; and fol. 74r, line 10.

There are many more examples of words spelled with ***–t–*** in the first part of the manuscript and ***–c–*** after fol. 59: *temptatiun* on fol. 40r, line 6 / *temptaciun* on fol. 60r, line 3; *fornicatiun* on fol. 53v, line 15 / *fornicaciun* on fol. 63r, line 40; *miseratiuns* on fol. 45v, line 36 / *miseraciuns* on fol. 61v, line 4; as well as fol. 67v, line 6; and fol. 72v, line 17; *adinuentiuns* on fol. 54v, line 5; fol. 56r, line 35 / *adinuenciuns* on fol. 73v, line 21; *saintificatiun* on fol. 55v, line 1 / *sanctificaciun* on fol. 70r, line 18 + line 29; *abominatiun* on fol. 57v, line 21 / *abominaciuns* on fol. 75r, line 33.

With few exceptions, words ending in ***–tiun*** occur often before fol. 59: *significatiun* (fol. 50r, line 17); *afflictiun* (fol. 39v, line 35; fol. 46v, line 32); *corruptiun* (fol. 39r, line 34; fol. 42v, lines 17-18); *refectiun* (fol. 41r, line 28); *subsannatiun* (fol. 44r, line 19; fol. 46v, line 25; fol. 55v, line 27); *oblatiun* (fol. 45v, line 29; fol. 48v, line 11); *fluctuatiun* (fol. 49r, line 28); *congregatiun* (fol. 50v, line 6; fol. 52r, lines 1-2; fol. 53v, line 19); *predicatiun* (fol. 53v, line 17); *commotiuns* (fol. 51r, line 26); *retributiun* (fol. 40v, line 3); *conturbatiun* (fol. 43r, line 10); *contradictiun* (fol. 43r, line 11; fol. 56r, line 8 + line 30; fol. 63r, line 32); *uociferatiun* (fol. 43r, line 37); *meditatiun* (fol. 45v, line 5; fol. 47v, line 21); *supplantatiun* (fol. 46r, line 18); *propositiun* (fol. 47v, line 23; fol. 54v, line 17); *assumptiun* (fol. 58r, line 18); *consolatiuns* (fol. 59v, line 27); *dilectiun* (fol. 64r, line 40); *resurrectiun* (fol. 71r, line 21); *imperfectiun* (fol. 71r, line 38).

Similarly, ***–ciun*** is most frequent in the second part of the manuscript, from approximately fol. 59 onwards: *peticiuns* (fol. 40v, line 13; fol. 44v, line 14); *uituperaciun* (fol. 42v, line 39); *exercitaciun* (fol. 49r, line 4); *peregrinaciun* (fol. 67r, line 20); *perdiciun* (fol. 57v, line 26; fol. 63v, line 35; fol. 75v, line 21); *iubilaciun* (f. 58r, line 14); *preuaricaciuns* (fol. 60v, line 35); *dominaciun* (fol. 61v, line 27; fol. 72v, line 22); *peticiun* (fol. 63r, line 14); *congregaciun* (fol. 63r, line 16; fol. 65r, line 3); *iustificaciun(s)* (fol. 66v, line 6 + line 9 + line 14 + line 17 + line 22 + line 26 + line 27 + line 30 (twice) + line 36; fol. 67r, line 13 + line 20 + line 22 + line 29 + line 31 + line 36 + line 39; fol. 67v, line 10 + lines 14-15 + line 26 + line 27; fol. 68r, line 7 + line 12 + line 20 + line 33 + line 39; fol. 68v, line 4 + line 15 + line 34); *commociun* (fol. 69r, line 9); *redempciun* (fol. 70r, line 3); *dormitaciun* (fol. 70r, line 13); *deprecaciun* (fol. 71v, line 15; fol. 72r, line 6); *excusaciuns* (fol. 71v, line 29); *saluaciun* (fol. 74v, line 25).

Still, there are other waverings in the text as well. On fol. 41r, line 40, the scribe wrote *beneiceun* with a tiny erasure visible under ***-ic-***; while on fol. 40v, line 20 + line 23, and fol. 44v, line 39, the same spelling *beneiceun* is written without erasure. Perhaps the erasure in the first case is related to a variant spelling such as *benediceun*, which occurs on fol. 37r, line 30, and fol. 56v, line 36. However, there is also *beneicun*, on fol. 64v, line 13-14; fol. 69v, line 36; fol. 70r, line 34; fol. 72v, line 26.

These additional variant endings are randomly encountered in other parts of the text: *maledictio* is rendered as *maleiceun* on fol. 38v, line 1; and *maleicun* on fol. 64v, line 13 + line 14. *Redemptio* is *raenceun* on fol. 47v, line 26, but also *raencun* on fol. 65r, line 11. Finally, *cantatio* becomes *canceun* on fol. 52v, line 23. Consequently ***–ceun*** seems to be a proper alternative for ***–tiun*** in the first part of the manuscript, while ***–cun*** is an alternative for ***–ciun*** towards the end.

ERASURES IN LEXICAL ISSUES (AC)

This category of the survey deals with erasures that concern matters related to vocabulary (various translation choices) or phrasing (word order or fixed expressions). I will present them in the following list, organised according to their entries in the *Anglo-Norman Dictionary* (AND). All erasures have been analysed in comparison with the readings of MS Arundel 230.

Agu: fol. 48v, line 13, *sicum nouacle agu_ fesis tricherie* (< Lat *sicut novacula acuta fecisti dolum*). Arundel reading: *sicume nouacle acue fesis tricherie*. There are traces of two previous letters, the first of which is an ***e***. At first, the adjective was probably in agreement with *tricherie*. The erasure and correction led to a correct agreement with *nouácle*.

Aide: fol. 41r, line 10, *aiue* (< Lat *auxilium*). Same reading in Arundel. The word is used for the first time on fol. 40v, line 9, without erasures. In this second occurrence, the root of the word was erased.

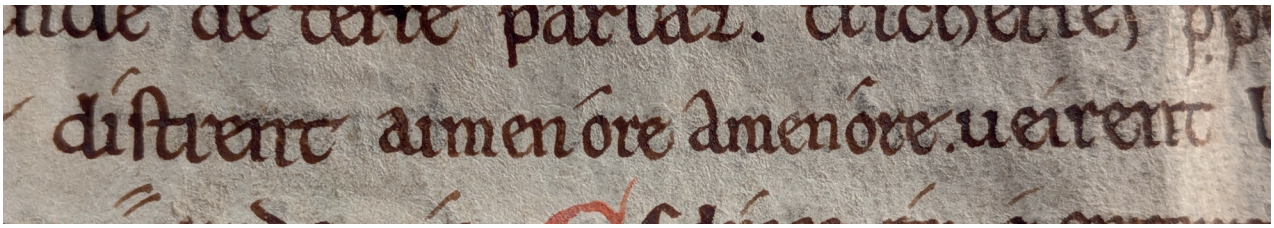
Aiuére: fol. 38r, line 22, *aiuere en cuuenabletez en tribulatiun* (< Lat *adiutor*). The entire word was erased. It is safe to assume that the Douce scribe chose a synonym or a different spelling at first. Arundel reads here *aidere*. However, it is difficult to imagine that this was the initial translation choice of Douce. If that were the case, the Douce scribe would have had to change a single letter (***d > u***), without the need to erase the entire word. See also fol. 38v, line 10, *al orphenin tu se_ras aiuere* (< Lat *adiutor*). Arundel reading: *aidere*. See also fol. 43v, line 15, *kar il aiuerre e nostre defenderre . est* (< Lat *quoniam adjutor et protector noster est*). The Douce scribe made a large erasure, but he also added the verb *est* after the punctus. Arundel reads: *kar aidere et est nostre defendre*. Perhaps the Douce scribe wrote an incorrent phrase at first, similar to the one that we find in Arundel. The variant reading *aiuer*(*r*)*e* is transcribed without erasures on: fol. 39v, line 15; fol. 40v, line 7; fol. 42r, lines 14–15; fol. 42r, line 31; fol. 42v, line 19; fol. 46r, line 6; fol. 47r, line 23; fol. 50r, line 12; fol. 50v, line 4 + line 7 + line 21; fol. 52v, line 15; fol. 53r, line 17; fol. 55r, line 17; fol. 64v, line 6; fol. 65v, line 15 + line 16 + line 17; fol. 66r, line 14 + line 15; f. 68r, line 8; fol. 72v, line 37. Two other variant readings occur in MS Douce 320: *aiuedur* on fol. 48v, line 19, and on fol. 56r, line 23; as well as *aiderre* on fol. 52v, line 24.

Amen ore: fol. 44r, line 25, *distrent aimenore amenore . ueirent li nostre oil* (< Lat *Euge, euge*). Same reading in Arundel. See also fol. 44r, line 28, *Ne dient en lur cuers aimenore aimenore a la nostre aneme* (< Lat *Euge, euge*). Arundel reading: *aiemere aimenore*. See also fol. 46r, line 3, *chi dient a mei aimenore aimenore* (< Lat *Euge, euge*). Same reading in Arundel. A fourth occurrence of the phrase is on fol. 52v, line 12, without any sign of erasure, but with a low dash: *aimen_ore aimen_ore* (< Lat *Euge, euge*). Same reading in Arundel. Cf. Sneddon 1972, p. 18.

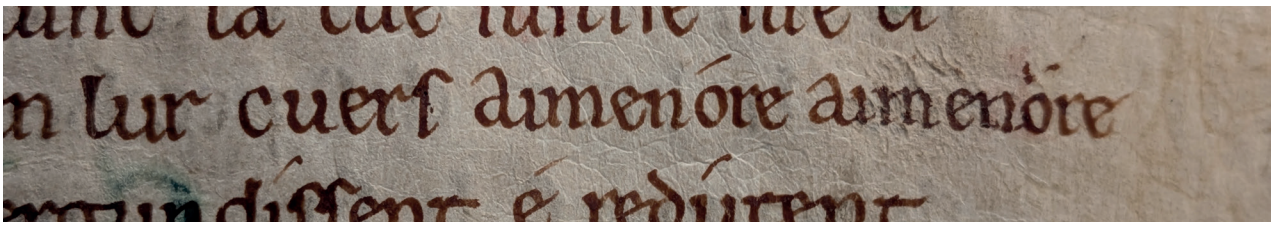
Ampleis: fol. 45v, line 20, *ampleis ne serai* (< Lat *amplius non ero*). Arundel reading: *et plus ne serai*. See also fol. 48r, line 31, *Ampleis__ leue mei* (< Lat *amplius lava me*). Same reading in Arundel. The space covered by the erasure suggests that the Douce scribe wrote *amplement* at first. See also fol. 50r, line 39, *Ne serai mou ampleis* (< Lat *non movebor amplius*). Arundel reading: *ne serai mout pluis*. The adverb *ampleis*, without erasure (and translating Lat *amplius*) is found on: fol. 53v, line 30 (Arundel: *plus*); fol. 57v, line 17-18 (Arundel: *amples*); fol. 58v, line 31 (Arundel: *aemplus*); fol. 61v, line 17 (Arundel: *plus*).

Angeles: fol. 38r, line 10, *de angeles* (< Lat *ab angelis*). Arundel reading: *des angles*. This is the first occurrence of the word in the Douce text. The erasure concerns only the letter ***e***. At first, the Douce scribe could have written *angle*, reducing the ascender of the ***l***, and transforming it into an ***e***. It is also possible that the Douce scribe simply erased an accent, although it is hard to imagine that an

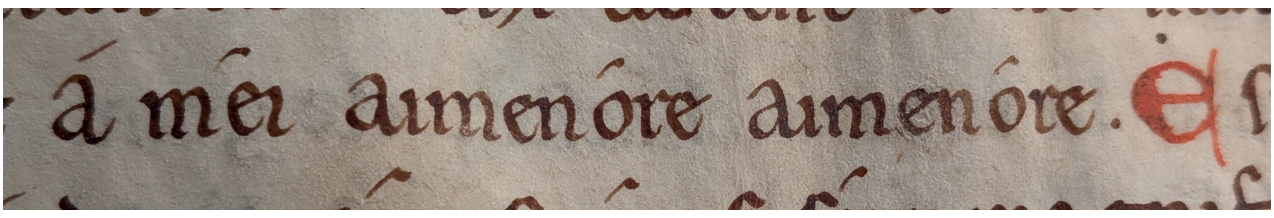
Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320.
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023-2026.
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fol. 44r line 25

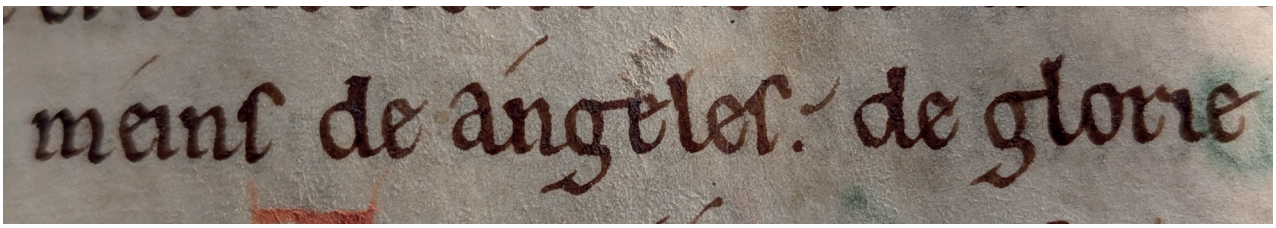


fol. 44r line 28

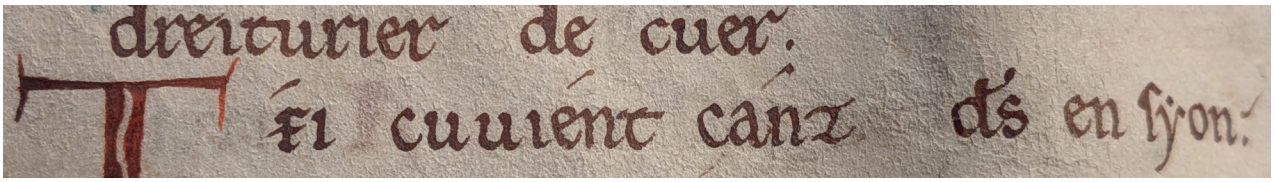


fol. 46r line 3

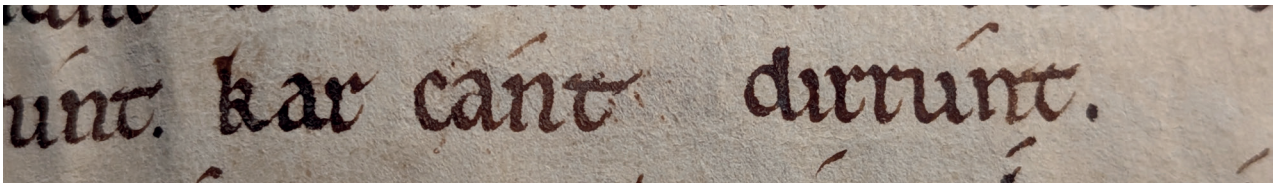
fol. 38r line 10



fol. 50v line 40



fol. 51r line 16



accent would be written so close to the letter ***e***.

Apres: fol. 55v, line 19-20, *dapres les fedunanz recut lui* (< Lat *de post foetantes accepit eum*). Arundel reading: *de apres les founanz receut luj.*

Arbreisel: fol. 56r, line 12, *e les arbrissels de li . les cedres deu* (< Lat *et arbusta eius cedros Dei*). Arundel reading: *et les arbriseals de li les cedres de deu.*

Assemblé: fol. 51v, line 24, *Monz assemblez* (< Lat *mons coagulatus*). Arundel reading: *monz asemblet.* See also fol. 51v, line 24-25, *monz assemblez* (< Lat *montes coagulatos*). Arundel reading: *monz asemblez.* These are the only occurrences of the adjective *coagulatus* in the Latin text. It is likely that the Douce scribe used a synonym or an incorrect translation choice, that he later decided to erase and replace.

Austre: fol. 55r, line 7, *Il tresporta_ _austre_ del ciel* (< Lat *Transtulit austrum de caelo*). Arundel reading: *Jl tresportat icel uen del ciel.* The term *auster* occurs only twice in the Latin text. The text of Douce translates both occurrences as *austre*. The second occurrence is no longer the object of an erasure: *sicume ewe en austre* < Lat *sicut torrens in austro*. In the first occurrence, there are traces of an ***l*** before the beginning of the word. This could be due to the presence of a definite article in the first version of the text. Nevertheless, the blank space erased at the end of the shows traces of the letters ***re***.

Bassesce: fol. 50v, line 23, *il enterrunt es basseces de la terre* (< Lat *introibunt in inferiora terrae*). Arundel reading: *il enterunt es bassecces de la tere.*

Bel: fol. 47r, line 1, *beals* (< Lat *speciosus*). Same reading in Arundel.

Belté: fol. 47r, line 4, *bealtet* (< Lat *pulchritudine*). Same reading in Arundel. There are traces of a previous ***l*** just after ***be–***. At first, the Douce scribe could have written *beltet*, as he did on fol. 40v, line 22. The spelling *bealtet* without erasure can be found on fol. 47r, line 14; fol. 48r, line 5 + line 15; f. 51v, line 20.

Cant: fol. 47r, line 39: *munta deus en cant* (< Lat *Ascendit Deus in iubilo*). Arundel: *en chant.* The term *iubilum* occurs only once in the text of the Psalms. See also fol. 50v, line 40, *tei cuuient canz deus en syon* (< Lat *Te decet hymnus, Deus, in Sion*). Arundel reading: *chant.* In this particular situation, there are possible traces of a ***y*** under the first letter of the erasure. This suggests that the Douce scribe wrote *ymne* at first. See also fol. 51r, line 16, *kar cant_ dirrunt* (< Lat *etenim hymnum dicent*). Arundel reading: *chant.* Once again, there are possible traces of a previous ***y*** at the beginning of the erasure. The Latin word *hymnus* is not frequent in the text of the Psalms. In other occurrences, such as in Ps 99, Ps 118, Ps 136, and Ps 148, the Douce scribe translates it as *loenge.*

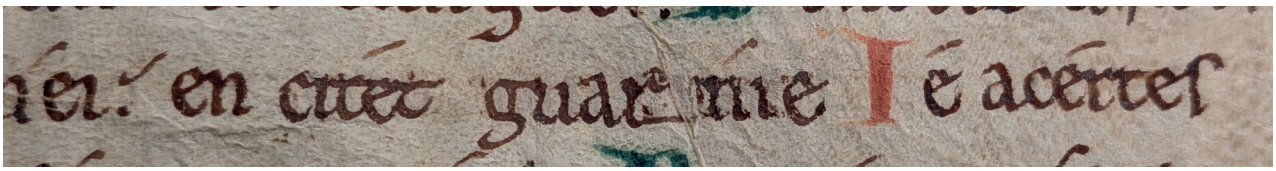
Cercle: fol. 40r, line 33, *del cercle* (< Lat *orbis*). Same reading in Arundel. Two letters were erased and rewritten at the beginning of the word.

Chef: fol. 37r, line 25, *mun chief* (< Lat *caput meum*). The erasure concerns the first occurrence of the word in the Douce text. In the remaining part of the translation, the scribe used the same spelling (except for fol. 41r, line 32, *chef*). No other term was used to translate the Latin word *caput.*

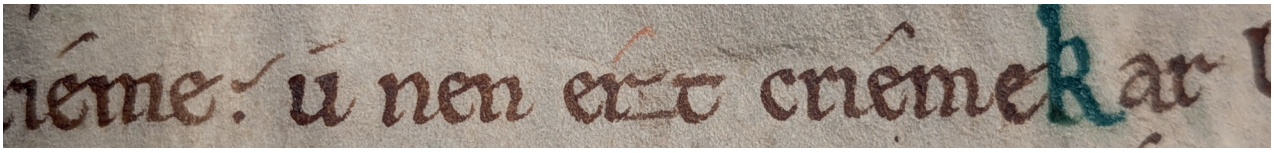
Cheveil: fol. 45v, line 39, *cheuels* (< Lat *capillos*). Same reading in Arundel. The erasure covers the space of a single letter. At first, the Douce scribe probably wrote *cheuals* 'horses'. See also fol. 51v, line 32, *che_uel* (< Lat *capilli*). Same reading in Arundel. In this situation, the scribe probably wrote *cheuuel* at first (cf. DÉAF quoting *Cligès*). The third and last occurrence of the word can be found without erasure on fol. 52r, line 13 (*cheuéls*).

Citet (***guarnie***): fol. 43r, line 12, *en citet guar_nie* (< Lat *civitate munita*). Same reading in Arundel. The same phrasing can be found on fol. 50r, line 23, *en citet guarnie* (< Lat *in civitatem munitam*); fol. 64r, line 31, *en cited guarnide* (< Lat *in civitatem munitam*). Perhaps the Douce scribe chose a different phrasing or translation choice at first. It is also worth noting that he corrected *guarnie* using a low dash after the erasure and correction.

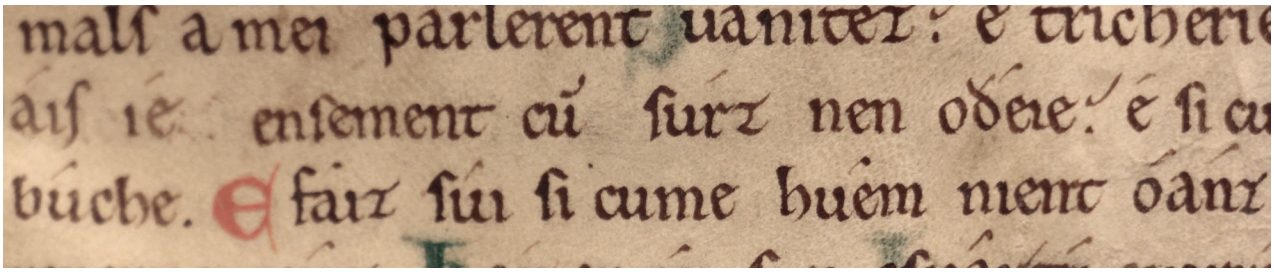
Contrition: fol. 39r, line 8, *Contriciun* (< Lat *contritio*). Same reading in Arundel. *Contriciuns* translates Lat *contritiones* on fol. 50r, line 15. However, the Douce scribe also uses the translation choice *detriblemenz* on fol. 73r, line 6-7. This could be the reading that he wrote at first.



fol. 43r line 12



fol. 39r line 11



fol. 45r line 31

Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320. Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023-2026. Courtesy of the Imaging Services of The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Creative Commons licence CC-BY-NC 4.0.

Coverture: fol. 40r, line 12, *la couerture* (< Latin *protectionem*). Arundel reading: *cuuerture*, *vide supra*, articles. The word occurs twice as a translation of Lat *vestimentum* on fol. 61r, line 36; fol. 61v, line 30. Two other occurrences of Lat *protectio* were translated as (*el*) *courement* on fol. 59r, line 2; fol. 62v, line 29.

Cremur: fol. 47v, line 8, *criemur* (< Lat *tremor*). Same reading in Arundel. When the Latin word *tremor* occurs elsewhere in the Psalms, the Douce scribe translates it as *tremblur* (fol. 37r, line 20; fol. 49r, line 7). There are no other occurrences of *criemur*. It is possible that the scribe wrote *tremblur* at first.

Crieme: fol. 39r, line 11, *crieme* (< *timor*). Arundel reading: *creme*. The parchment has a spongy texture under this word. It is also likely that the letter ***e*** was simply added later, after the ink of the initial word dried out, without erasure. The initial reading *criem* could have been simply followed by a punctus. See also fol. 40r, line 40, *crieme* (< Lat *timor*). The tiny erasure can be noticed above the letter ***c***, as if the scribe were correcting the ascender of another letter. The word is written without erasure (*crieme*) on fol. 37r, line 19, and fol. 74v, line 4.

Cum: fol. 45r, line 31, *cum_ surz* (< Lat *tamquam surdus*). Arundel reading: *a cume surz*. The adverbe is written as *cū*. The erasure concerns the last letter of the word, probably an ***e*** of *cume*.

Cúme: fol. 38v, line 3, *ensement cume leun* (< Lat *quasi leo*). Same reading in Arundel. The scribe had already used *ensement cume* in previous parts of the text. Nevertheless, This is the first occurrence of the Latin word *quasi*, later translated as *ensement cum* (x 2) and *sicum* in Ps 34. In Ps 36, the Douce scribe wrote *sicume*; in Ps 72, *ensement cume*; in Ps 73, *sicume*; in Ps 77, *ensement cum*.

Delivre: fol. 57v, line 16, *entre morz deliures* (< Lat *inter mortuos liber*). Arundel reading: *entre les mors desliures*. In this situation, the French word translates an adjective. Other uses of *deliure*(*s*) concern the verb *delivrer* (present indicative, present subjunctive, or past participle). In Ps 69:6b, the same spelling is used to translate Lat *liberator* (*vide infra*: *delivrere*).

Delivrere: fol. 52v, line 15, *deliure_* (< Lat *liberator*). There are clear traces of a previous final ***–re***. This erasure represents an exception. All other occurrences of *deliure*(*s*) are either adjectival or verbal (*vide supra*: *delivre*). However, the Douce scribe translated Lat *liberator* as *deliurer*(*r*)*e* on fol. 39v, lines 14-15 (large erasure); fol. 40r, line 25; fol. 72r, line 29.

Depriere: fol. 39r, line 36, *depreiere* (< Lat *deprecationem*). Arundel reading: *priere*. Lat *deprecatio* is always translated as *preiere* in the Douce text. The erasure is the only exception to this rule and it concerns the second occurrence of the Latin word. On fol. 42r, line 31, the Douce scribe wrote *preiere*, then added ***de*** in the interline above the beginning of the word, in order to write *depreiere*. There are two occurrences on fol. 71v, line 15, and fol. 72r, line 6, where the scribe writes *deprecaciun*. (*vide infra*: *priere*)

Dereineté: fol. 51v, line 22, *e les derainetez del dos de li* (< Lat *et posteriora dorsi eius*). Same reading in Arundel. In all likelihood, the scribe wrote *dereinete* at first, with ***e*** instead of ***a***. The ***i*** was erased by mistake, being to close to the ***e***. It was rewritten. The Latin term *posteriora* is also translated as *dederainetez* on fol. 55v, line 15. The variant *derainetez* translates Lat *in extremis* in Ps 138 and in the Canticles.

Desserte: fol. 37v, line 30, *par desserte* (< Lat *merito*). Arundel reading: *par deserte*. The Douce scribe probably wrote *deserte* at first, then corrected it to *desserte* by the addition of a second ***s***. Traces of an ***e*** are visible after the first ***s***. The scribe could have made this choice in order to avoid the homonymy *desserte* and *desert*.

Dis: fol. 75v, line 13, *di_s milliers* (< Lat *decem milia*). Same reading in Arundel. The size of the erasure suggests that the initial reading could have been *diis*. The variant *dis* without erasure had been used by the Douce scribe previously on fol. 43r, line 36; fol. 51v, line 26; fol. 59r, line 10 + line 24; fol. 72r, line 38.

Drecanz (< ***Drecer***): fol. 53v, line 7, *de drec_anz* (< Lat

surgentium). Arundel reading: *de derecanz*. The same spelling without erasure can be found on fol. 65r, line 33 (< Lat *suscitans*). In the case of fol. 53v, line 7, the Douce scribe probably erased an ***e*** or an ***h***; he could have written *drechanz* at first. See also *esdrechanz* < Lat *insurgens* on fol. 40r, lines 17-18 + line 26; and *esdreceanz* < Lat (*in*)-*surgens* on fol. 44r, line 12 (large erasure); as well as fol. 46v, line 18; fol. 49v, line 33; fol. 59r, line 34).

Dreiturier: fol. 66r, line 24, *es tabernacles des dreiturers* (< Lat *in tabernaculis iustorum*). Arundel reading: *dreitures*. Traces of previous letters (an ***i*** at the beginning of the word and an ***s***) suggest that the Douce scribe wrote a variant of the word *iuste* at first. Further confirmation can be found in Ps 1, where Latin *iustus* was translated using both synonyms: *in concilio iustorum* > *el conseil des dreituriers*; *viam iustorum* > *la ueie des iustes*.

Dustre: fol. 51v, line 38, *duitur* (< Lat *duces*). Arundel reading: *duitres*. The word *dux* is translated *duitre* in its first occurrence on fol. 49r, line 17. The same translation choice is used on fol. 56r, line 10; and on fol. 62r, line 8. Two other occurrences of the French word *duitre* can be found in the Canticles.

Embuié: fol. 55v, line 37, *li gemisseménz des emboiez* (< Lat *gemitus compeditorum*). Arundel reading: *les gemissemenz des enboiz*, *vide supra*, articles.

Empuricé: fol. 37r, line 8, *Empurice* (< Lat *ideo*). This is the first occurrence of the term in the French text.

Encendement: fol. 51r, line 32, *ot encendement* (< Lat *cum incenso*). Same reading in Arundel. The word *incensum* is translated as *esprise* in Ps 79:17. See also *encens* on fol. 71v, line 26, same reading in Arundel.

Enfant: fol. 52r, line 30, *del tuen enfant* (< Lat *a puero tuo*). Same reading in Arundel. This is the first occurrence of the word *puer* in the Psalms. The same French noun is used as a translation choice for Latin *puer* on fol. 57v, line 1; fol. 62v, line 33; and fol. 65r, line 28. The word *enfant* is also used as a translation choice for Latin *parvulus* on fol. 39v, line 12 (large erasure); fol. 50v, line 35; fol. 71r, line 7. It could translate *infans* as well, on fol. 38r, line 6. Given the size of the erasure on fol. 52r, line 30, the Douce scribe probably used a different spelling of the word at first.

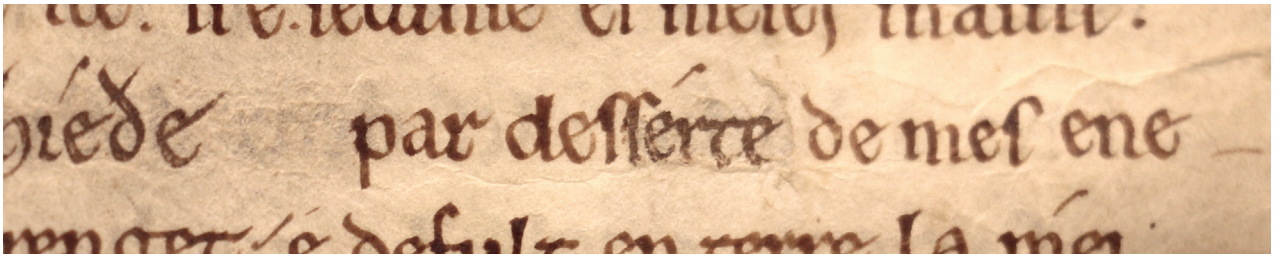
Ensemble: fol. 53v, line 10, *ensemblot_ tei* (< Lat *tecum*). Arundel reading: *ensemblement ot tei*. Traces of a previous ***e*** can be seen under the ***o***. The Douce scribe could have written *ensemble ot* at first, then decided to contract *ensemble* and the preposition *ot*.

Entendement: fol. 39r, line 29, *entendement* (< Lat *intellectum*); fol. 43r, line 29, *entendement* (< Lat *intellectum*), with the prefix ***en*** written in the margin of the text column; fol. 43r, line 31, *entendement* (< Lat *intellectus*). Same readings in Arundel. These are the first occurences of the word in the text (and the first occurences of Lat *intellectus* in the Psalms). The word was written without erasure in the remaining part of the Douce text, as if the scribe had decided that it was a fixed translation choice for *intellectus*. In all likelihood, he used a shorter synonym at first.

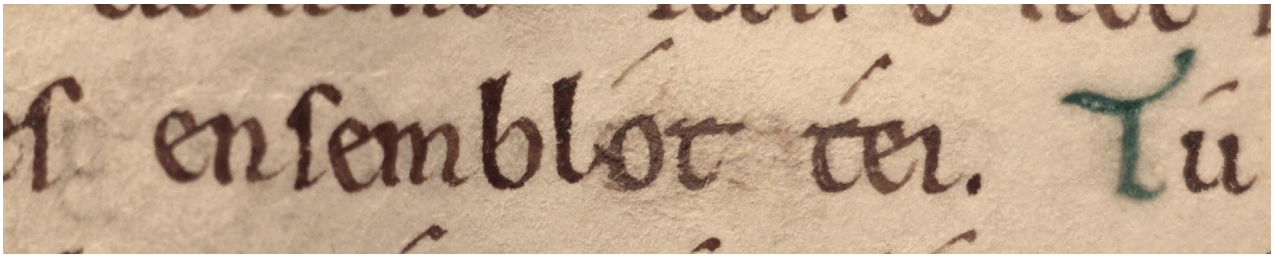
En vain: fol. 44r, line 7, *enuain* (< Lat *supervacue*). Same reading in Arundel. The Douce scribe wrote the same word without erasures on fol. 41r, line 39; fol. 41v, line 9; fol. 42v, line 30; fol. 45v, line 10 + line 16; fol. 50v, lines 22–23; fol. 58v, line 12; fol. 69v, line 14 + line 15. The erasure concerns a single letter (scribal error: *enuan* instead of *enuain*?).

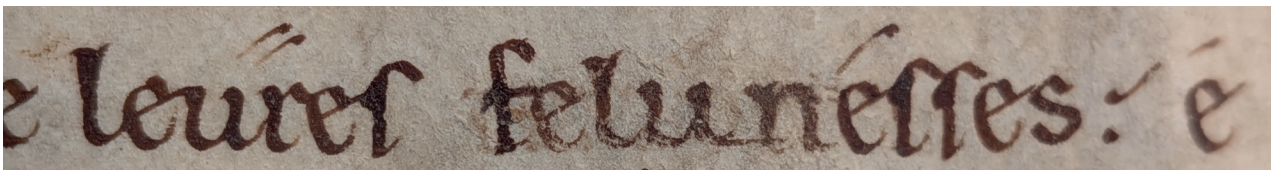
Enuers: fol. 39r, line 18, *enuers_ ses pruesmes* (< Lat *adversus proximos suos*), Arundel reading: *enuerses*; fol. 52r, line 22, *Enuers mei parlowent* (< Lat *adversum me*), same reading in Arundel. In the second occurrence, the Douce scribe possibly made a scribal error and wrote *encuntre* / *encontre* at first. See also fol. 44v, line 5, *Kar enuers tei* (< Latin *apud te*), same reading in Arundel. There are traces of an ***s*** from the erased word at the end of the correction. The Douce scribe probably did not write the word *kar* at first. See also fol. 45v, line 18, *enuers tei* (< Lat *apud te*), Arundel reading: *uers tei*; fol. 46r, line 35, *Enuers mei oreisun a deu de la meie uie* (< Lat *apud me*), same reading in Arundel. The word *envers* is written without erasure on fol. 38v, line 37 (< *adversus eum*); fol. 41r, line 17 (< *apud te*); fol. 53v, line 10 (< *apud te*); fol. 54r, line 31 (< *apud reges terrae*); fol. 59v, line 23 (< *adversus malignantes*); fol. 61r, line 14 (< *adversum me*); fol. 64r, line 39 (< *adversum me*); fol. 64v, line 18 (< *apud Dominum*); fol. 66v, line 25 (< *adversum me*); fol. 69v, line 40 (< *apud te*); fol. 70r, line 2 (< *apud Dominum*); fol. 75v, line 19 (< *apud me*). In all occurrences (with and without erasure) *envers* translates Latin *adversus*, *adversum*, and *apud*. In many other occurrences, the Douce scribe also uses *encontre* / *encuntre* to translate Lat *adversus*, *adversum*, *in* + ablative, *contra* + accusative: fol. 37r, line 11 + line 12 + line 23; fol. 40r, line 18; fol. 41r, line 32; fol. 42r, lines 4–5 + line 5 + line 18; fol. 43r, line 1 + line 6 + line 24; fol. 44r, line 1 + line 17; fol. 45r, line 27; fol. 45v, line 3;

fol. 37v line 30

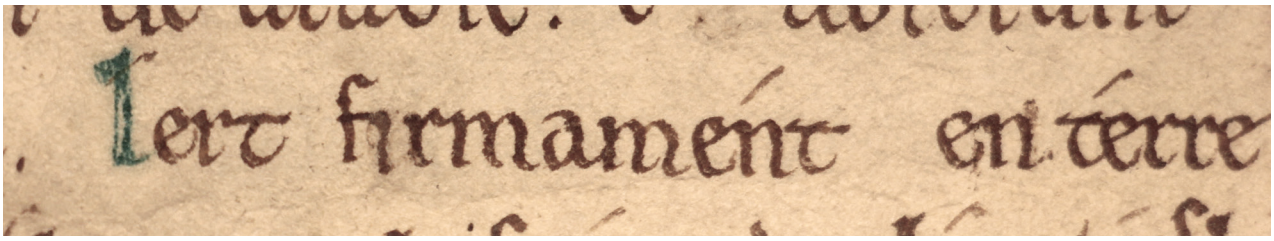


fol. 53v line 10





fol. 69r line 1



fol. 53r line 21

fol. 46r, line 14 + line 15 + line 16; fol. 46v, line 27; fol. 48r, line 23 + line 24 + line 26 + line 33; fol. 48v, line 36; fol. 49r, line 33 + line 36; fol. 49v, line 33; fol. 50v, line 35; fol. 52v, line 20; fol. 54r, line 12; fol. 56v, line 12 + 14; fol. 59v, lines 23–24; fol. 64r, line 36; fol. 64v, line 10 + line 18. The remaining occurrences of *envers* translate Lat *apud* + accusative, with the exception of two situations. The first one occurs on fol. 45v, line 12, upon an erasure: *e la meie substance ad tei est* < *et substantia mea apud te est*. The second one occurs on fol. 56r, line 30: *al ewe de contradictiun* < Lat *apud aquam contradictionis*. The first occurrence (with the erasure) has a different reading in Arundel: *et la moie substance uers tei est*. Consequently, the erasures of *envers* on fol. 39r, line 18, and fol. 52r, line 22, probably concern a different translation choice. For a part of this analysis, see also Sneddon 1972, p. 159–160.

Ewe: fol. 44v, line 4, *e del ewe*. Same reading in Arundel. The size of the erasure suggests that two letters have been erased. The word is frequently written with a ***w*** from fol. 37r, line 5, to fol. 74v, line 27. The alternate spelling *eue*(*s*) can be found from fol. 39v, line 18 + line 27 + line 31 + line 33, to fol. 43v, line 1. Since the ***w*** of fol. 44v, line 4, covers the space of two letters, the Douce scribe probably wrote *eues* at first, with an error in agreement.

Fei: fol. 43r, line 38, *en fei_* (< Lat *in fide*). Arundel reading: *in feiiz* or *in feuz*. A single letter was erased at the end of the word in Douce. The initial reading could have been a scribal error: *enfern*.

Felunesse: fol. 69r, line 2, *de leures felunesses* (< Lat *a labiis iniquis*). Same reading in Arundel. The problem concerns the root of the word. The correction ***felun–*** was written with sprawling, unrestrained strokes. The Douce scribe probably wrote *tricheresses*, an adjective that occurs twice in his text (*tricheruse* / *tricherresse*, same reading in Arundel) to translate Latin *dolosa*. Traces of a ***t*** at the beginning of the erasure confirm this interpretation. For the adjective *tricheruse* /*tricheresse*, *vide infra*. For the translation choice *felun* / *felunesse*, see Agrigoroaei 2023, p. 112–113.

Felunessement: fol. 44r, line 22, *chi cuntralient _ mei felunessement ; chi hairent mei en parduns* (< Lat *qui adversantur mihi inique, qui oderunt me gratis*). Same reading in Arundel. The adverb is part of a large erasure on fol. 39v, line 38: *ne felunessement ne fis contre le mien deu . Kar tuit li sun iugement el mien esguardement* (< Lat *quia custodivi vias Domini, nec impie gessi a Deo meo*). These are the first two occurrences of *felunessement* as a translation choice for Latin *inique*. The remaining occurrences are written without erasures on fol. 45r, line 39; fol. 46v, line 30; fol. 48r, line 25; fol. 54r, line 10; fol. 67r, line 16.

Fil: fol. 61r, line 37, *li _fil* (< Lat *filii*). Same reading in Arundel. A single letter was erased at the beginning of the French word (scribal error?).

Firmament: fol. 53r, line 21, *firmament* (< Lat *firmamentum*). Same reading in Arundel. On the same folio, Ps 72:4, the word is written *fermement* (< Lat *firmamentum*). Traces of a previous ***e*** are visible. The scribe used both variants in his text: *firmament* in Ps 17:3; Ps 18:2; Ps 70:3; Ps 150:1; *fermement* in Ps 24:14; Ps 88:41; Ps 104:16.

Flael: fol. 59r, line 13, *e flaels ne aprismera_* (< Lat *et flagellum non appropinquabit*). Same reading in Arundel, *vide supra*, negative particles. Latin *flagellum* is always translated *flael*(*s*). See fol. 43r, line 32; fol. 44r, line 18; fol. 45r, line 35.

Flum: fol. 51r, line 10, *fluues* (< Lat *flumen*, nominative singular). Same reading in Arundel. This spelling is also used on fol. 53v, line 36 (*fluuies*, oblique plural < Lat *fluvios*). The Douce scribe also uses *fluez* (< Lat *flumen*, *fluctus*, *fluvius*, oblique plural or nominative plural) on fol. 51r, line 7; fol. 54v, line 36; fol. 55r, line 29; fol. 57v, line 20; fol. 58r, line 7; fol. 59v, line 4; fol. 63v, line 40; fol. 74v, line 26. The correction could be linked to the use of a singular form or an ***-ez*** ending before the erasure.

Fontaines: fol. 39v, line 30, *fontaines* (< Lat *fontes*). Arundel reading: *fonteines*. The Douce scribe erased and changed ***e > a***. The variant spelling *fonteine* can be found on fol. 51v, line 37, and fol. 61v, line 39. All other occurrences of the word read *fontaine*: fol. 44v, line 5; fol. 46r, line 23 + line 24; fol. 65v, line 5; fol. 73v, line 19.

Frenge: fol. 47r, line 17, *en f_renges orines* (< *in fimbriis aureis*). Arundel reading: *en frendes orines*. There are traces of an ***e*** between ***f*** and ***r***. Traces of a ***g*** are visible under the ***n***; as well as a previous ***e*** and a probable ***s*** under the ***g***. At first, the Douce scribe could have written *fereges*, a term that cannot be found elsewhere in the text.

Fuille: fol. 44v, line 11, *les foilles des herbes* (< Lat *olera herbarum*). Same reading in Arundel, *vide supra*, articles. Latin *folium* is translated as *fuille* on fol. 37r, line 5.

Fuirur: fol. 37r, line 14, *fu_rur* (< Lat *furore*); fol. 44v, line 18, *fu_rur* (< Lat *furorem*). Arundel reading: *forsene*. There are evident traces of an erased ***i***.

Funel: fol. 39r, line 27, *Funels chairent a mei* (< Lat *Funes ceciderunt mihi*). Arundel reading: *cordes*. The Douce text always translates this Latin word as *funel* (cf. fol. 67r, line 27; fol. 71v, line 13). Latin *funiculus* can also be translated as *funel* on fol. 55v, line 3; fol. 62v, line 2; fol. 71r, line 22. The term can also be found in Canticles. The situation is diffe-

rent in Arundel, where Latin *funes* > French *cordes*; and Lat *funiculus* > French *funel*. The erasure on fol. 39r, line 27 corresponds to the first occurrence of the two terms and there are traces of a previous ***s*** at the end of the erased word. At first, the Douce scribe also had the choice to write a variant spelling of *funel* that he modified, leaving the ***u*** unchanged and correcting the second part of the word only. However, the Douce scribe could also write the word *cordes* as *ordes*, with a space for the coloured majuscule (to be painted later). If the erased letters were *ordes*, the scribe would have written the letters ***F*** and ***u*** in the blank space of the majuscule, with ***nels*** on the erasure.

Gelee: fol. 55r, line 32, *en geleda* (< Lat *in pruina*). The second occurrence of this word is without erasure on fol. 67v, line 14. Arundel reading: *en gelae*. There are traces of an ascender between ***g*** and ***e***. At first, the Douce scribe could have written *freid* 'cold'.

Grandece: fol. 42v, line 1, *grandece* (< Lat *magnificentia*). Same reading in Arundel. The word often translates Latin *magnificentia* and is written without erasure on fol. 38r, line 6; fol. 52r, line 7; fol. 53r, line 1; fol. 60r, line 14; fol. 65r, line 4; fol. 72v, line 12. It can also translate Latin *magnitude* on fol. 52v, line 25; fol. 55v, lines 37–38; fol. 72v, lines 10–11 + line 14; fol. 73v, line 12. The same word is part of a phrase that translates Latin *in altissima quae fecisti magnolia* on fol. 52v, line 38. At first, the Douce scribe could have written the spelling *grandur*.

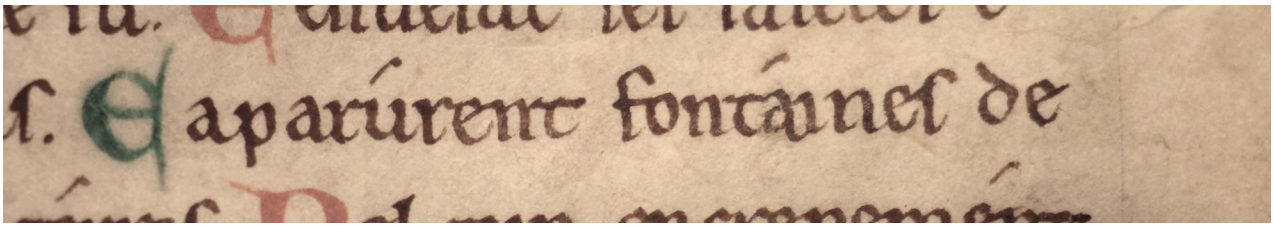
Gras: fol. 51v, line 24, *_ monz gras* (< Lat *mons pinguis*). Arundel reading: *monz cras*. In all likelihood, the Douce scribe replaced a ***c*** with a ***g***. The variant spelling *cras* for Latin *pinguis* is found on fol. 40v, line 11; fol. 41r, line 3 + 23; fol. 55r, line 13. The spelling *gras* occurs for a second time (without erasure) on the same fol. 51v, line 24.

Haltesce: fol. 52r, line 11, *en la haltece__ de mér* (< Lat *in altitudinem maris*). Same reading in Arundel. The first occurrence of the word *altitudo* is translated *haltece* on fol. 38v, line 31. The spelling is kept on fol. 49r, line 33; fol. 59v, line 37; fol. 61v, line 11. The Douce scribe could have written a variant spelling or a longer synonym. There is room for 2–3 more letters at the end of *haltéce*.

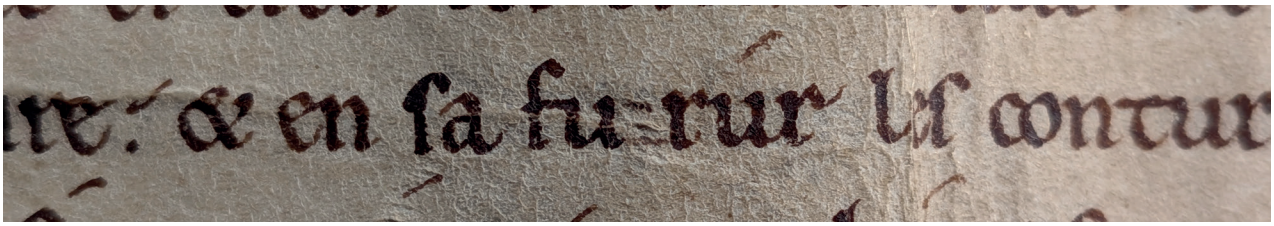
Haltisme: fol. 55v, line 4, *deu le haltisme* (< *deum excelsum*). Arundel reading: *le deu halt*, *vide supra*, articles. Several verses before in the text of the same Psalm, Lat *excelsum* is translated as *laltisme* (fol. 54v, line 37). The variant reading *altisme* is used elsewhere in the text to translate Latin *excelsus* and *altissimus*. The spelling with an initial ***h*** is used only one other time, when *haltismes grandeces* translates the Latin neuter plural *altissima* on fol. 52v, line 38.

Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320.
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023-2026.
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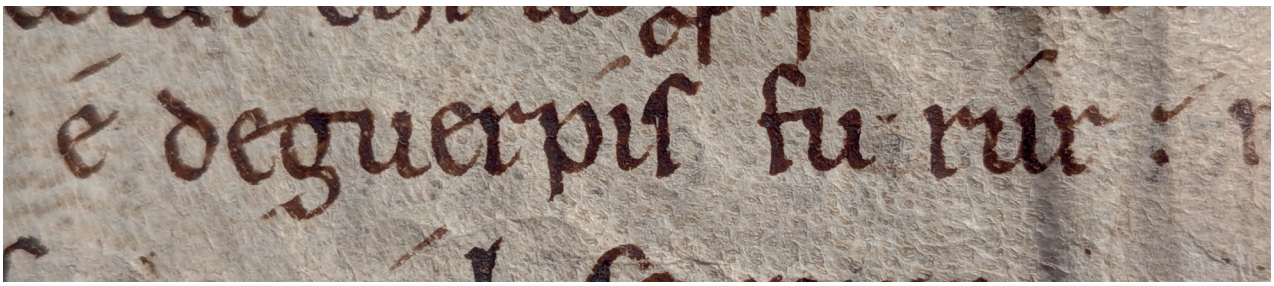
fol. 39v line 30



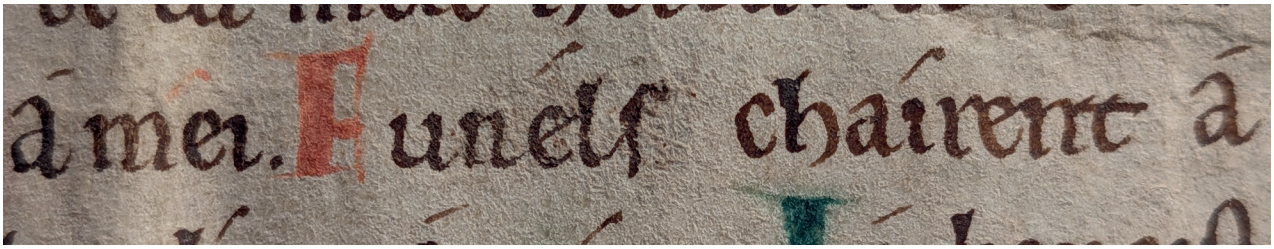
fol. 37r line 14

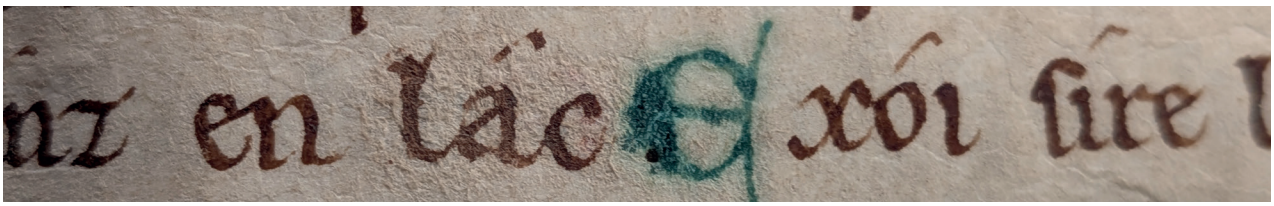


fol. 44v line 18



fol. 39r line 27





fol. 42r line 23



fol. 42v line 11

Hodie: fol. 60r, line 2, *hodie* (< Lat *hodie*). The Latin adverb *hodie* occurs only twice in the Gallicanum. In Ps 2: 7, the Douce scribe translates it as the French adverb *hui* (fol. 37r, line 16). In the case of fol. 60r, line 2, he probably wrote *hui* at first, similar to Arundel: *vi*, but he changed his mind and rewrote it as *hodie*, with the ***h*** et ***e*** written on the blank spaces at the beginning and the end of the erased word. There are traces of a previous accent.

Idumiens: fol. 56v, line 15, *idumiens* (< Lat *Idumaeorum*). Same reading in Arundel.

Iraine: fol. 45v, line 16, *iraignee* (< Lat *araneam*). Arundel reading: *iregne*. Latin *aranea* is translated for a second time on fol. 58v, line 29, as *irainede*. In the erasure of fol. 45v, line 16, the scribe did not erase the initial ***ir–***. He probably used a different variant of the word at first.

Iuste: fol. 37r, line 9, *la ueie des iustes ; e* (< Lat *viam iustorum, et*); fol. 43v, line 31, *sur les iustes* (< Lat *super iustos*); fol. 43v, line 33, *crierent li iuste* (< Lat *clamaverunt iusti*); fol. 43v, line 35, *les tribulatiuns des iustes* (< Lat *multae tribulationes iustorum*); fol. 44v, line 34, *mais li iustes_ at merci* (< Lat *iustus autem miseretur*); fol. 45r, line 3, *Mais li iuste_ eriterunt la terre* (< Lat *Iusti autem haereditabunt terram*). Arundel has the same readings for the Douce occurences of fol. 43v and fol. 45r. The Arundel reading for the Douce fol. 44v is: *li iustes acertes ad merci*. All erasures concern the ending of the word. The spelling *iúste*(*s*) without erasure can be found in many occurrences throughout the Douce text. *Vide supra*: *felunesse*.

June, Jejunie, Jun: fol. 52r, line 20, *en ieunie* (< Lat *in ieiunio*). Lat *ieiunium* is first translated on fol. 44r, line 15: *en iúnie* (< Lat *in ieiunio*). The last occurrence is on fol. 64v, line 22: *de ieunie* (< Lat *a ieiunio*). Arundel reads *en ieiunie* for Latin *en ieiunio*; and *de ieiunie* for Latin *a ieiunio*. In all likelihood, the Douce scribe probably wrote *iunie* at first, with the same spelling as the first translation choice on fol. 44r, line 15. Further confirmation comes from the last letters of the word *ieunie*, written into the margin of the textual column. The traces of an accent under the ***e*** suggest that this is where a ***ú*** had been written.

Labur: fol. 38v, line 9, *labur e dolur* (< Lat *laborem et dolorem*). Same reading in Arundel. Traces of the first two letters of the erasure (possibly a ***t*** and an ***r***) suggest that the Douce scribe wrote the synonym *traual* / *trauail* at first. Nevertheless, there is little room for this initial reading. The word *traual* had already been used in lines 1–2 for a similar phrasing (*vide infra*: *travail*): *traualz e dolurs* (< Lat *labor et dolor*). The Latin phrase is translated once again in Ps 89, on fol. 58v, line 31: *traualz e dolurs* < Lat *labor et dolor*. Fol. 38v, line 9 is a rare occurrence of the word *labur* as a translation choice for Lat *labor*. The variant *labors* occurs on fol. 64v, line 6 (< Lat *labores*). All other occurrences of Lat *labor* are translated as *trauail* / *traual*.

Lac: fol. 42r, line 23, *en lac* (< Lat *in lacum*), Arundel reading: *lai*; fol. 42v, line 11, *en lac* (< Lat *in lacum*), Arundel reading: *lai*. In both occurrences, the word is part of the same phrase (*descendanz en lac* < Lat *descendentibus in lacum*). A similar phrase occurs twice in the remaining part of the text: *descendanz en fósse* (fol. 57v, lines 15-16; fol. 72r, line 19), where it translates the same Latin phrase *descendentibus in lacum*. At first, the Douce scribe could have written *fosse* on fol. 42r, line 23, and fol. 42v, line 11. The decision to erase the initial translation choice and replace it with *lac* could be determined by an etymological choice and by previous decisions. Such a choice could be the use of the French word *lac* (< Lat *lacum*) written without erasure on fol. 38r, line 1. I believe this explains why the Douce scribe decided to correct the two occurrences on fol. 42r–v. The word *fosse* translates both *lacus* and other Latin words on fol. 38r, line 2 (< Lat *foveam*); fol. 38v, line 4 (< Lat *spelunca*); fol. 45v, line 22 (< Lat *de lacu*); fol. 49v, line 14 (< Lat *foveam*); fol. 57v, line 19 (< Lat *in lacu*); fol. 59v, line 20 (< Lat *fovea*).

Langue: fol. 38v, lines 25–26 (x 2), *langue* (< Lat *linguam*), same reading in Arundel; fol. 39r, line 17, *en sa langue* (< Lat *in lingua sua*), same reading in Arundel. The word *langue* is written without erasure on fol. 38v, line 1, and from fol. 39r, line 32, to fol. 71v, line 10. The corrections on fol. 38v, lines 25–26, and fol. 39r, line 17 are the second and third occurrences of the word. Perhaps the scribe wrote *lengue* at first.

Mer: fol. 54r, line 14, *mier uin* (< Lat *vini meri*). This is the only occurrence of the Latin adjective *merus* 'pure' in the Psalms. The French adjective *mier* is also used in Arundel. Since there are no traces of erasure under the ***m***, the Douce scribe could have written a different spelling or could have made a scribal error.

Merveillus: fol. 43r, line 12, *kar il fist merueiluse_ la sue misericorde a mei* (< Lat *quoniam mirificavit misericordiam suam mihi*), same reading in Arundel. The phrase *fist merueiluse* translates Latin *mirificavit*. Since the blank space following *merueiluse* is also part of the erasure, the Douce scribe could written a longer word at first. In Ps 4:4, the same verb is translated without erasure: *fait merueillus* (fol. 37r, line 34). The feminine is used again on an erasure on fol. 39r, line 23, *at fait merueiluses tutes mes uoluntez en els* (< Lat *mirificavit*); and on fol. 39v, line 3, *Fai merueiluses les tues misericordes ; chi sals fais les esperanz en*

tei (< Lat *mirifica*). The Arundel readings are the same. See also fol. 59v, line 5, *Merueillus_ li esleuement de la mer* (< Lat *Mirabiles elationes maris*), Arundel reading: *Merueilluses eleuemenz de mer*. This correction is is the result of a hesitation in the agreement of the translation choice for Lat *elatio* (feminine) > OFr *eslevement* (masculine). Arundel has an agreement in the feminine (nominative singular or oblique plural). Traces of the erased letters ***es*** suggest that the Douce scribe wrote *merueilluses* at first.

Mes: fol. 45v, line 10, *mais* (< Lat *sed*). Same reading in Arundel. The Douce probably scribe wrote *meis* at first.

Mort: fol. 47v, line 27, *mort* (< Lat *interitum*). Same reading in Arundel.

Nunnuisant: fol. 53r, line 40, *nun_nuisanz* (< Lat *innocentes*), with traces of a previous ***s***. Arundel reading: *nienz nuissanz*.

Nue: fol. 54v, line 10, *uoiz dunerent les _nues* (< Lat *vocem dederunt nubes*). Same reading in Arundel. The erasure covers the space of a single letter (possible scribal error?).

Oreison: fol. 63v, line 6, *loreisun* (< Lat *orationem*). Arundel reading: *le oreisun*. There are traces of ***s > i***.

Palur: fol. 51v, line 22, *en pallor dor* (< Lat *in pallore aurei*). Arundel reading: *en pallisur de or*, *vide supra*, prepositions. The erasure is so large that it damaged the ***r*** and the ***u*** of *serunt* in the line below.

Par: fol. 48v, line 3, *e par espirit* (< Lat *et spiritu*). Same reading in Arundel. The same Latin phrase is translated *par le spirit* on fol. 43r, line 40, without erasure. The Douce scribe could have written another preposition and/or article at first.

Pardunable: fol. 75v, line 35, *e pardunable serad* (< Lat *et propitius erit*). Same reading in Arundel. The ***p*** is written to the left of the erasure. The ending ***able*** is equally written in a blank space that separated the initial spelling of the adjective from the verb.

Parole: fol. 54v, line 16, *en paroles* (< Lat *in parabolis*). The first occurrence of Latin *parabola* is translated *parole* on fol. 47v, line 22. The second occurrence, on fol. 52r, line 22, does not show traces of an erasure either. The erasure on fol. 54v is the last occurrence of the word in the text of the Psalms. Arundel has the same readings in all three occurrences. Since the root of the word is not touched by the erasure, the Douce scribe probably wrote a different spelling or the etymological choice *parable*.

Pecheur: fol. 37, line 2, *des peccheurs* (< Lat *peccatorum*); fol. 69v, line 32, *des peccheurs* (< Lat *peccatorum*), same reading in Arundel; fol. 71v, line 32, *de peccheur* (< Lat *peccatoris*), same reading in Arundel. The ***p*** minuscule from the erasure on fol. 71v was written above the ascender of a majuscule. In this particular situation, the scribe's hesitation could be due to the separation of the verses. See also line 30 of the same folio, where the majuscule ***O*** of the phrase *Ot humes* was written after the erasure of a minuscule *o*.

Peissuns: fol. 38r, line 12, *peissuns* (< Lat *pisces*). Same reading in Arundel. Since the erasure covers the space of 3–4 letters, the Douce scribe probably wrote a variant spelling or a word beginning with ***peis–*** (*peisoun*? *peisces*?). The word is written with the same spelling without erasure on fol. 62v, line 20.

Peisant: fol. 45r, line 20, *sicume pesant* (< Lat *onus grave*). Arundel reading: *peisant*. This is the only occurrence of the word in the entire text.

Plaisir: fol. 58r, line 17, *bien plaisir_* (< Lat *beneplacito*). Same reading in Arundel. The same Latin word is translated as *bon plait* (< Lat *beneplaciti*) on fol. 52r, line 24; *bonplaisir* (< Lat *beneplacito*) on fol. 62v, line 40; *bien ploud* (< Lat *beneplacita*) on fol. 68r, line 2; *bien ploudes choses* (< Lat *beneplacitis*) on fol. 71v, line 33; *bien ploude(_)chose* (x 2 < Lat *beneplacitum*) on fol. 73r, line 15; *bien ploude chose* (< Lat *beneplacitum*), on fol. 73v, line 4. There are traces of two letters with ascenders under the ***r*** of *plaisir_* and close to it.

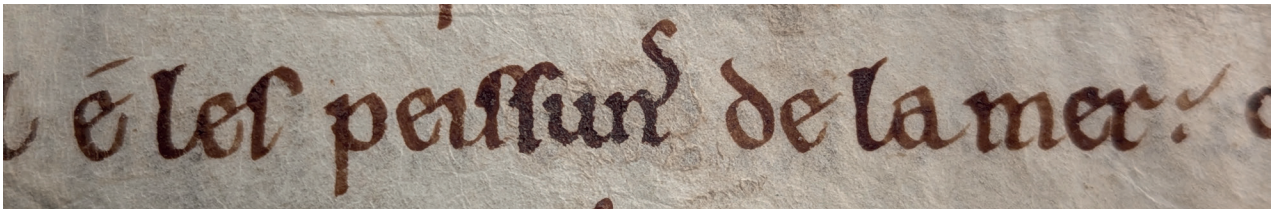
Pres: fol. 43v, line 34, *Pres est li sire* (< Lat *Iuxta est Dominus*). The word written by the Douce scribe at first was longer than the one that replaces it. This is its first occurrence in the text. It was used in the translation of other Latin phrases, such as *qui praetergrediuntur viam* > *chi passent pres la ueie*; or *prope timentes eum* > *pres les cremanz lui*. The Douce scribe translates the Latin adverb *iuxta* as *de iuste* on fol. 37v, line 5; fol. 45r, line 28; fol. 59v, line 22; fol. 71v, line 13. Since the majuscule of fol. 43v, line 34 was painted later, the scribe could have written (*d*) *eiuste* at first. Arundel also reads *deiuste* in this instance.

Priere: fol. 45v, line 17, *preiere* (< Lat *deprecationem*). Same reading in Arundel. The erasure covers the space of a single letter. The Latin word *deprecatio* is also translated on fol. 37v, line 24 (*preiere*); fol. 39r, line 36 (*depreiere*); fol. 41r, line 16 (*preiere*); fol. 42r, line 24 (*preiere*) + line 31 (^{de}*preiere*); fol. 49r, line (*preiere*); fol. 50r, line 27 (*preiere*); fol. 51r, line 36 (*preiere*); fol. 57r, line 28 (*preiere*); fol. 68v, line 30 (*preiere*); fol. 69v, line 39 (*preiere*); fol. 71v, line 15 (*deprecaciun*); fol. 72r, line 6 (*deprecaciun*); fol. 72v, line 28 (preiere). The scribe probably made a scribal error, transcribing another letter at first.

Proisme: fol. 41r, line 40, *pr_isme*. Arundel reading: *prosme*. The same word is used on fol. 42r, line 26; fol. 45r, line 27; fol. 69r, line 23. Other variants are also transcribed. The spelling *pruisme* is used on fol. 57v, line 33-34 and on fol. 60v, line 37; *presme* on fol. 38v, line 24; *pruesme*(*s*) on fol. 39r, line 17 + 18 + 19. All these occurrences translate the Latin adjective *proximus*. In the case of the erasure on fol. 41r, line 40, the spaces between letters and the traces of the erased letter suggest that the scribe wrote *proisme* at first.

Pussance: fol. 51r, line 6, *ceinz de puissance* (< Lat *accinctus potentia*). Arundel reading: *ceint de puissanz*, *vide*

Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320.
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fol. 38r
line 12

supra, prepositions. Latin *potentia* is translated *potence* on fol. 52v, line 37; fol. 58r, line 11; fol. 63r, line 7; fol. 72v, line 12 + line 19 + line 20. The variant *poance* can be found on fol. 56r, line 4. Traces of previous letters suggest that the scribe initially wrote a preposition + noun (perhaps a variant of the same noun with ***p***; there are traces of a descender below the ***u***).

Rain: fol. 56r, line 13, *Estendiet ses rains* __ (< Lat *Extendit palmites suos*). Arundel reading: *Extendit ses rains*. There are traces of a previous ***p*** at the beginning of the word, below the ***r***. The Douce scribe used *rain* to translate *renes*, *palmae*, and *rana*. In the case of this erasure, the scribe probably wrote *palme*(*s*) at first.

Refuge: fol. 38r, line 22, *li sire refuges al poure* (< Lat *refugium*), with a final ***s*** written in the interline. Same reading in Arundel. See also fol. 50r, line 12, *refuges* (< Lat *refugium*). Same reading in Arundel. In the text of Douce, *refuge* always translates Latin *refugium* and is written without erasure on fol. 47r, line 23; fol. 58v, line 19; fol. 59r, line 4 + line 13; fol. 59v, line 31; fol. 62r, line 9; fol. 72r, line 29. Two occurrences on fol. 42v, line 25 + line 26, show no sign of no erasures, but the scribe corrected an initial *refui* into *refuge*. In all likelihood, the erasures on fol. 38r and fol. 50r could concern a similar variant *refui*.

Rei: fol. 42v, line 7, *Li sire _reis* (< Lat *rex*). There are traces of an ***s*** before *reis*. The scribe could have made an eye-skip, writing *sire* twice.

Repost (***en***): f. 38v, line 17, *que il saietent en repost les dreiturers de cuer* (< Lat *ut sagittent in obscuro rectos corde*). Arundel reading: *que il saietent en obscure les dreitures de quor*, *vide supra*: articles. In Ps 142, the Douce scribe translates without erasures Lat *in obscuris* > OFr *en oscurtez* (fol. 72r, line 14). Furthermore, whenever he encounters the Latin verb *obscurare*, he also writes *o*(*b*)*scurer* (fol. 52r, line 36; fol. 54r, line 2; fol. 62v, line 18; fol. 71r, line 32). In the erasure on fol. 38v, line 17, the Douce scribe does not follow these choices. Elsewhere in the Douce text, the word *repost*(*e*) translates Lat *abscondere* and *occultare*: fol. 42r, line 8, with erasure (< Lat *abscondit*); fol. 45r, line 25 (< Lat *est absconditus*); f. 46v, line 34 (< Lat *abscondita*); fol. 54v, line 18 (< Lat *sunt occultata*); fol. 71r, line 36 (< Lat *est occultatum*); fol. 74v, line 18, Canticles (< Lat *abscondita est*).

Repostaile: fol. 38v, line 3, *en repostaile* (< Lat *in absconditio*). The same translation choice is used on fol. 39, line 11; fol. 42r, line 9; fol. 43r, line 10; fol. 56r, line 29. Elsewhere, it translates Latin *occultis* on fol. 38v, line 2; *abditis* on fol. 39v, line 9; and *latibuluum* on fol. 39v, line 26.

Reproche: fol. 52r, line 18, *reproce ;* (< Lat *opprobrium*). Same reading in Arundel. I already described the change ***u*** > ***o*** in the first instalment of this paper. This erasure concerns the entire ending of the word, covers the punctus elevatus as well, and extends above towards the previous line. The Douce scribe probably erased several ascenders (***s***? ***h***?). I assume he could have written the variant spelling *reprusce* at first. The word *reproce* is again the subject of erasures in lines 20 and 21 on the same folio. These two occurrences have been dealt with in the first instalment of the paper, as a possible correction ***ou*** > ***o***. The word *reproce* always translates Latin *opprobrium*, except for two occurrences where it translates *improperium*.

Riche: fol. 43v, line 26, *Li riche besuignerent* (< Lat *Divites eguerunt*). Same reading in Arundel. Latin *dives* is translated as *riche*(*s*) in Ps 9:29 (< *divitibus*); Ps 44:13 (< *divites*); Ps 48:3 (< *dives*) ; Ps 48:17 (< *dives*).

Richesce: fol. 53r, line 39, *_richeises* (< Lat *divitias*). There are ink traces at the beginning of the word.

Rive: fol. 51r, line 11, *riues* __ (< Lat *rivos*). Same reading in Arundel.

Sacrefise: fol. 45v, line 29, *Sacrifise* (< Lat *holocaustum*). Arundel reading: *sacrefise*. The erasure covers the space of a letter. The initial spelling could have been *secrifise*.

Salf: fol. 37v, line 20, *salf me fai pur la tue misericordie* (< Lat *salvum me fac propter misericordiam tuam*). Arundel reading: *salf mei fai pur la tue misericordie*. The phrase *salvum* (*me*) *fac* is translated in the same way on fol. 37v, line 27; fol. 38v, line 23; fol. 43r, line 4; fol. 48v, line 34; fol. 50r, line 18; fol. 52r, line 9; fol. 64r, line 25; fol. 61v, line 24; fol. 66r, line 34; fol. 67v, line 27; fol. 68v, line 5. The erasure concerns the second occurrence of the phrase. In the first occurrence, on fol. 37r, line 28, the word order is different: *fai me salf*.

Seint: fol. 53r, line 2, *sainz disrael* (< Lat *sanctus Israel*). Arundel reading: *seinz israel*.

Sei: fol. 52r, lines 34–35, *e en la meie sei_ abeurerent mei _daísil* (< Lat *et in siti mea potaverunt me aceto*). The Arundel interlinear gloss translates Latin *aceto* twice, as if the meaning of the verse were not understood: *et en la moie sei abeurent mei de aisis de aisil*. The translation choice of Douce (*sei*) is kept in all occurrences, except for fol. 64r, line 9: *seid*. It is safe to assume that the erasure on fol. 52r, lines 34-35 concerned a final dental, *vide supra* articles; prepositions.

Senz: fol. 37r, line 29, *senz achaisun* (< Lat *sine causa*).The phrase occurs a second time on fol. 53r, line 40, without erasure (*senz achaisun*). The preposition *sine* is translated *senz* on fol. 38r, line 40 (large erasure), and on fol. 39r, line 16. The scribe wrote *sanz* from fol. 46v onwards: fol. 46v, line 24; fol. 49v, line 36; fol. 57v, line 16; fol. 64r, line 11; fol. 72r, line 17. The only exception is on fol. 53r, line 40 (where the Arundel reading is *seínz acaisun*). The erasure on fol. 37r, line 29, concerns the first occurrence of the word in the text. The Douce scribe probably wrote a different spelling of the word or a different preposition.

Si: fol. 53r, line 20, *e _ aorerunt* (< Lat *et adorabunt*). Arundel reading: *et orerunt*. Two letters have been erased. The size of the erasure suggests that the Douce scribe wrote *e si aorerunt* at first.

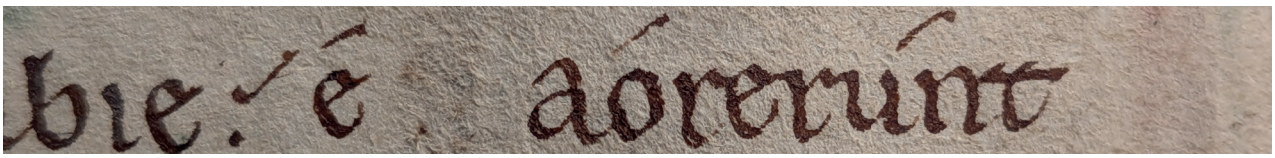
Sícimam: fol. 50r, line 19, *e departirai si_cimam* (< Lat *et partibor Sichimam*). Arundel reading: *et departirai sicciмam*. The erasure covers the space of a single letter. In all likelihood, a ***c*** was erased. The same phrase without erasure can be found on fol. 64r, lines 26–27: *e departirai sicimam* (< Lat *et dividam Sichimam*).

Sire: fol. 38v, line 7, *sire*. There are traces of an initial ***j***–.

Suffraite: fol. 46v, line 37, *oblíes la nostre su_ffráite* (< Lat *oblivisceris inopiae nostrae*). Same reading in Arundel. The same noun, translating Lat *inopia*, is written without erasure, on fol. 43v, line 26; fol. 57v, line 22; fol. 64r, line 17. Given the extensive area covered by the erasure, the letter ***s*** could have been erased.

Sovereinté: fol. 53v, line 24, *e ne conurent sicume en issement sur sourainete* (< Lat *et non cognoverunt sicut in exitu super summum*). This correction is particularly revealing in comparison with the Arundel reading: *et nient cunurent sicume enissement sur suenge*. The scribe of MS Arundel 230 misinterpreted Latin *summum* as *somnium* and translated it *suenge* accordingly. In all likelihood, the

fol. 53r line 20



Close-up of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320.
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Douce scribe copied a similar (if not the same) error from his antigraph, then erased and corrected it.

Sultiveté (+ ***Gaste***): fol. 75r, line 22, *e guaste_ soltiueted* (< Lat *et uaste solitudinis*). Same reading in Arundel. Underneath the word *guaste*, there are traces of a ***b*** and an ***e*** at the beginning; of a ***g*** in the middle; and of a ***d*** and an ***e*** at the end. The issue with *soltiueted* could have been a variant or the spelling of its ending.

Tabernacle: fol. 52r, line 38, *e en lur tabernacles* (< Lat *et in tabernaculis eorum*). Arundel reading: *et en lur tabernacles*. The Douce scribe could have used a synonym.

Tens: fol. 45r, line 13, *el tens de tribulatiun* (< Lat *in tempore tribulationis*). Same reading in Arundel.

Testemonie: fol. 42r, line 19, *felun testemonie ;* (< Lat *testes iniqui*). Arundel reading: *felun testemonie*. The same Latin phrase (*testes iniqui*) is used again in Ps 34 (fol. 44r, line 12) and resulted in a large erasure: *Li esdreceanz felun . testimonie* (Arundel reads: *felun testimunie*). The variant testimonie translates Latin *testis* on fol. 58v, line 1. All other occurrences of *testimonie* translate Latin *testimonium*. Since the entire word is written on top of an erasure, the previous translation choice could have been a different (and longer) word.

Traces: fol. 39v, line 2, *les meies _traces* (< Lat *vestigia mea*); fol. 40r, line 15, *les meies _traces* (< Lat *vestigia mea*). Same reading in Arundel for both occurrences. The word *traces* is used again on fol. 54v, line 13 (< Lat *vestigia tua*) without erasure. In the two first occurrences, there are traces of erasure at the beginning of the word. The previous reading could have been *estrace*(*s*). It is worth noting that the two erasures occur in verses where the Douce scribe had problems with the translation of *gressus meos* (*vide supra*: possessive forms).

Travail: fol. 38v, lines 1–2, *tra_ualz e dolurs* (< Lat *labor et dolor*). Arundel reading: *trauailz et dolurs*. The word is hyphenated (*tra–ualz*) at the end of the first line. Traces of a previous ***t*** and a small low dash can be seen before the secong part ***-ualz***. See also fol. 69v, line 23, *Trauaile__ de tes enemis kar tu mangeras* (< Lat *Labores manuum tuarum quia manducabis*). Arundel reading: *les trauals de tes mains kar tu maingeras*. Arundel has here a faithful translation of the Latin text; whereas Douce does not seem to understand the first part of the verse. There is no negative interpretation of the phrase *manuum tuarum* in the *Glossa Ordinaria*. It is therefore unlikely that the Douce scribe reinterpreted the Latin text metaphorically. The most evident explanation is that he did not understand the text of the antigraph. The reading *enemis* instead of *mains* / *meins* is the ultimate proof of a scribal error. As for the erasure *Trauaile__*, the initial word was certainly longer than the one written after the erasure. There are traces of letters in the blank space following the word. Given that the majuscule was written later, there are several possible interpretations. Just like Arundel, Douce could have had a phrase based on a definite article + noun (*trauail* or *labur*). The erasure could also be related to the scribal error *mains* / *meins* > *enemis*. The Douce scribe could have tried to make sense of the text, thus chosing the past participle of the verb *travailler*. In the remaining part of the text, the Douce scribe translates Latin *labor* as French *travail* (pl. *traualz*). Only twice did he render it as *labur* (< Lat *laborem*, Ps 9:35) and *labors* (< Lat *labores*, Ps 108:11). Arundel has the same reading (*labur*) in Ps 9 and the reading trauals in Ps 108.

Tricheur, Tricheresse: fol. 37v, line 7, *triche_ur* (< Lat *dolosum*), same reading in Arundel; fol. 38v, line 24, *leures tricherresses* (< Lat *labia dolosa*), Arundel reading: *leueres trecheresses*; fol. 38v, line 25, *leures tricherresses* (< Lat *labia dolosa*), Arundel reading: *leueres tricheruses*; fol. 39r, line 37, *en tricherresses leures* (< Lat *in labiis dolosis*), Arundel reading: *en tricheresses leueres*; fol. 43r, line 6, *leures tricherresses* (< Lat *labia dolosa*), Arundel reading: *tricheresses leures*. The first erasure (*triche_ur*) is probably the correction of a previous form *tricheour* or *tricherur*. There are two other occurrences of the Latin adjective *dolosus* that Douce translates as *tricherus* without erasure on fol. 46v, line 4; fol. 49r, line 29. As for the feminine forms, Douce uses two alternative spellings: *tricherresse* without erasure on fol. 64r, lines 36–37; fol. 69r, line 3; and *tricheruse* without erasure on fol. 48v, line 16; fol. 69r, line 2. All the erasures concerning the feminine forms could have been corrections of previous endings in ***–uses***.

Ure: fol. 39r, line 30, *Ie purueeie le segnur el mien esguardement tutes ures* (< Lat *Providebam dominum in conspectu meo semper*). Same reading in Arundel. This is the first occurrence of the Latin adverb *semper* in the Psalms. The second translation of the same adverb is also on top of an erasure: fol. 40v, line 7, *tutes _ures*. In the first instalment of this article, I argued that the Douce scribe could have written *oures* at first (p. 68). The same explanation can apply to the third occurrence on fol. 41v, lines 21–22: *_ores*, where the scribe could have corrected the digraph ***ou > o***. Other occurrences of the French phrase *tutes ores* upon erasure are also the result of a change ***u > o***: fol. 44r, line 32, fol. 45r, line 36, fol. 45v, line 36, fol. 48r, line 12, fol. 48r, line 33, fol. 52v, line 31-32. The erasure of the entire phrase occurs only on fol. 52v, line 13 (*tutes ores*). When it is written without erasure, the phrase is *tutes ures* on fol. 43v, line 18 and fol. 46r, line 4. The spelling *tutes ores* is found on fol. 53r, line 21; fol. 53v, line 10; fol. 54r, line 6; fol. 60r, line 5; fol. 62r, line 34; fol. 64v, line 11; fol. 64v, line 17; fol. 66v, line 37; fol. 67r, line 9; fol. 68r, line 3; fol. 68r, line 12. There are also two occurrences where *semper* is translated as *túte ueie*: fol. 52r, line 37; fol. 52v, line 23. In light of the above, the erasure of fol. 39r, line 30 could have corrected a previous reading *tute ueie*. The final ***–s*** for the plural *tutes* was added later, during the correction. Furthermore, *ueie* also started with a ***u–***, thus explaining why the first letter was not erased.

Voiz: fol. 40r, line 32, *les _uoiz* (< Lat *voces*). Same reading in Arundel. One letter was erased at the beginning of the word.

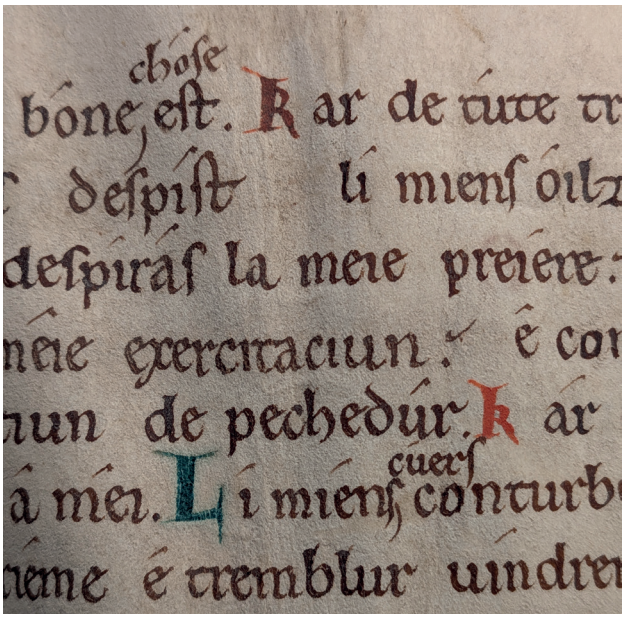
ODD ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS (VA)

Many words were absent from the initial copy of the text, words which were inserted later. It is hard to believe they were unnoticed during the translation process. It is safer to assume that they point to the existence of a vernacular antigraph. I do not include in this category the subsequent insertion of missing definite or indefinite articles, prepositions, conjunctions, pronouns, negations, or other less consequential words—going as far as the absence of the verb 'to be', which can equally be due to an elliptical type of clause (or expression).

Certain errors, including longer ones, such as fol. 57v, line 23 (*tute iurn* inserted in the sequence *Ie criai a tei sire ; \tute iurn/ espandi a tei les meies mains*), can be interpreted as errors of translation, given their inessential syntactical usage, and cannot be considered definite proof of a copy. This applies to absent nouns without equivalent in the Latin text, inserted later by the scribe in the interline, such as *chose* on fol. 49r, above line 1, in the sequence *kar bone \chose/ est*, where Gallicanum had only *quoniam bonum est* (Ps 53:8). Distinctively, the repetition of certain words can equally lead to errors in translation, such as *les ewes* on fol. 54v, line 8, which was inserted in the sequence *uirent tei \les ewes/ deus uirent tei les ewes*, where Gallicanum had *Viderunt te aque deus viderunt te aque et timuerunt* (Ps 76:17). Finally, one can imagine a situation in which a translator skipped certain nouns, provided that they were followed by a relative clause that played the syntactic part of a subject: on fol. 55v, line 29, where *genz* was inserted in the sequence *espant la tue ire es \genz/ chi tei ne cuneurent* (cf. Gallicanum *Effunde iram tuam in gentes que te non nouerunt*; Ps 78:6).

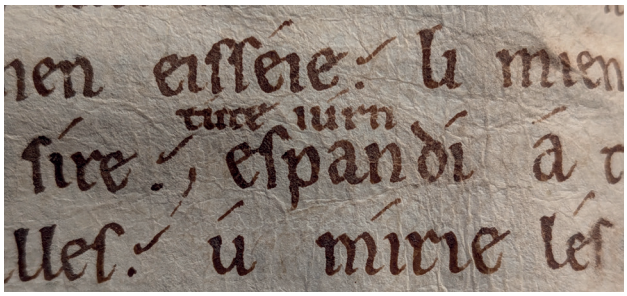
Insertions (some based, some not) on a antigraph:

fol. 49r, line 1

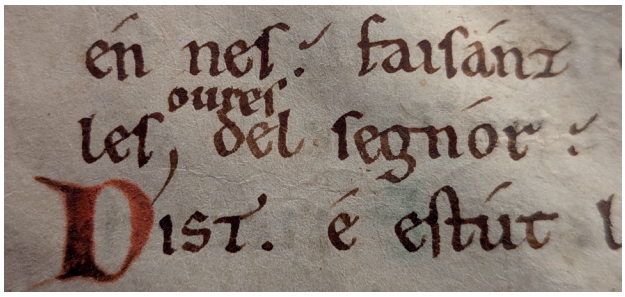


fol. 49r, line 6

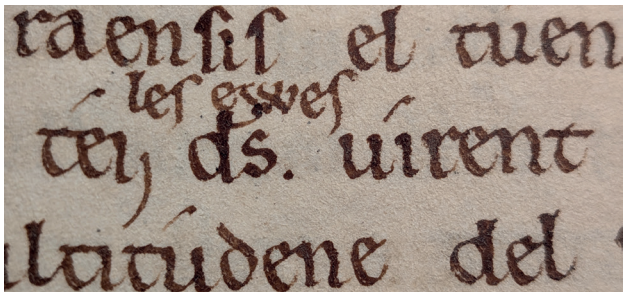
fol. 57v, line 23



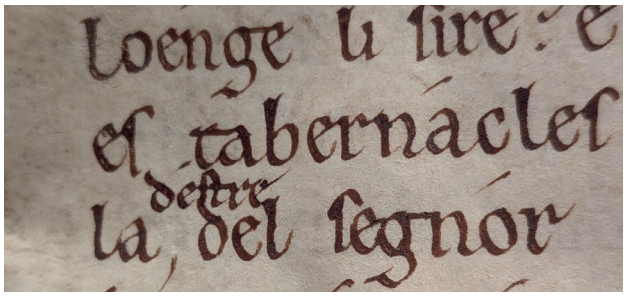
fol. 63v, line 39



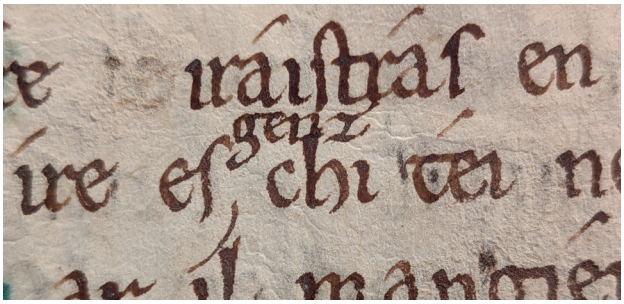
fol. 54v line 8



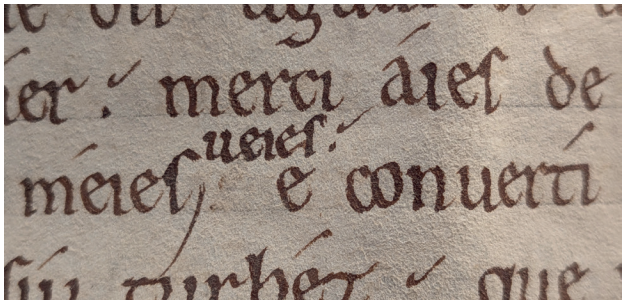
fol. 66r, line 25



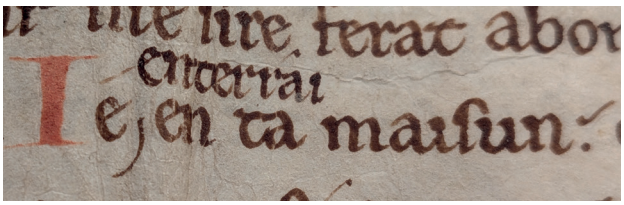
fol. 55v line 29



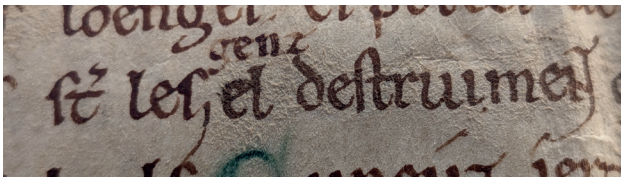
fol. 67r, line 25



fol. 37v line 8



fol. 38r line 28



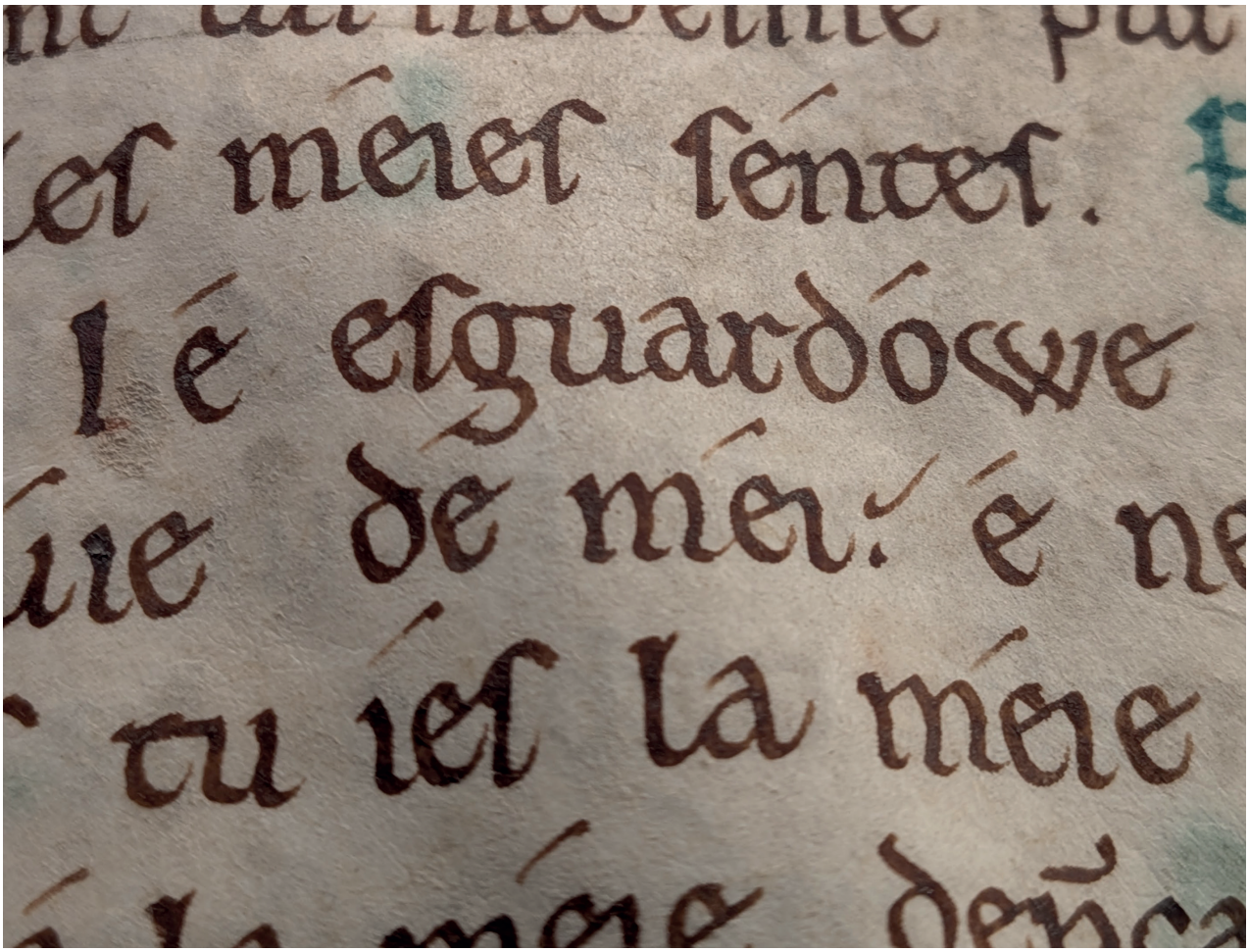
Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320.
Above: insertions likely based on a source text.
Below: ***Le > Ie*** *on fol. 72r, line 3.*
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023-2026.
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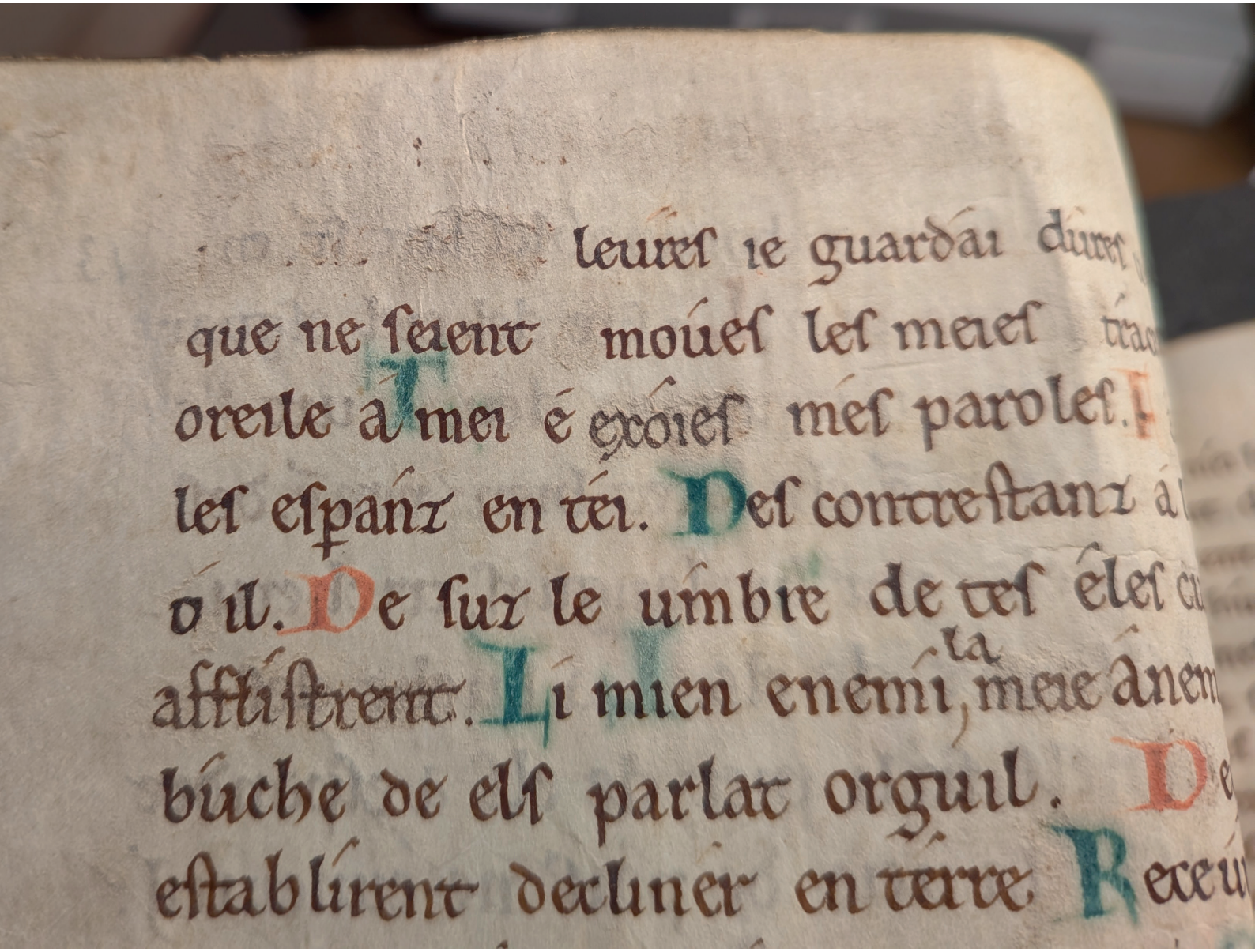
However, there are five peculiar situations in which key elements of the phrase were missed in translation, being inserted later, during the revision process. For instance, it is hardly possible to argue that the Oxford Psalter was an autograph translation of the Latin St Albans Psalter when the word *genz* was inserted in the sequence *enfichees sunt les* *genz*/ *el destruiment que il firent* on fol. 38r, line 28. Here, *genz* is the object of the verb. Missing it in an autograph translation would be nearly impossible.

The same occurs on fol. 37v, line 8 (*enterrai* is inserted in the sequence *ie* *enterrai*/ *en ta maisun*); fol. 49r, line 6 (*cuers* inserted in the sequence *li miens* *cuers*/ *conturbez est*); fol. 63v, line 39 (*oures* inserted in the sequence *les* *oures*/ *del seignor*); fol. 66r, line 25 (*destre* inserted in the sequence *la* *destre*/ *del segnor exalcad mei*); fol. 67r, line 25 (*ueies* inserted in the sequence *ie purpensai les meies_* *ueies*/ *e conuerti mes piez*; perhaps on account of a similar shape of the letters in *ueies* and *meies*).

These situations concern essential words whose absence is unexplainable in a translation process. Definite articles are there, but nouns are not. The first person pronoun in the singular is there, but the verb is absent. Such types of omissions are perfectly explainable when one transforms an interlinear gloss into a prose text. The scribe would not be able to pay equal attention to all the words, concentrating mostly on the transformation of said gloss into actual prose.

ANOTHER ESSENTIAL PIECE OF EVIDENCE is the transformation of an ***L*** majuscule into an ***I*** majuscule via the erasure of the right part of the initial letter on fol. 72r, line 3 (*Le esguardowe* > *Ie esguardowe*). This strongly supports the idea that the scribe was copying from a source, as he mistook the first person personal pronoun in the singular (*je*, written as *Ie*) with the masculine definite article in the singular (*Le*), without paying attention to the meaning of the entire phrase.

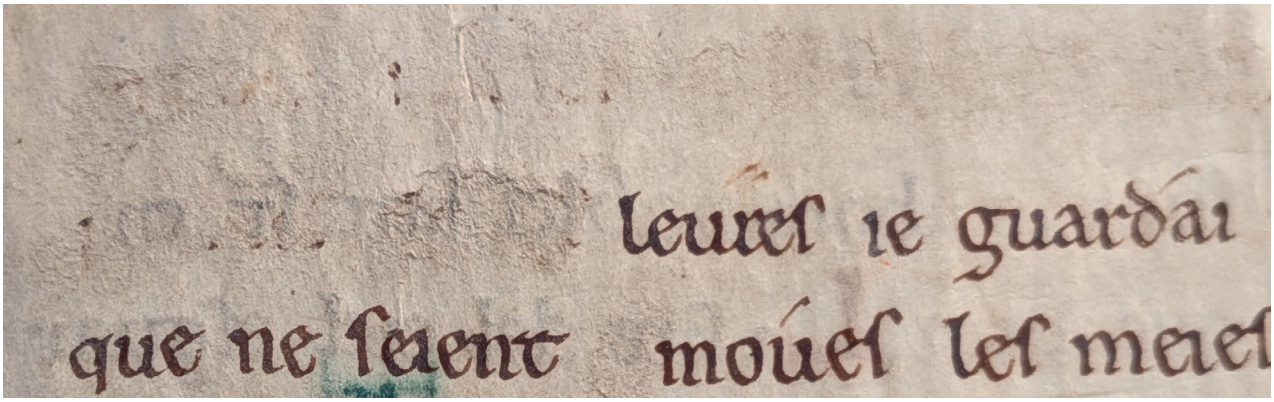




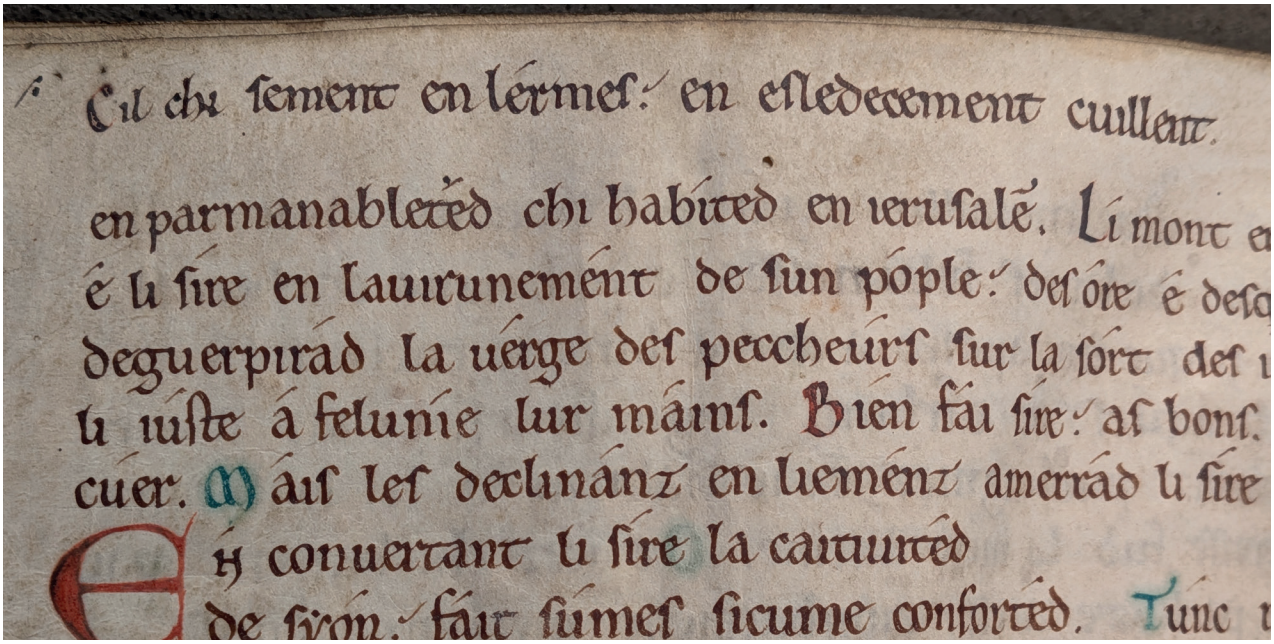
Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS *Douce 320, fol. 39v.*
Above: Three erased words at the beginning of line 1 and the extensive erasure of line 0.
Below: Close-up of the three erased words of line 1.
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023-2026.
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A RATHER ODD ERASURE occurs at the beginning of fol. 39v. The first line up (line 0), completely erased, was added to the regular 40 lines of each folio. Since it is copied above the first ruling line of the page, it is hard to consider it is an omission during the translation process.

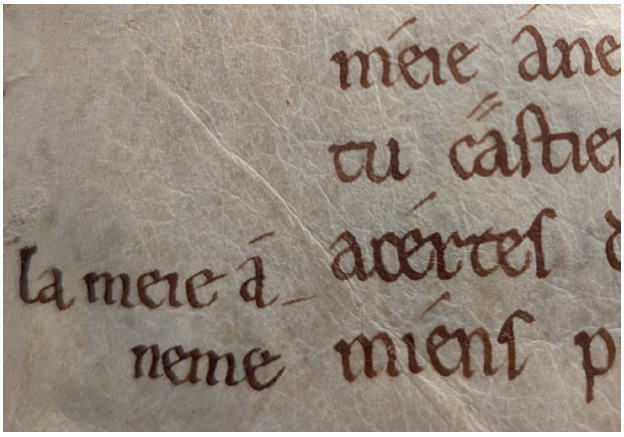
The second line (now line 1) also presents a problem, as its first three words have been erased. However, the first



fol. 69v, line 0



fol. 73v, lines 39–40



Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320. Photo: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023-2026. Courtesy of the Imaging Services of The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Creative Commons licence CC-BY-NC 4.0.

erased word started with a straight descender which is still visible, the only possible choice being ***p***–. The second word was either *les* or *ses*, as testified by the height and lower serif of its first letter, as well as the imprint of –***e***– and final –***s*** on the remaining parchment. As for the third word, it started with the sequence ***le***– (the upper part of these two letters is still visible on the folio) and ended with an –***s***, the upper and lower serifs of which are still visible to the naked eye. Given the space it occupies on the line, the third word had six letters: *le___s*.

Since the fourth word of line 1 in the initial version (now the first word on the folio) reads *leures* ('lips'), it is highly probable that the word preceding it (the third one erased) was also *leures*. The scribe must have made an eye-skip. Nevertheless, the last group of words on the preceding folio (fol. 39r) is *pur les paroles de tes*, none of which fits as such in the sequence of three erased words of fol. 39v.

Besides, the scrapping of line 0 goes as far above as the possessive adjective *miens* of line 1. It must have been a rather long text sequence, but not as long as to account for a complete additional line written during the first stage of transcription. However, the remaining space available on line 0 presents no erasures and there is no trace of a majuscule at the beginning of line 1 either, therefore line 0 cannot be the end of text unit in the initial transcription of the text. The blank space at the end of line 0 suggests that the erased words of the latter could only be transcribed later, during the revision process, probably in connection or as part of the same problem as the eye-skip of line 1, in a situation rather similar to the one that we see on fol. 69v (*vide infra*). Unfortunately, it is impossible to reconstruct any letter from line 0, except for a line accounting for an ***n***–, ***m***–, or ***u***– at the beginning of its second word, above the erased *le___s* of line 1. Alas, this is too vague to make any supposition or reconstruction.

Comparisons with codices from the same manuscript tradition are not helpful either. The word sequence is more or less the same in MS Arundel 230 (fol. 18r), MS Cotton Nero C IV (fol. 51vb), and other versions. As a result, the only possible explanation is that the scribe made an eye-skip, transcribing a sequence of words that made no sense, tried to repair it by writing more words on an additional line 0, and finally decided to erase it and the first three words of line 1 in order to fix the text.

On fol. 69v, another eye-skip made him miss the first half of an entire verse, which he later transcribed above the first line, as another line 0.

ANOTHER SITUATION OCCURS ON fol. 73v, in the margin of the last two lines (39–40) of that folio, where the scribe inserted *la meie aneme* because he had no place to write it in the interline of the main text. Also, the three words formed too long a sequence to be rewritten on top of an erasure, packed in little space available. However, the three additional words form the object of *deliurer*, which is a transitive verb. It is almost impossible to skip them during the translation process, as the phrase would not make sense. The best explanation is that the scribe followed an interlinear gloss sprinkled here and there above a Latin text written in large letters, and that he repaired bits and parts of his copy while revising it.

CORRECTIVE USES OF THE LOW DASH (AC)

The fact that OFr *aste tei* on fol. 38v, line 16, was mistaken for OFr *aste tei* (Fr *hâte-toi* 'you hurry up!') instead of the deictic particle ('behold!') is another piece of evidence that the scribe was copying from a source that he did not always understand well. During the revision process, the scribe made a correcting low dash (with a more diluted type of ink) and united the two segments of the word (which the scribe of the Winchester Psalter also writes as two words). This is a common phenomenon, occurring on erasures. It will not be listed here, as it concerns only the deletion of a single letter in various words.

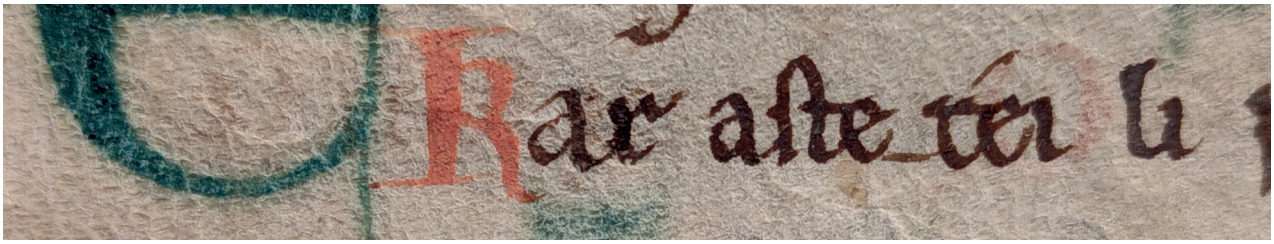
A series of accidents are also related to material features of the copy. The scribe used low dashes to join segments of words separated by parchment holes: fol. 42r, line 6 (*requer_rai*); fol. 58r, line 7 (*moue_ment*); fol. 63r, line 25 (*exo_ irent*). A similar situation occurs on fol. 57r, line 23, where *Guar_de* was written as such due to a cut in the folio. Also, on fol. 73r, line 33, a low dash was later inserted in *d_e* because the scribe probably disliked the wide spacing between the two letters.

However, a series of low dashes clearly fall in the same category as *aste_tei* from fol. 38v and can be explained only by a misunderstanding of the source text leading to transcription errors in the copy.

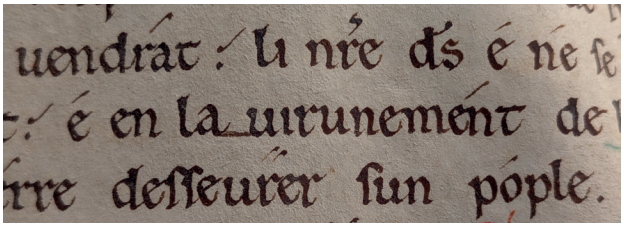
No traces of erasure can be noticed in *de_currat* on fol. 37r, line 6—no material limitations of the parchment surface either, yet the prefix is written as a preposition. He wrote *de_getement de pople* on fol. 40v, line 37, with the first de interpreted once again as a preposition, not a prefix. As for *la_uirunemént* on fol. 48r, line 7, the scribe probably believed, at least initially, that he was writing a definite article followed by a noun, without any trace of ellison; then he changed his mind later. On fol. 50v, line 21, *co_urement* is probably a distraction error or a separation in the source that could have already split the word. On fol. 55r, line 9, the final reading is *em_pennez*, but his initial choice must have been *en pennez*, with a correction of *–n–* in *–m–*, as well as a low dash transforming the preposition to a prefix. Next, he probably had a preposition (*cun* / *cum*) + noun in mind when he wrote *cun_ ut* on fol. 59r, line 18; and a preposition + verbal noun on fol. 59r, line 34, where one reads *es_dreceánz*. Finally, on fol. 71r, line 40, the text has *a_mi*. Instead of writing *ami* 'friend', the scribe probably mistook it for a phrase based on the preposition *a*, and corrected it later. All these cases concern the use of prepositions, articles, and particles. The special situation of *aimen_ore aimen_ore* on fol. 52v, line 12, was already analysed. It suggested that the scribe probably read *ore* either as a conjunction or as the verb *orer* ('pray amen').

Other low dashes occur in odd places, perhaps linked (or not) to the scribe's misunderstandings of the source. There is the wavering *ploude_chose* on fol. 73r, line 15, where the scribe wrote, on the exact same line, the exact same sequence without any low dash, as separate words. There is also the unclear situation of *resplendi_rent* on fol. 54v, line 11. This needs to be interpreted in comparison with fol. 60r, line 28, where the scribe wrote once again *resplendi_rent*, but the low dash was transcribed on top of an erasure, due to a spelling error.

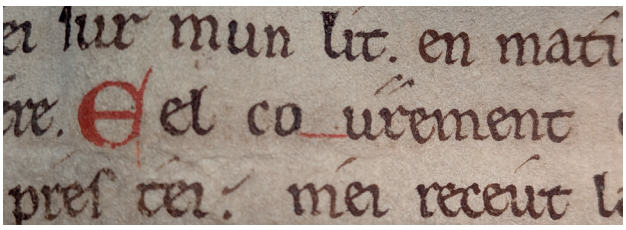
Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320.
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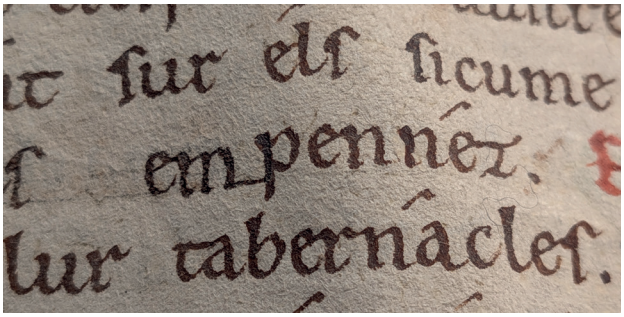
fol. 38v line 16



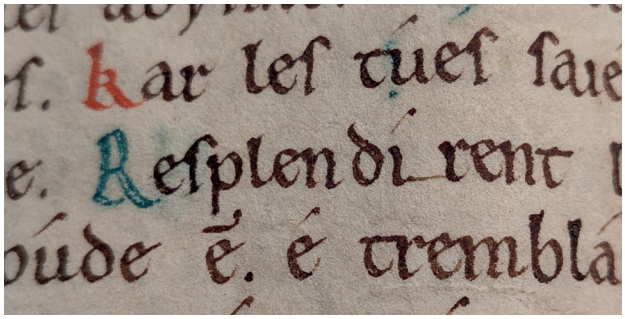
fol. 48r line 7



fol. 50v line 21



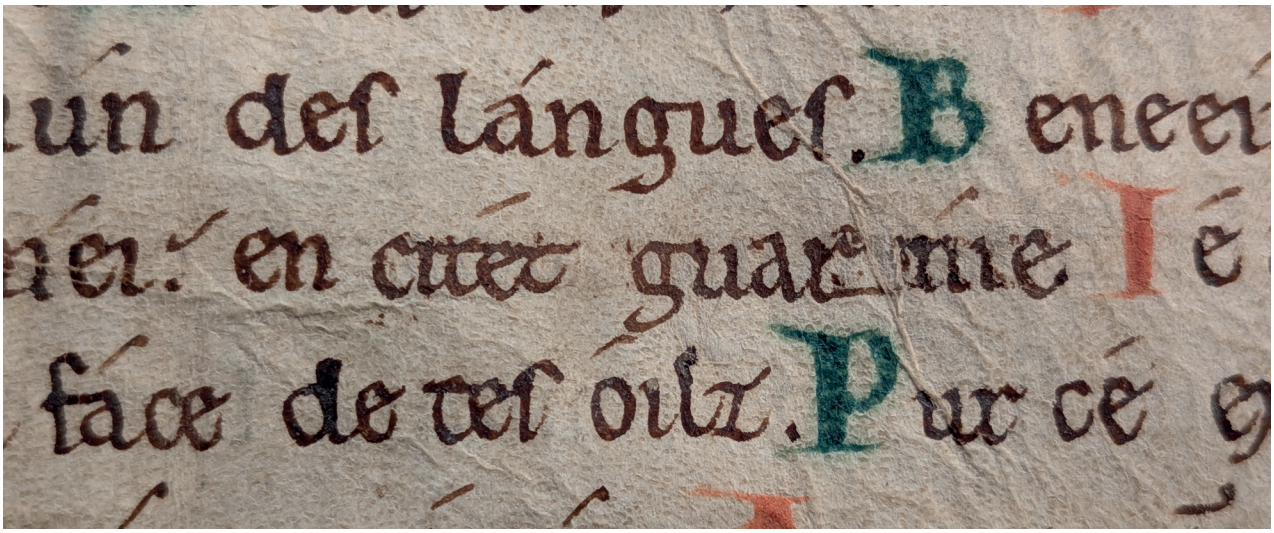
fol. 55r line 9



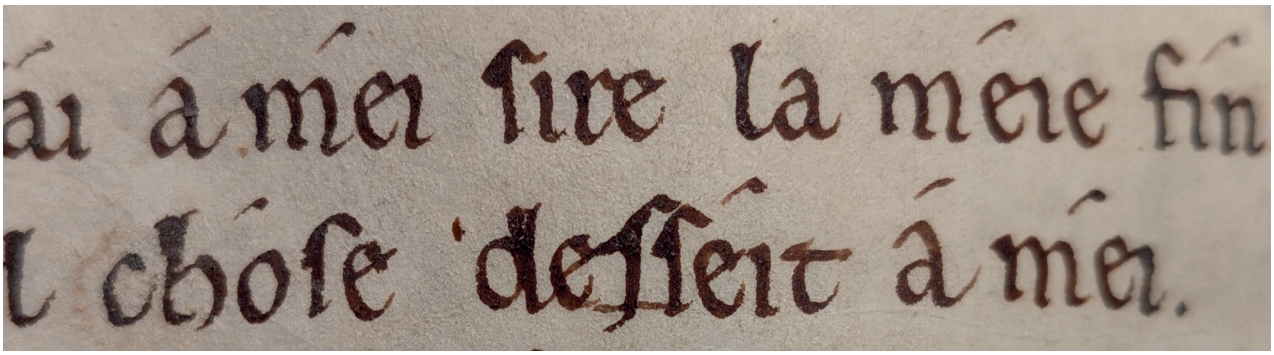
fol. 54v line 11

Last but nost least, other uses of the low dash are related to material features of the copy (such as holes in the parchment, etc.): fol. 40v, line 14, *Exoi_et* (to avoid reading *exoi* + *et*, unclear if this is an actual error); fol. 41v, line 30, *pro_ue* (odd use of low dash, unexplainable); fol. 42r, line 5, *encun_tre* (accidental, determined by a hole in the parchment, see also *requer_rái* in the following line, analysed in the previous instalment); fol. 43r, line 12, *citet guar_nie* (low dash upon erasure, part of the correction); fol. 44r, line 14, *humilio_we* (to avoid reading *humilio* + *we*, unclear if this is an actual error); fol. 45r, line 10, *aste_tei* (the same situation occurs on fol. 38v, line 16, analysed by the previous instalment); fol. 45r, line 24, *rui_owe* (to avoid reading two words, unclear if this is an actual error); fol. 45v, line 7, *quel chose desseit a mei* (the Douce scribe initially wrote *de seit*, placed a low dash between the two segments: *de__seit*, then added an additional *s* on the low dash); fol. 45v, line 11, *a_ssemblerat* (odd use of low dash, unexplainable); fol. 45v, line 20, *men_alge* (to avoid reading two words, unclear if this is an actual error); fol. 46r, line 20, *nun_nuisance* (at first, the Douce scribe separated the negative particle *non* from the noun; similar situations on fol. 47v, line 28, *nun_saiuez*, and fol. 48r, line 3, *nun_sauanz*; however, on fol. 47v, line 32, *nun*

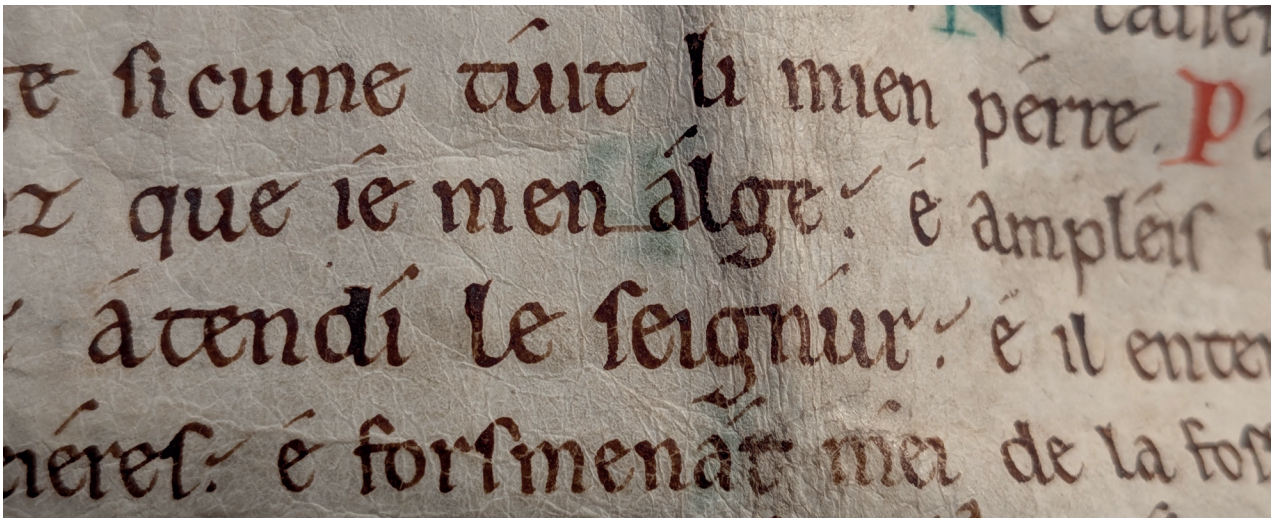
fol. 43r line 12

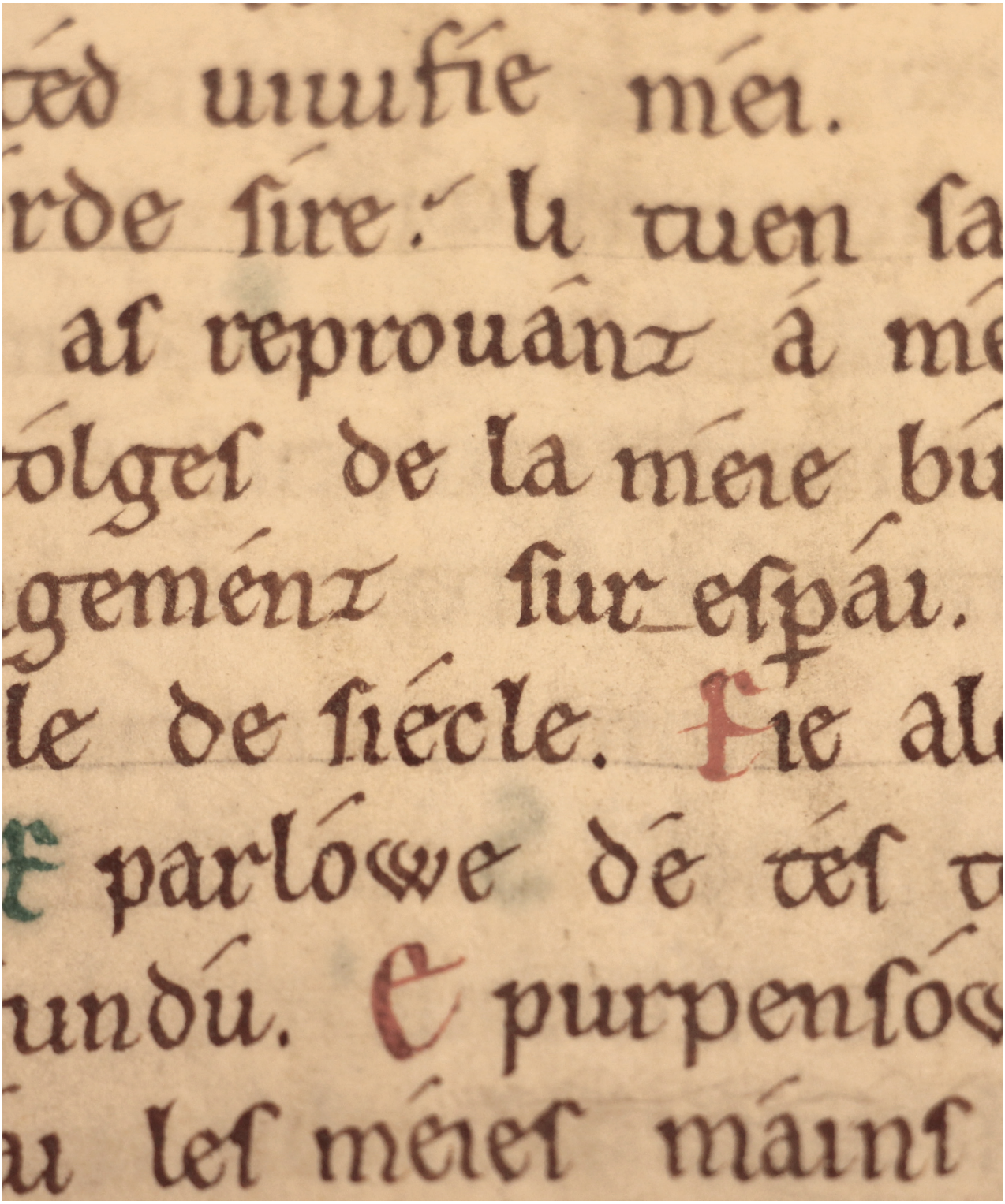


fol. 45v line 7



fol. 45v line 20





fol. 67r
line 8

sauánz without any low dash); fol. 48r, line 36, *nun_certes* (identical situation to *nun_nuisance*); fol. 53v, line 12, *quels_choses* (odd use of low dash, unexplainable); fol. 55r, line 35, *esparn_ad* (to avoid reading two words, unclear if this is an actual error); fol. 55v, line 39, *aset_duble*, cf. Latin *septuplum* (the Arundel interlinear gloss also reads *aset double*; the separation in two parts could originate in the antigraph of Douce); fol. 57r, line 18, *sentre_baisérent* (to avoid reading two words); fol. 60r, line 10 + fol. 60v, line 4, *le salu_able* (to avoid reading two words, especially the noun *salu*); fol. 67r, line 8, *sur_esperái* (to avoid reading two words); fol. 67v, line 30, *cum_faitement* (at first, the Douce scribe probably thought he was writing the preposition *cum* + noun); fol. 68v, line 26, *nen_est*, cf. Latin *non est* (odd use of low dash, unexplainable).

Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320.
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EXTENSIVE ERASURES = LINES IN A SOURCE? (VA, AC)

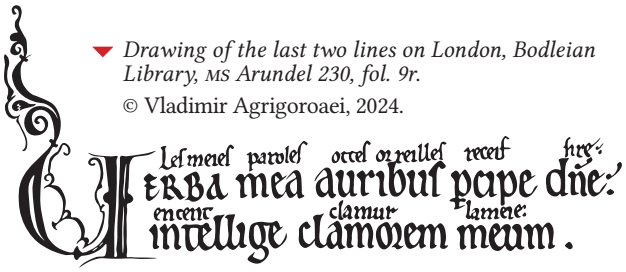
A casual look at the extensive erasures of MS Douce 320 shows gripping patterns that occur with certain frequency, almost mechanical, mostly in the first section of the text, where the scribe was preoccupied with mending initial choices that seemed somewhat faulty later on in the transcription process, when he had perfected his method. Yet when one tries to understand the nature of those gripping patterns, most of them look as if erasures had been determined by pure chance. An exception to this apparent rule of aleatory erasures is the presence of the possessive adjective in the singular. This occurs rather frequently on extensive erasures. Some examples are also linked with the more general issue of word order. It is therefore quite probable that the issue of the possesive adjective is actually an issue related to word order.

However, the number of characters written on top of 'extensive erasures' can vary. Therefore, it can hardly be related to the lines of vernacular text in an alleged manuscript source of MS Douce 320. The best explanation is given by the rather fixed number of characters in the corresponding Latin text of Gallicanum, as if the vernacular text's rhythmicity was not determined by its own structure, but by the structure of a Latin text.

MacBain and Busby have already used Old French texts in their analyses of scribal memory, specifically in situations where scribes made progressive or regressive repetitions of lines or couplets, probably because they had copied the text several times and had learned part of it by heart (MacBain 1987; cf. Busby 2002, vol. 2, p. 85-86). In the specific case of 13th century poems, the textual unit recognised and repeated by scribes is both oral (a verse) and visual (a line on a column of a folio). In our case, this textual unit occurs in a translation context and should be explained accordingly. This is where the issue of a certain rythmicity of Latin words comes into play. Indeed, extensive erasures in MS Douce 320 could be based on lines from a Latin psalter, therefore corresponding to transcription units, that is, sequences of words that scribes memorised before transferring them to the manuscript they write. Nevertheless, our scribe is not memorising Latin words; they seem to be vernacular phrases. As a result, the rhythmicity of erasures in MS Douce 320 is perhaps determined by the interplay of Latin and vernacular segments in a source that had texts in two languages, and the vernacular ones were transcribed in the interline.

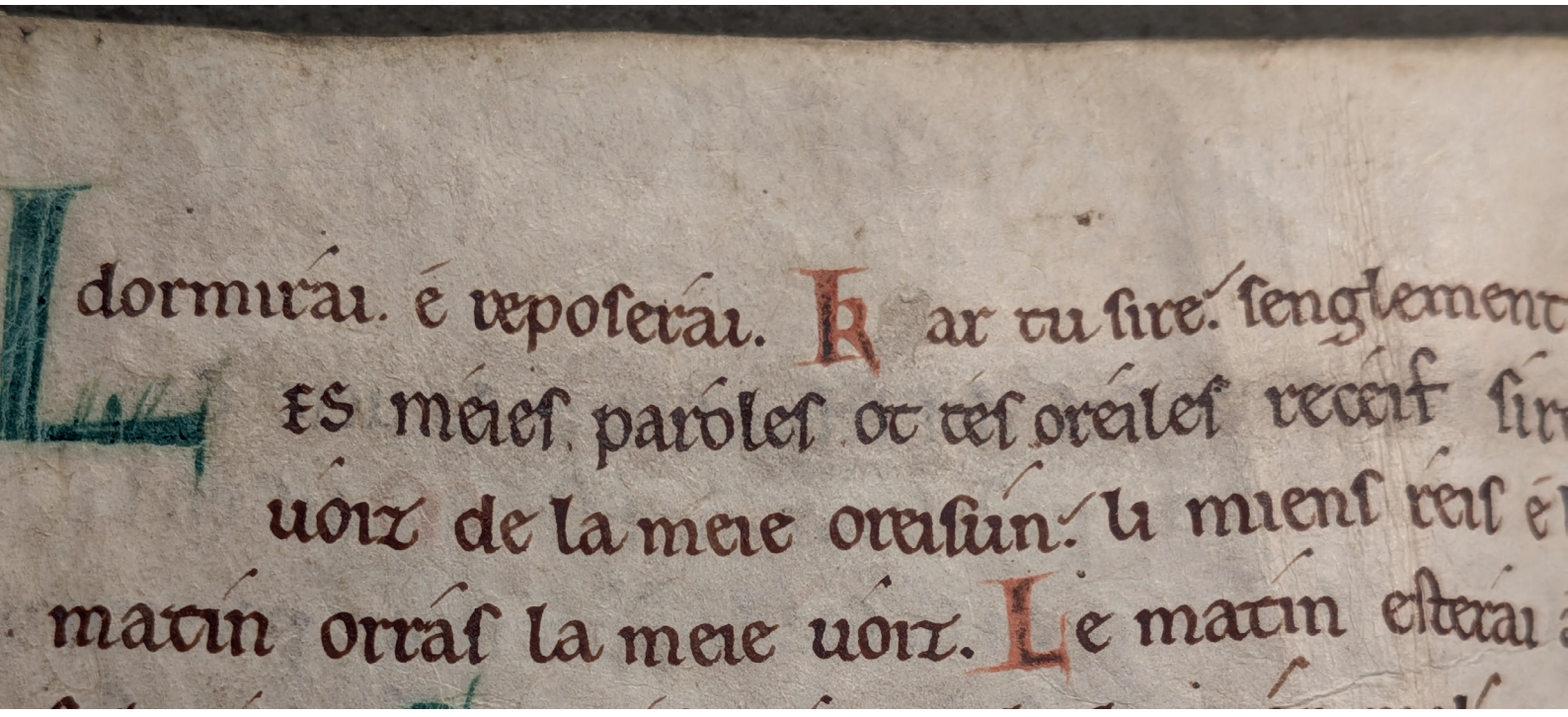
The hypothesis that this situation can be found in an interlinear gloss is supported by the fact that the number of characters in the principal text (in Latin) looks stable, since it was the first text to be transcribed in the source manuscript (and because it would be the main text of that codex), whereas the number of characters in the vernacular interline varies depending on translation choices. Since this leads to condensed or extended spacing of letters, there is no way the number of characters in an interlinear vernacular gloss can be stable, because it is not autonomous. It cannot have the same number of characters from one line to the next, simply because the gloss does not structure the manuscript. Stability characterises only the Latin text, which is principal text of that codex.

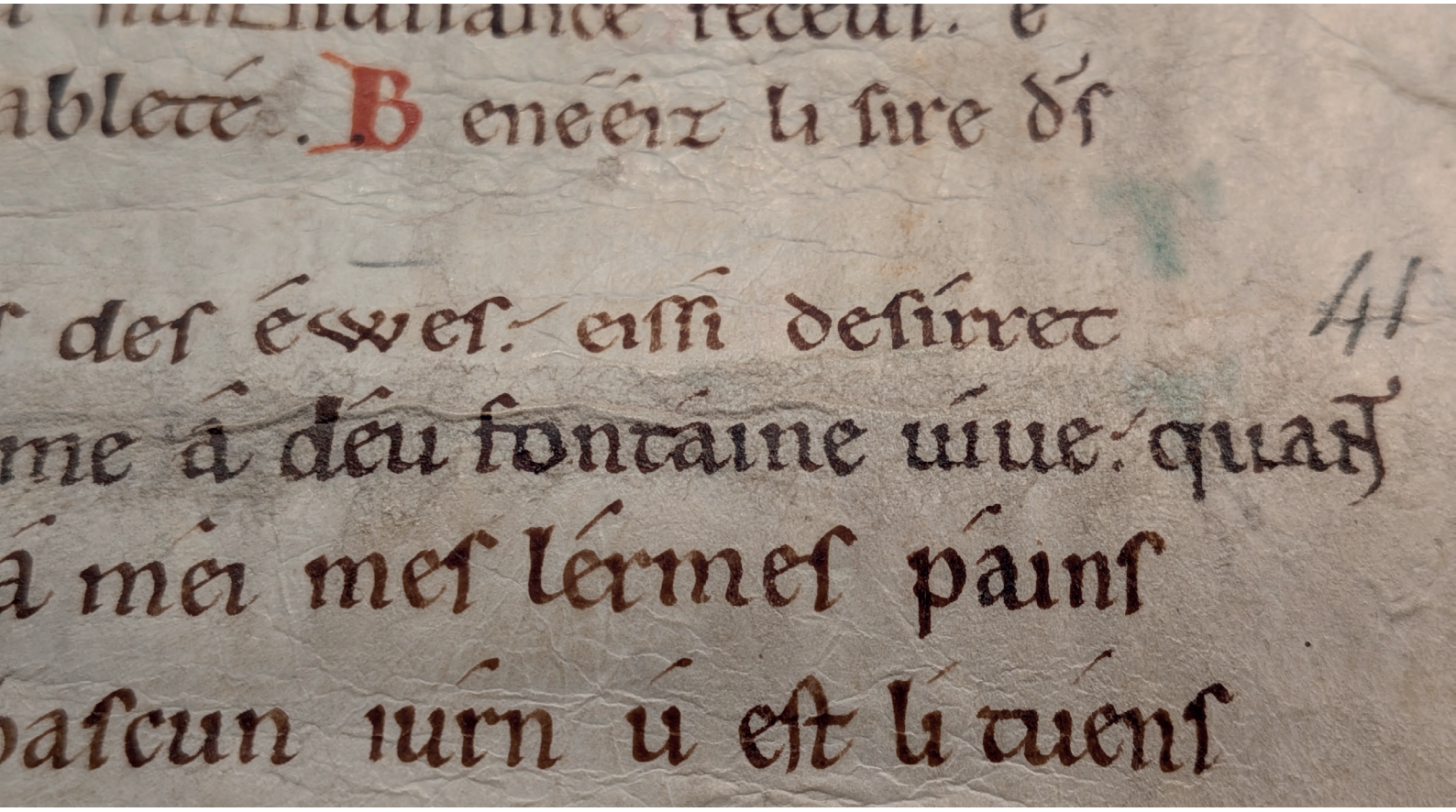
We took notice of this pattern in four cases where parallels could be established between MS Douce 320 and MS Arundel 320. Even though the word order and lexical choices of the Arundel gloss were not always those of the Douce prose, the erasures of the latter manuscript were



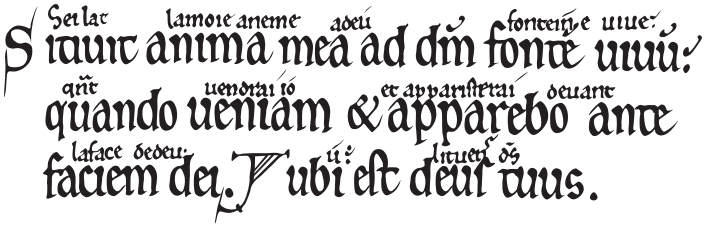
Drawing of the last two lines on London, Bodleian Library, MS Arundel 230, fol. 9r.

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Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS *Douce 320. Facing page:* the extensive erasures of Douce, fol. 37v and 46r. Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023-2026. Courtesy of the Imaging Services of The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Creative Commons licence CC-BY-NC 4.0.



Drawing of London, Bodleian Library, MS *Arundel 230, fol. 45v.* © Vladimir Agrigoroaei, 2024.

in tune with the interlinear glosses of the former, as if the source of MS Douce 320 was based on a Latin codex that had exactly the same number of characters in that line as the version of the Arundel Latin text.

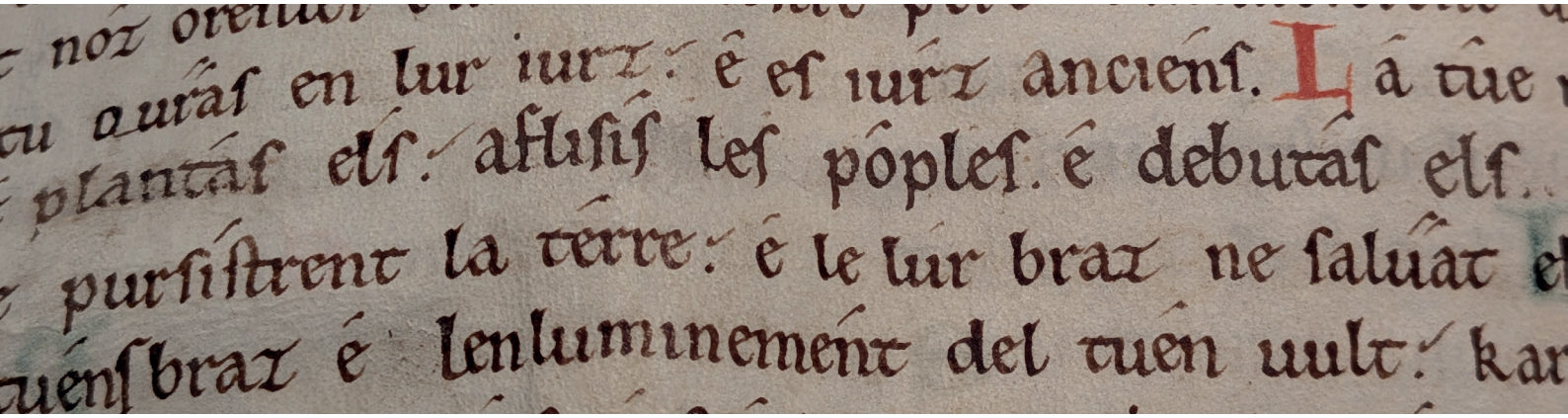
On MS Douce 320, fol. 37v, line 2, the extensive erasure fits the number of words from the gloss of Arundel: (*L*)*es méies . paróles . ot tes oréiles recéif síre* . Incidentally, the Old French text is the same in Douce and Arundel (cf. MS Arundel 230, fol. 9r). However, the following examples will show that this is mere coincidence. The essential thing in this particular case is that the Latin characters extend exactly over the same amount of space, that is, a single line–*Verba mea auribus percipe domine.*

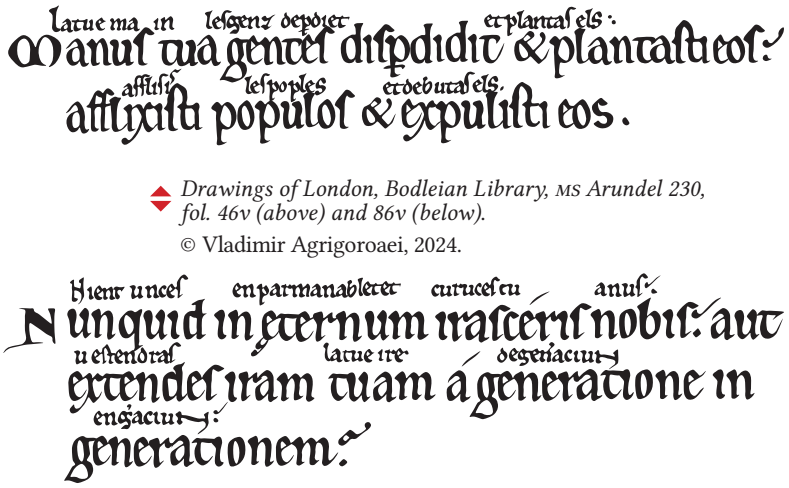
A second example can be found in MS Douce 320 on fol. 46r, line 24. This corresponds to the width of the Latin text in MS Arundel 230, fol. 45v. Certainly, the vernacular text is rather different (Douce reads here *Sezelat la meie aneme a deu fontaine uiue*, with the first word not on top of an erasure), and another one (*quant*) added in the margin, as if the initial version of the sequence would have been much shorter. The erasure covers the space of a Latin line in Arundel, that is, *Sitiuit anima mea ad dominum fonte uiuum.* If the scribe wanted to correct the word order of a source (perhaps in connection with the possessive adjective), he would have not needed to erase and rewrite the first word; only the remaining part.

A third example is *aflisis les poples . e debutas els .*, on fol. 46v, line 13, of MS Douce 320. This corresponds to the Latin line *afflixisti populos et expulisti eos* from MS Arundel 230, fol. 46v, and the vernacular text (again) has the same structure in both manuscripts. This time the corrected text seems to be reduced in comparison with what was initially written, before the erasure.

The fourth striking example can be found in Douce on fol. 57r, line 10: *Dum ne te iraistras tu enparmanableted a nus ; u* is the spitting (vernacular) image of the Latin line from Arundel, fol. 86v, that reads *Nunquid in eternum irasceris nobis; aut*, to the point that even the erasure ends with the conjunction, but does not concern the remaining part of the text. In this passage, the Arundel French gloss is divergent, for it reads *Nient unces en parmanabletet curuces tu a nus ; u*, which is a text, the structure of which cannot be compared with what we find in Douce. The Latin principal text is once again the best explanation.

Coincidences linking the Latin text of MS Arundel 230 with the erasures of the vernacular text of MS Douce 320

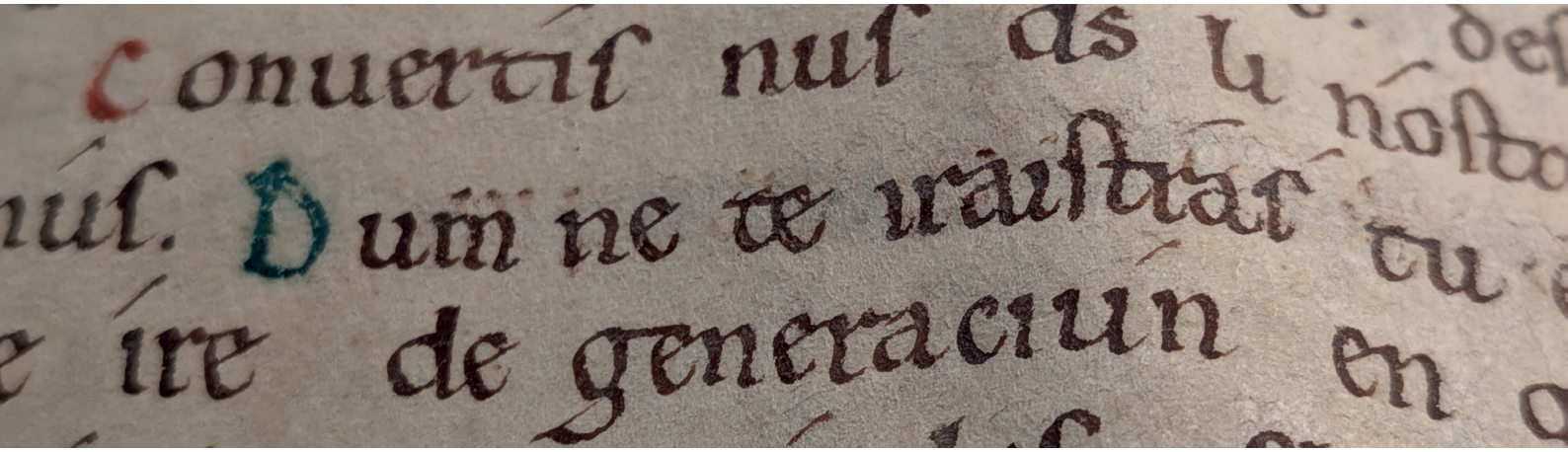


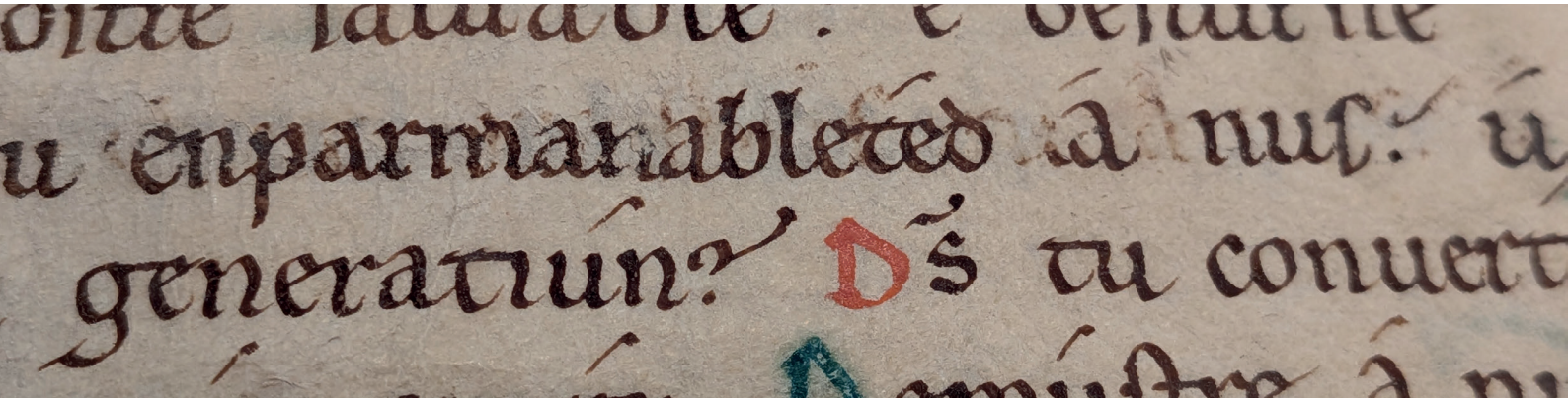


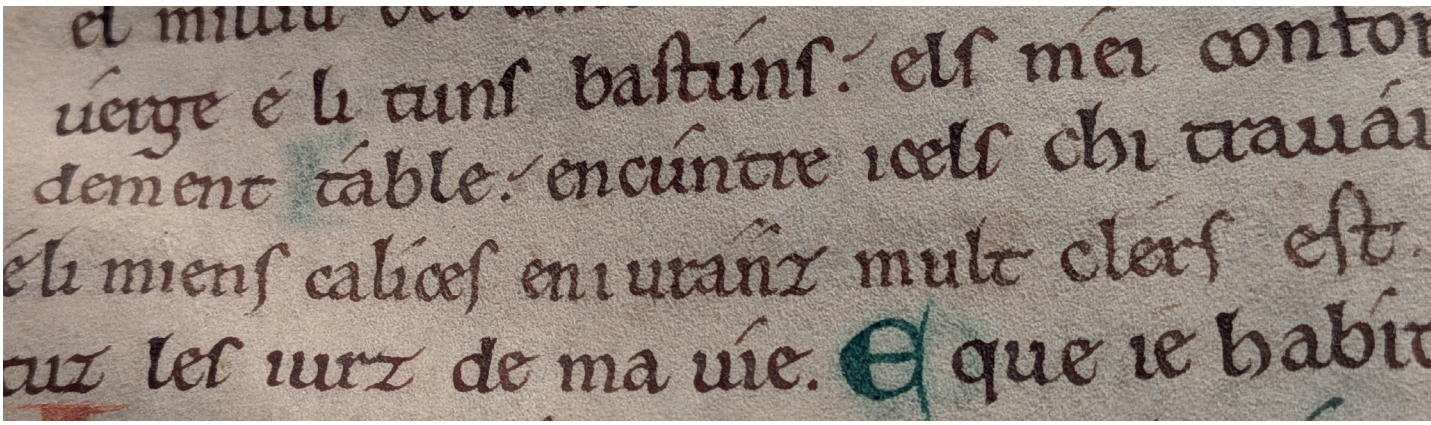
Drawings of London, Bodleian Library, MS Arundel 230, fol. 46v (above) and 86v (below).
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Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320 and print-screens of London, Bodleian Library, MS Arundel 230.
Above: The extensive erasure of Douce, fol. 46v, line 13.
Below: The extensive erasure of Douce, fol. 57r, line 10.
Facing page (up): The extensive erasure of Douce, fol. 41r.
(down): The extensive erasure of Douce, fol. 41r, line 22.
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023-2026.
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are naturally an exception. They cannot occur in every instance, simply because (even when various manuscripts present the same Latin text, written in large characters of the same height and width), variations always occur. Certain abbreviations will be present or absent in one or the other, and so on. However, when imagining the most basic reconstructions, with few letters more or few letters







less in the line, the erasures of Douce seem once again to follow a Latin text with interlinear gloss, to the letter.

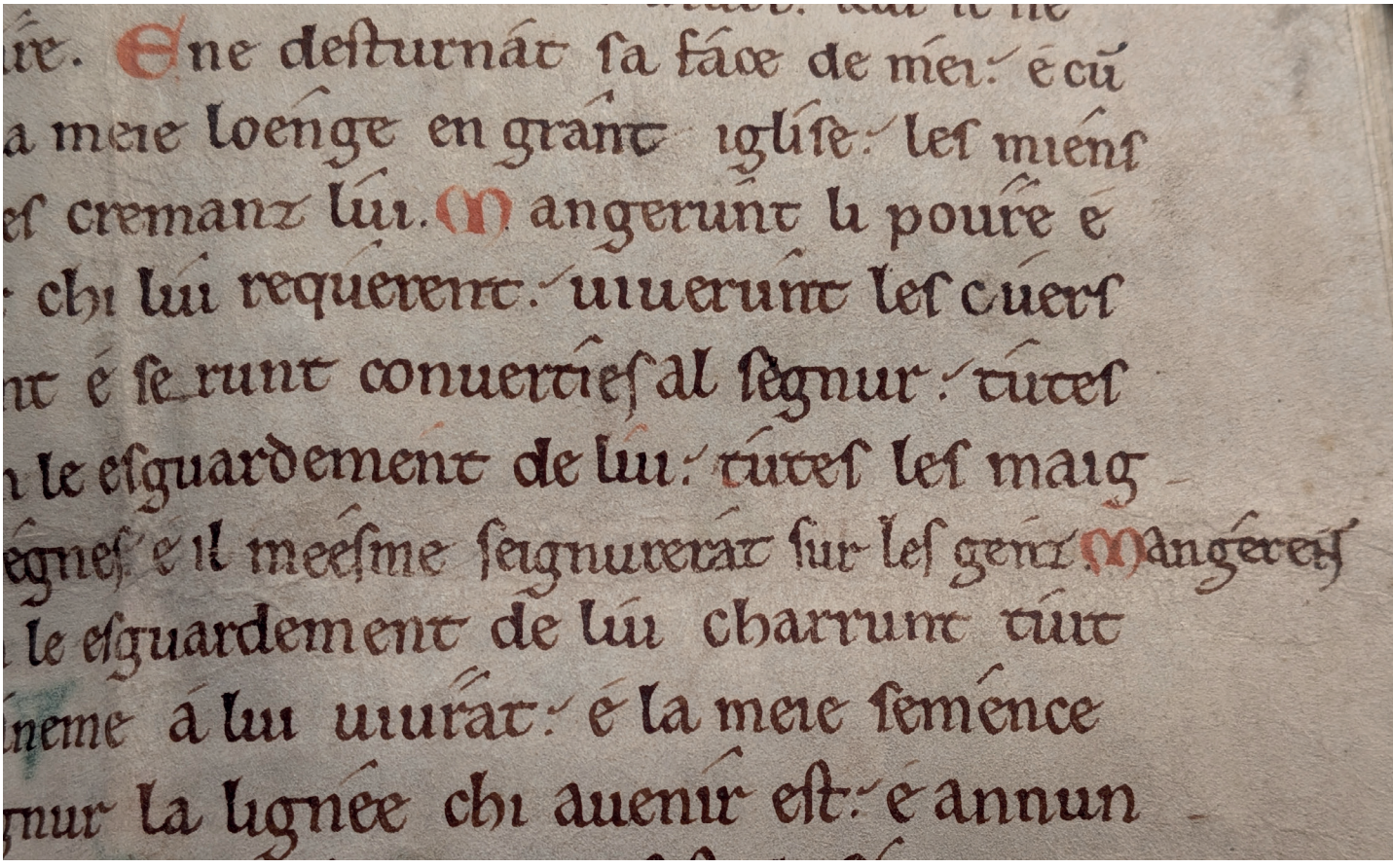
Consider the erasure of Douce, fol. 41r: *e li mien calices eniuranz mult clers est*. If we look at Arundel, fol. 26r-26v, we read :

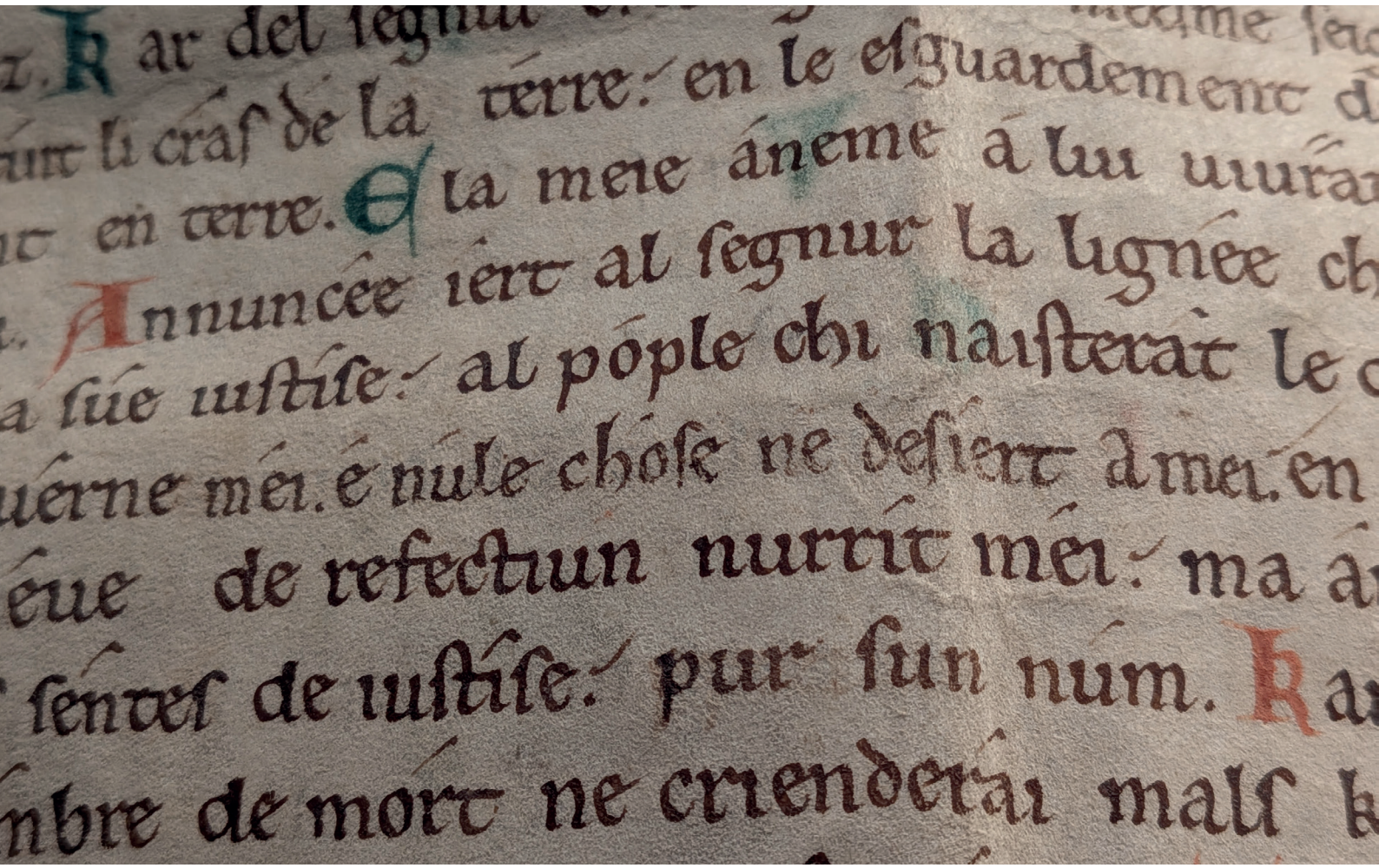
Lat *Impinguasti in oleo caput meum; et*
OFr *Tu en olie mun chief encraisas ; et*
Lat *calix meus inebriant quam preclarus est.*
OFr *li miens calices eniuranz kar mult clers est.*

Douce reads on one line *Tu encraissas en olie mun chef* and on the next line the rewriting on erasure *e li mien calices eniuranz mult clers est*. In the first part of the sentence, Douce reverses the word order of Arundel (or another presumed source, for that matter, cf. *infra*), as if the scribe wished to be closer to the order of the Latin words. In the remaining part, we assume that he had written a variant that did not suit him, which he corrected later. The odd thing is once again that the length of the erasure corresponds to Latin phrasal units as they might appear in a line from a source manuscript which, in our opinion, contained both the Latin text (in large letters) and a vernacular gloss (in small letters).

Take another example from the same fol. 41r, this time on line 22 (Ps 21): *e il meeeme seignurerat sur les genz . Mangerent e aorerent tuit li cras de la terre .* In Arundel, fol. 25v-26r, we find :

Lat *Quoniam domini est regnum ; et ipse*
OFr *Kar del seignur est le regne ; et il*
Lat *dominabitur gentium.*
OFr *seinurirat des genz.*
Lat *Manducauerunt et adorauerunt omnes*
OFr *Mangerent et aurerent trestuit*
Lat *pingues terre ;* [...]
OFr *li cras de la terre ;* [...]





In the case of our erasure, it is quite possible that the Douce scribe initially wrote something similar to what we find in the Arundel, which is not very faithful to the Latin text in this passage either; and that he then changed his mind by correctly translating *ipse* by *meesme*, and by better rendering the concept of *gentium* with *sur les genz*. The presence of *mangerent* on the erasure is probably due to the presence, in the source, on the same line, of the sequence *et ipse dominabitur gentium. Manducauerunt.*

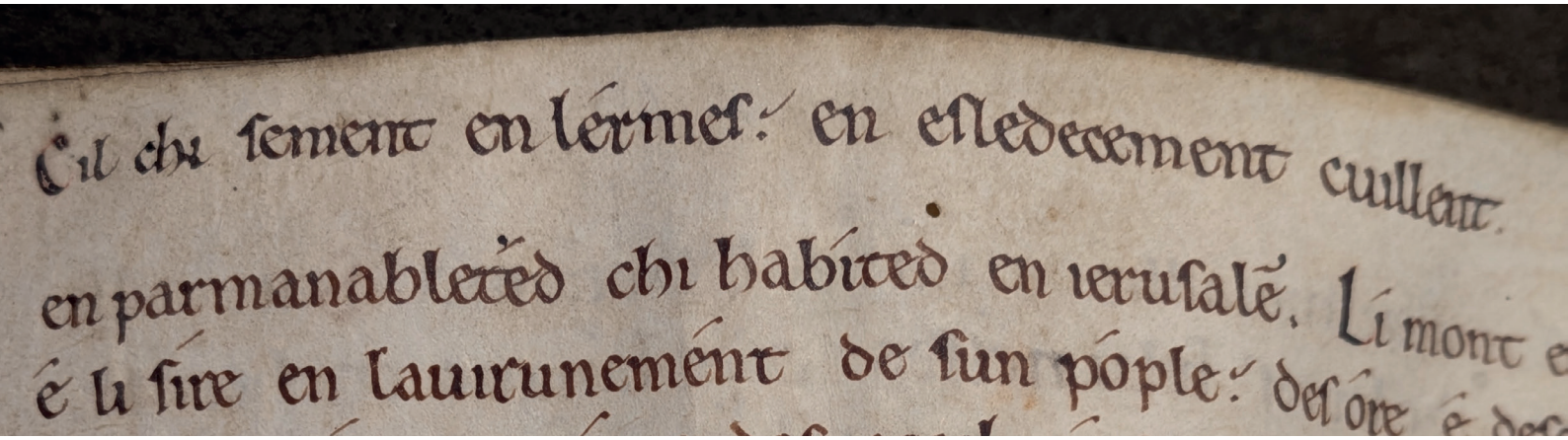
Next, the erasure of fol. 41r, line 27, reads *Li sire guuerne mei. e nule chose ne desiert a mei ; en lui de pasture iluec mei aluat.* In Arundel, fol. 26r, the text is:

Lat *Dominus regit me* PSALMVS DAVID
OFr *Li sire guuerne mei*
Lat *et nichil michi deerit ; in loco*
OFr *et nule chose a mei ne desert ; en liu*

To explain the erasure in Douce, one can assume that the Latin title of the psalm took up a bit more space in the first line of that first psalm verse:

Dominus PSALMVS DAVID
regit me et nichil michi deerit
in loco […]

In this case, perhaps the Douce scribe had transcribed the same French variant as Arundel. For the moment, we have assumed that the Oxford scribe was both a scribe in



the strict sense of the term, but also an adapter, anxious to present a text close to the Latin source. It is possible that in this case our copyist tried a different translation, but then changed his mind and thought that the one in his source was better than his own.

Leaving aside conjectures such as the paragraph above, there are other arguments that point in the direction of an interlinear gloss. All this is supported by the eye-skip of fol. 69v, already discussed (*vide supra*). There, the scribe had missed the first half of an entire verse, which he later transcribed above the first line, as another line 0. If this was indeed a skip of a line, and if such a line would have roughly more or less 40 characters with spaces, then the source could be an interlinear gloss (similar to MS Arundel 230), not a bilingual version on two columns where lines like these reach 30 characters on average with spaces (see the Maidstone fragments or MS Cotton Nero C IV). This is further supported by the length of the odd erasure at the beginning of fol. 39v. The first line up of that folio (line 0) was completely erased, but it had been added to the regular 40 lines of each folio. We have already argued that it is rather difficult to interpret this as part of a regular translation process. Since its length fits that of fol. 69v, line 0, and since the number of characters also corresponds to those of interlinear glosses, not bilingual manuscripts with Latin and vernacular on separate columns, it is safe to assume that the situations of fol. 39v, line 0, and fol. 69v, line 0, are related to the issue of extensive erasures discussed in this section of the present article. Furthermore, the double erasure of fol. 39v occurs at the beginning of a verso, that is, once the ink from the recto had dried and the scribe could turn the page. The eye-skip was possibly determined by a pause in the process of copying.

A large part of these extensive erasures correspond to visual units that the scribe was transcribing from the source, using his short-term/working memory in similar processes as those of charter scribes (cf. Korkiakangas 2022). The process is not very different from the ones attested during Late Antiquity, when Greek scribes used to copy small units of text, between three and seven syllables. This was proven by a careful analysis of re-inkings and changes occurring in baselines (cf. Schwendner 2021, p. 337–338). The only thing that changed was an increase in the number of characters (and words), probably as a result of the introduction of spaces between words in the late seventh century.

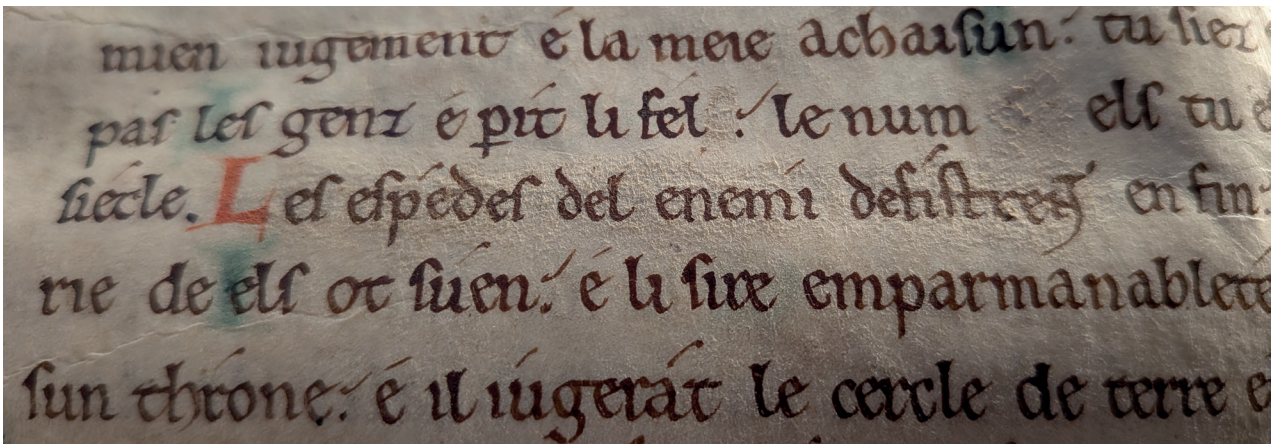
Our research has identified many more erasures which could be based on this visual segmentation of the source text. When we extended these reconstructions to many other situations, the conclusion was that the Latin text of the prototype had a variation in line width that did not surpass an average of 3-5 letters in comparison with the Latin text of MS Arundel 230. When this occurs, it is probably due to different abbreviations. Sometimes the words (or part of those words) transcribed at the beginning or at the end of certain lines are not written on top of an erasure, as the scribe must have been preoccupied with word order and those terms were already fixed. Nevertheless, just like MS Arundel 230, this reconstructed Latin source had verses written on independent lines, with rare exceptions in which two verses would be copied one after another, separated only by majuscules.

Among the source-lines erased entirely and rewritten in MS Douce 320, we counted four other examples of erasures and all seem to be determined by reworkings of the word order. The first one occurs on fol. 38r, line 19, where the French text reads *Les espedes del enemi defistrent en fin* and corresponds to MS Arundel 230, fol. 12v (Lat. *Inimici defecerunt framee in finem*; Fr. *Del enemi defistrent les espedes en fin*). This is one of instances where Short's assertion that the Douce scribe did a word-to-word translation is confirmed (cf. Short 2015, p. 31–37). Yet there are oscillations on a scale ranging from functional to dynamic equivalence, and they cannot be determined by a "doctrinal explanation" related to the scribe's "veneration… of the Holy Writ" (Short 2015, p. 36). This conjecture has little to do with the actual translation process.

On fol. 38r, line 28: *enfichees sunt les genz el destruiment que il firent*—with *genz* written in small letters above the line, corresponds to Arundel, f*ol. 13r (Lat. *Exultabo in salutari tuo ; infixe sunt / gentes in interitu quem fecerunt*).

On fol. 38v, line 17: *Kar lesquels choses tu parfesis il destruistrent ; le iuste a certes que fist ?*—where *–strent* is written in the right-hand margin, below, would fit Arundel's fol. 14v–15r (Lat. *–tos corde. Quoniam que perfecisti / destruxerunt ; iustus autem quid fecit ?*) reconstructed as a simple line *Quoniam quae perfecisti destruxerunt*, if *quoniam* were abbreviated *qm.*

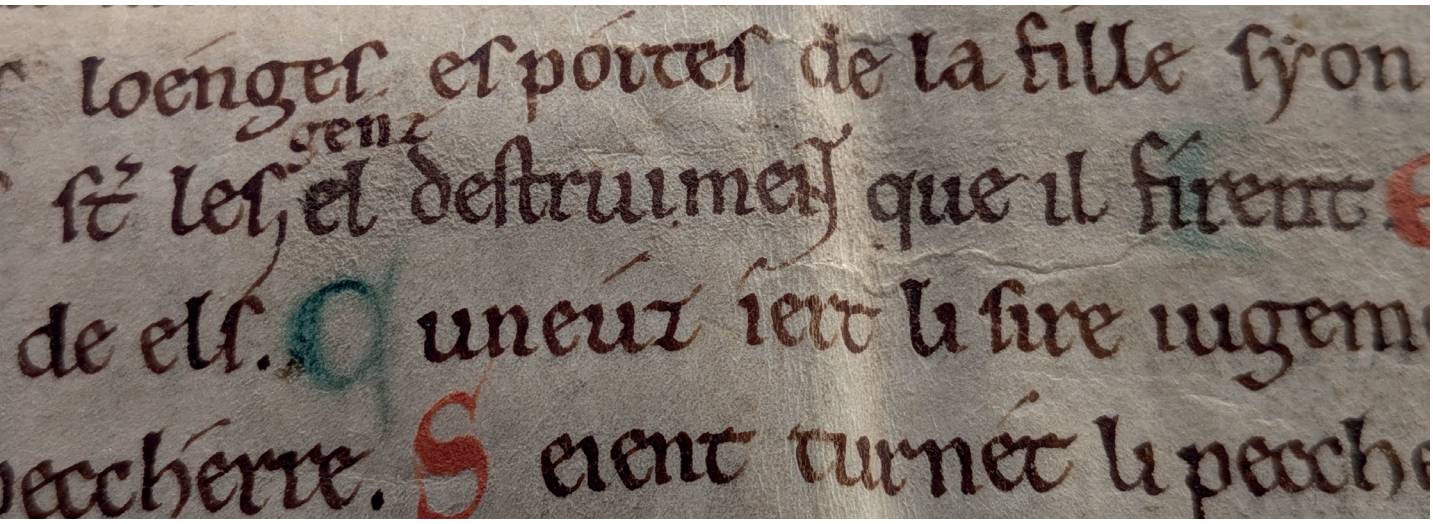
Last but not least, on fol. 39v, line 3: *Fai merueiluses les tues misericordes ; chi sals fais les esperanz en tei* (with *salf* and *fais* probably rewritten on sequence which was briefer initially), corresponds to Arundel, fol. 18v: *Mirifica*

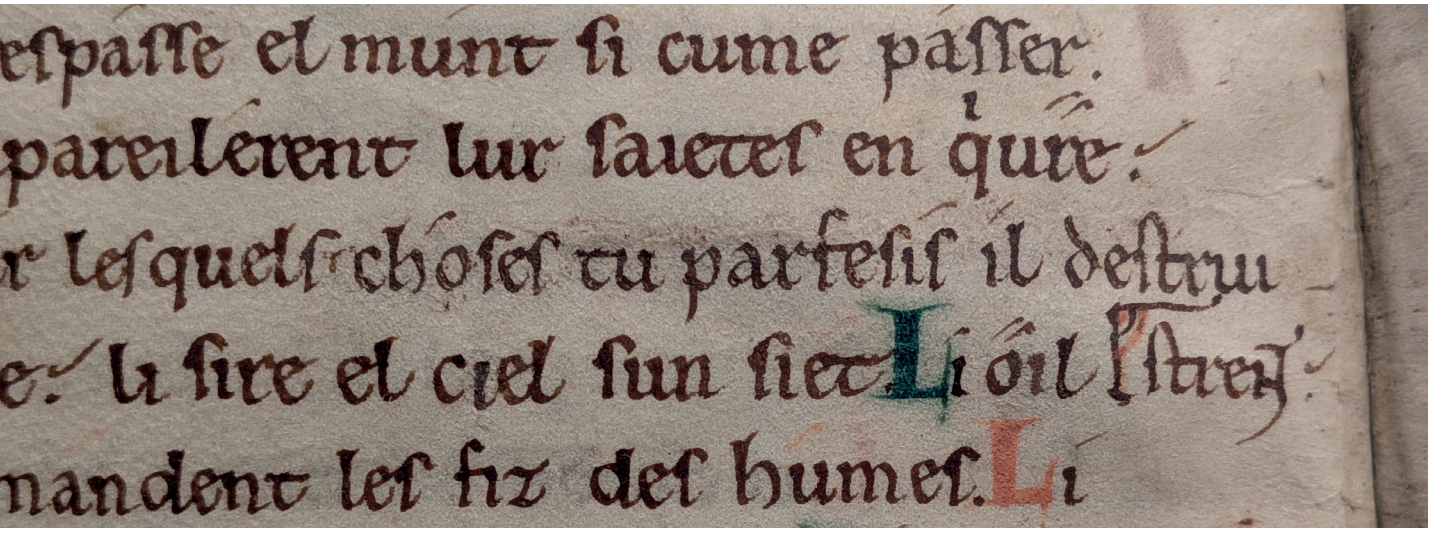


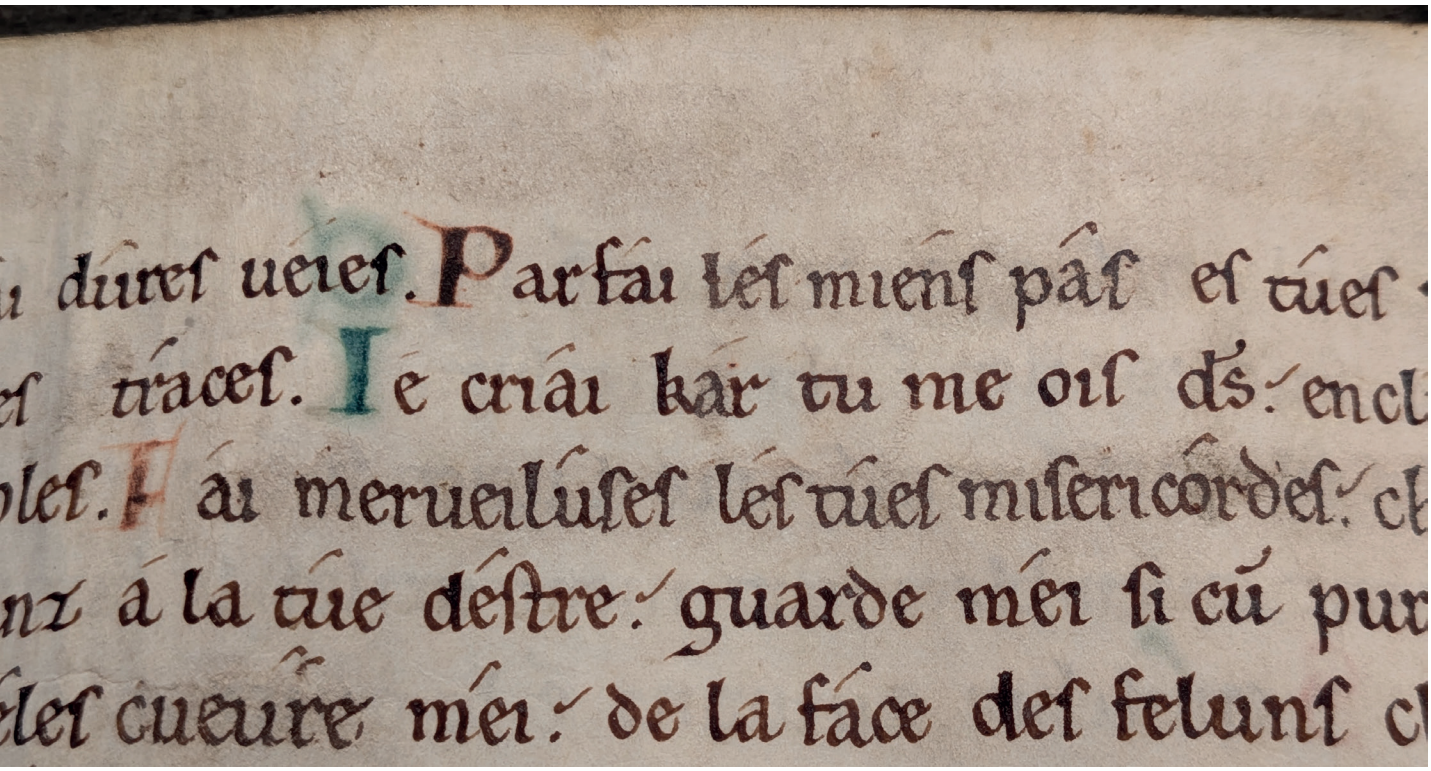
Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320. Facing page (up): The extensive erasure of Douce, fol. 41r, line 27; *(down):* The correction of the eye-skip in Douce, fol. 69v, line 0. *This page (below):* The extensive erasure of Douce, fol. 38r, line 19.

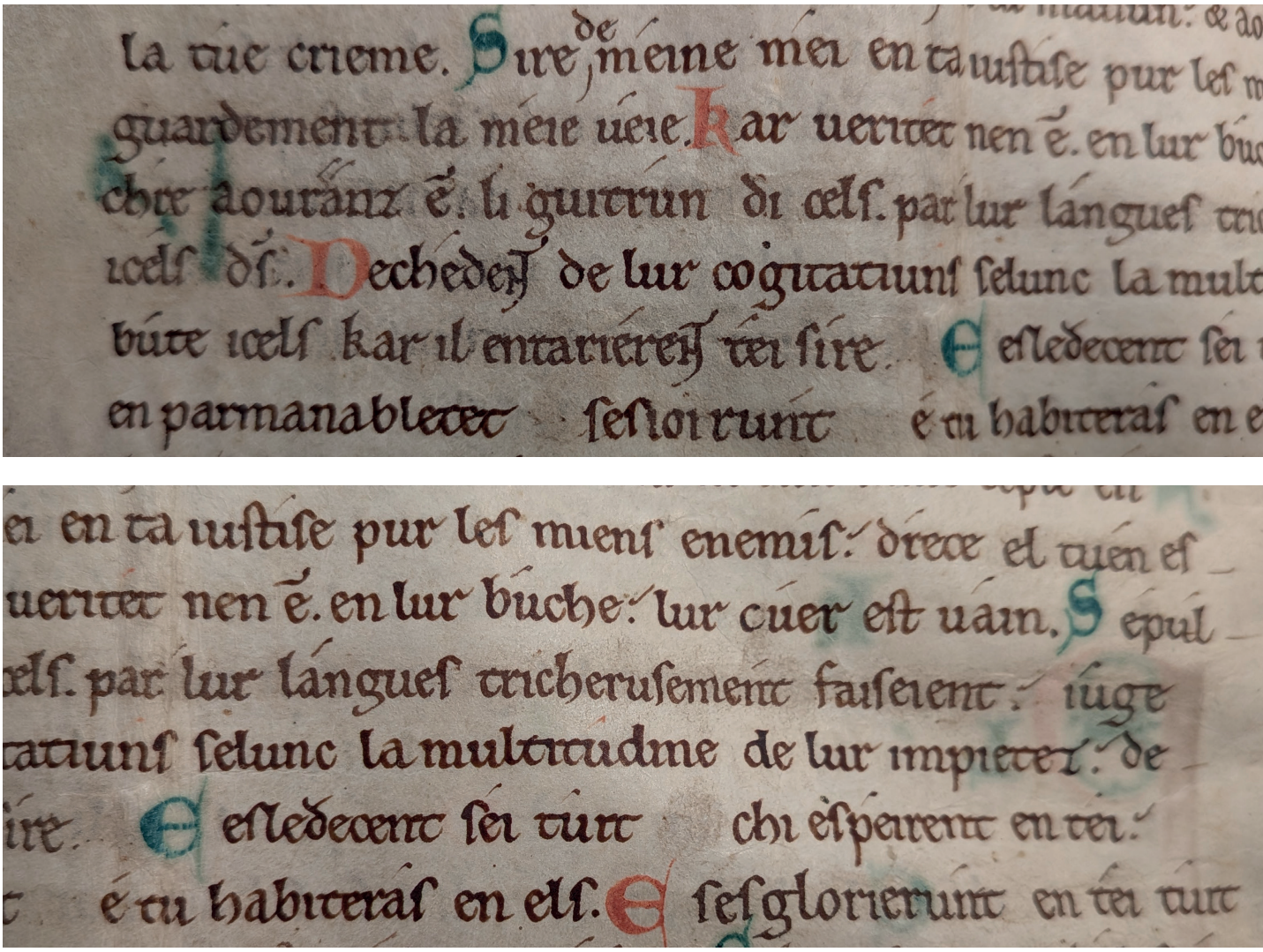
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023-2026.

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loenges. es portes de la fille syon
ses les, el destruimens que il firent
de els. C uneuz iert li sire iugem
pecchierre. S eient turnét li pecche


espasse el munt si cume passer.
pareilerent lur saietes en qure:
r les quels choses tu parfelis il destru
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i durest ueies. Parfai les miens pas es tues
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nz á la tue destre: guarde méi si cũ pur
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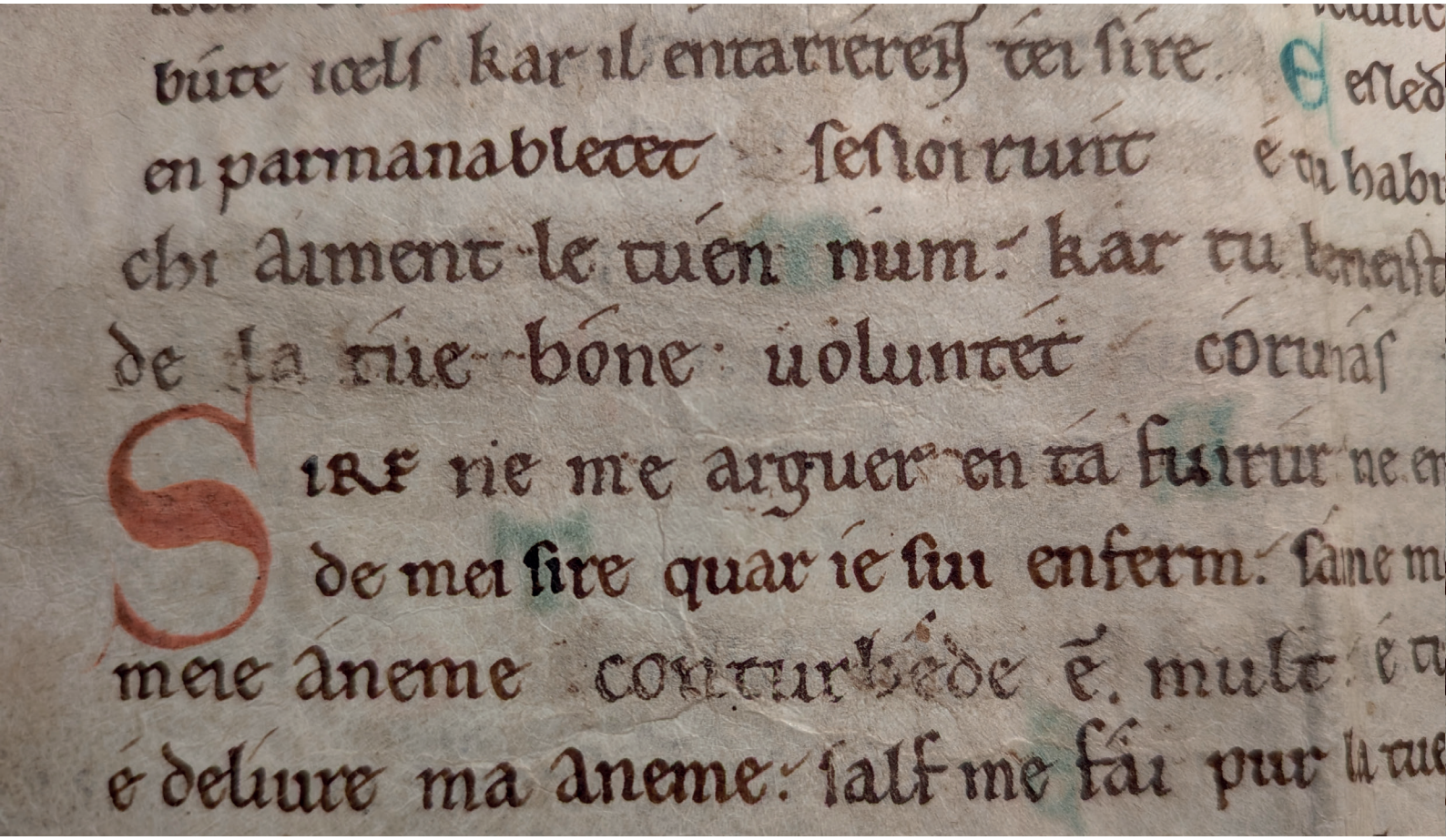
Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320. *Facing page (up):* The extensive erasure of Douce, fol. 38r, line 28; *(middle):* The extensive erasure of Douce, fol. 38v, line 17; *(down):* The extensive erasure of Douce, fol. 39v, line 3. *This page (up):* The extensive erasure of Douce, fol. 37v, lines 10-11.
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023-2026. Courtesy of the Imaging Services of The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Creative Commons licence CC-BY-NC 4.0.

misericordias tuas ; qui saluos / facis sperantes in te, if the reconstruction allows a minor variation of characters.

The examples of fol. 38r, line 28, and fol. 38v, line 17, could represent rewritings, with the inclusion of more terms absent from the initial version of the text in MS Douce 320. There is an excess of words that begs for a coherent explanation (not only here, bult elsewhere as well). This excess cannot be linked to the structure of a Latin text in the source, only to the scribe's simplifications of the vernacular gloss in the initial phase of his transcription. This would explain why he did not have enough space to fit in all the words in during the rewriting and had to go overboard, into the margin. As for the examples of fol. 38r, line 19, and fol. 39v, line 3, they seem to be mere reshufflings with a different word order. Once the scribe erased the initial version of the text, his rewritings are neatly transcribed, occupying the same space as the initial phrases from before the erasure. Even though the mechanics of the two categories of examples are determined by the memorisation of the lines of Latin text that shape the copy units, the actual reasons for the corrections on top of erasures are rather different.

There are situations in which copy units corresponding to two lines in the underlying structure of a Latin text have been erased one after another. On fol. 37v, lines 10–11 now read: *Sepulchre aouranz est. li guitrun di cels. par lur langues tricherusement faiseient.* Cf. the Latin text of Arundel, fol. 9v: *Sepulchrum patent est guttur eorum;/ linguis suis dolose agebant; iudica.* An explanation could be that both sequences presented problems, or perhaps the scribe had made a mess of the sentence comprising the two copy units, therefore, the mending required even more erasures. Further down the same folio (fol. 37v, line 17) MS Douce 320 reads: *Sire ne me arguer en ta fuirur ; ne en la tue ire ne me castier.* Cf. Arundel, fol. 10r: *Domine ne in furore tuo arguas me;/ neque in ira tua corripias me.* In this other example, the Arundel text is rather different: *Sire ne en ta forsenerie constreinnes mei; ne en ire la tue castier mei.* It is hard to tell if the Douce scribe wished to diverge from the source material or simply reshuffled a bad word order of his transcription. Both options are valid (and one cannot exclude the third possibility of both being correct at the same time).

The fact that the first half word on fol. 37v, line 10 (*Sepul-*), and the first word on line 17 (*Sire*) were not erased shows once again that the scribe's intention is often uneven. In

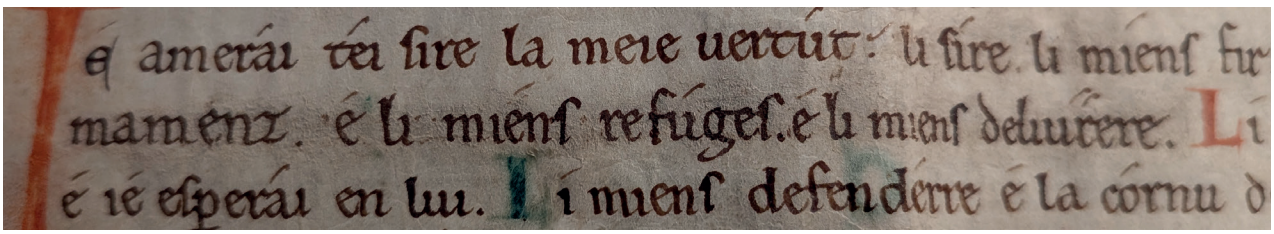


this situation, he wished to keep close to the word order of the Latin text (or perhaps to that of the source, if indeed the latter was an interlinear gloss).

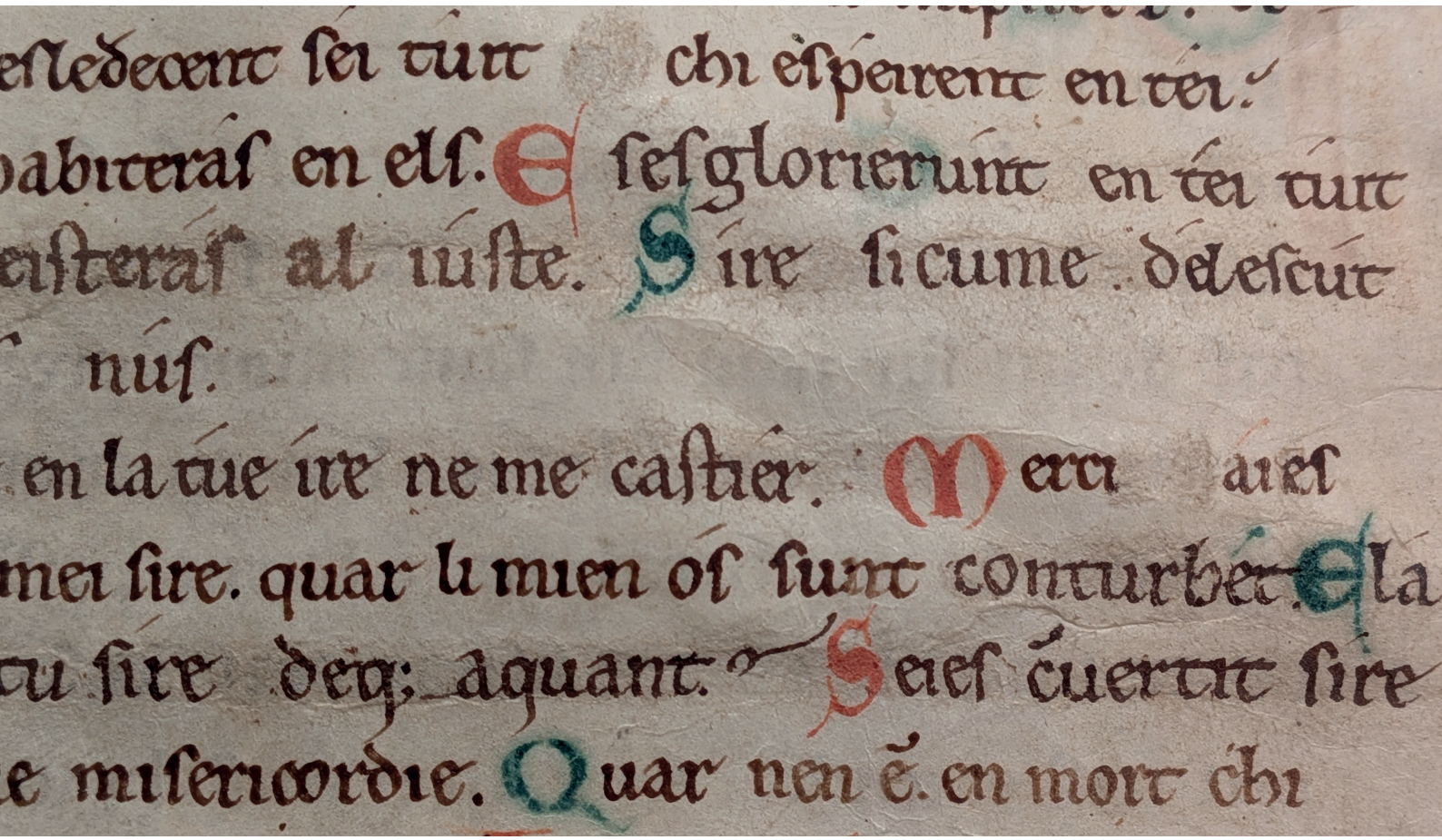
Last but not least, there is a category of erasures of variable length that occurs always at the end of a verse and can correspond to the end of a line written incompletely in the source—by incompletely we refer to the fact that the remaining part of that line was probably left blank. This explains the various lengths, since Psalm verses have various sizes. On fol. 39v, lines 14–15, for instance, we read: *li sire li miens firmamenz . e li miens refuges . e li miens deliurere*. This corresponds to Arundel, fol. 19r: *Diligam te domine fortitudo/ mea; dominus firmamentum meum et/ refugium meum; et liberator meus*, but the text can also be reconstructed as:

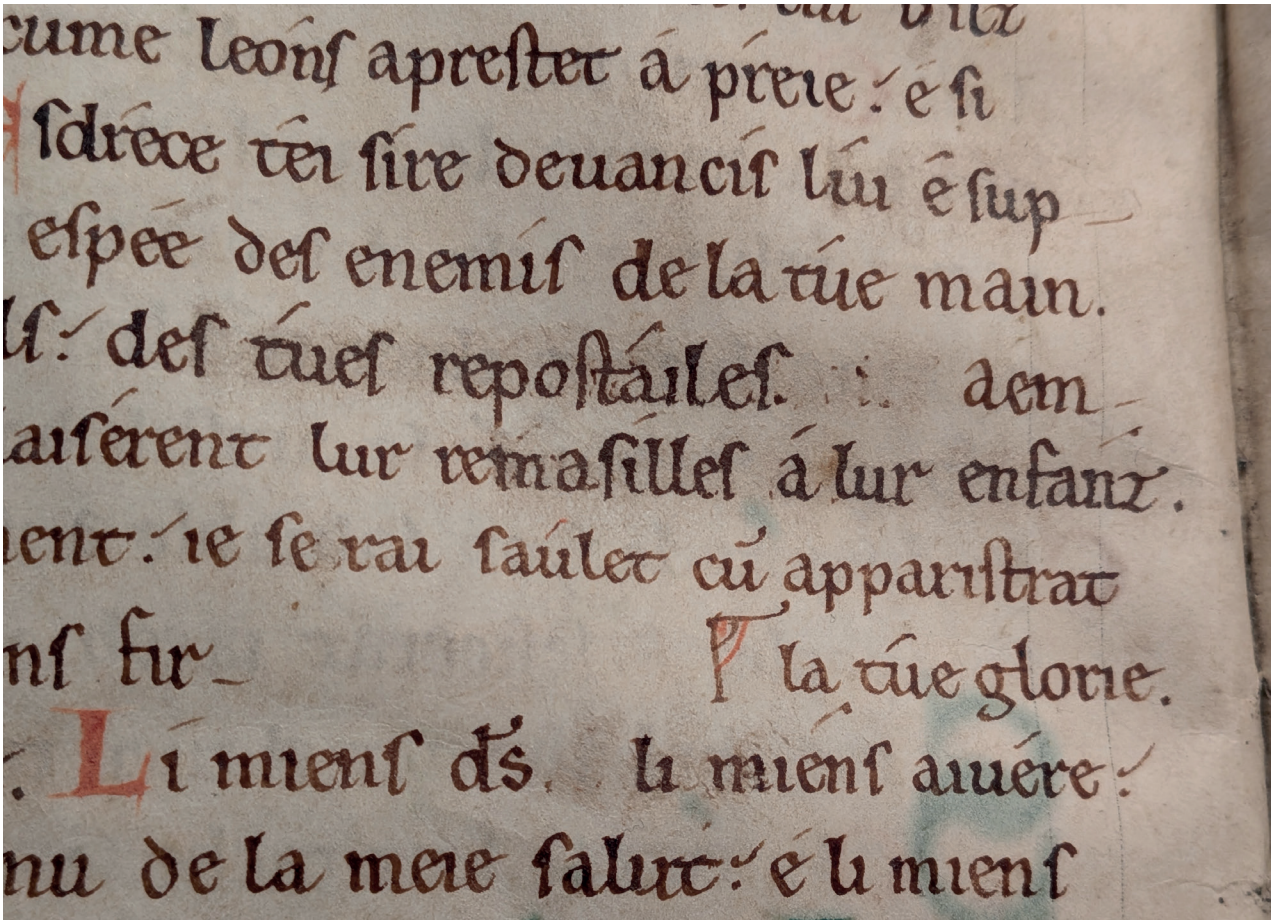
Diligam te Psalmvs david
domine fortitudo mea ; dns firmam'tu' meu' et refugiu' meu'
et liberator meus.

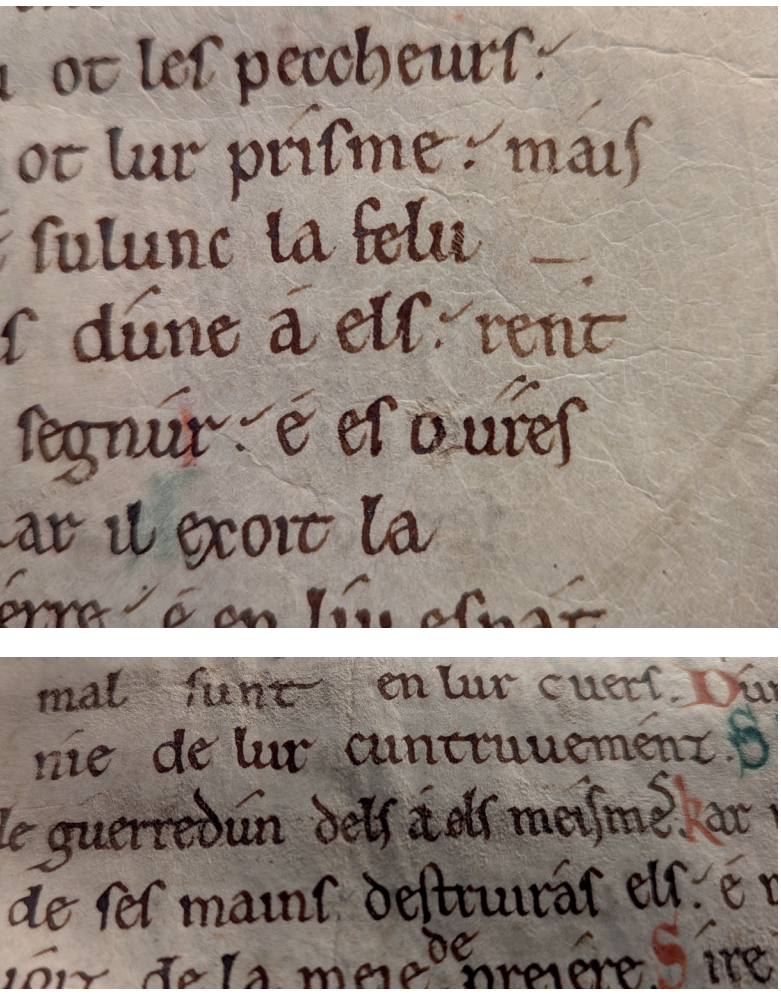
In such a case, the erasure would concern a copy-unit of a line and a half. But there is something else of great interest in this lines. Why did the Douce scribe leave all that blank space after *fir-*? It is evident that by the time he was copying the first verse of a new psalm (*Ie amerai tei...*) he realised that he had forgotten to write the end line of the previous psalm. It could well be that that line was thrown further down at the end of another verse, and marked by a pilcrow, just like Arundel does every now and then. When the scribe realises the error, he stops copying the remaining lines of the first verse from the new psalm, transcribes the end of the previous psalm and marks it with a pilcrow, then returns to his transcription by copy-units and leaves the line with the blank space to help readers identify the structure of the text. Consequently, the fact that he wrote only *fir-*, not the entire word, at the end of that line, is further proof that he operated by copy-units.

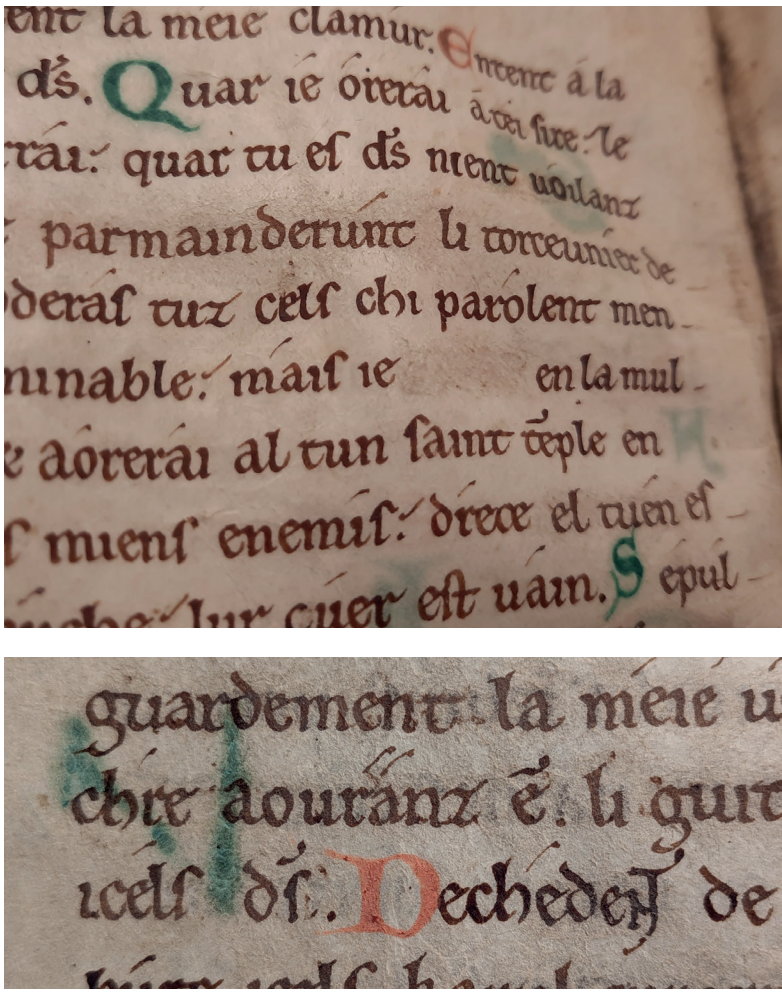


Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms *Douce 320.*
Both pages (up): The extensive erasure of fol. 37v, line 11.
Both pages (down): The extensive erasure of fol. 39v, lines 15 + the issue of the end of the previous psalm on line 14.
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023-2026.
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esledecent sei tuit chi espeirent en tei:
abiteras en els. E ses glorierunt en tei tuit
eisteras al iuste. Sire si cume delescut
nus.
en la tue ire ne me castier. Merci aies
mei sire. quar li mien os sunt conturbet. E la
tu sire deq; aquant. Seies cuertit sire
e misericordie. Quar nen ē. en mort chi


cume leons aprester a preie: e si
sdrece tei sire deuancis lui e sup
espee des enemis de la tue main.
s: des tues repostailes. dem
aiserent lur remasilles a lur enfanz.
ent: ie se rai saulet cu apparistrat
ns fir
la tue glorie.
Li miens ds. li miens auere:
nu de la meie salut: e li miens





Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320.
(left): The extensive erasure of Douce, fol. 42r, line 29.
(right): The extensive erasure of Douce, fol. 37v, lines 9-10.
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023-2026.
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Another example occurs on fol. 42r, line 29, where we read: *rent le guerredun dels a els meismes* .—with the final *–s* of *meísmes* written in superscript. Cf. MS Arundel 230, fol. 30r: *Secundum opera manuum eorum tribue/ illis; redde retributionem eorum ipsis.* The erasure could be determined by the initial rendering of *ipsis*, that is, by the absence of *meismes* in the initial translation. And the lines of the source could be reconstructed as:

S'c'd'm op'a manuum eor' tribue illis ;
redde retributionem eorum ipsis

In this case, it is evident that the verb *rent* was written at the end of the previous line (line 28) during the revision process, probably about the same time as the correction on top of an erasure from line 29. It is safe to assume that the verb *rent* had been written initially at the beginning of line 29 (traces of his accentuation are still visible in the upper part of the erasure, above the initial *g-* in *guerredun*), but the scribe had no place to insert *meismes* in an already crowded line. Therefore, he pushed all words up one position, until he created enough space to include the missing term.

The last example of this type presented here is that of fol. 37v, lines 9–10: *drece el tuen esguardement la meie ueie.* Cf. Arundel, fol. 9v: *Domine deduc me in iusticia tua propter/ inimicos meos; dirige in conspectu/ tuo uiam meam.* The Arundel vernacular gloss is very different from the Douce prose in this passage: *drece esguardement el ton uoie la moie.* Yet the reconstruction of the Latin source suggests that it could have had a corresponding final line:

Domine deduc me in iusticia tua
propter inimicos meos ; dirige
in conspectus tuo uiam meam

The fact that *ueie* is not part of the erasure is not surprising, since the scribe does this many times with words located at the beginning or at the end of these copy-units, probably because he considers that he can solve the issue by making smaller erasures. Could it be that the Douce scribe initially wrote a nonsensical formula such as that of the Arundel just in the case of *esguardement el ton*? It is quite tempting to make this conjecture, especially since *el tuen* of the previous line is also written on top of an erasure. In that case, *es-* at the end of line 9 was written in the blank space of the margin left by the initial version of the scribe.

It is perhaps high time to try a more complex reconstruction of a larger passage. The middle section of fol. 37v (second half of Ps 5 and beginning of Ps 6) can become a proper case study, since many lines have been almost entirely erased there, four of which have already been discussed. For comparison, we include the transcription of the same passage in MS Douce 320 (erasures marked in yellow) and the one of the Latin and French text of Winchester Psalter, to prove that the source's lines cannot

fit those of bilingual manuscripts on two columns. It should also be noted that we do not yet attempt to reconstruct the initial version of the MS Douce text in this first instalment of our paper, only its correlation with the Latin lines in its probable source manuscript. We included the text of Douce in the interline just to make it easier to correlate its erasures with the wording of the reconstructed Latin source. A proper reconstruction of the vernacular text will be done, only when all phenomena related to erasures will be analysed in detail.

At the beginning of the passage, there is no reason to change the arrangement of Ps 5:8 from the Arundel. The Douce source could have had the same structure on two lines. However, we reconstructed a version with two minor abbreviations, to show that such variations could occur, and that they do not change the interpretation. Next comes a passage that was already discussed, followed by the case of Ps 5:10 + Ps 5:11 (also mentionned

Oxford Psalter's largest erasure group (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320, fol. 37v):

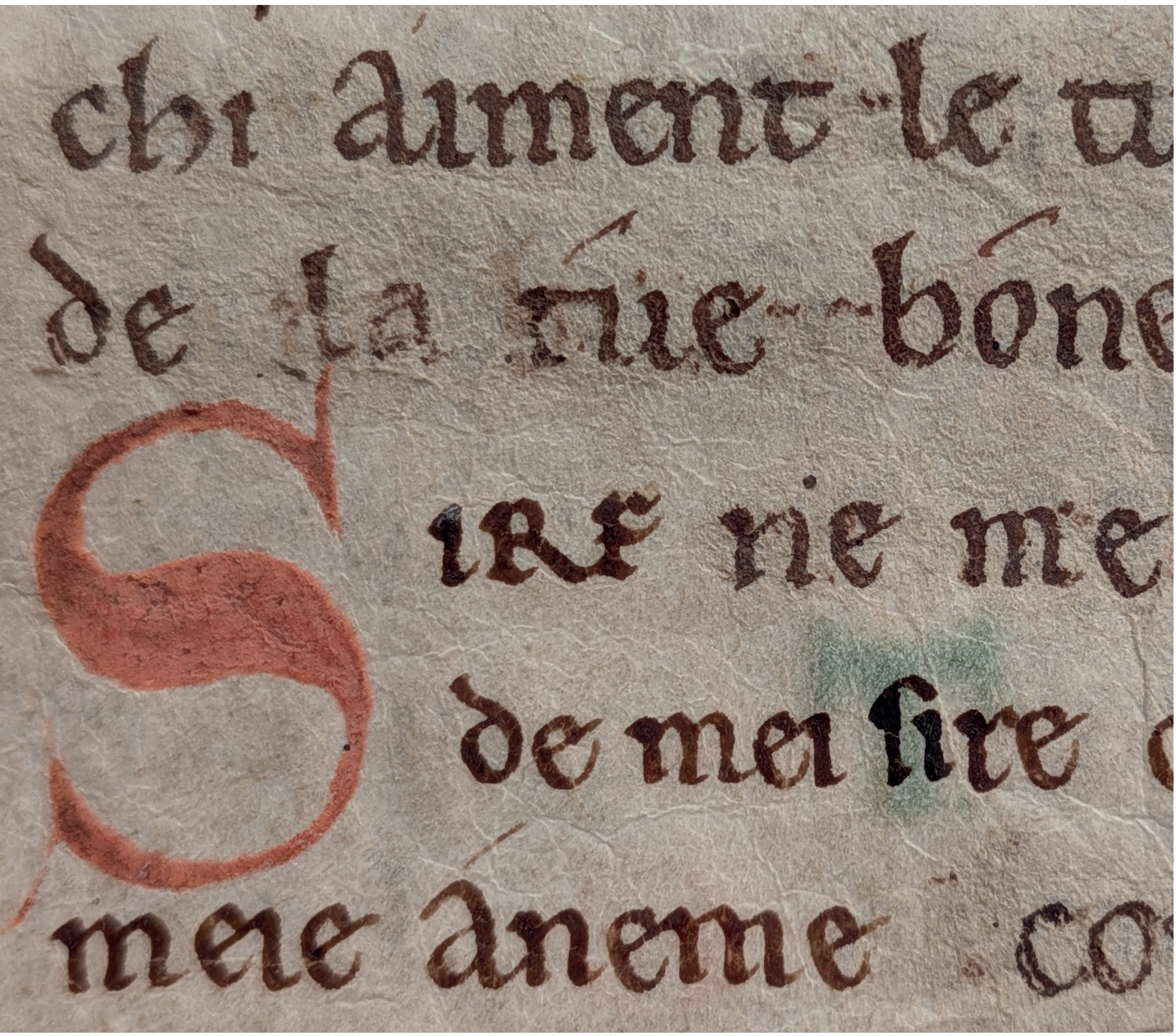
la tue crieme . Sire *de*meine mei en ta iustise pur les miens enemis ; drece el tuen es guardement la meie ueie . Kar ueritet nen est . en lur buche ; lur cuer est uain . Sepul cre aouranz e*st* . li guitrun di cels . par lur langues tricherusement faiseient ; iuge icels d*eus* . Dechedent de lur cogitatiuns selunc la multitudine de lur impietez ; de dute icels kar il entarierent tei sire . E esleðecent sei tuit chi espeirent en tei ; en parmanabletet sesioirunt e tu habiteras en els . E sesglorierunt en tei tuit chi aiment le tuen num ; kar tu beneisterás al iuste . Sire sicume . delescut de la tue bone uoluntet corunas nus .
Sire ne me arguer en ta fuirur ; ne en la tue ire ne me castier . Merci aies de mei sire quar ie sui enferm ; saine mei sire . quar li mien os sunt conturbet E la meie aneme conturbede est . mult ; e tu sire deque aquant ? Seies cunuertit sire e deliure ma aneme ; salf me fai pur la tue misericordie . Quar nen est en mort chi

Winchester Psalter Latin column
(London, BL, Cotton MS Nero C IV, fol. 47r–v):

Introibo in domu*m* tua*m* ; adorabo ad
templum s*anctu*m tuum in timore tuo .
D*omi*ne deduc me in iustitia tua p*r*opter
inimicos meos ; dirige in conspectu
tuo uiam meam .
Quoniam non est in ore eoru*m* ueritas ;
cor eorum uanum est .
Sepulchrum patens est guttur eoru*m*
linguis suis dolose agebant ; iudi-
ca illos deus .
Decidant a cogitationib*us* suis s*ecundu*m mul-
titudine*m* impietatum e*orum* expelle eos ;
q*uonia*m irritaverunt te domine .
Et letentur om*nes* q*ui* sp*er*ant in te ; in ęt*er*nu*m*
exultabunt *et* habitabis in eis .
Et gl*o*riabuntur in te om*nes* q*ui* diligunt
nom*en* tuu*m* ; q*uonia*m tu benedices iusto .
Domine ; ut scuto bone uoluntatis
tue coronasti nos .
D*omi*NE ne in furore tuo arguas me ;
neq*ue* in ira tua corripias me
Miserere mei domine quonia*m* infirm*us*
sum ; sana me domine q*uonia*m contur-
bata sunt ossa mea .
Et anima mea turbata est ualde ; *et*
tu domine usquequo .
Conuertere domine *et* eripe anima mea*m* .
saluu*m* me fac p*r*opt*er* mis*er*icordiam tuam .
Q*uonia*m n*on* e*st* in morte q*ui* memor sit tui ; in
inferno aute*m* q*uis* confitebitur tibi .

Winchester Psalter Old French column
(London, BL, Cotton MS Nero C IV, fol. 47r-v):

Ieo enterai en ta maison ; e aorerai el
tun saint temple en la tue crieme .
Sire demeine mei en ta iustice pur
les miens enemis ; drece el tuen es
guardement la meie ueie .
Kar uerited nen est en lor buche ;
lur cuer est uain .
Sepulchre aouranz est li guitrun
di cels ; par lur langues tricheruse
ment faiseient iuge cels deus .
Decheent de lur cogitatiuns . selonc la
multitudine de lur impietez debut
icels ; kar il entarierent tei sire .
Esleecent se tuit ki espeirent en tei . en
parmanabletet sesioirunt e tu habiteras en els .
ses glorierunt en tei tuit ki aiment le
tuen num ; kar beneistras al iuste
Sire si cume del escut de la tue bone
uolunted corunas nos .
Sire ne me arguer en ta fuirur . ne
en la tue ire ne me chastier .
Merci aies de mei sire kar ieo sui enferm ;
saine mei sire kar li mien os sunt
conturbet .
E la meie aneme conturbede est mult ;
e tu sire desqueaquant ?
Series conuertit sire e de liure maneme ;
salf me fai pur la tue misericorde .
Kar ne . est . en mort ki remenbrere seit de
tei ; en enfern acertes chi gihirat a tei ?



Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320, fol. 37v. Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023-2026. Courtesy of the Imaging Services of The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Creative Commons licence CC-BY-NC 4.0.

in passing). Those two verses would follow one another, thus explaining the extensive erasure that follows and the problems posed by word order in its rewriting. If the scribe copied textual units as they appeared in the source (and only later changed his method), then this complex passage would lead him to make a series of choices that he would regret at a later stage. In the next verse, the erasure of *Dechedent* is probably related to flexional issues, not to word order, but the longer erasure at the end could be linked to a probable line in the Latin text of the source. In Ps 5:12, the erasure of *sesioirunt* (cf. Latin *exultabunt*) concerns a lexical matter and no other problems can be noticed. For no other reasons than just to show that variation is always possible, we redistributed some characters (the prepositions French *en* / Latin *in*) from one line to another. However, in the next textual unit, the extensive erasure of the second part of the verse (which corresponds to the actual end of the verse Ps 5:12) could be the result of bad choices in the adaptation of the source, especially if the transcription unit to which *le tuen num* belonged was separate from the copy unit of the verb that precedes it (also erased together with *qui*). As for the next erasure, it concerns half a line from Ps 5: 13 and is related to the issue of the possessive adjective. This is where Ps 5 ends.

At the beginning of Ps 6, there is no need to rearrange the lines; we moved Latin *me* just to show that variation is possible and that the layout of Arundel is not the only one that the source could have had. The fact that the two lines of Ps 6:2 were entirely erased and rewritten perhaps point to problems in the phrasing of the vernacular gloss of the source. In point of fact, the Arundel gloss presents such odd arrangements of syntax, and the Douce scribe could have faced real challenges if and when he set out to adapt an interlinear source text. This perfectly justifies the erasure of the two lines. Moving on to Ps 6:3, we made a minor redistribution of the abbreviations in the two

uant tes oilz. Tu hais tuz chi deuirent felunie
ceunge. Hume de sanc e triche ur nre sire ferat a
titudine de la tue misericordie. Ie entrerai e jen ta maisu
la tue creme. Sire, de meine mei en ta iustise pu
guardement la meie ueie. Kar uertet nen e. en
chi aouranz e. li guitrun di oels. par lur langu
icels dc. Dechedeis de lur cogitatiuns selunc la
buite icels kar il entarieteis tei sire. e esledece
en parmanablecet sesloi tuit e tu habitera
chi aiment le tuen num. kar tu beneistera
de la tue bone uoluntet coruna nus
Sire nie me arguer en ta fuirur ne en la t
de mei sire quar ie sui enferm. saine mei sir
meie aneme conturbede e. mult. e tu sir
e deliure ma aneme. salf me fai pur la tue mis
remebreie sert de tei. en enfern a certet chi gehira
sement. lauerai par sengles nuit mun lit. de n
e. de fuirur, li mien oilz enuiezi entre tuz mes e
uuitez felunie. quar ot li sire la uoiz del mien
li sire la meie oreisun receut. Vergundisent e se
enemi. seient tuertit e uergundisent mult igne
Sire li mien dc en tei espai. salf me fai de t

I dormirai. é reposerai. Kar tu sire. senglement en espance establis mei.
Tes meies paroles ot tes oreiles receif sire. entent la meie clamur. Entent á la
uoiz de la meie oreisun. li miens reis é li miens dés. Quar ié óterai á tei sire. le
matin orras la meie uoiz. Le matin esterai á tei é uerrai. quar tu es dés nient uólanz
felunie. Ne de iuste tei ne habiterat malignes. ne ne parmainderunt li torceunier de
uant tes óilz. Tu hais tuz chi óeurent felunie. pderas tuz cels chi parolent men
ceunge. Hume de sanc. é triche ur. nre sire ferat abominable. mais ie enterrai en la mul
titudine de la tue misericordie. Ie enterrai en ta maisun. & aórerai al tun saint teple en
la tue crieme. Sire de meine mei en ta iustise pur les miens enemis. drece el tuen es
guardement. la meie uéie. Kar ueritet nen é. en lur buche. lur cuer est uain. Sepul
chre aourant é. li gurrun di cels. par lur langues tricherusement faseient. iuge
icels dé. Dechedes de lur cogitatiuns selunc la multitudine de lur impietet. de
bute icels kar il entarieres tei sire. Ne esledecent sei tuit chi espeirent en tei.
en parmanablement seiscoi tuit. é tu habiteras en els. Ne sesglorieront en tei tuit
chi ament le tuen num. kar tu beneistras al iuste. Sire si cume de escut
de la tue bone uoluntet corunas nus.

Sire nie me arguer en ta fuiur. ne en la tue ire ne me castier. Merci ai
de mei sire quar ié sui enferm. sane mei sire. quar li mien os sunt conturbet. é la
meie ame conturbede é. mult. é tu sire deg; aquant. Seies cuertit sire
é deliure ma ame. salf me fai pur la tue misericordie. Quar nen é. en mort chi
remembrere seit de tei. en enfern á cerrei chi gehirat a tei. Ie travailai el mien gemis
sement. lauerai par sengles nuit mun lit. de mes lermes mun lit aruserai. Turbet
é. de fuiur li mien óilz. enuielis entre tuz mes enemis. Deseuret de mei tuit chi
uuret felunie. quar ót li sire la uoiz del mien pluresment. Ót li sire la mei preiere.
li sire la meie oreisun receit. Vergundissent é seient conturbet forcment trestuit li mien
enemi. seient cuertit é uergundissent mult ignelement.

Sire li miens dés en tei espai. salf me fai de tuz parsuanz mei. é deliure mei.
Que alquune fiede ne rauisset si cume leun la meie ame. demenres que nest
chi reaimet ne chi salf facet. Sire li miens dés si ié fis icé. si é felunie es meies mains.
Si ie rendi asguerredunanz á mei males choses. dechiede par desserre de mes ene
mis uains. Parseuer li enemis la meie ame é coprenget. é defule en terre la mei
uie. é la meie glorie en puldre demeinc. Edrece tei sire en la tue ire. é seies essal
cet es deuises de mes enemis. Et eldrece tei sire li miens dés el cumandement que
tu mandas. é la synagoga des poples aurrunerat tei. E pur icesti en halt repaire.
li sire iuget les poples. Iuge mei sire siluns la meie iustise. é siluns la meie
innocence sur mei. Consumede deserat lordeet des peccheurs é adreceras le iuste. escer
chanz les cuers é les rains tu dé. La meie dreite aurorie del segnor. chi salfs
fait les dreiturers de cuer. Dés dreiz iugerre fort é suffrant. dum ne se curuce il
par sengles iurz? Si uus ne serrez conuertit sa espede crollerat. sun arc tendit.
& apareilat le. Et en lui apprestat les uaissels de mort. ses saietes ardanz fist.

▲ *Drawing of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320, fol. 37v (erasures are marked in yellow).*
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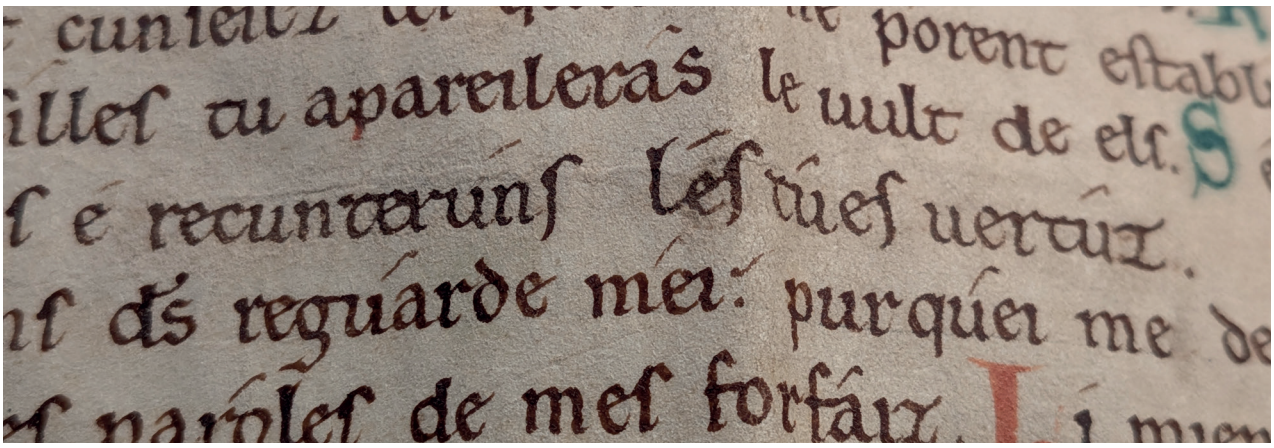
lines of this biblical verse, so that they fit the structure of the two erasures in Douce. If Arundel was based on another gloss, this would also explain why *maaneme* was written above *animam* and nothing was written above *meam*—because the formula was taken from a source and not adapted on the spot. This concludes the case study.

Arundel Psalter interlinear gloss (London, British Library, MS Arundel 230, fol. 9v-10r):

Jo enterai enta maisun enta aurerai al
Introibo indomum tuam ; adorabo ad
temple saint tun en creme latue
templum sanctum tuum in timore tuo .
Sire de meinne mei en iustise en ta pur
Domine deduc me iniusticia tua propter
les enemis mens drece esguarde ment
inimicos meos ; dirige in conspectu
el ton uoie lamoie dees coels uain est .
tuo uiam meam ; ¶ eorum uanum est .
Kar nen est en buche de icels ueritet ; quor
Quoniam non est in ore eorum ueritas ; cor
Sepulcre auranz est li guntur dicels ;
Sepulchrum patens est guttur eorum ;
par langues lur tricherusemenz demenoent iuge
linguis suis dolose agebant ; iudica
Dedechedent cogitaciun de lur ; selunc
Decidant acogitationibus suis ; secundum
la multitudine impietet de lur
multitudinem impietatum eorum
debute icels ; kar il ascharnirent tei sire .
expelle eos ; quoniam irritauerunt te domine .
et es selecent sei tuit ki espereirent en tei ; en par manabletet
Et lętentur omnes qui sperant in te ; in ęternum
se lecerunt et tu habiteras en els .
exultabunt et habitabis in eis .
Et ses gloriesent en tei tuit ki eiment
Et gloriabuntur in te omnes qui diligunt
nun le ten ; kar tu beneistras a iuste .
nomen tuum ; quoniam tu benedices iusto .
Sire sicume de lescut bone uolentet delatue
Domine ; ut scuto bonę uoluntatis tuę
curunas nus .
coronasti nos . Psalmus david
Sire ne en ta forsenerie constremnes mei ;
Domine ne in furore tuo arguas me ;
ne en ire latue castier mei . li men .
neque in ira tua corripias me . ¶ mea
Merci aies de limen sire mei kar enferm io sui
Miserere mei domine quoniam infirmus sum ;
saine mei sire kar contur bet sunt os
sana me domine quoniam conturbata sunt ossa
Et lamoi aneme con turbet est mult ; et tu
Et anima mea turbata est ualde ; et tu
sire desque aquant ? Latue
domine usquequo . ¶ tuam
Seies conuertit sire et deliure maaneme
Conuertere domine et eripe animam
salf mei fai pur misericordie .
meam ; saluum me fac propter misericordiam .

Reconstruction of the possible Latin lines in the source of MS Douce 320:

[Ie enterrai en ta maisun ; et aorerai] ?
Introibo in domum tuam ; adorabo
[al tun saint temple en la tue crieme .] ?
ad templum sanctum tuum in timore tuo .
[Sire demeine mei en ta iustise] ?
Domine deduc me in iusticia tua
[pur les miens enemis ; drece] ?
propter inimicos meos ; dirige
[el tuen esguardement la meie ueie] ?
in conspectu tuo uiam meam ;
[Kar ueritet nen est . en lur buche ;] ?
Quoniam non est in ore eorum ueritas ;
[lur cuer est uain. Sepulchre a-] ?
cor eorum uanum est . Sepulchrum pa-
[ouranz est li guitrun di cels par lur langues] ?
tens est guttur eorum ; linguis suis
[tricherusement faiseient ; iuge icels deus .] ?
dolose agebant ; iudica illos deus.
[Dechedent de lur cogitatiuns selunc]
Decidant a cogitationibus suis ; secundum
[la multitudine de lur impietez ;] ?
multitudinem impietatum eorum
[debute icels kar il entarierent tei sire .] ?
expelle eos ; quoniam irritauerunt te domine.
[Esleðecent sei tuit chi espeirent en tei ; en] ?
Et letentur omnes qui sperant in te ; in
[parmanabletet sesioirunt e tu habiteras en els .] ?
eternum exultabunt et habitabis in eis.
[E sesglorierunt en tei tuit chi aiment] ?
Et gloriabuntur in te omnes qui diligunt
[le tuen num; kar tu beneisteras al iuste .] ?
nomen tuum; quoniam tu benedices iusto .
[Sire sicume . delescut de la tue bone uoluntet] ?
Domine; ut scuto bone uoluntatis tue
[corunas nus .] ?
coronasti nos. Psalmvs david
[Sire ne me arguer en ta fuirur ;] ?
Domine ne in furore tuo arguas
[ne en la tue ire ne me castier.] ?
me ; neque in ira tua corripias me .
[Merci aies de mei sire quar ie sui enferm ;] ?
Miserere mei domine quoniam infirmus
[_] ? [saine mei sire . quar sunt conturbet .] ?
sum ; sana me domine quoniam conturbata
[li mien os] ?
sunt ossa mea.
[E la meie aneme conturbede est . mult ; e tu] ?
Et anima mea turbata est ualde; et tu
[sire deque aquant .] ?
domine usquequo.
[Seies conuertit sire e deliure ma aneme ;] ?
Conuertere domine et eripe animam meam ;
[salf me fai pur la tue misericordie.] ?
saluum me fac propter misericordiam tuam .



fol. 40v, line 31

Getting back to the analysis of individual examples, it is worth noting that on fol. 40v, line 31, MS Douce 320 reads: *nus canterums e recunteruns les tues uertuz.* The Arundel vernacular gloss presents a similar vernacular text based upon a Latin text with a slightly different layout of the lines: *Exaltare domine in uirtute tua; canta-/bimus et psallemus uirtutes tuas* (fol. 24r). Perhaps the text of the Latin source used by the Douce scribe could have had the following layout:

Exaltare domine in uirtute tua;
cantabim' et psallem' uirtutes tuas

On fol. 47v, lines 39–40, Douce reads: *Kar laneme de lui en la uie de lui meesme serat benedeite.* The Latin text of Arundel has (fol. 51v): *Quia anima eius in uita ipsius benedi-/cetur; confitebitur tibi cum benefece .* Its vernacular gloss is once again rather similar to Douce.

On fol. 49v, line 5, Douce's sequence *que ie plaise deuant deu en la lumiere des uiuanz .* can be interpreted in comparison with the lines of Latin text in Arundel, fol. 58r: *Quoniam eripuisti animam meam de/ morte. E pedes meos de lapsu; ut placeat/ coram deo in lumine uiuentium*, especially since the translation of Douce is similar to that of Arundel in this passage. However, minor adjustments need to be made and the reconstruction of the passage in the presumed source of Douce could be:

Quoniam eripuisti animam meam
de morte et pedes meos de lapsu ; ut
placeat coram deo in lumine uiuentium.

Coincidentally, this would also be the last line-unit of the entire psalm.

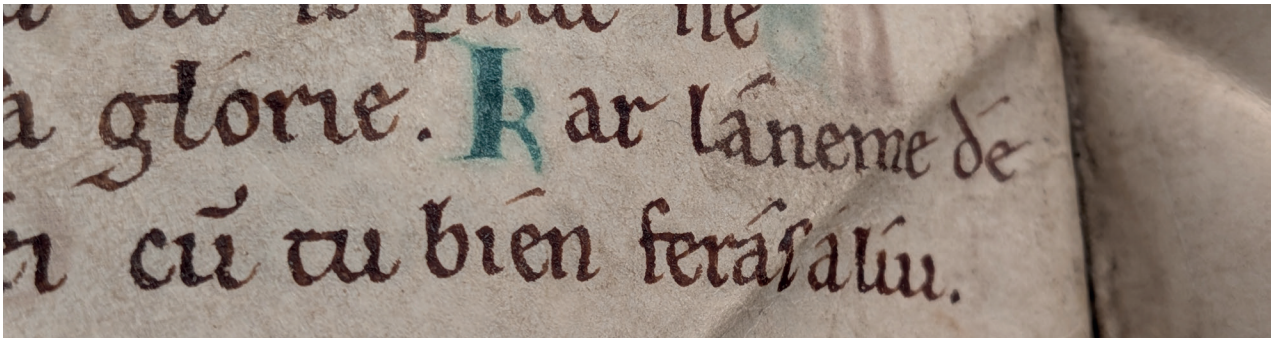
There is another example on fol. 51r, line 34. Douce has here: *A lui par la meie buche criai ; e esledeceai desuz ma langue.* In Arundel, fol. 65r, the Latin text is: *Ad ipsum ore meo clamaui; et exultaui /sub lingua mea* (displaced above, in a different line). The reconstruction of a possible source for Douce is:

Ad ipsum ore meo clamaui; et exultaui
sub lingua mea

And the translation choices seem very similar to those of Arundel.

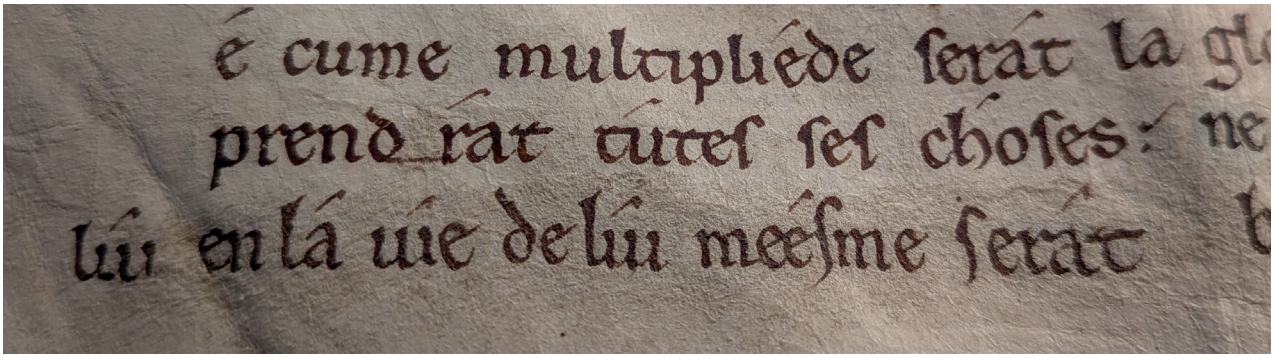
On fol. 55r, line 28, Douce reads: *e les sues merueilles el*

Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320.
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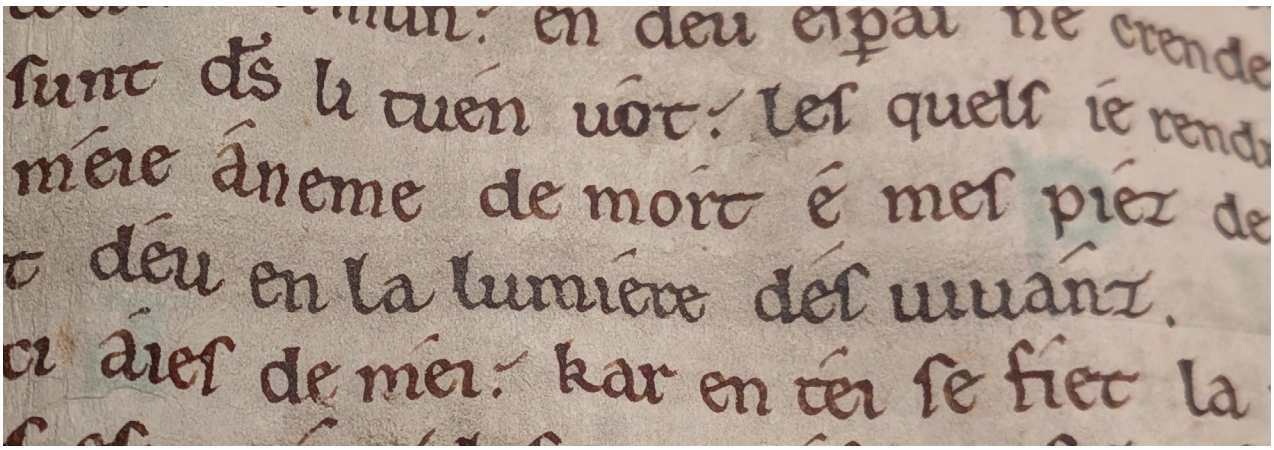
fol. 47v, line 39

fol. 47v, line 40



fol. 47v, line 39

fol. 47v, line 40



fol. 49v, line 5

camp de tafneos. Cf. Arundel, fol. 80r: *Sicut posuit in egypto signa sua; e pro/digia sua in campo taphneos.* For once, nonetheless, there is a difference in the vernacular text: *Sicume il cum il posat.* As for the reconstruction of the source, it could be:

Sicut posuit in egypto signa sua;
et prodigia sua in campo taphneos

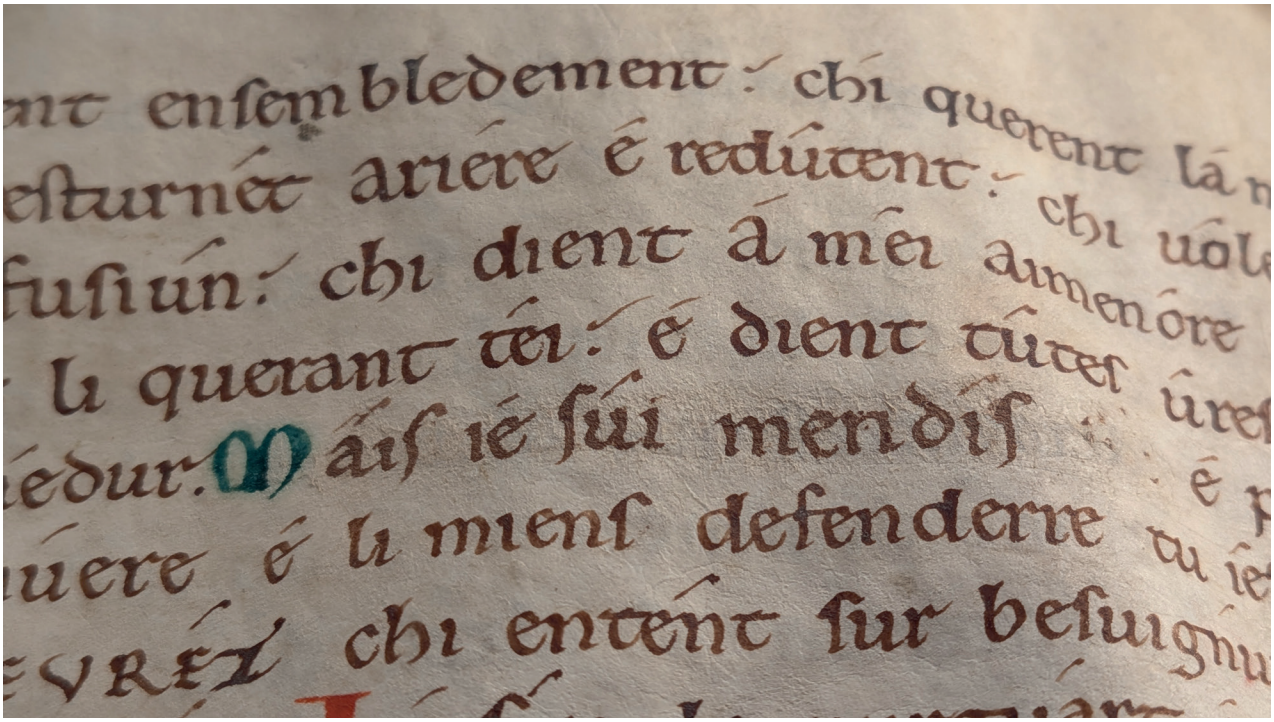
Finally, on fol. 55r, line 37, Douce has: *E ferit chescune chose premier engendree en la terre degypte* . Cf. Arundel's Latin text, fol. 80v: *Et percussit omne primogenitum in terra/ egypti; primitias omnis laboris eorum.* Leaving aside the fact that the Old French translation seems once again close to the Arundel gloss, the reconstruction of the lines in the source could be:

Et percussit omne primogenitum
in terra egypti (...)

However, not all extensive erasures can be included in this category, because the scribe certainly operated with other types of segmentation as well. The reading of an entire line was practical and saved him time and effort, but he probably relied on other segmentations of the source too, either syntactical or in accord with punctuation. For instance, on fol. 46r, line 5, Douce has a phrase written on top of an erasure: *Mais ie sui mendis e puure*. The Arundel gloss is similar to the Douce prose and corresponds to the Latin text (fol. 44v): *Ego autem mendicus sum et pauper; domi-/nus sollicitus est mei* . It is probably related to the issue of *mais* and *acertes* (*vide supra*).

Sneddon 1972, p. 110-112, has already analysed the issue of word order, arriving at the conclusion that "although the Latin word-order may be retained in French and the phrase remain comprehensible, it may never the less be altered." She tried to explain changes in word order in relation to conjunctions, pronouns, and possessive adjectives. This is indeed correct. Sneddon's observation that Arundel and Douce stem from a shared source (Sneddon 1972, p. 178) also seems to be correct.

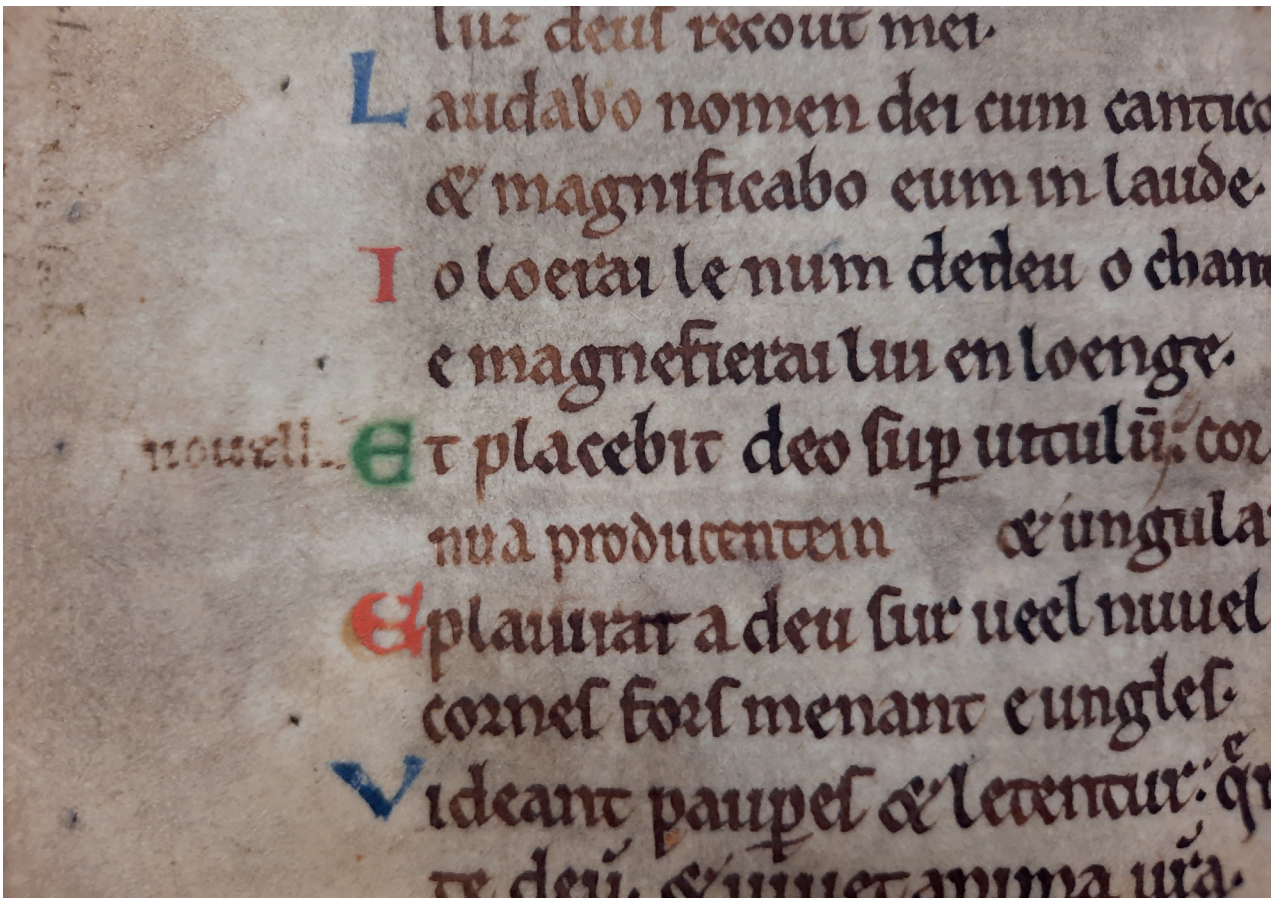
In our opinion, the scribe of MS Douce 320 used as a source a Latin manuscript with a vernacular interlinear gloss written in smaller characters. His goal was the transformation of said gloss into a prose text. However, he was undecided about the proper translation choices for certain passages. Sometimes he modified the source material, sometimes he followed it faithfully, depending on the complexity of the problem, on his ability (or inability) to rephase, and on many other factors.

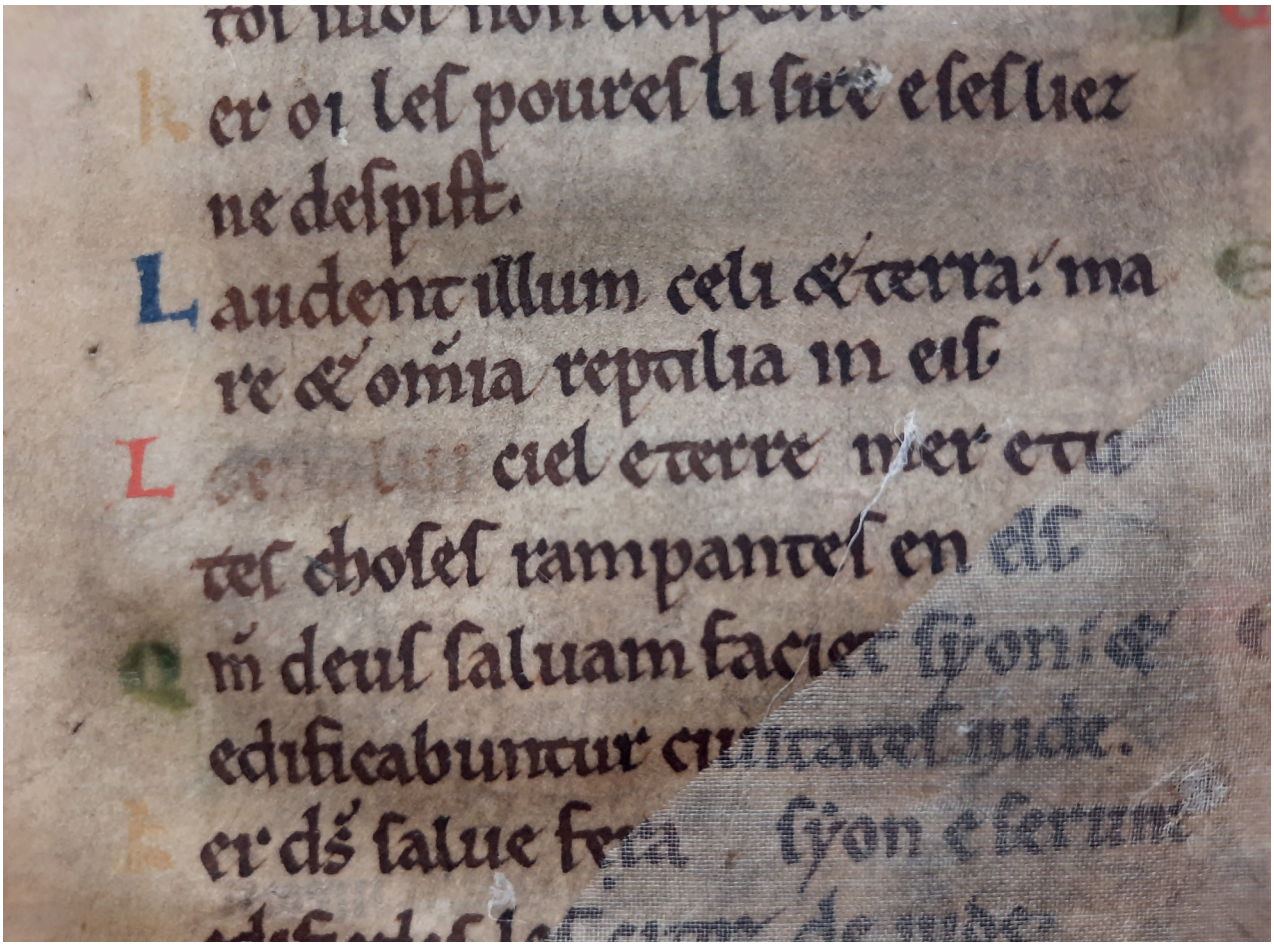


fol. 46r, line 5

mei ſicum
rium me ſicut
Tu es longinqs de mei n
Longcasti ame an
MI
ISERICORD
tuum
ratione
en ma buche.
in ore meo.

Bilingual psalter fragments in alternating layout or gloss


Laudabo nomen dei cum cantico
& magnificabo eum in laude.
Ioloetai le num dedeu o cham
e magnefietai luu en loenge.
Et placebit deo sup uitulū. cor
nua producentem
plauurat a deu sur ueel nuuel
cornel fosl menant e ungles.
Videant paupes & letentur:


er oi les pourel lu sure e sel liez
ne despist.
Laudent illum celi & terra: ma
re & oīa repalia in eis
ciel e terre mer
tes choses rampantes en
m deul saluam fac
edificabuntur
er ds salue fe

Maidstone fragments: transcription (VA)

From MS Douce 320 and MS Arundel 230 stems an entire group of bilingual psalters on two columns, the evolution of which seems simple, but no research into their links has been made. To this tradition also belong two fragments of psalters with alternating Latin and vernacular verses. These fragments are of particular interest, as they appear to preserve a textual state even closer to that represented by the Douce and Arundel witnesses.

One peculiar transformation attested in one of these manuscripts may be connected not to the development of the bilingual Psalter tradition as a whole, but rather to the still unresolved relationship between Douce and Arundel. This other psalter was mentioned earlier, in the section concerning *ker* as a spelling for *car*.

The codex is now lost, but three leaves are still in the Kent County Archives of Maidstone, file Fa Z 1. The local catalogue of manuscripts states that the free folios were in the possession of Faversham Borough Records, "where they presumably had been used as wrappers, covers, and so forth" (Freeth 1974: no pagination). Since the dossier of fragments from the Faversham Borough Records comprises three other items (two leaves from a biblical concordance of the late 14th-century; three leaves from a Sarum Missal, 15th century; and two leaves from a Missal, also dated 15th century), it is quite possible that they originated in the Benedictine St Saviour's Abbey of Faversham (founded 1147/8) and were pillaged or dismembered during the dissolution of the monasteries. Faversham Abbey was dissolved in 1538. At the time of the writing of the Maidstone psalter fragments (mid–12th century or second half of the same century according to Careri, Ruby, Short 2011: 108, who quote the opinion of Michael Gullik and argue that the manuscript could have been written at Christ Church, Canterbury), Faversham Abbey was Cluniac and subject to the authority of St Augustine's Abbey (Canterbury), not Christ Church (also Canterbury). Cf. Dobson, Edwards 2010, 96–97. Yet this means that a direct line of transmission of the manuscript could have been either Canterbury, where many manuscripts of the times were produced, or the network of English monasteries.

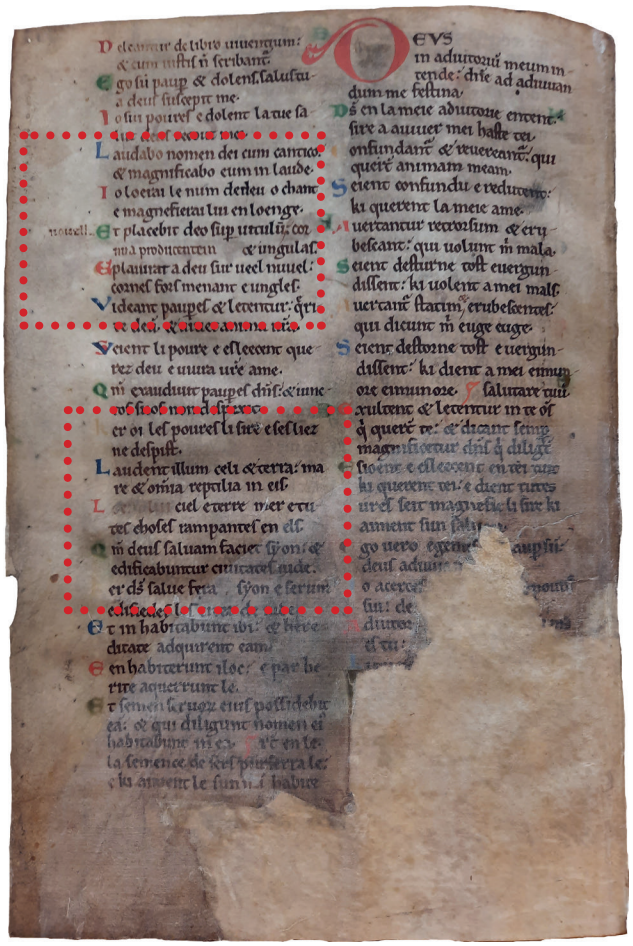
The fragments contain the biblical verses Ps 55:7–Ps 59:10 and Ps 68:15–70, and are sufficient to identify the Old French text with an avatar of the aforementioned tradition (cf. Careri, Ruby, Short 2011: 108). The layout gives the false impression that the Maidstone psalter could have been similar to double psalters. Yet even though the text is transcribed on two columns, it no longer presents two autonomous texts. The Latin and French verses alternate within each column, and paragraph breaks mark linguistic change. Perhaps the hierarchy of languages dictates that Gallicanum had to be copied first, followed by the Old French translation. However, the size of the letters in the French text is the same as that of the characters of the Latin one, therefore it is hard to argue that the two languages are different in status, at least from the point of view of the layout.

The size of the codex (280 x 185 mm) is comparable to that of other bilingual psalters belonging to the Anglo-Norman tradition, such as the palimpsest of Copenhagen (*Universitetsbiblioteket Arnamagnasanske Samling* 618 4°), especially since the fragments date to the same period. Yet despite similitudes with MS Douce 320 which link them in the same textual tradition, the three leaves present a text which is a little different than what one finds in bilingual psalters based on MS Douce 320. It is therefore not certain that the Maidstone fragments represent a witness marking the transition to another category of bilingual (or trilingual) psalters. This transformation would seem natural if it were indeed dictated by the strict symmetry of the two-column arrangement, which would in turn testify to 'the reader's greatest ease for establishing linguistic correspondences' (*la plus grande commodité de lecture pour établir des correspondances linguistiques*; Ruby 2010: 180).

Before proceeding to the analysis of the translation strategies (or, indeed, the processes of rewriting and diorthosis) evident in the Maidstone fragments, it is first necessary to establish a basic transcription of the text. I must also note that references to folios can be confusing, as they were not properly assembled. The second folio's recto is in fact its verso. Folios 1 and 3 form a bifolium, that used to be part of the same quire as folio 2. There are also traces of minor erasures, rewritings, writings in spaces initially left blank by the scribe, and a series of marginal notes that must also be taken into account.

Close-up of the second folio recto of the Orne Psalter fragments (Paris, National Archives, AB XIX 1734, in the Orne dossier, I/1).
Photo: Vladimir Agrigoroaei, 2024.
With the kind permission of the National Archives, Paris.

Maidstone, Kent History and Library Centre, Fa/Z1 (Faversham Fragment I.): fol. 3v (last folio of the fragments) and two close-ups on the facing page.
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei, 2023.
Courtesy of Kent Archive Service, Kent County Council.



Maidstone fragments
[text of the first fragment]

Ps 55:7a [fol. 1ra] Enhabiterunt e se respondrunt ; il meisme le mien talum agaiterunt .

Ps 55:7b + Ps 55:8 Sicut sustinuerunt animam meam pro nichilo saluos facies illos ; in ira populos confrin[> displaced]ges .
Sicum il sustindrent la mei ame ; pur nient salf les feras en ire les poples freindras .

Ps 55:9a Deus uitam meam nunciaui tibi ; posuisti lacrimas meas in conspectu tuo .
Deus la meie uie nuncei a tei ; tu posas mes lermes el tuen esguardement .

Ps 55:9b + Ps 55:10a Sicut et in promissione tua ; tunc conuertentur inimici mei re[> displaced]trorsum .
Sicume en la tue pramesse ; lores serunt tresturne li mien enemi arere .

Ps 55:10b In quacumque die inuocauero te ; ecce cognoui quoniam deus meus es .
In quel quunques iurn apelerai tei ; eite tei io cuni . que tu es li miens deus .

Ps 55:11 In deo laudabo uerbum [in] domino laudabo sermonem [in] deo speraui . non timebo [...]ciat michi homo .
[E]n deu lo[e]rai p[.....] / nel lo[.....] / espera[.....]

Ps 55:12 [I]n m[e .....] / de[.....]
[E]n [.....] / l[.....]

Ps 55:13 [.....] / [.....] / [.....] [fol. 1rb] in lumine uiuentium .
Ker tu deliuras la meie ame de mort e mes pez de sculurgement que io plaise deuant deu en la lumere des uiuanz .

[text division]

Ps 56:2a Miserere mei deus miserere mei ; quoniam in te confidit ani[> displaced]ma mea .
Merci aies de mei deus merci aies de mei ker en tei se fie la mei aneme .

Ps 56:2b Et in unbra alarum tuarum sperabo ; donec transeat iniquitas .
E en lumbre de tes eles esperrai ; desque trepast la felonie .

Ps 56:3 Clamabo ad deum altissimum ; deum qui benefecit michi .
Io crierai al deu altisme ; deu ki bien fist a mei .

Ps 56:4a Misit de celo et liberauit me ; dedit in opprobrium conculcan[> displaced]tes me .
Il en[u]eia del ciel e deliura mei duna en reproce les calcanz mei .

Ps 56:4b + Ps 56:5a Misit deus misericord[iam] suam et ue[rit]atem suam ; et eripuit animam [me]am de medio catulorum le[onum ;] dormiui conturbatus .
[Enueia] deus la sue misericorde e sa [ueritet e] deliura la meie ame [del mi...] des ch[ael]s des lions . [.....]nturbez .

Ps 56:5b [Filii homin]um de[nt]es eorum ar[ma et sagi]te ; et lingua eorum [gladius ac]utus .
[..... d]ent d[e]ls ar[mes ..... l]a l[angu]e dels [.....]

Ps 56:7a [.....] [.....] [>displaced]gloria tu[a .]
[.....] [fol. 1va] en tute terre la tue glorie

Ps 56:6 Laqueum parauerunt pedibus meis ; et incuruauerunt animam meam .
Laz apresterent a mes pez ; e encurberent la meie ame .

Ps 56:7b Foderunt ante faciem meam foueam ; et inciderunt in eam .
Foirent deuant la meie face fosse ; e enchairent en li .

Ps 56:8 Paratum cor meum deus paratum cor meum ; cantabo et psalmum [> displaced] dicam .
Aprestez est li miens cuers deus ; aprestez est mis cuers io canterai é psalme dirrai .

Ps 56:9 Exurge gloria mea exurge psalterium et cithara ; exurgam diluculo .
Esdrece tei sire meie glorie ; esdrece tei sater e harpe io leuaria [> displaced] ainz iorn .

Ps 56:10 Confitebor tibi in populis domine ; et psalmum dicam tibi in gentibus .
Io regehirai a tei en poples sire ; e salme dirrai en gent .

Ps 56:11 Quoniam magnificata est usque a[d] celos misericordia tua ; et usque a[d] nubes ueritas tua .
[K]er magnifiee est de[...] as [c]el[s] la tue misericorde e [..... nu/]es la [t]ue uerite .

Ps 56:12 Exaltare s[uper cel]os deus [et super om/]nem terram glor[ia tua .]
Seies esalce s[u]r les c[iels deus e sur] tute terre l[a] tue g[lorie] .

[text division]

Ps 57:2 Si vere [..... /] u[.....iudica/]te fi[lii .....]
[.....] / [.....]

Ps 57:3 [Etenim corde iniquitates operamini] [fol. 1vb] in terra ; iniusticias manus uestre concinnant .
Ker el cuer eniquitez uus ourent en terre . torconeries les uoz ma[> displaced]ins composent.

Ps 57:4 Alienati sunt peccatores a uulua ; errauerunt ab utero locuti sunt falsa .
Estrange sunt li pecheour de naisance ; foleerent de uentre par[> displaced]lerent falses coses .

Ps 57:5 Furor illis secundum similitudinem serpentis ; sicut aspidis surde et obturantis aures suas .
Furur est a els selunc la semblance de serpent ; sicume del surd serpent estupanz ses oreilles .

Ps 57:6 Que non exaudiet uocem incantancium ; et uenefici incantantis sapienter .
La quele nen norra la uoiz des enchantanz sagement .

Ps 57:7 [D]eus conter[e]t dentes eorum in ore ipsorum ; [mo]l[a]s l[eo]num confringet dominus .
Deus det[rib]lera les denz dels en la buch[e] d[e]ls meimes les ioes des [.....]s[....]i[.....]n[....]a li sire .

Ps 57:8 [Ad nihil]um [d]euenient tanquam [aqua de]currens i[nt]endit arcum [>displaced] suum [>displaced] donec infirmentur .
[.....] de[u]end[run]t sic[u]me euue [..... ent]ende sun arc [....] [.....]

Ps 57:9 [.....] [.....] [.....]
[.....] [.....] [.....]

Ps 57:10 [.....] [.....] [.....]
[.....] [fol. 2va] [..... si]cume uiande issi [.....]ez icels .

Ps 57:11 [Letabitur] iustus cum uiderit uin[dictam] ; manus suas lauabit in [san]guine peccatoris .

[Esl]eecera li iuste cum il uerra ueniance ; les sues mains leauera el sanc del peccheor .

Ps 57:12 [E]t dicet homo si utique est fructus iusto ; utique est deus iudicans eos in ter[>displaced]ra .

E dirra li huem si acertes est fruit al iuste acertes est deus *iuianz els en terre* uiuant .

[text division]

Ps 58:2 Eripe me de inimicis meis deus meus ; *et* ab insurgentibus in me libera me .

Deliure mei de mes enenemis li miens deus ; e des esdrecanz encontre mei deliure mei .

Ps 58:3 Eripe me de operantibus iniquitatem ; *et* de uiris sanguinum salua me .

Deliure mei des ouranz iniquite e des homes de sanc salue mei .

Ps 58:4 Quia ecce ceperunt animam meam ; irruerunt in me fortes .

Ker eite tei il pristrent la meie aneme embruierent en mei li [>displaced] fort .

Ps 58:5 [N]eque iniquitas mea neque peccatum meum ; domine sine iniquitate cucurri *et* direxi .

Ne la meie felunie ne li miens pecchez sire ; sanz iniquite curu e adrecai .

Ps 58:6a Exurge in occursum meum *et* uide ; *et* tu domine deus uirtutum [>displaced] deus israel .

Esdrece tei el mien contrecors e uei ; e tu sire deus *de* uertuz ; deus israel .

Ps 58:6a [I]ntende ad uisitandas omnes gentes ; non miserearis omnibus qui [fol. 2vb] operantur iniquitatem .

Entent a uisiter tutes genz ; nen aies merci de tuz ki ourent felu[>displaced]nie .

Ps 58:7 Conuertentur ad uesperam *et* famem pacientur ut canes ; *et* circuibunt ciuitatem .

Il serunt conuerti al uespre e faim sufferunt cume chiens ; e auiru[>displaced]nerunt la cite .

Ps 58:8 Ecce loquentur in ore suo ; *et* gladius in labiis eorum quoniam quis audiuit .

Eite tei il parlerunt en lur buche e glaiues es leures de els . ker li [>displaced] quels oit .

Ps 58:9 Et tu domine deridebis eos ; ad nichilum deduces omnes gentes .

E tu sire les escharniras ; a neent demerras tutes genz .

Ps 58:10 + Ps 58:11 Fortitudinem meam ad te custodiam ; quia deus susceptor meus deus meus misericordia eius preueniet me .

La meie fortece a tei guarderai ker deus li mien receuere ; li miens deus la misericorde de lui deuancera mei .

Ps 58:12a Deus ostendit michi super inimicos meos ; ne occidas eos nequando obliuiscantur populi mei ;

Deus demustre a mei sur les miens enemis ne ocies els que alcune fiee ne oblient li mien pople .

Ps 58:12b Disperge illos in uirtute tua ; *et* depone eos protector meus domine .

Despant els en la tue uertu ; e depose els sire li mien defendere .

Ps 58:13a Delictum oris eorum sermonem labiorum ipsorum ; *et* comprehendantur in superbia sua .

Les mesfaiz de lur buche la parole de lur leures e seient compris en la [>displaced] lur superbe .

[fol. 2ra] Et de execratione *et* mendatio ; anunciabuntur in consummatione ; in ira consummationis *et* non erunt . **Ps 58:13b + Ps 58:14 a(-b)**

E de execration e mencunge annuncie serrunt en consummation . [>line left blak]

Et scient quia deus dominabitur iacob ; et finium terre . **Ps 58:14 (b)-c**

En ire de consumation e nen erent e saurunt que deus seignoriera iacob e les fins de terre .

Conuertentur ad uesperam *et* famem pacientur ut canes ; et circuibunt [>displaced] ciuitatem . **Ps 58:15**

Serunt conuerti al uespre e faim sufferunt ; a cume chens e auirunerunt la cite .

Ipsi dispergentur ad manducandum ; si uero non fuerint saturati *et* murmurabunt . **Ps 58:16**

Il serunt esparpeille a manger acertes ne serunt saule e mur[>displaced]murerent .

Ego autem cantabo fortitudinem tuam ; *et* exaltabo mane misericordiam tuam . **Ps 58:17a**

Mais io canterai la tue force e essalcerai par matin la tue mi[>displaced]sericorde .

Quia factus es susceptor meus ; *et* refugium meum in die tribulationis mee . **Ps 58:17b**

Ker tu es faiz li miens receuere e li miens refuies el iorn de la me[>displaced]ie tribulation .

Adiutor meus tibi psallam . quia deus susceptor meus es ; deus meus misericordia mea . **Ps 58:18**

Li miens adiuuere a tei cantærai ker deus tu es li mens receuere ; li miens deus la meie misericor[>displaced]de .

[text division]

Devs reppvlisti nos et destruxisti nos ira[fol. 2vrb]tus es et misertu[s .....] **Ps 59:3**

Deus tu debutas nus e [.....] / nus irez es e as merci [.....]

Commouisti terram *et* contu= / eam ; sana contriciones eiu[s quia] / commota est . **Ps 59:4**

[T]u commous la terre e si la conturbas ; seigne les contriciuns de le [>displaced] ker commoue est .

Ostendisti populo tuo dura ; potasti nos uino compunctionis . **Ps 59:5**

Tu demustras al tuen pople dures choses abeuras nus del uin de compunction .

Dedisti metuentibus te significationem ; ut fugiant a facie arcus . **Ps 59:6a**

Tu dunas as cremanz tei signification que il fuient de la face del arc .

Vt liberentur dilecti tui ; saluum fac dextera tua *et* exaudi me . **Ps 59:6b + Ps 59:7**

Purco que seient deliure li tuen amet ; salf me fai par ta destre e oi mei .

Deus locutus est in sancto suo ; letabor *et* partibor siccimam *et* conuallem tabernaculorum metibor . **Ps 59:8**

Ieus parla en sun saint io mesleecerai *et* departirai siccima ; e la ualee des tabernacles mesuerai .

Meus est galaad *et* meus est manases ; *et* effraim fortitudo capitis mei . **Ps 59:9a**

Miens est galaad miens est manases e effraim la fortece de [>displaced] mun chief .

Iuda rex meus ; moab olla spei [>displaced] mee . **Ps 59:9b + Ps 59:10a**

Iude li miens reis ; moab le pot de la meie spee .

In idumeam extendam calcia[mentum meum ...] **Ps 59:10b**

▸ *Maidstone, Kent History and Library Centre, Fa/Z1 (Faver-sham Fragment I.)*: wider view of the same fol. 3v (last folio). Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei, 2023. Courtesy of Kent Archive Service, Kent County Council.

[text of the second fragment]

Ps 68:15 [.....] [fol. 3ra] me et de profundis aquarum .
Oste mei del fanc que io ne seie enzfiche de cels ki hairent mei e des parfundeces des eues .

Ps 68:16 Non me demergat tempestas aque neque absorbeat me profundum ; neque urgeat super me puteus os suum .
Ne me plunge tempeste deue ne ne transglute mei la parfundece ne ne constrainne sur mei li puiz sa buche .

Ps 68:17 Exaudi me domine quoniam benigna est misericordia tua ; secundum multitudinem miserat[i]onum tuarum respice in me .
Exoi mei sire kar benigne est ta misericorde selunc la multitudene de tes merciz esguar [> displaced] de mei .

Ps 68:18 Et ne auertas faciem tuam a p?uero tuo ; quoniam tribulor uelociter exaudi me .
E ne desturner la tue face del tuen enfant ker io sui trible isnelement oiez mei .

Ps 68:19 Intende anime mee *et* libera eam ; propter inimicos meos eri [> displaced] pe me .
Entendez a la meie amme e deliu[re li p]ur les miens e nen[.....] mei.

Ps 68:20 T[u s]cis [.....et] confu[s]i[onem ..... reuer]en-[t]iam [>displaced] meam .
[.....] e ma / [..... reuer]ence .

Ps 68:21a [In conspectu tuo sunt omnes q]ui / [.....] / [.....]
[.....] / [.....] / [.....]

Ps 68:21b [fol. 3rb] Et sustinui qui simul contristaretur et non fuit ; *et* qui consolaretur *et* non inueni .
E io suztinc ki ensemblement o mei tristast e ne fu ; ki ne confortast e nel truuai .

Ps 68:22 Et dederunt in escam meam fel ; *et* in siti mea potauerunt me [> displaced] aceto .
E dunerent en ma uiande fel ; e en la meie sei abeurerent mei [> displaced] de aisil .

Ps 68:23 Fiat mensa eorum coram ipsis in laqueum ; *et* in retributiones *et* in scandalum .
Seit fait la lur table deuant els en laz e en guerredons e en [> displaced] scandele .

Ps 68:24 Obscurentur oculi eorum ne uideant ; *et* dorsum eorum semper in curua .
Seient oscure li oil dels que il ne ueient ; e le dos de els tute ueie en curue .

Ps 68:25 Effunde super eos iram tuam ; *et* furor ire tue conprehendat eos .
Espant sur els la tue ire ; e la furor de la tue ire comprenge els .

Ps 68:26 Fiat habitatio eorum deserta ; *et* in tabernaculis eorum non sit qui inhabitet .
Seit faite le habitacion de els deserte ; e en lur tabernacles ne seit [> displaced] ki i habite .

Ps 68:27 Quoniam quem tu percussisti persecuti sunt ; *et* super dolorem uulnerum meorum addiderunt .
Ker celui que tu feris parseuuirent e sur la dolor de mes plaies aiusterent .

Ps 68:28 Appone iniquitatem super iniquitatem eorum ; *et* non intrent in iustitiam tuam .
E pose felunie sur l[a] felunie de els e ne [..]tre[..] en [l]a tue iustice .

Ps 68:29 [fol. 3va] Deleantur de libro uiuentium ; *et* cum iustis non scribantur .

Ps 68:30 Ego sum pauper *et* dolens . salus tua deus suscepit me .
Io sui poures e dolent la tue saluz deus recout mei .

Ps 68:31 Laudabo nomen dei cum cantico ; *et* magnificabo eum in laude .
Io loerai le num de deu o chant e magnifierai lui en loenge .

Ps 68:32 Et placebit deo super uitulum *nouellum* ; cornua producentem *et* ungulas .
E plaisirat a deu sur ueel nuuel ; cornes fors menant e ungles .

Ps 68:33 Videant pauperes *et* letentur ; querite deum . *et* uiuet anima uestra .
Veient li poure e esleecent querez deu e uiura uostre ame .

Ps 68:34 Quoniam exaudiuit pauperes dominus ; *et* uinctos suos non despexit .
Ker oi les poures li sire e ses liez ne despist .

Ps 68:35 Laudent illum celi *et* terra ; mare *et* omnia reptilia in eis .
~~Loent lui~~ ciel e terre mer e tutes choses rampantes en els .

Ps 68:36a Quoniam deus saluam faciet syon ; *et* edificabuntur ciuitates iude .
Ker deus salue fera syon e serunt edifiedes les citez de iude .

Ps 68:36b Et inhabitabunt ibi ; *et* hereditate adquirent eam .
E enhabiterunt iloc ; e par herite aquerrunt le .

Ps 68:37 Et semen seruorum eius possidebit eam ; *et* qui diligunt nomen eius habitabunt in ea .
[E] la semence de sers purserra le ; e ki aiment le sun num habite [> displaced] runt en le .

[text division]

Ps 69:2 [fol. 3vb] Devs in adiutorium meum intende ; domine ad adiuuandum me festina .
Deus en la meie adiutorie entent ; sire a aiuuer mei haste tei .

Ps 69:3 Confundantur *et* reuereantur ; qui querunt animam meam .
Seient confundu e redutent ; ki querent la meie ame .

Ps 69:4a (-b mixed) Auertantur retrorsum *et* erubescant ; qui uolunt michi mala .
Seient desturne tost e uergundissent ; ki uolent a mei mals .

Ps 69:4b Auertantur statim *et* erubescentes ; qui dicunt michi euge euge .
Seient destorne tost e uergundissent ; ki dient a mei eimunore eimunore .

Ps 69:5 Exultent *et* letentur in te omnes qui querunt te ; *et* dicant semper magnificetur dominus qui diligunt [> displaced] salutare tuum .
Esioent e esleecent en tei tuit ki querent tei ; e dient tutes ures seit magnefie li sire ki aiment sun salu[..]r .

Ps 69:6a Ego uero egenus [et p]auper sum ; deus adiuua [me .]
Io acertes [.....] poures sui ; de[us .....]

Ps 69:6b Adiutor [.....]r meus es tu ; [.....]
Li m[iens .....]

Deleantur de libro uiuentium:
& cum iustis n̄ scribant̄.
Ego sū paup & dolens. salus tua
a deus susceptt me.
Io sui poures e dolent la tue sa-
luz deus recout mei.
Laudabo nomen dei cum cantico:
& magnificabo eum in laude.
Io loerai le num dedeu o chant
e magnefierai lui en loenge.
nouell. Et placebit deo sup uitulū; cor
nua producentem & ungulas.
Eplaurat a deu sur ueel nuuel:
corneſ foel menant e ungleſ.
Videant paupes & letentur: q̄rite
te deū. & uiuet anima uŕa.
Veient li poure e esleecent que-
rez deu e uiura uŕe ame.
Qn̄ exaudiuit paupes dn̄s: & uinc-
tos suos non despexit.
er oi les poures li sire e ses liez
ne despist.
Laudent illum celi & terra: ma
re & oīa reptilia in eis.
Le[illegible] ciel e terre mer e tu-
tes choſes rampantes en eſ.
Qm̄ deus saluam faciet sy̆on: &
edificabuntur ciuitates iude.
er ds̄ salue fera sy̆on e seront
edifiedes les citez de iude.
Et habitabunt ibi: & hereditate adquirent eam.
E en habiterunt iloc: e par he-
rite aquerrunt le.
Et semen seruoꝝ eius possidebu-
nt eā: & qui diligunt nomen ei
habitabunt in ea. ℣ E en le.
la semence de lur puſterna le:
e li aimerent le sun nō habure

Deus
in adiutoriū meum in-
tende: dne ad adiuuan-
dum me festina.
Ds̄ en la meie aduitorie entent:
sire a auuer mei haste tei.
Confundant̄ & reuerecant̄: qui
queirt̄ animam meam.
Seient confundu e reduterent:
ki querent la meie ame.
Auertantur retrorsum & eru-
bescant: qui uolunt m̄ mala.
Seient destur ne tost euergun-
dissent: ki uolent a mei mals.
Auertant̄ statim & erubescentes:
qui dicunt m̄ euge euge.
Seient destorne tost e uergun-
dissent: ki dient a mei eimu-
ore eimunore. ℣ Salutare tuū
Exultent & letentur in te oēs
q̄ querūt te: & dicant semp
magnificetur dn̄s q̄ diligūt
Ioeint e esleecent en tei tuo
ki querent tei: e dient tutes
uiez seit magnefie li sire ki
aimeint sun sal[illegible].
Ego uero egenus [illegible] paup sū:
deus aduu[illegible]
Io acerta[illegible] epoun[illegible]
sun: de[illegible]
Adiutor[illegible]
es tu:
L[illegible]

THE RELATION BETWEEN MS DOUCE 320 AND THE MAIDSTONE FRAGMENTS (VA)

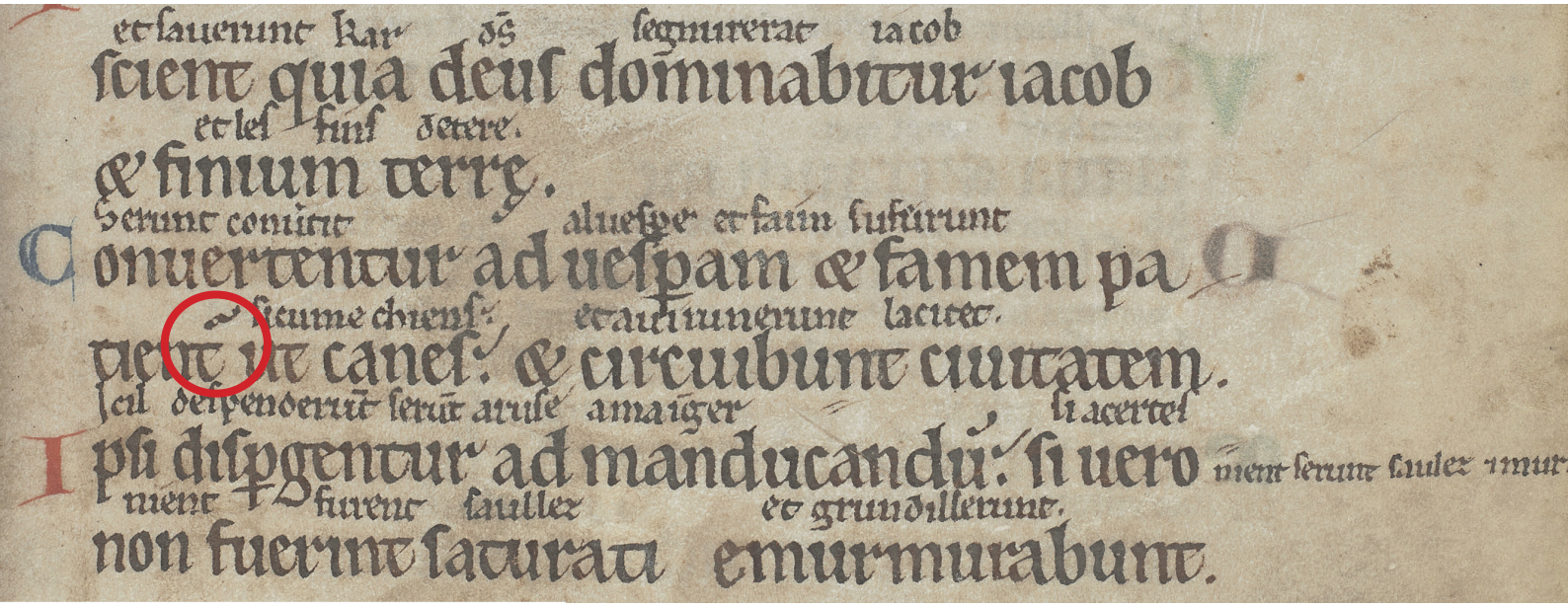
Following the transcription of the Maidstone Psalter fragments and the discussion of *ker* as a translation of Latin *quoniam* (a feature that may already have been present in the antigraph of MS Douce 320) a more detailed investigation is now required. The next step is therefore to undertake a comparative analysis of the translation strategies attested in the fragments in order to clarify more precisely their relationship to the Douce text and to determine the extent to which they preserve an early stage of the bilingual Psalter tradition.

There are many scribal errors that point to a careless treatment of the source material. In Ps 55:9b, for instance, Maidstone reads *arete*, where Douce reads *ariere* for Latin *retrorsum*; Arundel reading: *ariere*. In Ps 56:9, Maidstone reads *leuaria*, where Douce reads *leuerai* for Latin *exurgam*; Arundel reading: *leuerai*. In Ps 57:3, Maidstone reads *uus ourent en terre*, where Douce reads *uus ourez en terre* for Latin *operamini in terra*; Arundel reading: *uus ourez en tere*. In Ps 57:10, Maidstone reads [*si*]*cume uiande* where Douce reads *sicum uiuanz* for Latin *sicut viventes*; Arundel reading: *sicume uiuanz*. It is also worth noting that the Maidstone vernacular translation of this last example adds the word *uiuant* (possibly from Ps 57:10) two vernacular verses below, at the end of Ps 57:12. This is due to the displacement of the word at the end of another line of the antigraph, as is often the case in MS Arundel 230. The error also suggests that the antigraph of Maidstone was a vernacular interlinear gloss. Moving on, in Ps 58:4, Maidstone reads *embruierent*, where Douce reads *enbriuerent* for Latin *irruerunt*; Arundel reading: *enbreuerent*. Here, Maidstone seems to be based on a text that is much closer to the version of Douce than the one from Arundel. In Ps 59:8, the Maidstone scribe missed an ***r*** when he wrote *mesuerai* (Latin *metibor*); Douce and Arundel readings: *mesurerai*. In Ps 68:21b, Maidstone reads *o mei tristast*, where Douce reads *cuntristaz* for Latin *contristaretur*; Arundel reading: *contristanz*. In all probability, the Maidstone scribe did not understand what was written in his source, possibly on account of the source being written in rather small characters, such as those of an interlinear gloss (for more evidence, *vide infra*). Perhaps the most interesting scribal error and eye-skip can be found in Ps 69:4a, where the Maidstone scribe copied a phrase from Ps 69:4b, although he had to write *ariere* (as in Douce and Arundel) instead of *tost*. Last but not least, in Ps 69:5, Maidstone reads *sun* where Douce reads *tun* for Latin *tuum*; Arundel reads: *tun*.

Another category of possible scribal errors can be mere inconsistencies in the adaptation of a source. In Ps 55:10b, Maidstone reads *erte tei* where Douce reads *astetei* for Latin *ecce*; Arundel reading: *aeste tei* (cf. Ps 58:4, where Maidstone reads *eite tei*, Douce reads once again *astetei* for Latin *ecce*; Arundel reading: *aestetei*; and again, in Ps 58:8, Maidstone reads *eite tei*, where Douce reads *astetei* for Latin *ecce*; Arundel reading: *aeste tei)*. In Ps 58:5, Maidstone reads *curu*, where Douce reads *curi* for Latin *cucurri*; Arundel reading: *curi*. In Ps 59:4, Maidstone reads *seigne*, where Douce reads *saine* for Latin *sana*; Arundel reading: *saine*. Quite possibly, the Maidstone scribe mistook the verb *saner* 'to heal' for *seigner* (aphetic form of *enseigner*) 'to teach'. In Ps 68:19, Maidstone reads *entendez*, where Douce reads *entent* (singular) for Latin singular *intende*; Arundel reading: *entent*. In all likelihood, the Maidstone scribe rewrote this part in order to sound more polite in his address to God (for a similar situation, see *oiez* in Ps 68:18). In Ps 68:28, Maidstone reads *e pose* where Douce reads *apose* for Latin *appone*; Arundel reading: *apose*. To this, I must add a case of pure lack of attention: in Ps 55:10b, Maidstone reads *in*, where Douce reads *en* for Latin *in*; Arundel reading: *en*.

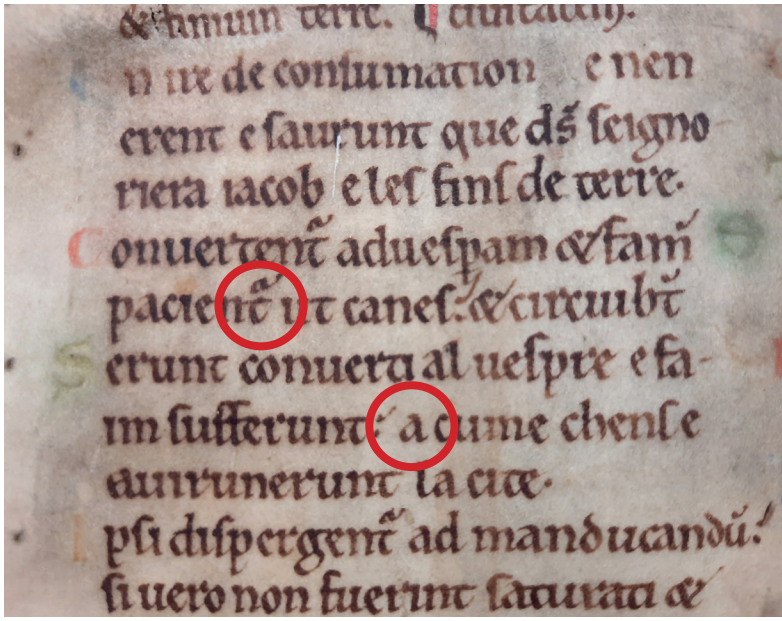
There are several instances of corrections. I list only one: in Ps 58:18, the Maidstone scribe started writing *canta–*, then deleted the ***a*** and wrote ***canterai***. Careri, Ruby, Short 2011, 108, believed that this word should be transcribed as *cantærai*; however, the same result can be noticed in the Hereford copy of the First French Commentary to the Psalms (Hereford, Cathedral Library, ms O.III.15, second half of the 12th century), when that manuscript's scribe corrected an ***a*** into ***e***.

By far, the differences between the readings of Maidstone vs Douce and Arundel concern the issue of variants. In Ps 55:9b, Maidstone reads *sicume* where Douce reads *e sicume* for Latin *sicut et*; Arundel reading: *sicume*. In Ps 56:7a, Maidstone reads *encurberent* where Douce reads *encuruerent* for Latin *incurvaverunt*; Arundel reading: *encuuerrerent* (…) *curuerent*. In Ps 56:9, Maidstone reads *ainz iorn* where Douce reads *par matin* for Latin *diluculo*; Arundel reading: *par matin*. In Ps 58:13b, Maidstone reads *execration* where Douce reads *escumuniement* for Latin *execratione*; Arundel reading: *escumungement*. The fact that the Maidstone scribe left a blank line after this verse suggests either that he was copying from an antigraph where the two texts were not perfectly aligned, or that he planned to return to this passage and make amendments, to avoid a situation that he encountered, for instance, in Ps 68:32 (where he had to erase a segment of text). In the same verse (Ps 58:13b), Maidstone reads *annuncie serunt* where Douce reads *serunt annunciet* for Latin *a-nunciabuntur*; Arundel reading: *serunt annunciet*. Moving on, in Ps 58:16, Maidstone reads *serunt esparpeille*, where Douce reads *serunt despandut* for Latin *dispergentur*; Arundel reading: *desperderunt serunt*. In Ps 58:17a, Maidstone reads *force*, where Douce reads *fortece* for Latin *fortitudinem*; Arundel reading: *fortece*. Such changes seem to be rewritings of another text. In Ps 59:8, Maidstone reads *siccima* where Douce reads *sicimam* for Latin *siccimam*; Arundel reading: *siccimam*, with the final ***–m*** abbreviated. Perhaps the Maidstone scribe missed the abbreviation. In Ps 59:10a, Maidstone reads *spee* where Douce reads *esperance* for Latin *spei*; Arundel reading: *esperance* (another rewriting). In Ps 68:18, Maidstone reads *isnelement oiez* where Douce reads *ignelment oi* for Latin *velociter exaudi*; Arundel reading: *ignelement exoie*. The ***s*** instead of ***g*** suggests that the antigraph of the vernacular text was an interlinear gloss, where the two letters can be easily mistaken, such as in the same verse from Arundel MS 320, f. 68v. In Ps 68:25, Maidstone reads *la furor* where Douce reads *la forsenerie* for Latin *furor*; Arundel reading: *la forsenerie*. In Ps 69:4b, Maidstone reads *eimunore eimunore*, where Douce reads *aimenore aimenore*; Arundel reading: *aimenore aimenore*. The high number of differences in variant readings suggests that



▲ *Print screen close-up of Ps 58:15 in the Arundel Psalter (London, British Library, MS Arundel 230, fol. 60r).*
Source: https://iiif.bl.uk/

▼ *Close-up of the second folio recto of Maidstone, Kent History and Library Centre, Fa/Z1 (Faversham Fragment I).*
Photo: Vladimir Agrigoroaei, 2023.
Courtesy of Kent Archive Service, Kent County Council.



the antigraph of the Maidstone fragments could have been a gloss similar to the Orne fragments (*vide infra*).

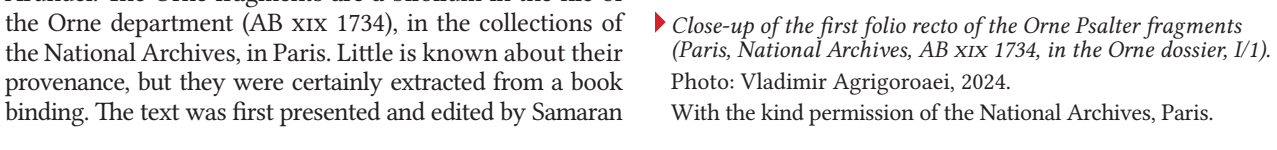
By far, the most interesting category is that of the additions. In Ps 56:9, Maidstone adds *sire* in *Esdrece tei sire meie glorie* where Douce reads *Esdrece tei la meie glorie* for Latin *Exurge gloria mea*; Arundel reading: *Esdrece tei la moie glorie*. In Ps 58:15, Maidstone adds ***a*** in *e faim sufferunt ; **a** cume chens*, where Douce reads *e faim sufferúnt cume chiens* for Latin *et famem patientur ut canes*; Arundel reading: *et faim sufeirunt sicume chiens*. This monosyllabic addition is essential for the reconstruction of the antigraph of the Maidstone fragments. It is already evident that the Maidstone scribe did not pay close attention to the correspondences between the Latin and vernacular texts that he was transcribing. In this case, in particular, he misunderstood the Latin abbreviation for *–ur* (above *pacientur*), that he had already transcribed two lines before. Since he read the two texts (Latin and vernacular) separately, he interpreted the abbreviation *–ur* as the letter ***a*** in the vernacular text. This led to his odd reading of an ***a*** before *cume*. However, this is possible only in the case of a vernacular interlinear gloss, written in small letters above the large letters of a Latin text, in manuscripts such as Arundel. This is the ultimate confirmation that the antigraph of the Maidstone fragments was not a manuscript stemming from the text of MS Douce 320, as it was often implied. This antigraph was related to the antigraph of Douce (or perhaps it was the actual source of Douce, although there is not enough evidence to reach that particular conclusion).

Once this is established, it is easier to interpret the deletions of various readings that can be found in Douce and Arundel. In Ps 56:10, Maidstone reads *dirrai en gent* where Douce reads *dirrai a tei es genz* for Latin *dicam tibi in gentibus*; Arundel reading: *dirrai a tei es genz*. In Ps 57:6, Maidstone reads *La quele nen norra la uoiz des enchantanz sagement* where Douce reads *La quele nen orrat la uoiz des encantanz ; e del uenimus encantant sagement* for Latin *Que non exaudiet vocem incantantium; et venefici incantantis sapienter*; Arundel reading: *La quele nient orrat la uoitz des encantant ; et del uenimus encantant sagement*. The Maidstone scribe made an eye-skip and missed almost half of the verse. The same thing occurred in Ps 68:15, where he forgot to write *deliure mei*, and in Ps 68:37, where he forgot to write *de lui*.

In conclusion, the Maidstone fragments are based on an interlinear gloss, written in small letters in the interline of a Latin text written in large characters. This gloss cannot be that of the Arundel. It could be a gloss of the same type as that of the Orne fragments, where substitutions are abundant. Furthermore, the punctuation of this source was different from the one that of Douce.

Orne fragments: transcription (VA)

Since the assumption that the Maidstone fragments stem from the tradition of psalters such as MS Douce 320 and MS Arundel 230 is no longer valid, it is of uttermost importance to analyse one of the translations that were often considered to be independent from the texts of Douce and Arundel. The Orne fragments are a bifolium in the file of the Orne department (AB XIX 1734), in the collections of the National Archives, in Paris. Little is known about their provenance, but they were certainly extracted from a book binding. The text was first presented and edited by Samaran 1929, who argued that the many different readings of this translation suggest that it had nothing to do with the text of Douce and Arundel. This idea is still mentioned in Careri, Ruby, Short 2011, p. 154, who date the fragments mid-12th century.



Close-up of the first folio recto of the Orne Psalter fragments (Paris, National Archives, AB XIX 1734, in the Orne dossier, I/1).
Photo: Vladimir Agrigoroaei, 2024.
With the kind permission of the National Archives, Paris.

Orne fragments
[text of the first fragment]

Ps 74:40 [fol. 1r] [...] lui el desert . en ire comourent lui en nun égos .
[...] eum in deserto ; in iram concitauer*unt* eum in inaquoso .

Ps 74:41 E s*unt* conuerti e essaierent deu . *e* le seint disrael enuairent .
[E]t conuersi s*unt* *et* te*m*ptauer*unt* deum ; *et* sanctu*m* israel exacerbauer*unt* .

Ps 74:42 Ne sunt recorde de la main de lui . el iur kil reienst icels de la main del atriblant .
Non sunt recordati manus ei*us* ; die qua redémit eos de manu tribulantis .

Ps 74:43 Sicume il posa en egipte ses signa ; e ses merueilles en ces lius .
Sicut posuit in egypto signa sua ; *et* p*r*odigia sua in campo taneos .

Ps 74:44 E conuerti en sanc les flueues dicels . e les plúies dels ; ke ne boussent .
Et conuertit in sanguine*m* flumina eo*rum* . *et* imbres eo*rum* ; ne biberent .

Ps 74:45 Il mist en els icele beste e ele les maniã ; *e* réine . *e* ele departit icels .
Misit in eos cynomiam *et* comedit eos ; ranam ; *et* disperdidit eos .

Ps 74:46 E du*n*na a ruille lur fruiz ; e lur laburs a languste .
Et dedit erugini fructus eo*rum* ; et labores eo*rum* locustę .

Ps 74:47 E il ocist gresle les uignies dicels ; é lur moriers en gelee .
Et occidit in grandine uineas eo*rum* ; *et* moros eo*rum* in pruina .

Ps 74:48 E il liura a gresle lur iumenz ; é lur possessiun[-] [a] fou .
et tradidit grandini iumenta eorum et possessionem eorum igni .

Ps 74:49 Jl mist en els ire de sun desdeignement ; desdeignement . *e* ire . e tribulatiun ; entermetement par mals angeles .
Misit in eos iram indignationis suę ; indignatione*m* *et* iram *et* tribulatione*m* inmissionem p*er* ange*l*os malos .

Ps 74:50 Veie fist a la sente de síre; ne esparna de la mort [d]e lur anmes ; e les iumenz dicels en la mort esnclost .
Viam fecit semitę irę suę ; non pep*er*cit a morte animarum eo*rum* ; *et* iume*n*ta eo*rum* in morte conclusit .

Ps 74:51 E ferit tuit le premereinne en la terre de egipti ; les primices de tut lur trauáil es tabernacles de cham .
Et p*er*cussit omne p*r*imogenitum in terra ęgypti ; primitias omnis laboris eo*rum* in tabernac*u*lis cham .

Ps 74:52 E tolit [fol. 1v] sicume oeilles sun pueple ; é demena icels ensem*en*t cume greu en desert .
Et abstulit [fol. 1v] sicut oues pop*u*l*u*m suum ; *et* p*er*duxit eos tanqua*m* grege*m* in deserto .

Ps 74:53 E demena icels en esp*er*ance . é ne crenstrent ; é lur enemis cuurit la mer .
Et deduxit eos in spe . *et* non timuer*unt* ; *et* inimicos eo*rum* op*er*uit mare .

Ps 74:54a E les demena el munt de sa seiantificatiun ; munt lequel aquist la destre de lui .
Et induxit eos in montem s*anc*tificationis suę ; monte*m* quem adquisiuit dextera eius .

Ps 74:54b E geta de la faice dicels [les] genz ; é par sort departit a els la terre en funel de departement .
[E]t eiecit a facie eo*rum* gentes ; *et* sorte diuisit eis terra*m* in funiculo distributionis .

Ps 74:55 E fist abiter es tabernacles dicels les lignies disrael .
Et habitare fecit in tabernac*u*lis eo*rum* tribus israel .

Ps 74:56 E esseérent *e* espruuerent deu le halt ; e les testimoines de lui ne garderent .
Et te*m*ptauerunt et exacerbauer*unt* deum excelsu*m* ; *et* testimonia ei*us* non custodier*unt* .

Ps 74:57 E desturnérent sei é ne gardérent le cuuenant ; ensem*en*t cume lur peres s*unt* conuerti en felun arc [---].
Et auertér*unt* se *et* non seruauer*unt* pactu*m* ; quemadmodu*m* patres eo*rum* conuersi sunt in arcum prauum .

Ps 74:58 [E]n ire cumourent lui en li [---] [---] *e* en lur creuz al segrefiement dels le prouochérent .
In ira concitauer*unt* eum in collib*us* suis ; *et* in sculptilibus suis ad emulationem eum p*r*ouocauer*unt* .

Ps 74:59 Dex les oid é despist ; *e* a neient ramena forment israel .
Audiuit de*us* et spreuit ; *et* ad nichilu*m* redégit ualde israel .

Ps 74:60 E debuta le tabernacle de silo ; sun tabernacle ú il abita es úmes .
Et réppulit tabernac*u*l*u*m syló ; tab*er*nac*u*l*u*m suu*m* ubi habitauit in hominib*us* .

Ps 74:61 E du*n*na en chaitiuete la uertu dicels ; é la bealte dicels es mains del enemi .
Et tradidit in captiuitatem uirtute*m* eo*rum* ; *et* pulchritudine*m* eo*rum* in manu*s* inimici .

Ps 74:61 E enclost en gláiue sun pueple ; e se heredite [...]
Et conclusit in gladio pop*u*l*u*m suum ; et hereditate*m* suam [...]

eum in deserto: in ira concitauerũt eum in maquolo.
Et cõuersi sũt & cẽptauerũt deum: & sanctũ israel
exacerbauerũt. Non fuerunt recordati manus eius: diei qua
redemit eos de manu tribulantis. Sicut posuit in
egypto signa sua & prodigia sua in campo tanis. Et
conuertit en sanc lor fluues: & lor pluies: dels
conuertit in sanguinẽ flumina eorũ. & imbres eorũ.
ne biberent. Misit in eos cynomiam & comedit eos.
& rane: & le departit: & dona aruille lur fruit
ranam: & dilexit eos. Et dedit erugini fructus
eorũ: & labores eorũ locuste. Et occidit in grandine
lor vignes: & lur moreres en gelee. Et in lauri
uineas eorũ: & moros eorũ in pruina. Et tradidit
grandini iumenta eorũ: & possessionẽ eorũ igni. Misit
en els ire: & de sun desdeignement: & desdeignement: & ire.
in eos iram indignationis suę: indignationẽ & iram
& tribulationes: enterrumperent par mals angeles. Viam
& tribulationẽ: immissionem p̃ angelos malos. Viam
fist a la sentee de sun ire: ne esparna de la mort ele lur an
fecit semitę irę suę: non pepcit a morte animarum
nues: & les iumenz: dels en la mort esclost. Et fecit
eorũ: & iumenta eorũ in morte conclusit. Et percussit
tuit le premereinne en la terre de egypte: les primices
omne primogenitum in terra egypti: primitias
de tute lur trauail es tabernacles de cham. Et tulit
omnis laboris eorũ in tabernaculis cham. Et abstulit

ſicume oeilles ſun pueple. e demena icels enſemẽt cume greu
ſicut oues poplm ſuum. & pduxit eos tanquã gregẽ
en deſert. & demena icels en eſpance. e ne crenſtrent.
in deſerto. Et cledurit eos in ſpe. & non timuerũt.
e lur enemis cuurit la mer. & les demena et munt
& inimicos eoꝝ operuit mare. Et induxit eos in mon-
de ſa ſẽctificatiun. munt le quel aquiſt la de
tem ſcificatiõis ſuę. montẽ quem adquiſiuit dex-
ſtre delui. & geta de la face dicels, les genz. e par ſort departit
tera eius. Et eiecit a facie eoꝝ gentes. & ſorte diuiſit
a els la terre en funel de departement. & fiſt habiter
eis terrã in funiculo diſtributionis. Et habitare fecit
es tabernacles dicels le lignes diſrael. & eſſeerent
in tabernaclis eoꝝ tribus iſrael. Et tẽptauerunt
& eſpruuerent deu le halt. e les teſtimoines de lui ne
& exacerbauerũt deum excelſũ. & teſtimonia eĩ non
garderent. & deſturnerent sei e ne gardereñ le cuuenant.
cuſtodierũt. Et auerterũt ſe & non ſeruauerũt pactũ.
enſemẽt cume lur peres ſẽ conuertirent en felun arc.
quemadmodũ patres eoꝝ conuerſi ſunt in arcum
prauum. Inuidia concitauerũt eum in collib; ſuis.
& en lur eiduz al segrefiement dels le prouocherent.
& in ſculptilib; ſuis ad emulationem eum puocauerũt.
Oyr les oid e deſpiſt. & a neient tamenã formẽt
Audiuit dñs & ſpreuit. & ad nichilũ redegit ualde
iſrael. & debuta le tabernacle de ſilo. ſun tabernacle
iſrael. Et reppulit tabernaclm ſyló. tabnaclm ſuũ
u il abita el umes. & dũna en chaitiuete
ubi habitauit in hominib;. Et tradidit in captiuita-
s la uertu dicels. e la beatre dicels es mains del enemi.
tem uirtutẽ eoꝝ. & pulchritudinẽ eoꝝ in manũ inimici.
& encloſt en glaiue ſun pueple. & ſe hereditte
Et concluſit in gladio poplm ſuum. & hereditatẽ ſuam

mi oill langiment pur suffraite. Jo criei a tei sire:
oculi mei languerunt pre inopia. Clamaui ad te dñe:
tute iur io estendi a tei mes meins. Dunkes feras tu mer
tota die expandi ad te manus meas. Umquid mortuis
neilles as morz? vel medici suscitabunt & confitebun
tur tibi? Numqd narrabit aliquis in sepulchro mi
sericordiã tuã: & ueritatẽ tuã in pditione? Numqd
cumuistrunt es tenebres tes merueilles: e ta iustice
en la terre dubliance? Et ego ad te dñe clamaui.
tuã in terra obliuionis? e parmatin deuanceira tei mureisun.
& mane oratio mea preueniet te. Ut quid dñe repellis
Purquei sire deburaes tu
murcisun: de ta face de mei? Jo sui povres
orationẽ meã. auertis faciem tuã a me? Paup sum
& en traualz des ma juuente: io estuleiz ad tes
ego & in laborib. a iuuentute mea exaltatus autem
pez humiliez & trubles. Cri mei trespasserent tes
humiliatus sum & conturbatus. In me transierũt ire
tres: e tes pours troublerent mei. Aduenerent
tui: & terrores tui conturbauerũt me. Circumdede
mei sicume eawe tute jor: aduruneront tuei ensemble.
runt me sicut aqua tota die: circumdederũt me simul.
Tu es loignas de mei mun ami e mun prieme: e mes conuiz de miseire.
Elongasti a me amicum & proximũ & notos meos a miseria.
Misericordias dñi in ęternum cantabo. In gene
tiun jen la geniatiun: anuncerei ta uerte
ratione & gnationẽ: annuntiabo ueritatẽ tuã
en ma buche. Ker tu desis. durablement nuiseicorde sera edifiee
in ore meo. Qm dixisti. in ęternum misericordia ędificabis

fise et cels. sera apreste ta uerte en eals. Jo orde
bitur in celis. ꝑparabitur uertas tua in eis. Spo
nei mun afermerum. ganes est lz. Jo uuret a dauid mun serf.
sui testamentum usq; in eternum ꝑparabo semen tuum. Et
edifiere en generacion en la generacion tun siege.
edificabo in generationē & gnationē sedem tuam.
Li ciel regehirunt tes merueilles sire. Jacertes tare
Confitebuntur celi mirabilia tua dñe. etenim uerta
te enbligise del seinz. Qer qui est nuel sera egau
eum tuū in ecclesia sanctoꝝ. Qm quis in nubib; equa
lis al seignr. semblanz sera al seignr el fiz de deu. Ki
bitur dño. similis erit dño in filiis dei. Deus qui
glorifie el cunseil del sainz. grant & espoentable
glificatus in cōsilio sanctoꝝ. magnꝰ & terribilis
sur tuz lodz ki se en la uirunerur de lui. Sire deu de uer
sup omnes qui in circuitu ei sunt. Dñe deus uirtu
tuz ki. semblable a tei. tu ies poanz sire. & ta uerte
tum quis similis tibi potens es dñe. & ueritas tua
en tun auirunez. Tu as seignorie de la poeste de la mer & ermoue
in circuitu tuo. Tu dñaris potestati maris. motu
ment acerte de flueues de li asuages tu. Tu umilias lorgheil
autem fluctuum ei tu mitigas. Tu humiliasti sic
lus si cume nafre. el braz de ta uerte tu pur
uulnerati superbum. in brachio uirtutis tue disp
tis tes enemis. Tuens se li ciel. e tue. la terre. le
fisti inimicos tuos. Tui sunt celi. & tua. terra. or
cercle de la terre e la plente de li fundas tu. aquilon
bem terre & plenitudinē ei tu fundasti. aquilonem
e la mer creas tu. Cel mont e cel altre en tun num
& mare tu creasti. Thabor & hermon in nomine
esbalcerunt cun braz. o poance. Ser ars
tuo. exaltabit tuum brachiū cum potentia. Firme

[text of the second fragment]

Ps 87:10a [fol. 2r] [...] mi oill languirent pur suffraite .
[...] o[cu]li mei languerunt pre inopia .

Ps 87:10b Jo criei a tei sire ; tute iur io estendi a tei mes meins .
Clamaui ad te domine ; tota die expandi ad te manus meas .

Ps 87:11 Dunkes feras tu merueilles as morz ? v li mirie susciterunt é regehirunt a tei ?
[N]umquid mortuis facies mirabilia ? aut médici suscitabunt et confitebuntur tibi ?

Ps 87:12 Dunkes recuntera alcuns el sepulcre ta misericorde ; é ta uerte en perdicion ?
Numquid narrabit aliquis in sepulchro misericordiam tuam ; *et* ueritatem tuam in perditione ?

Ps 87:13 Dunkes cunuistrunt es teniebres tes merueilles ; é ta iustice en la terre dubliance ?
Numquid cognoscentur in tenebris mirabilia tua ; *et* iusticiam tuam in terra obliuionis ?

Ps 87:14 E iéo a tei sire criei ; é par matin desauancira tei mureisun .
Et ego ad te domine clamaui . *et* mane oratio mea preuéniet té .

Ps 87:15 Purquei sire debutes tu mureisun ; desturnes ta faice de mei ?
Vtquid domine repellis orationem meam ; auertis faciem tuam a me ?

Ps 87:16 Jo sui poures e en traualz des ma iuuente ; ió eshalciez acertes sui humiliez e trublez .
Pauper sum ego *et* i[n] laboribus a iuuentute mea ; exaltatus autem humiliatus [s]ú *et* conturbatus .

Ps 87:17 En [m]ei trespasserent tes ires ; é tes poúrs trublérent mei .
In me transierunt irę tuę ; *et* terrores tui conturbauerunt me .

Ps 87:18 Auirunerent mei sicume ewe tute iór ; auirunerent mei ensemble .
Circumdederunt me sicut aqua tota die ; circumdederunt me simul .

Ps 87:19 Tu esloígnas de mei mun ami é mun priesme ; é mes connuz de misere .
Elongasti a me amicum *et* proximum ; *et* notos meos a miseria .

[text division]

Ps 88:2a Les merciz del seignor durablement chanterei .
Misericordias domini in ętternum cantabo .

Ps 88:2b En la generatiun *e* en la generatiun ; anuncerei ta uerte en ma buché .
In generatione *et* generationem ; annuntiabo ueritatem tuam in ore meo .

Ker tu desis . durablement misericorde sera edefiee [fol. 2v] fiee es ciels ; sera aprestee ta uerte en eals . **Ps 88:3**
Quoniam dixisti . in ętternum misericordia ędifica[fol. 2v]bitur in cęlis preparabitur ueritas tua in eis .

Jo ordenei mun afermement a mes esliz ; ió iurei a dauid mun serf ; gesque en la durablete apresterei ió ta semence . **Ps 88:4+ Ps 88:5a**
[Di]sposui testamentum [e]lectis meis ; iuraui dauid seruo meo ; usque in ętternum preparabo semen tuum .

E ió edifierei en generatiun *e* en la generatiun ~~ta~~ tun siege . **Ps 88:5b**
Et edificabo in generationem et generationem sedem tuam .

Li ciel regehirunt tes merueilles . sire ; *e* acertes ta uerte en liglise des seinz . **Ps 88:6**
Confitebuntur celi mirabilia tua domine ; etenim ueritatem tuam in ecclesia sanctorum .

Ker qui es nues sera egaillie al seignur ; semblanz sera al seignur es filz de deu . **Ps 88:7**
Quoniam quis in nubibus equabitur domino ; similis erit domino in filiis dei .

[D]ex ki [e]st glorifie el cunseil des sainz . granz *e* espoentables sur tuz icels ki sunt en lauirunement de lui . **Ps 88:8**
Deus qui glorificatur in consilio sanctorum ; magnus *et* terribilis super omnes qui in circuitu eius sunt .

Sire dex de uertuz ki *est* semblables a tei ? tu ies poánz sire . *e* ta uerte en tun auirunement . **Ps 88:9**
Domine deus uirtutum quis similis tibi ? potens es domine . *et* ueritas tua in circúitu tuo .

Tu as seignorie de la poeste de la mer . le mouement acertes des flueues de li asuáges tu . **Ps 88:10**
Tu dominaris pot[e]stati[-] maris ; motum autem fluctuum eius tu mitigas .

Tu umilias lorgheillus sicume nafré ; el braz de te uertu tu departis tes enemis . **Ps 88:11**
Tu humiliasti sicut uulneratum superbum ; in brachio uirtutis tuę dispersisti inimicos tuos .

Tuens sunt li ciel . é tue *est* la terre ; le cercle de la terre é la plente de li fundas tu ; aquilun é la mer crias tu . **Ps 88:12+ Ps 88:13**
Tui sunt cęli . *et* tua *est* terra ; orbem terrę *et* plenitudinem eius tu fundasti ; aquilonem *et* mare tu creasti .

Jcil monz é cel altre en tun num eshalcerunt tun braz ó poance . **Ps 88:14a**
Thabor *et* hermon in nomine tuo ; exaltabunt tuum brachium cum potentia .

Seit afer[...] **Ps 88:14b**
Firme[...]

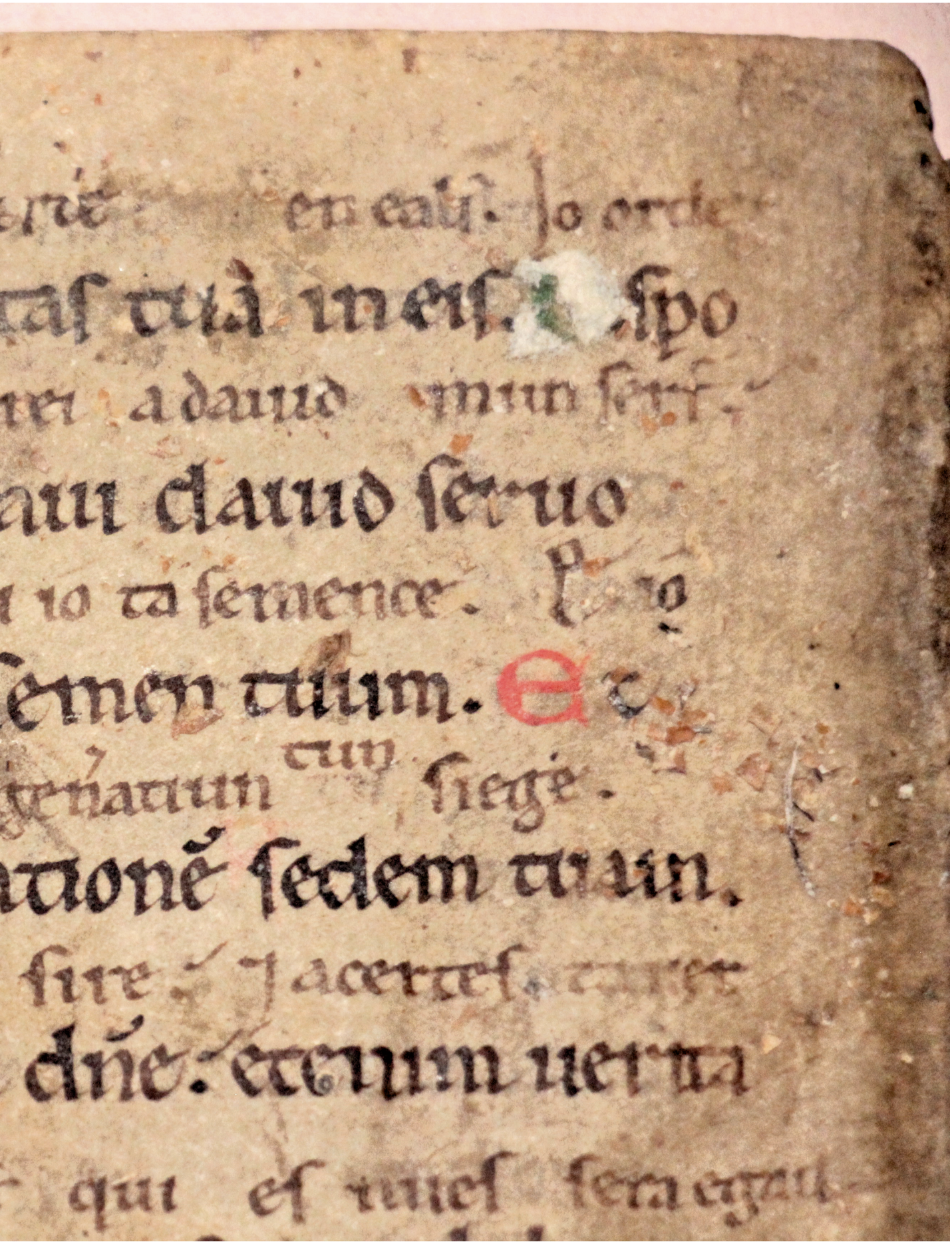
Careri, Ruby, Short 2011, 154, point out that the Orne fragments do not (technically) qualify as an interlinear gloss. Nevertheless, the manner in which the vernacular text follows closely the main text, written in Latin and in slightly larger characters, is undoubtedly based on a gloss. A linguistic analysis of the Orne text was published by Le Hir 1961, but he did not contradict the general conclusion of Samaran 1929, simply focusing on a series of pronouns and on issues related to word order. The interlinear gloss of MS Arundel 230 is not used in Le Hir's analysis. A proper comparative analysis is therefore needed.

Close-up of the bifolio 1v-2r of the Orne Psalter fragments (Paris, National Archives, AB XIX 1734, in the Orne dossier, I/1).

Close-up of the second folio verso of the Orne Psalter fragments (Paris, National Archives, AB XIX 1734, in the Orne dossier, I/1).

Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei, 2024.

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THE ORIGIN OF THE ORNE FRAGMENTS AND THEIR LINKS TO THE TEXT OF DOUCE (VA)

In spite of the demonstration presented by Samaran 1929, p. 173 (*vide infra*: Thabor…), the text of the Orne Psalter fragments is based on a previous interlinear gloss that could be related to the interlinear-gloss antigraph of MS Douce 320 and, consequently, to MS Arundel 230.

That the Orne gloss was adapted from another source and not made specifically for its manuscript is evident in the text of Ps 77:45. The Latin text features a scribal error: it skips the conjunction *et* before the noun *ranam*. Nevertheless, this did not stop the glossator from writing *e reine* in the French text, as if he were copying it from a source.

Another odd feature occurs at the passage from the recto to the verso of the second folio of the Orne fragments. The glossator wrote *edefiee* at the end of the recto, but continued with *fiee* at the beginning of the verso, as if he were copying from a source that had *ede*/*fiee* written in two halves above a Latin *edificebitur*, separated by the ascender of the letter ***b***, as it often happens in interlinear glosses. This suggests that the scribe of Orne copied a pre-existing gloss and made an error (whether he intended to or not) as he turned the folio.

Other than the differences in ink colour and punctuation, further proof to the fact that the glossator copied the Orne fragments in two different sessions is the abbreviation of ***et*** as ***&*** in the Latin text, while the French text uses **7** systematically. This could be either (1) the result of the pairing of an autonomous Latin text with a vernacular gloss extracted from a different manuscript of a bilingual nature, or (2) the result of a stratification of texts in the antigraph, where the Latin text could have been written autonomously, with the French interlinear gloss added later by a different scribe.

Add to this a piece of ambiguous evidence, which does not confirm the existence of an antigraph as much as it reflects a series of revisions made to a pre-existing text. In Ps 88:5b, on the verso of the second folio, the glossator first wrote *ta*, then erased it and wrote *tun* upon the erasure. This could happen either (1) because its source had an error in the agreement between the noun and the possessive determiner (**ta siege*); or (2) because it had an odd formula that the glossator had simplified without paying much attention (cf. *le túen siege* in MS Douce 320 and *le tuen sege* in MS Arundel 230).

This brings us to the connection with the Douce text. For the time being, I will leave aside the comparison proper of the differences between the two vernacular versions, which I will analyse later, when I will argue that Orne is an adaptation of an interlinear gloss from the same family as the antigraph of Douce. I prefer to focus here on two minor details, the first of which being that Orne has only two occurrences of Latin *quoniam* (Ps 88:3 and Ps 88:7), but both of them are rendered as French *ker*, a reading that seemed to be present in the antigraph of Douce, as documented in the previous section, where the connection with the Maidstone fragments was also noted, as they had the exact same rendering for the Latin *quoniam*.

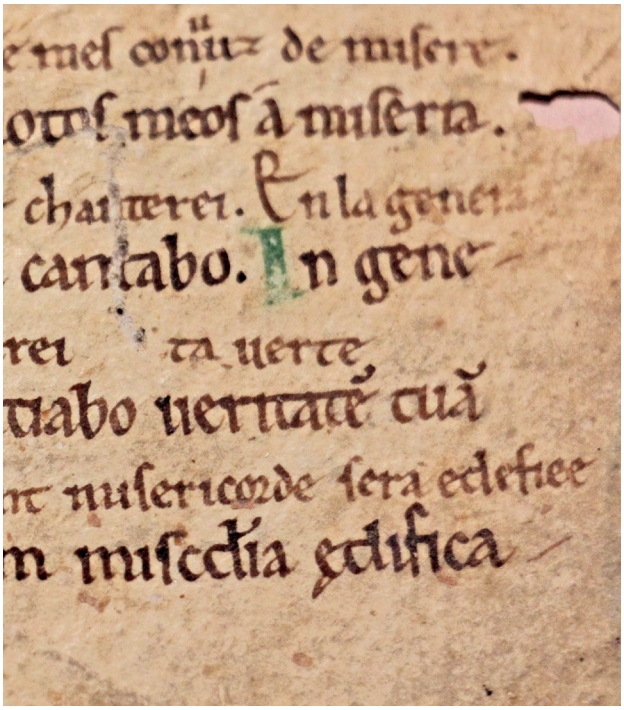
The second piece of evidence is the vernacular translation choice for *in inaquoso* (Ps 77:40). The vernacular text of Orne reads *en nun égos*, whereas Douce reads *en neient éwos líu* and Arundel *en neient euus liu*. However, the Orne reading *nun égos* makes no sense in absence of *liu*, and looks like the simplification of a pre-existing text that had to contain the word *liu* ‘place’.

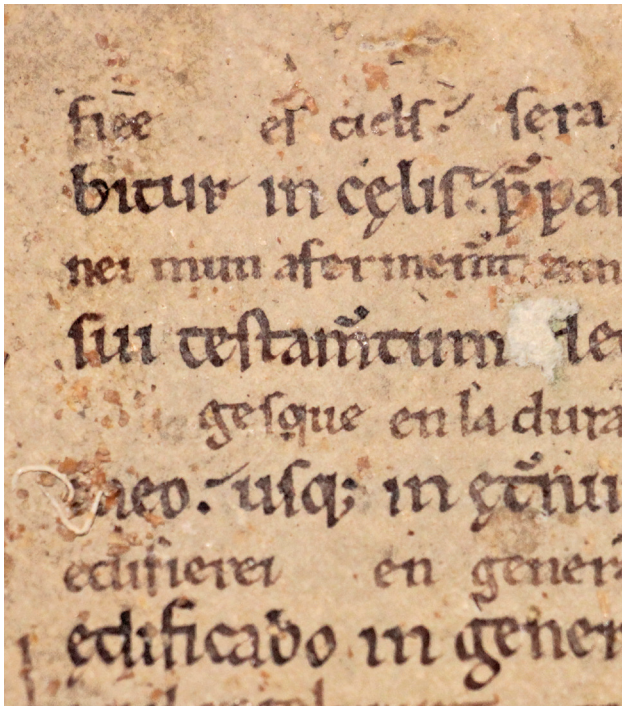
◀ *Close-up of the **ta > tun** erasure (Ps 88:5b) of the second folio, verso, of the Orne Psalter fragments (Paris, National Archives, AB XIX 1734, in the Orne dossier, I/1).*

▼ *Close-ups of the **edefiee / fiee** turn of folio (Ps 88:3) in the same Orne Psalter fragments of the National Archives.*

Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei, 2024.

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THE ISSUE OF *NUMQUID* AND THE LINKS BETWEEN DOUCE, ARUNDEL, AND ORNE (AC, VA)

Several Latin phrases based on the interrogative adverb *numquid* + the future form of a verb have been the subject of erasures made by the scribe of MS Douce 320. The erased text was corrected to the corresponding Old French translation *dum* + future form / future form + *dunc*. At a first glance, the scribe's erasures and corrections may originate from the hesitations between two different translation choices, from an incorrect word order for the interrogative clause, or from a wrong translation choice altogether. The erasures and corrections are as follows:

fol. 48r, line 16-17, *Mangerai ie dunc les_ carz des tors ?* (< *Numquid manducabo carnes taurorum*). Arundel reads : *Nient unces mangerai les chars des tors.*

fol. 54v, line 39, *distrent . dum ne porra deus aprester table el desert ?* (< *dixerunt numquid poterit deus parare mensam in deserto*). Traces of a low jamb under ***d***. Same reading in Arundel.

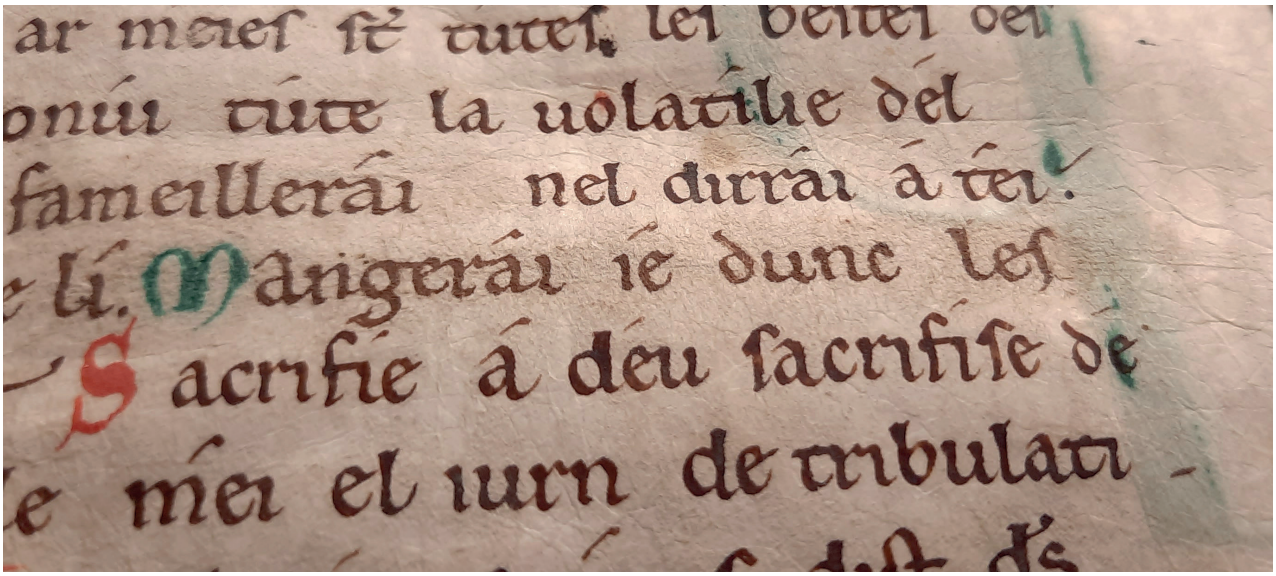
fol. 55r, line 1, *Dum ne porra il e pain duner ?* (< *Numquid et panem poterit dare*). Traces of an accentuated letter under ***u*** and ***m***, possibly an ***é***. Arundel reads: *Dum ne e pain porrat il doner ?*

fol. 57r, line 10, *Dum ne te iraistras tu enparmanableted a nus ; u estendras la tue ire de generaciun en generatiun ?* (< *Numquid in æternum irasceris nobis aut extendes iram tuam a generatione in generationem*). Arundel reads: *nient unces en parmanabletet curuces tu a nus ; u estendras la tue ire de generaciun en generaciun ?*

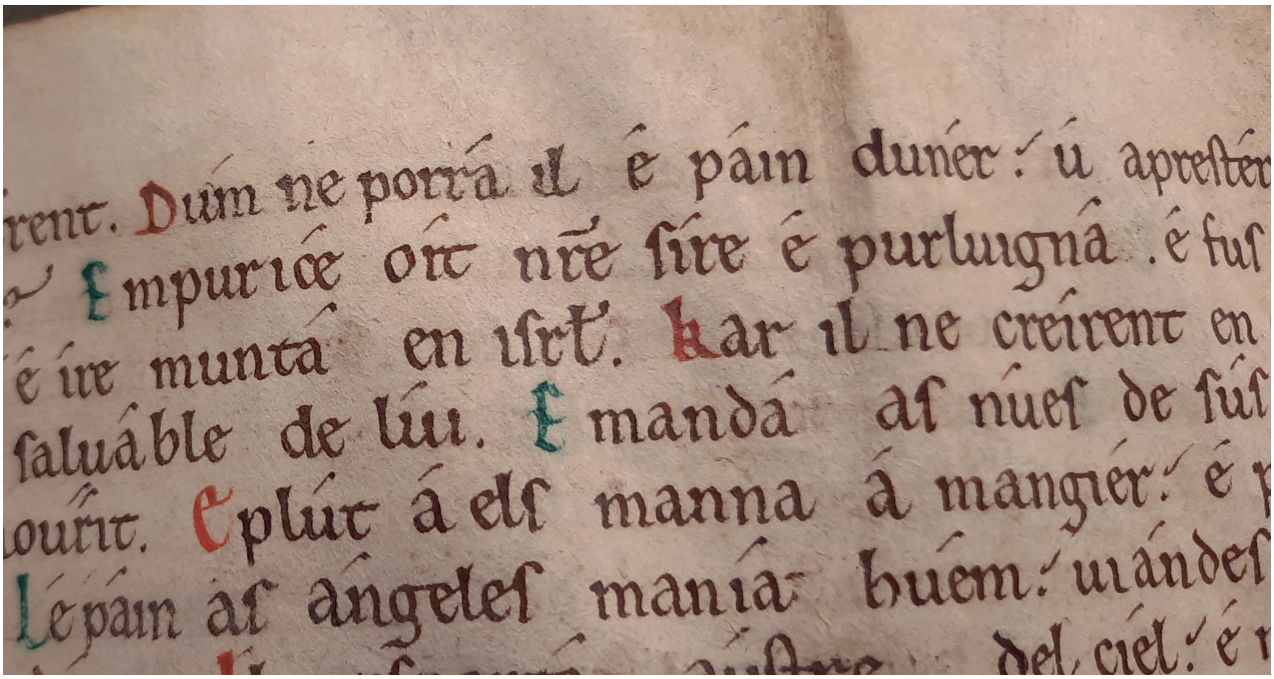
fol. 57v, line 8, *Dum ne dirra syon huem* (< *Numquid Sion dicet homo*). Arundel reads: *dun ne dirat syon hoem.*

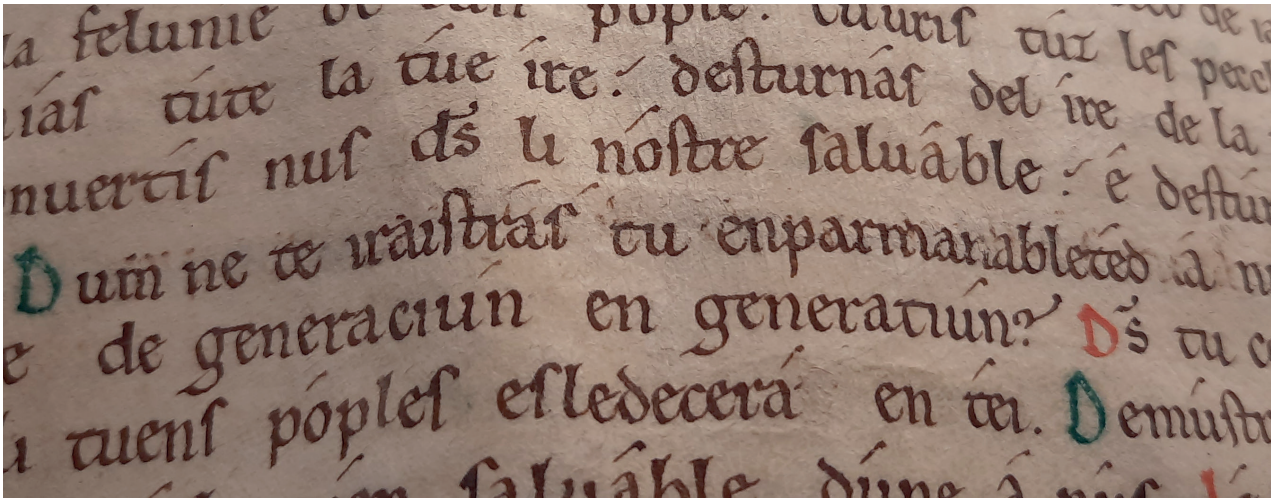
Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320.
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023-2026.
Courtesy of the Imaging Services of The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Creative Commons licence CC-BY-NC 4.0.

fol. 48r, line 16

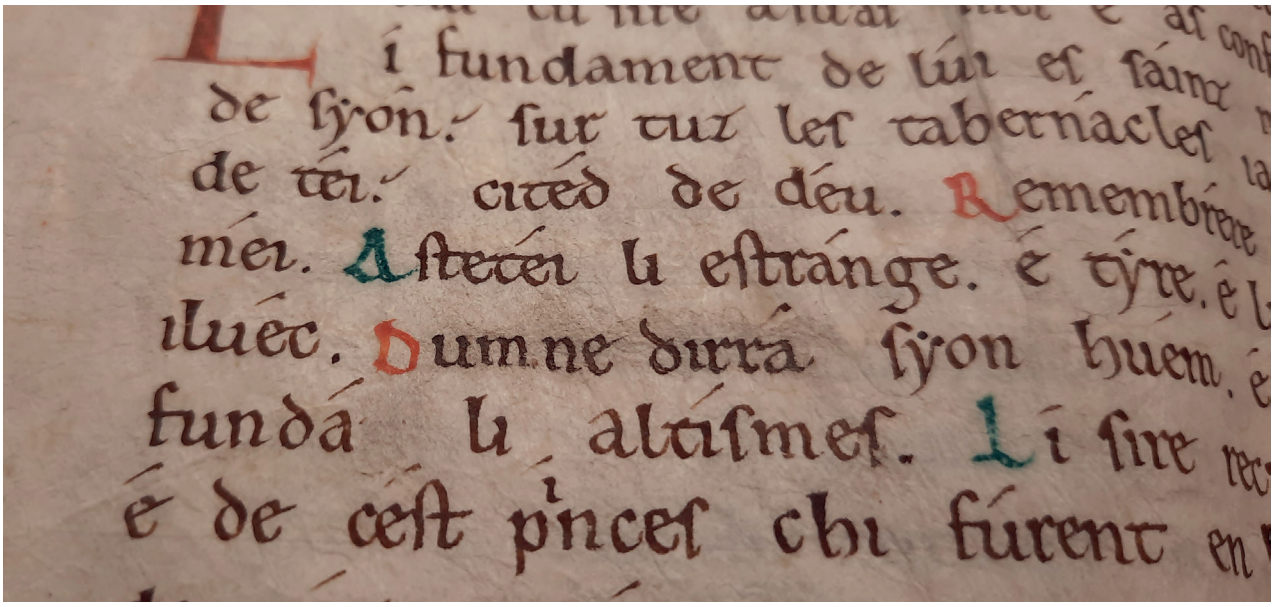


fol. 55r, line 1





fol. 57r, line 10



fol. 57v, line 8

fol. 57v, line 23, *Dum ne feras tu as morz merueilles ?* (< *Numquid mortuis facies mirabilia*). Same reading in Arundel. Orne reads: *Dunkes feras tu merueilles as morz ?*

fol. 57v, line 24-25, *Recuntera dunc alquuns en sepulchre la tue misericorde ?* (< lat. *Numquid narrabit aliquis in sepulchro misericordiam tuam*). Arundel reads: *Recunterat nient unces alcuns en sepulcre la tue misericorde ?* Orne reads: *Dunkes recuntera alcuns el sepulcre ta misericorde ?*

Except for the erasure on fol. 48r, all other erasures occur within the space of the correctional turning point of the manuscript, covering from fol. 54v to fol. 57v. This is particularly revealing, as the Douce scribe opts for an expression based on a future form of the verb + *dunc* on fol. 48r, line 16-17, and on fol. 57v, line 24-25. In all the other occurrences from the folios covered by the turning point, the preferred choice is *dum* + future form of a verb. In the case of fol. 57r, line 10, the issue seems to be related to the word order of the interrogative clause. Traces of previous letters suggest the presence of an initial *iraistras tu a nus* at the end of the erasure; while the beginning of the erasure could have read *dum/dunc* (?) *en parmanabletet*. It is therefore safe to assume that *dum* + future form could have been the preferred choice of the scribe before the correctional turning point. In the remaining part of the text, the scribe seems to favour clauses based on a future verbal form + *dunc*. See for this the following examples:

fol. 37v, line 38, *dum ne se_ curuce il par sengles iurz ?* (< *numquid irascitur per singulos dies*). Arundel reads: *nent unces se curuce il par sengles iursz ?*

fol. 42v, line 18, *Dum ne regehi_rat a tei puldre ?* (< *numquid confitebitur tibi pulvis*). Arundel reads: *nient unces regehirat a tei puldre.*

fol. 46r, line 16, *icil chi dort dum ne aiusterat il que il ressurdet ?* (< *Numquid qui dormit non adjiciet ut resurgat*). Arundel: *nient unces chi dort nient aiusterat que il resurdet.*

fol. 54r, line 39, *Degetera_ dunc deus en parmanableted ?* (< *Numquid in aeternum proiiciet deus*). Arundel reads: *Nient unces en parmanabletet deietas deus ?*

fol. 57v, line 26, *Serunt cuneudes dunc en tenebres les tues merueilles ?* (< *Numquid cognoscentur in tenebris mirabilia tua*). Arundel reads: *Nient unces serunt cuneuz en tenebris les tues merueiles ?* Orne reads: *Dunkes cunuistrunt es teniebres tes merueilles ?*

fol. 58v, line 11-12, *kar establisis tu dunc en uain tuz les filz dumes ?* (< *numquid enim vane constituisti omnes filios hominum ?*). Same reading in Arundel.

fol. 59v, line 28, *Aerdra dunc a tei siege de felunie ?* (<

Numquid adhaeret tibi sedes iniquitatis). Same reading in Arundel.

Dum / *dunc* was the proper way to translate Latin *numquid* into Old French and the preferred translation choice of several biblical translators of the same period. When the translation strategy was more formal / functional, the same word appears as the only option of the translator in the Old French version of Judges, dated mid–twelfth century as well (see Albon 1913; I quote from Paris, BnF, MS n.acq.fr. 1404): Jg 6:31—*Quibus ille respondit: Numquid ultores estis Baal, ut pugnetis pro eo?* / *Estes vos donc vengeors Baal…?* (Albon 1913, p. 23); Jg 9:9—*Numquid possum deserere pinguedinem meam,…?* / *Porroye ge donc guerpir la moye grace…?* (p. 34); Jg 9:11—*Quae respondit eis: Numquid possum deserere dulcedinem meam, fructusque suavissimos,…?* / *Puis je donc guerpir la moye dousor et mon tres soef frut…?* (p. 34); Jg 9:13—*Numquid possum deserere vinum meum,…?* / *Puis je donques guerpir mon vin…?* (p. 34); Jg 9:28—*numquid non est filius Jerobaal,…?* / *Donc n'est il Ieroboal…?* (p. 36); Jg 10:11—*Numquid non Egyptii et Amorrhaei, filiique Ammon et Philisthiim ?* / *Dont n'en aorrastes vos ainz cil d'Egypte et li Amoreu et li fiz Amon et li Philistien…?* (p. 41); Jg 12:5—*Numquid Ephrathaeus es?* / *Estes vos donc Eufrateus?* (p. 48); Jg 14:3—*Numquid non est mulier in filiabus fratrum tuorum,…?* / *Beau fis, n'a il donques nules des filles a vos parens…?* (p. 51). These examples also show that the interrogative adverb was rather mobile and did not create major problems with word order.

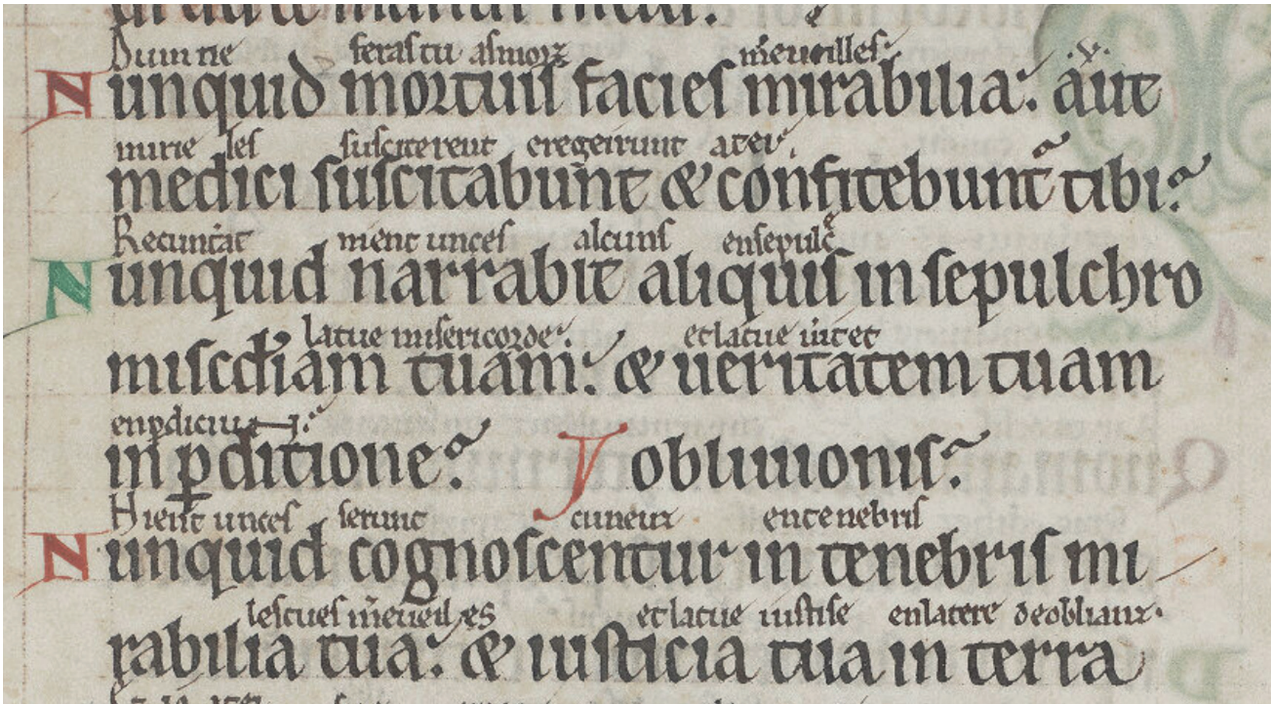
Dun is also the frequent translation choice of *numquid* in the Old French Four Books of Kings (*Li quatre livre des reis*), a vernacular adaptation of 1-2 Sa and 1-2 Ki, dated also mid–twelfth century (see Curtius 1911), although the translation strategy for this text was often dynamic, altering the source material, suppressing certain parts of verses, and inserting glosses: 1 Sa 1:8—*numquid non ego melior tibi sum, quam decem filii?* / *Dun n'as tu m'amur?* (Curtius 1911, p. 4); 1 Sa 2:27—*Numquid non aperte revelatus sum domui patris tui, cum essent in Ægypto in domo Pharaonis?* / *Dun ne me revelai, e apertement mustrai a tun pere Aaron e a sa maignee, tant cume il fud en Egypte en la poeste le rei Pharaünt?* (p. 7–8); 1 Sa 9:21—*Numquid non filius Jemini ego sum de minima tribu Israel…?* / *Dun ne sui jo des fiz Gemini, de la menur lignee de Israel?* (p. 18); 1 Sa 15:22—*Numquid vult Dominus holocausta et victimas…?* / *Cument? Quides tu que a Deu plus plaise oblatiun e sacrefise* (p. 30) ; 1 Sa 16:11—*Numquid jam completi sunt filii?* / *Dun nen as tu plus fiz?* (p. 31); 1 Sa 17:43—*Numquid ego canis sum, quod tu venis ad me cum baculo?* / *Cument? Sui jo chiens encuntre ki deiz si od bastun venir?* (p. 35); 1 Sa 21:11—*Numquid non iste est David rex terrae?* / *Dun n'est ço David, li reis de la terre de Israel?* (p. 43); 1 Sa 26: 15—*Numquid non vir tu es?* / *E dun es tu uns merveillus bers…?* (p. 53). The other translation choice for *numquid* is *cument*, but this occurs when the translation strategy steers towards a more dynamic approach and ventures into rewriting / interpretation.

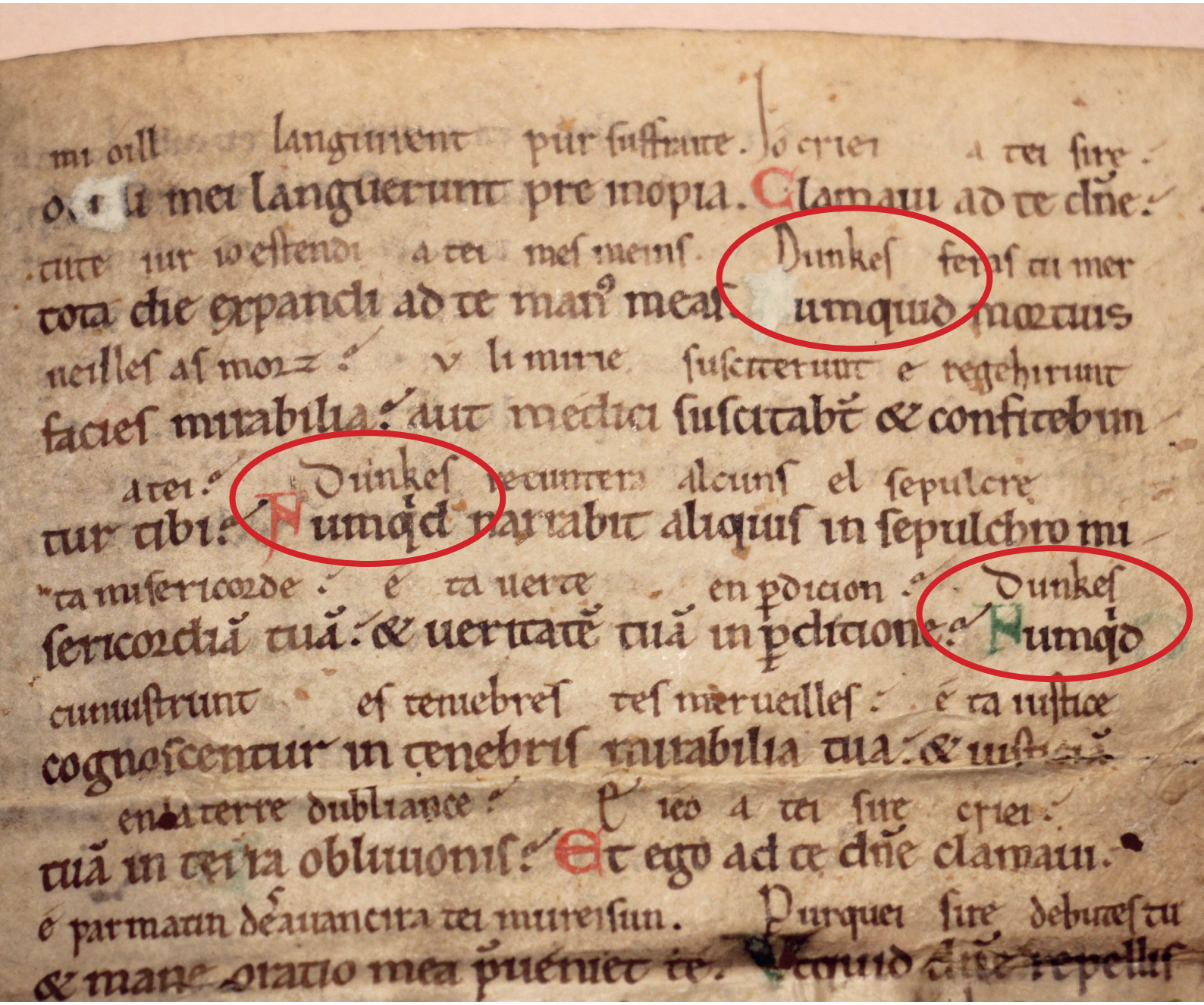
The translation choices from the Old French Judges and Four Books of Kings suggest that a good translator would have had a single choice to make, and that said choice was the one that made its way in the final version of the text of MS Douce 320 (after erasures and corrections).

This is where one must note that the scribe of Arundel often mistakes *numquid* (single interrogative word based on *num* 'whether, if' and *quid* 'something') and *numquam* (temporal adverb meaning 'never, at no time'). There are only two exceptions where he renders the Latin text correctly and presents the same readings as those found in Douce. Since the Arundel scribe often renders Latin *numquid* as Old French *nient unces*, which is the correct translation of Latin *numquam*; and since the remaining words and phrases of those same verses align seamlessly with the text of Douce, it is quite probable that the initial version transcribed by scribe of MS Douce 320, before the erasures, could contain the translation error *nient unkes*.

Once again, this does not mean that Douce is based on Arundel. As already argued, the text of Arundel MS 230 is the rewriting of an interlinear gloss.

Situations such as those of f. 89r, where *numquid* is





Print screen close-up of Ps 87 in the Arundel Psalter (London, British Library, MS Arundel 230, f. 89r).
Source: https://iiif.bl.uk/

Close-up of the second folio, recto, of the Orne fragments (Paris, National Archives, AB XIX 1734, in the Orne dossier, I/1).
Photo: Vladimir Agrigoroaei, 2024.
With the kind permission of the National Archives, Paris.

translated in two different ways in the tight space of three consecutive verses (Ps 87:11—*dum ne*; Ps 87:12 + Ps 87:13—*nient unces*) go to show that the scribe of Arundel either did not pay attention to what he was transcribing or inserted occasional emendations only when they had been made. The inconsistency of the three subsequent translation choices of the Arundel scribe and the manner in which they appear correctly (as *dunkes* + future verbal form) in Orne, suggest that the scribe of Douce could have consulted a second source.

The end result of the erasures and corrections made by the Douce scribe is similar to the text of Orne, whereas the version of Arundel explains the translation choices made by the Douce scribe in the initial stage, that is, before the erasures. Since the final text of Douce is not always similar to that of Orne (note the different word order in MS Douce 320, f. 57v, line 24-25; f. 57v, line 26; or the presence of an additional *ne* in MS Douce 320, f. 57v, line 23), one cannot argue that the text of MS Douce 320 could be based on the Orne fragments. Nevertheless, a manuscript witness related to the antigraph of Orne could have been used as a second source for Douce. If this is indeed the case, "the turning point" could be more than a critical moment in the scribe's decision-making process. A second source, in the form of a different interlinear gloss, could have led to many of the Douce corrections.

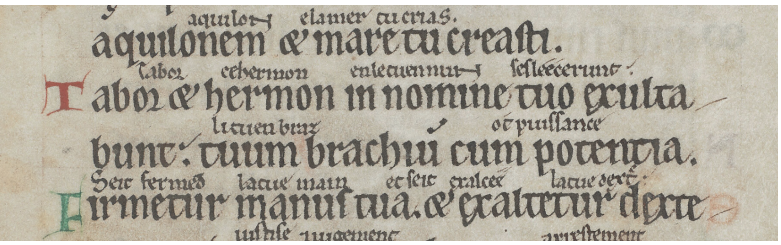
THE TRANSLATION CHOICE FOR *EXALTARE* AND THE ISSUE OF THE LATIN SOURCE OF DOUCE (VA)

The Orne text interprets Ps 88:13b+Ps 88:14a as *Jcil monz e cel altre en tun num eshalcerunt tun braz o poance*, the second part of which is close to both Douce and Arundel. The text of MS Douce 320, fol. 58r, reads *Tabor e hermon el tuen num sesledecerunt ; le tuen braz ot potence .*; whereas MS Arundel 230, fol. 90r, reads *Tabor e ehermon en le tuen nun sesleecerunt ; li tuen braz ot puissance*.

Arundel and Douce use the verb *esle*(*d*)*ecer* 'to rejoice' because the Latin text of Arundel reads *exultare* (*Tabor & hermon in nominee tuo exultabunt ; tuum brachium cum potentia .*). Orne reads *eshalcer* 'to raise', because its Latin text reads *exaltare* (*Thabor et hermon in nomine tuo ; exaltabunt tuum brachium cum potentia .*). We unfortunately do not have the text of the following verses in the Orne fragments, where the mentions of *exaltare* are even more frequent. The situation is nevertheless complicated by a series of readings where *esle*(*d*)*ecer* and *es*(*h*)*alcer* are used in places where they were not supposed to be.

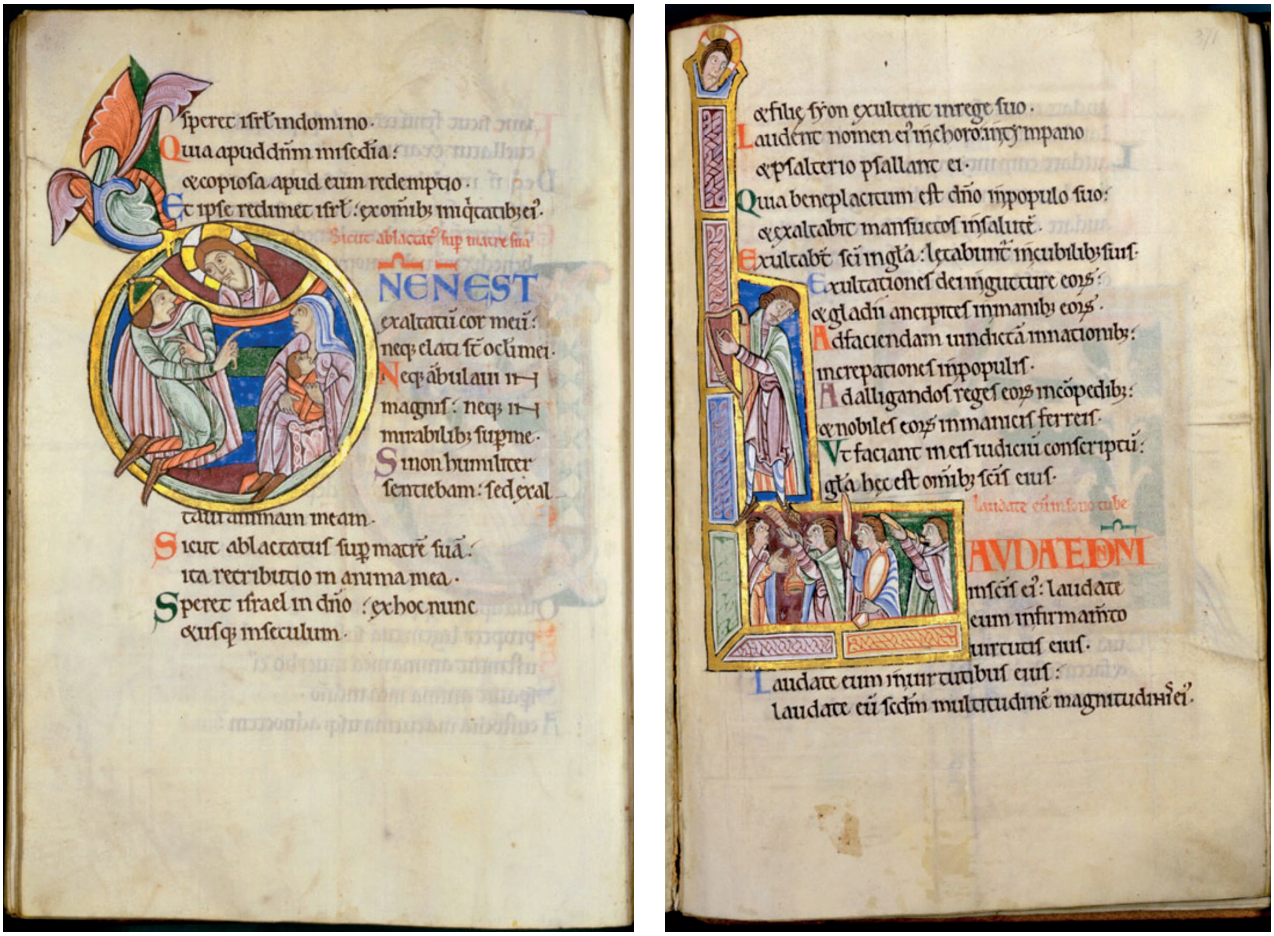
The majority of readings from MS Douce 320 confirms that the scribe wrote (or copied) *exalcer* 'to raise' whenever he read (or had the confirmation that the Latin source used) the verb *exaltare*. See Ps 3:4—*exaltans caput meum* (MS Douce 320: *exalchanz mun chief*); Ps 7:7— *exaltare in finibus inimicorum* (MS Douce 320: *seies essalcez es deuises de mes enemis*); Ps 9:33—*exaltetur manus tuam* (MS Douce 320: *seit essalcée la tue mains*); Ps 12:3—*exaltabitur inimicus meus* (MS Douce 320: *serat essalcet li miens enemis*); Ps 17:47—*exaltetur deus salutis mee* (MS Douce 320: *seit exalcet deus de ma salut*); Ps 17:49—*exaltabis me* (MS Douce 320: *exalceras mei*); Ps 20:14—*exaltare domine in virtute tua* (MS Douce 320: *seies exalcet sire en ta uertu*); Ps 26:6—*in petra exaltavit me et nunc exaltavit caput meum* (MS Douce 320: *en la pierre exalceat mei*); Ps 29:2—*exaltabo te domine* (MS Douce 320: *ie exalcerai tei sire*); Ps 33:4—*exaltemus nomen eius* (MS Douce 320: *e exalceums sun num*); Ps 36:20—*exaltati deficientes* (MS Douce 320: *exalcet ; defisanz*); Ps 36:34—*exaltabit te* (MS Douce 320: *il exalcerat tei*); Ps 36:35—*vidi impium superexaltatum* (MS Douce 320: *ie ui le felun sur exalcie*); Ps 45:11—*exaltabor in gentibus et exaltabor in terra* (MS Douce 320: *serai exalced es genz . e serai exalcet en terre*); Ps 56:6—*exaltare super celos deus* (MS Douce 320: *seies exalcet sur les ciels deus*); Ps 60:3—*exaltasti me* (MS Douce 320: *exalceas mei*); Ps 63:8—*exaltabitur deus* (MS Douce 320: *serat exalcet deus*); Ps 65:7—*non exaltentur in semetipsis* (MS Douce 320: *ne seient exalcet en sei medesme*); Ps 74:5—*delinquentibus nolite exaltare cornu* (MS Douce 320: *as mesfaisanz ne uoilez exalcer la corne*); Ps 74:8—*hunc humiliat et hunc exaltat* (MS Douce 320: *icestui humilie e cestui exalce*); Ps 74:11—*exaltabuntur cornua iusti* (MS Douce 320: *serunt exalced les cornes del iuste*); Ps 88:14—*exaltetur dextera tua* (MS Douce 320: *seit exalcede la tue destre*); Ps 88:17—*in iustitia tua exaltabuntur* (MS Douce 320: *en la tue iustise serunt exalced*); Ps 88:18—*exaltabitur cornu nostrum* (MS Douce 320: *sera exalced li nostre corz*); Ps 88:20—*exaltavi electum de plebe mea* (MS Douce 320: *exalceai leslit de mun pople*); Ps 88:25—*in nomine meo exaltabitur cornu eius* (MS Douce 320: *el mien num sera exalcez li corz de lui*); Ps 88:43—*exaltasti dexteram deprimentium eum* (MS Douce 320: *tu exalceas la destre des depremanz lui*); Ps 91:11—*exaltabitur sicut unicornis cornu meum* (MS Douce 320: *sera exalce sicume unicorz li miens corz*); Ps 93:2—*exaltare qui iudicas terram* (MS Douce 320: *seies exalce chi iuges la terre*); Ps 96:9—*nimis exaltatus es super omnes deos* (MS Douce 320: *mult ies exalciez sur tuz deus*); Ps 98:5—*exaltate Dominum Deum nostrum* (MS Douce 320: *exalcez le segnur nostre deu*); Ps 98:9—*exaltate Dominum Deum nostrum* (MS Douce 320: *exalcez le segnur nostre deu*); Ps 106:25—*exaltati sunt fluctus eius* (MS Douce 320: *exalce sunt li fluez de lui*); Ps 106:32—*exaltent eum in ecclesia plebis* (MS Douce 320: *exalcent lui en liglise del pople*); Ps 107:6—*exaltare super caelos deus* (MS Douce 320: *seies exalce sur les ciels deus*); Ps 109:7—*propterea exaltabit caput* (MS Douce 320: *empurice exalcad sun chief*); Ps 111:9—*cornu eius exaltabitur in gloria* (MS Douce 320: *la corne de lui sera exalce en glorie*); Ps 117:16—*dextera domini exaltavit me* (MS Douce 320: *la destre del segnor exalcad mei*); Ps 117:28—*deus meus es tu et exaltabo te* (MS Douce 320: *li miens deus ies tu e exalcerai tei*); Ps 130:2—*exaltavi animam meam* (MS Douce 320: *mais exalcai la meie aneme*); Ps 139:9—*ne derelinquas me ne forte exaltentur* (MS Douce 320: *ne deguerpir mei ; que par auenture ne seient exalce*); Ps 144:1—*exaltabo te deus meus rex* (MS Douce 320: *Ie exalcerai tei deus . li miens reis*); Ps 148:13—*quia exaltatum est nomen eius solius* (MS Douce 320: *kar exalciez est . li nums de lui sol*); Ps 148:14—*exaltavit cornu populi sui* (MS Douce 320: *exalcerad la corne de sun pople*); Ps 149:4—*exaltabit mansuetos in salutem* (MS Douce 320: *exalcerad les suefs en salud*).

▼ *Print screen close-up of Ps 88 in the Arundel Psalter (London, British Library, MS Arundel 230, f. 90r).*
Source: https://iiif.bl.uk/



On two occasions, the Maidstone fragments show again signs that their version is close to the one copied in MS Douce 320. See Ps 56:12—*exaltare super celos deus* (MS Douce 320: *seies exalcet sur les ciels deus* / Maidstone: *seies esalce s*[*u*]*r les c*[*iels deus*]); Ps 58:17—*exaltabo mane misericordiam tuam* (MS Douce 320: *e exalcerai par matin la tue misericorde* / Maidstone: *essalcerai par matin la tue misericorde*). The many coincidences between the two vernacular texts suggest that the Maidstone fragments belong to the same textual tradition as MS Douce 320. Nevertheless, the Orne fragments can present similar readings, at least on one occasion. For instance, the Orne scribe made the same translation choice, using *exhalcier* 'to raise', in Ps 87:16—*exaltatus autem humiliatus sum et conturbatus* (MS Douce 320: *exalcez acertes . humiliez sui . e conturbez* / Orne: *io eshalciez acertes sui humiliez e trublez*).

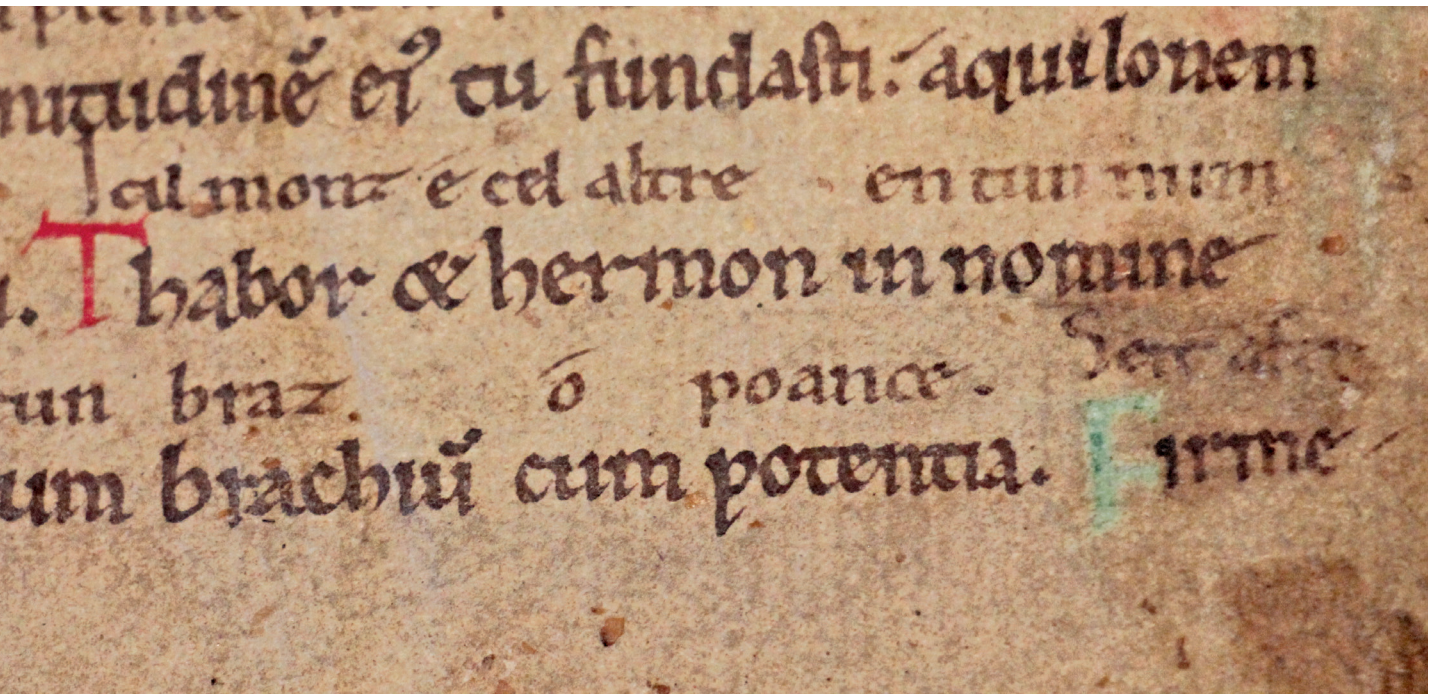
However, this does not prove beyond any doubt that the apograph of the Orne fragments belongs to the textual tradition of MS Douce 320. The verb *ex*(*h*)*alc*(*i*)*er* could just as well be a translation automatism determined by the presence of the Latin verb *exaltare*, just as *esle*(*d*)*ecer* seemed to be based on *exultare*. I must stress here that the only place where the Gallicanum proper (not its mixed readings found in various manuscripts) uses *exultare*, Ps 9:16—*exultabo in salutari tuo*, is rendered in MS Douce 320 as *ie mesleecerai el tuen saluable*.



Three folios from the St Albans Psalter (Hildesheim, Dombibliothek, St Godehard 1): Ps 130:1—non est exaltatum cor meum (p. 342); Ps 149:5 and Ps 149:6 (p. 371); Ps 88:16 (p. 260).
Source: https://www.albani-psalter.de/

Further proof of the existence of such an automatism comes from another reading where MS Douce 320 seems to translate *exultare* rather than *exaltare*. In Ps 130:1—*non est exaltatum cor meum*, MS Douce 320 reads *ne ne sunt . esleue li mien oil*, which seems to be based on *exultatum*. The Hildesheim manuscript of the St Albans Psalter, p. 342, reads here *exaltatum*, not *exultatum*, thus suggesting that MS Douce 320 cannot be based on this Latin version. The situation is slightly different in Ps 149:6—*exaltationes dei in gutture eorum*, where MS Douce 320 reads *les esledecemenz deu el guitrun dels*. This is, indeed, based on Latin *exultationes*, a reading that the Hildesheim manuscript has on p. 371, in the exact same verse, but the preceding verse of St Albans Psalter (Ps 149:5) reads *exultabunt sancti in gloria ; lętabuntur in cubilibus suis*. This is where MS Douce 320 reads *esiorrunt li saint en glorie ; esledecerunt en lur liz*, reversing the two verbs. The reversal suggests that Douce did not follow the Latin text, but rather rewrote a pre-existing vernacular one.

In light of the above, the MS Douce 320 reading of Ps 88:14 (fol. 58r, *el tuén num sesledecerunt)* fits both the reading of St Albans Psalter, p. 249 (*in nomine tuo exultabunt*), and the one from MS Arundel 230, fol. 90r, where *en le tuen nun sesleecerunt* is based on *exultabunt*). The same can be said about Ps 88:16, where MS Douce 320 reads *el tuen num sesledecerunt tute iur*, whereas St Albans Psalter, p. 260, and Arundel, fol. 90r, both read *in nomine tuo exultabunt tota die.*



THABOR ET HERMON OR THE TRANSLATION STRATEGIES OF ORNE, DOUCE, AND ARUNDEL (VA)

Another interesting feature of the Orne gloss is a specific translation choice *Ȝcil monz e cel altre* for the Latin words *Thabor et hermon* at the beginning of the same Ps 88:13. This corresponds to a certain translation strategy that is deployed in other passages, as if to blur the specifics of the Latin text. In Ps 77:43, Orne renders the Latin expression *in campo taneos* 'in the field of Tanis' as *en ces lius* 'in those parts', whereas Douce reads *el camp de tafneos* and Arundel *el cham de tafneos*. In Ps 77:45, Orne reads *icele beste* 'that creature' for Latin *cynomiam* 'biting fly', where both Douce and Arundel read *cinomiam*, without even attempting to deploy a vernacular declension for the Latin word, as they do in other instances.

This blurring effect can explain a series of differences, including the *languste* translating Latin *locustae* in Ps 77:46, the reading that had convinced Saraman 1929, p. 173, that the text of Orne represented a different translation than that of Douce:

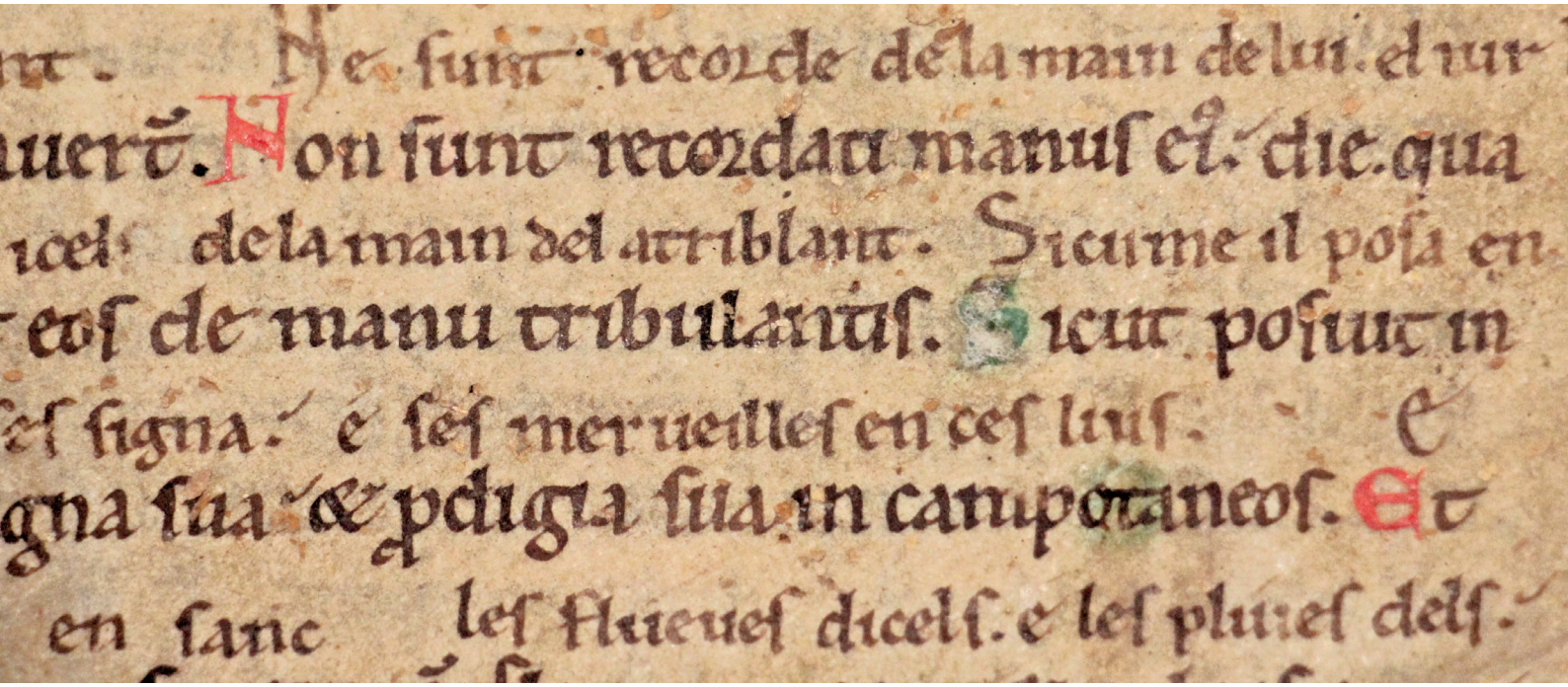
> *Au verset 51 du psaume* LXXVII, *le fragment de l'Orne est seul à traduire par* languste *le mot* locusta *que Cambridge* [Eadwine Psalter] *et Oxford* [MS Douce 320] *rendent par* salterele.
>
> *Au verset 50 du même psaume, le fragment de l'Orne traduit par* icele beste *le mot* cinomia *que le texte d'Oxford reproduit tel quel et que le texte de Cambridge rend par* tute maniere de musches.
>
> *Et, dans le même ordre d'idées, il est remarquable que, dans deux versets (Psaume* LXXVII, *v. 48; psaume* LXXXVIII, *v. 13), les allusions aux noms propres (camp de Tafneos, monts Thabor et Hermon), introduits tels quels dans les textes de Cambridge et d'Oxford, sont rendus dans celui du fragment de l'Orne de la façon la plus vague (*en ces lius *et* icil monz, e cel altre*), soit que le traducteur ait ainsi avoué son ignorance, soit que son ouvrage s'adressât à un public aussi ignorant que lui-même.*
>
> *Il apparaît donc que le fragment de l'Orne nous fait connaître une troisième traduction en prose française du Psautier, traduction vraisemblablement composée en Angleterre vers la même époque que celle des Psautiers de Cambridge et d'Oxford, c'est-à-dire dans le courant du* XII^e^ *siècle.*

Samaran does not consider the text of Arundel, which he does not even take include in his study. His comparison with the Eadwine Psalter (a version transcribed in the interline of a Hebraicum) does not justify.

In reality, the scribe of the Orne fragments (or the author of their antigraph) simply introduced a SUB2 type of gloss from among those analysed by Blom 2017, p. 29–32: "substitution glosses which provide an explanatory replacement." Some of them could be even based on the commentary paratext from the margin of a manuscript; others could be the pure creation of a any one scribe. The manner in which the texts of Arundel and Douce interact is rather similar to that of the Psalm glosses written in Old English, Old Frisian, Old High German, etc. It is perhaps time to add another piece to the collage, the Orne fragments, and to reevaluate this hypoethesis.

The most interesting feature is the phrase *en ces lius* 'in those parts' as a substitution gloss for *in campo taneos*. The use of *ces* in connection with *lius* implies that the place, the city of Thanis, was a part of Egypt (cf. Orne fragment Ps 77:43 *Sicume il posa en egipte ses signa ; e ses merueilles en ces lius* . // *Sicut posuit in egypto signa sua ; et prodigia sua in campo taneos* .). This implies knowledge of the Old Testament realia, not ignorance. The same can be said about Thabor and Hermon. The glossator knew that they were mountains. If he knew not, he would have left them as they were in the Latin text. This is also the situation of *cynomiam*, which the scribes of the Arundel and Douce manuscripts leave in its Latin accusative form (proof of ignorance? or uncertainty?), whereas the Orne glossator identifies it as a living being.

When similar things occur in Old English manuscripts, such as the substitution glosses of the Vespasian Psalter,



briefly described in Blom 2017: 166 (who quotes further references on this matter), the glossator's choices seem to be influenced by patristic exegesis (Augustine, Jerome, or Cassiodorus). In Ps 28:5, to name but an example, the Vespasian Psalter glosses *cedros libani* 'cedars of Lebanon' as *cederbeamas ðes muntes* 'cedars of the hills', and this is same type of substitution that we find in the Old French fragments from the Orne dossier of the National Archives.

A similar principle could be at the heart of the three changes from the Orne fragments. *Glossa Ordinaria* has a marginal note based on a passage of Augustine, whereby Thabor of Ps 88:13 is explained as *Iudei ad quos primum lumen venit*, and Hermon as *gentes que prius erant anathematizate*. Both of them are, obviously, *montes Syrie et per eos gentes accipiuntur a parte totum per synecdochen* (cf. GLOSS-E). The glossator could have chosen to replace the proper names with more vague counterparts in order to render the text more accessible to a less instructed reader.

The *Glossa Ordinaria* also has a marginal note for Ps 77:12 *in campo Thaneos*. It reads: *civitas humile mandatum quod hic nobis necessarium ut in futuro erigamur* (cf. GLOSS-E). The Orne glossator did not have enough room to explain that *Thanis* is a city and that its genitive was *Thaneos* in the Greek language. 'In those parts' does justice to the original text and clarifies an aspect that would directly affect the comprehension of the verse.

As for Ps 77:45, the *Glossa Ordinaria* has a marginal note that reads *cynomia canini mores sunt*, accompanied by two interlinear notes that read *caninos mores ut non honorarent parentes vel prelatos* and *muscam caninam*. It is not as much a matter of ignorance on behalf of the translator as it is a matter of a translator's approach to gloss. Had he chosen the solution of the Arundel or Douce scribes, the reader would not be able to understand if *cinomiam* was a meteorological phenomenon such as the *gresle* 'hail' that follows it in Ps 77:47 and Ps 77:48, or a living creature.

This substitution technique is not restricted to glosses; it can also occur in actual translations. See, for instance, the Anglo-Norman text of two chapters from the Gospel of Matthew in Vatican, Apostolic Library, ms Ottob. lat. 1473. On f. 43va, the first part of Mt 26:37—*Et assumpto Petro et duobus filiis Zebedaei* which is rendered as *et il mena auoeques soi pierre et iames . et iehan* . The translator from the early thirteenth century provided the actual names of the characters, for the same reasons of clarity.

This suggests that Douce looks like a prose rewriting of a previous gloss; Arundel looks like a rewriting of a translation gloss; whereas Orne is just an interpretative gloss. Although they seem to derive from a similar point of origin, the three of them did not serve the same purpose and were not made the same way.

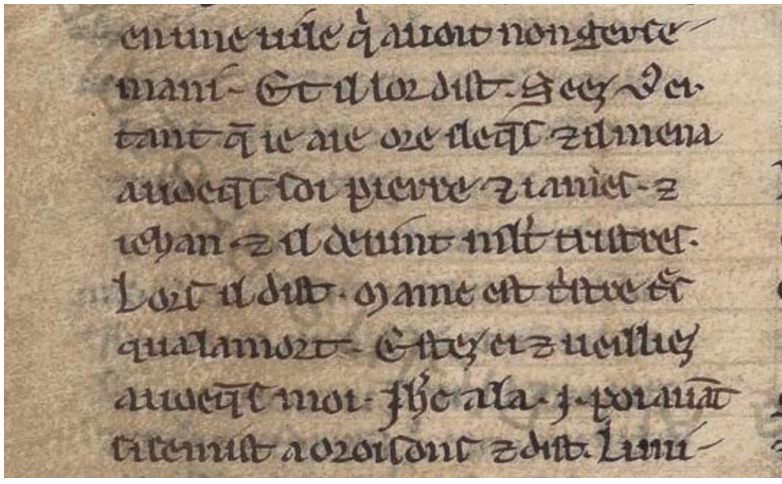
◆◆ *Close-ups of the last folio, verso, and of the first folio, recto, from the Orne Psalter fragments (Paris, National Archives, AB XIX 1734, in the Orne dossier, I/1). The first image (fol. 2v) shows Ps 88:14. The second one (fol. 1r) shows the substitution gloss for Ps 77:43.*

Photo: Vladimir Agrigoroaei, 2024.

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▼ *Print screen close-up of Mt 26:37 in the two chapters of Matthew (Vatican, Apostolic Library, ms Ottob. lat. 1473, fol. 43va).*

Source: https://digi.vatlib.it/



THE SPECIFICS OF THE REWRITING STRATEGY OF THE ORNE FRAGMENTS (VA)

There are too many coincidences between Orne and Douce, and they occur in phrases that could have had different translation choices. Let us consider the seamless alignment of the two texts in Ps 77:47–48, as if Orne was a diorthosis of the text from Douce (Orne: *e il ocist gresle les uignies dicels ; e lur moriers en gelee . E il liura a gresle lur iumenz ; e lur possessiun*[-] [*a*] *fou* / Douce: *E ocist en grisille les lur uignes ; e les moriers dels en geleda . E liurad a grisille les iumenz dels ; e la lur possessiun a fu* .). Latin *pruina* 'hoarfrost' could have been translated in several manners, using different words. *Moriers* for Latin *moros* 'mulbery trees' (here 'vine stocks') is also an odd coincidence, given the preference of Orne for simplification whenever the situation requires it. Another odd coincidence can be found in Ps 87:16, where the Orne glossator left the text as it was in Douce (*exalcez acertes . humiliez sui*), including the curious use of *acertes*, which was identified as one of the features of the interlinear-gloss antigraph of MS Douce 320, in turn linked with the one of MS Arundel 230.

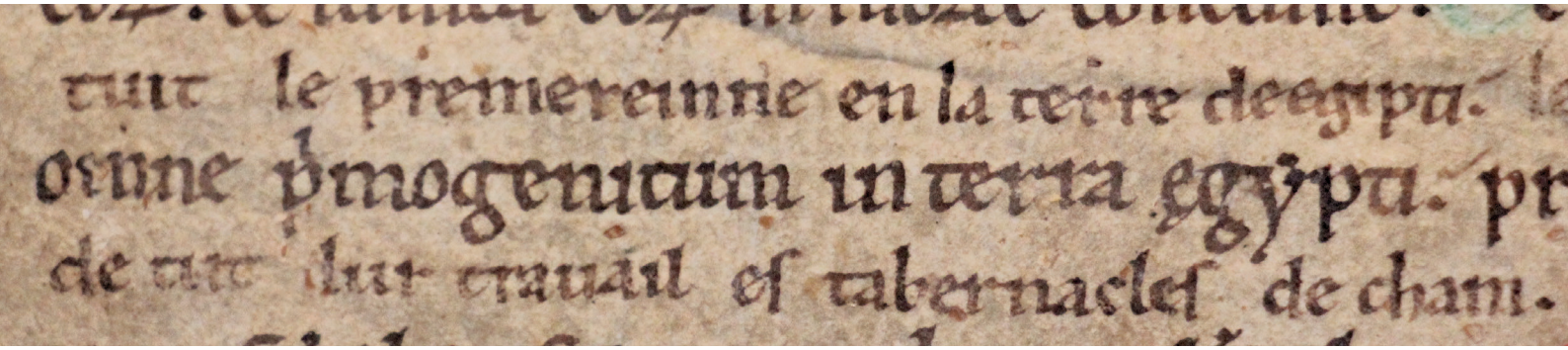
As a matter of fact, there are several readings where Orne agrees with Arundel against Douce. In Ps 77:56, Orne reads *le halt* for Latin *excelsum* (epithet of God), where Douce reads *le haltisme* and Arundel *halt*. In Ps 87:15, Orne reads *purquei*, which is the same translation as that of Arundel for Latin *utquid*, while Douce reads *a quei*. In Ps 77:58, Orne reads *creuz*, where Douce reads *entailledures* and Arundel *en ses ceris* (or *teris*) for Latin *collibus*. In Ps 88:7, Orne reads *sera egaillie*, which is closer to Arundel's *sera auillene* translation of Latin *equabitur* than the Douce reading *sera aued*.

Last but not least, on two occasions (Ps 77:41 and Ps 77:56), the Orne glossator writes *esseerent* / *essaierent* where Douce reads systematically *tempterent* for Latin *temptaverunt*. It is particularly revealing that both occurrences are translated as *asaierent* in MS Arundel 230. This suggests that the antigraph of Orne is probably related, in one way or another, to the antigraph of Arundel. Further confirmations come from five other occurrences of *tentaverunt* in the text of the Psalms. In Ps 25:2, Douce reads *essai* for Latin *tempta*, where Arundel reads *ensaie*. In Ps 34:16, Douce reads *assaierent* for Latin *tentaverunt*, with ***e*** erased and corrected in ***a*** (*vide supra*: other verbal forms), where Arundel also reads *asaierent*. In Ps 77:18, Douce reads *tempterent* for Latin *tentaverunt*, but Arundel sticks to its translation choice: *asaierent*. In Ps 94:9, Douce reads *essaierent* for Latin *tentaverunt*; Arundel reads *assairent* once again. And in Ps 105:14, Douce reads *tempterent*, with Arundel reading *assairent* for the same Latin *tentaverunt*. It is beyond any doubt that Arundel and Orne agree on this translation choice because they derive from the same family of interlinear glosses. The translation from MS Douce 320 adapts an interlinear gloss from the same family, but the Douce scribe forgets, every now and then, to make the change from *assaier* to *tempter*.

In many other places, Orne presents a different reading than Arundel and Douce. On certain occasions, it prefers Latinisms. In Ps 77:46, Orne reads *languste* for *locustae*, where Douce reads *salterele* and Arundel *saltarele*. In the exact same verse, Orne makes a second translation choice based on a Latinism: *laburs* for Latin *labores*, where Douce reads *traualz* and Arundel *trauailz*. The Orne glossator nevertheless forgets to make this change in Ps 87:16, where he leaves *travalz* for *laboribus*, exactly as we find it in Douce and Arundel. Certain verbs are also chosen to fit the Latin text. On three occasions, Orne uses *convertir* where Douce and Arundel read *tresturner*: Ps 77:41—Orne: *sunt conuerti* / Douce: *tresturne sunt* / Arundel: *tresturne sunt* (Latin *conversi sunt*); Ps 77:44—Orne: *conuerti* / Douce: *tresturna* / Arundel: *tresturna* (Latin *convertit*); Ps 77:57—Orne: *sunt conuerti* / Douce: *sunt tresturned* / Arundel: *sunt tresturnet* (Latin *conversi sunt*). Finally, another frequent change in Orne is *mist* for Latin *misit*, that Douce and Arundel render as *enueia, enueiat* / *enuoiat* (Ps 77:45 and Ps 77:49). There are also readings where the Orne glossator tries to follow the Latin text more closely: Ps 77:52—Orne: *greu* / Douce: *fulc* / Arundel: *fulc* (Latin *gregem*); to the point where he uses an actual Latin word (or makes a mistake) in Ps 77:43—Orne: *ses signa* / Douce: *les suens signes* / Arundel: *les sues signes* (Latin *signa sua*). However, he can also be pedantic. See, for instance, the situation of Ps 77:42—Orne: *atriblant* / Douce: *trauaillant* / Arundel : *tribulanz* (Latin *tribulantis*).

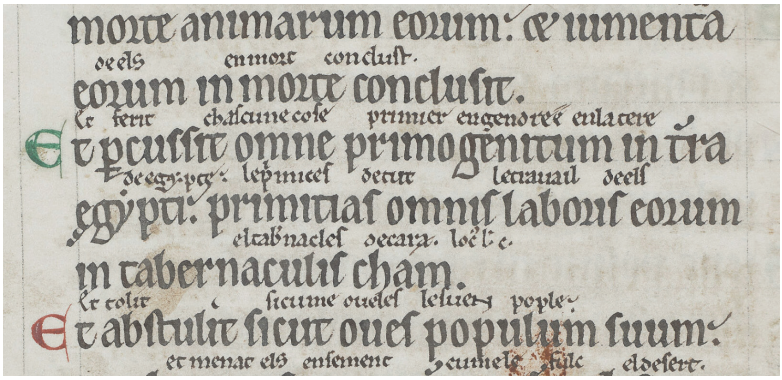
In many other places, Orne eliminates a lot of Latinisms: Ps 77:49 x 2—Orne: *desdeignement* / Douce: *indignatiun* / Arundel: *endignaciun* (Latin *indignationem*); Ps 77:54b—Orne: *departit* + *departement* / Douce: *diuisa* + *diuisiun* / Arundel: *deuisat* + *diuisiun* (Latin *divisit* + *distributionis*); Ps 77:50—Orne: *esclost*, corrected into *enclost* / Douce: *conclust* / Arundel: *conclust* (Latin *conclusit*); Ps 87:10b—Orne: *estendi* / Douce: *espandi* / Arundel: *espandi* (Latin *expandi*); Ps 87:16—Orne: *trublez* / Douce: *conturbez* / Arundel: *conturbez* (Latin *conturbatus*); Ps 87:17—Orne: *trublerent* / Douce: *conturberent* / Arundel: *conturberent* (Latin *conturbaverunt*); Ps 88:2a—Orne: *merciz* / Douce: *misericordes* / Arundel: *misericordes* (Latin *misericordias*) / but Orne leaves the Douce and Arundel *misericorde* in Ps 88:3; Ps 88:4—Orne: *afermement* / Douce: *testament* / Arundel: *testament* (Latin *testamentum*).

This type of inconsistency is visible in other places, where it gives the impression that the intention was to make changes to a pre-existing text, but those changes were not done systematically, although the repeated occurrences of the words were close to one another. For instance, in Ps 77:41, Orne reads *enuairent* for Latin *exacerbaverunt*, where Douce uses *puruocherent* and Arundel *puruoicherent*. However, this is a verse where the Orne glossator had already made changes to *tresturner* > *convertir*. When he encountered Latin *exacerbaverunt* for a second time in Ps 77:56, he forgot his initial translation choice and used *espruuerent*, where Douce read *puruocherent* and Arundel *puruoicherent*. This is also one of the verses where Orne *esseerent* agrees with Arundel *asaierent* against Douce *tempterent*. This goes to show that the 'ecdotic triangle' formed by Orne, Douce, and Arundel is rather complex and the three different versions are tied together in a textual filiation, the origin of which is hard to attribute to a single manuscript. Each of the three manuscript witnesses discussed here was based on a different antigraph. The situation of Orne is complicated



▲ *Close-up of the 'primogenitum' gloss (Ps 77:51) on the first folio, recto, from the Orne Psalter fragments (Paris, National Archives, AB XIX 1734, in the Orne dossier, I/1).*
Photo: Vladimir Agrigoroaei, 2024.
With the kind permission of the National Archives, Paris.

▼ *Print screen close-up of Ps 77:51 in the Arundel Psalter (London, British Library, MS Arundel 230, f. 80v).*
Source: https://iiif.bl.uk/



by the inconsistency of its changes. Let us not forget that Orne changes *misericorde* into *merci*, but forgets to repeat the change because the attention of the glossator is focused on *durable*.

This is one of the Orne glossator's favourite choices. In Ps 88:2a and Ps 88:3, Orne reads *durablement* for Latin *in eternum*, where Douce has *en parmanableted* and Arundel *en parmanabletet*. Two verses below, in Ps 88:5a, Orne uses *en la durablete*, where Douce reads *en parmanableted* and Arundel *en parman\able/tet* (again, for Latin *in eternum*). He tries to simplify and harmonise the text of the gloss, something that transpires from other changes, such as the variants of *mener*: Ps 77:52—Orne: *demena* / Douce: *mena* / Arundel: *menat* (Latin *perduxit*); Ps 77:54a—Orne: *demena* / Douce: *enmena* / Arundel: *enmena* (Latin *induxit*); Ps 77:59—Orne: *ramena* / Douce: *demena* / Arundel: *demenat* (Latin *redegit*). However, Orne also reads *demena*, just as Douce and Arundel, in Ps 77:53 (Latin *deduxit*). By far, the best example can be found in Ps 88:10—Orne: *as seignorie de la poeste de la mer* / Douce: *segnures la podested de la mer* / Arundel: *seignures la pouestet de la mer* (Latin *dominaris* etc.). The glossator rewrote the text, to make more sense in the vernacular.

This preoccupation with the simplification of its source material is also evident in Ps 77:54b—Orne: *geta* / Douce: *forsgeta* / Arundel: *fors ietat* (Latin *eiecit*); Ps 88:7—Orne: *sera* / Douce: *iert* / Arundel: *ert* (Latin *erit*). It goes as far as to compress it when the original material, too long and written in tiny interlinear characters, could not fit in the new layout, where the characters of the vernacular text are just as large as the Latin ones. This is visible in Ps 77:51—Orne: *tuit le premereinne* / Douce: *chescune chose premier engendree* / Arundel: *chascune cose primier engendree* (Latin *primogenitum*). In this segment, the Orne glossator had to keep the interlinear French text above the Latin words and could not afford to write a very long phrase. This can be related to the changes in word order, to make the text more fluent, even though it still remained a interlinear gloss (Orne inverts the order of certain vernacular sequences above the Latin ones).

There are also two occasions where the harmonisation of the text leads to odd choices that could be taken from other segments of the source material. In Ps 77:50, Orne reads *sire* 'his wrath', where Douce has *la sue ire* and Arundel *de la sue ire*. The elision is similar to the one we find in MS Douce 320, fol. 45r, line 18: *de la face de tire*. The second case is the odd use of *e acertes* in Ps 88:6 for Latin *etenim*, where Douce and Arundel have a basic *kár/kar*. The position of *acertes* is nevertheless unusual, as Arundel and the erasures of Douce show that it was used after the subject, not at the beginning of a phrase.

In other instances, the attention given to the correspondences between the Latin and vernacular texts led to absurd situations where one could doubt the glossator's training and his proficiency in Latin. If we focus only on Ps 77:42—Latin *sunt recordati* > Orne: *sunt recorde* / Douce: *recorderent* / Arundel *recorderent*, we could even accuse him of not knowing that *recordari* is a deponent verb. Nevertheless, it is almost impossible to blame him for not knowing the passive ending of the third person plural in Ps 87:13, where Latin *cognoscentur* is rendered in Orne as *cunuistrunt*, while Douce reads *serunt cuneudes*, Arundel *serunt cuneus*. It is very likely that the glossator's preoccupation was to replicate the number of words from the Latin source.

Finally, certain changes do not belong to a specific category: Ps 77:49—Orne: *entermetement* / Douce: *enueiemenz* / Arundel: *enuoiemenz* (Latin *inmissionem*, plural *inmisiones* in Arundel); Ps 77:57—Orne: *felun* / Douce: *torcenus* / Arundel: *torcenus* (Latin *pravum*); Ps 77:57—Orne: *segrefiement* / Douce: *enuidie* / Arundel: *enuie* (Latin *emulationem*); Ps 77:59—Orne: *forment* / Douce: *mult* / Arundel: *mult* (Latin *valde*); Ps 77:60—Orne: *dunna* / Douce: *liura* / Arundel: *liuerat* (Latin *tradidit*); Ps 88:9—Orne: *semblables* / Douce: *semblanz* / Arundel: *semblanz* (Latin *similis*).

Addendum: the fragments of London, British Library, ms Cotton Vitellius E.ix (VA)

Although the manuscript witness discussed below cannot be fully incorporated into the present chapter because of its highly fragmentary state, it nevertheless merits its brief consideration here. Its surviving text is arranged in alternating Latin and French verses and thus belongs, in terms of page layout, to the group of manuscripts examined in this chapter. For this reason, ms Cotton Vitellius E.ix of the British Library is presented as an addendum. A fuller discussion of its contents will be deferred to the chapter devoted to double-column bilingual psalters, with which it shares important structural and textual characteristics.

This manuscript has received remarkably little scholarly attention. Most scholars have avoided it because it was damaged beyond recovery in the Cotton fire of 1731, and the surviving text is exceptionally difficult to reconstruct from the thirty-nine so-called folios. In fact, it is often unclear whether the fragments that have been paired and mounted on paper frames (particularly those inserted towards the end of the volume) actually belong to the same folios. In some cases, such as the so-called fol. 34, two separate fragments were fused together by the heat of the fire and now form a single piece.

The fragmentary condition of the manuscript has hindered a systematic analysis of this text. Ruby 2010, p. 181, merely dates the manuscript to the last quarter of the twelfth century, whereas the British Library's online catalogue assigns it to the second half of the century. Ruby 2010 gives the measurements as [190]×[145]mm, probably referring only to the written area, since the catalogue records dimensions of 250×190mm. She further notes that it was a luxury manuscript, as evidenced by its gold initials. The text is arranged in alternating verses, as in the Maidstone fragments, with the Latin verse preceding the vernacular one; only the first Latin verse is marked by a large decorated initial.

I am not convinced by the assertion that each folio originally contained twenty-eight lines. The surviving fragments display a variety of layouts towards the end of the manuscript, and the letterforms are not consistently of the same size. Although some of these discrepancies may result from shrinkage caused by heat damage, the evidence does not seem sufficient to establish a uniform ruling pattern throughout the manuscript.

Careri, Ruby, Short 2011, p. 82, provide an overview of the manuscript's contents. Their description, however, appears to rely directly on the modern marginal annotations added to the paper frames, which are not always accurate. The following identifications are therefore based on my own first-hand examination of the fragments.

The first two folios contain isolated portions of text: Ps 24 (fol. 1r) + Ps 25 (fol. 1v), Ps 33 (fol. 2r) + Ps 33 (fol. 2v). The following five folios preserve a continuous sequence of the Psalter text: Ps 46 > Ps 47 (fol. 3r) + Ps 47 (fol. 3v) + Ps 48 (fol. 4r) + Ps 48 (fol. 4v) + coda of Ps 48 (fol. 5r) + Ps 49 (fol. 5v) + Ps 49 (fol. 6r) + Ps 49 > Ps 50 (fol. 6v) + Ps 50 (fol. 7r) + Ps 50 (fol. 7v). After a lacuna, the next two folios also form a coherent sequence: Ps 58 (fol. 8r) + Ps 58 (fol. 8v) + Ps 58 > Ps 59 (fol. 9r) + Ps 59 > Ps 60 (fol. 9v). The following folio is again isolated: Ps 63 (fol. 10r) + Ps 63 > Ps 64 (fol. 10v). Another continuous section extends across two folios: Ps 70 (fol. 11r) + Ps 70 (fol. 11v) + Ps 70 (fol. 12r) + Ps 70 > Ps 71 (fol. 12v). This is followed by a more substantial fragment comprising nine folios: Ps 118 (fol. 13r) + Ps 118 (fol. 13v) + Ps 118 (fol. 14r) + Ps 118 (fol. 14v) + Ps 118 (fol. 15r) + Ps 118 (fol. 15v) + Ps 118 > Ps 119 (fol. 16r) + Ps 120 > Ps 121 (fol. 16v) + Ps 121 > Ps 122 (fol. 17r) + Ps 122 > Ps 123 (fol. 17v) + Ps 124 > Ps 125 (fol. 18r) + Ps 125 > Ps 126 (fol. 18v) + coda of Ps 127 (fol. 19r) + Ps 128 > Ps 129 (fol. 19v) + Ps 129 > Ps 130 (fol. 20r) + Ps 131 (fol. 20v) + Ps 131 (fol. 21r) + Ps 131 > Ps132 (fol. 21v). Only a single folio appears to be missing between this substantial sequence and the fragment containing Ps 134 > Ps 135 (fol. 22r) + Ps 135 (fol. 22v). The text then jumps to another isolated folio preserving Ps 141 (fol. 23r) + Ps 142 (fol. 23v). There is no trace of the final Psalms or of the first canticles. The next sequence, however, consists of four folios preserving a large portion of the final canticle found in the Douce manuscript, namely Dt 32 (fol. 24r + fol. 24v + fol. 25r + fol. 25v + fol. 26r + fol. 26v + fol. 27r + fol. 27v).

At this point the manuscript becomes particularly puzzling. Rather than continuing with the *Te Deum* and the second group of canticles, as is the case in most double-column Psalters (*vide infra*, next chapter), the Vitellius fragments appear to proceed directly to a substantial portion of the Athanasian Symbol (fol. 28r + fol. 28v + fol. 29r + fol. 29v + fol. 30r + fol. 30v). This raises the possibility that the Athanasian Symbol, arranged in the same alternating Latin and French verses, may have been misplaced during the restoration and mounting of the fragments. One might wonder whether it originally was placed later in the volume, perhaps after the *Nunc dimittis*. The evidence, however, is not entirely straightforward. The Vitellius fragments exhibit an unusual arrangement, in that the conclusion of the *Audite caeli* (Dt 32) is immediately followed by a text beginning with a large decorated initial *C* (fol. 30v).

The next fragment (fol. 31r) contains a French text of apparently devotional character. Addressing the divinity in the second person singular (*dune mei*) as in a prayer, the text nevertheless discusses a range of moral themes, including avarice, gluttony, despair, courage, and obedience, giving it the appearance of a basic didactic work. The verso of the same folio (fol. 31v) contains another canticle, this time that of Zachary, the *Benedictus*, which is absent from the Douce manuscript. This suggests that the sequence following the coda of the *Audite caeli* was itself a composite arrangement, perhaps constructed as a continuation of the established structure inherited from the Douce variant of the text.

The next folio (fol. 32r) continues the *Benedictus* and proceeds into the *Gloria in excelsis*. Its verso (fol. 32v) completes the Gloria and moves on to another proper canticle, the *Magnificat*. The coda of the *Magnificat* appears on the following folio (fol. 33r), which also contains the beginning of the *Nunc dimittis*. This sequence once again raises questions about the original structure of the burned manuscript. Rather than preserving the expected order of the canticles, the Vitellius fragments seem to present them in a rearranged sequence, suggesting that their organisation may reflect a more complex and less systematic process of compilation, perhaps resulting from a series of additions to an initial structure. These additions were not necessarily made according to the conventional arrangement of such texts at the end of psalters.

The reason why I do not challenge the reconfiguration of the fragment order is that the verso of the *Nunc dimittis* (fol. 33v) contains a Latin-only litany of saints, which clearly begins on this side of the folio, as indicated by the

remains of a [*Kyriele*]*yson* in the upper left corner. There is therefore no space for the transcription of the *Gloria*, the *Pater noster*, the *Credo*, or the Athanasian Symbol between the *Nunc dimittis* (the final canticle proper of the sequence) and the litany. It is thus evident that the Athanasian Symbol preceded the second group of canticles, in the position where the restorers have correctly placed it.

As for the litany, the small portion that can be reconstructed from fol. 33v names, after the Virgin, the archangels Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael, all angels, archangels, and divine spirits, and then John the Baptist. After a lacuna, the list continues with Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon, Thaddeus, Matthias, Mark, Luke, Barnabas, apostles and evangelists, disciples of the Lord, and the innocents. At this point, the text becomes particularly interesting, since the end of this standard opening sequence leads into a distinctive sequence of more specific names, arranged in a particular order:

[*Sancte s*]*tephane ora* pro nobis
S[*ancte*] *line ora* pro nobis
S[*ancte c*]*lete ora* pro nobis
[*Sancte clem*]*ens ora* pro nobis
[*Sancte* ---]*te ora* pro nobis
[*Sancte corne?*]*li ora* pro nobis
[*Sancte cypr?*]*iane ora* pro nobis
[*Sancte laur*]*enti ora* pro nobis
S[*ancte uince*]*nti ora* pro nobis
Sancte [--- ---] *ora* pro nobis
Sancte [--- ---] *ora* pro nobis
Sancte [*sebas*]*tiane ora* pro nobis
Sancte [*di*]*onisi cum sociis ora* pro nobis
Sancte maurici cum sociis tui\s/ [*ora* pro nobis]
Sancte albane [*ora* pro nobis]

This sequence closely resembles the litany found in London, British Library, MS Additional 44949, where the fifth category of saints contains almost exactly the same names, in nearly the same order: Stephen, Linus, Cletus, Clement, Cornelius, Cyprian, Lawrence, Vincent, Fabian, Sebastian, Denis with his companions, Maurice with his companions, Thomas, Magnus, Gorgonius, Edward, Alban, Oswald, George, Quentin, Christopher, Lambert, Marcellus, Valentine, Vitus, Modestus, all martyr saints. The only unresolved point concerns the saint placed between Clement and Cornelius, whose name appears to end in *–tus*. The prominence given to saint Alban, mentioned as the first native saint in the list, reflects not merely a local association but rather his universal status as the first martyr of Britain. It is unfortunate that the fragmentary state of the manuscript prevents us from knowing which other local saints may have followed his name in this litany.

Finally, the last folios of the reconstructed manuscript contain a second prayer (fol. 34r), continued on the verso. As with the preceding prayer, the text will be transcribed, insofar as it can be recovered, in the following chapter, where it will be compared with prayers found in other psalters. The identification of this second text as a prayer is not based solely on its exclusively French character, in the absence of any accompanying Latin text preceding it or interwoven with its phrases in the manuscript. More importantly, its devotional character is revealed by the fact that it appears to be addressed both to the Virgin (*dulce dame*) and to the Saviour (*Sire iesu duilz … de uostre mere*). Further down the folio, a third prayer begins with a large *D* initial. This text is likewise entirely in French and continues onto the verso of the folio (fol. 34v), where the letters are nevertheless discoloured and barely legible, even under UV light. There, again towards the bottom of the folio, the last visible line appears to mark the beginning of yet another (fourth) prayer. No actual text survives at this point, except for the Latin rubric in red ink at the end of the preceding line: [ORATIO *AD*] *DOMINVM*. It is therefore evident that the final section of the manuscript contained an extensive series of prayers, some, if not all, of which were composed exclusively in the vernacular.

When we move to the next paper frame (fol. 35r), another French prayer text becomes visible, although it refers to the Saviour in the third person. It is therefore reasonable to assume, especially given the remains of the phrase [*s*]*einte uirg*[*ine*], that this must be a fifth prayer, likewise addressed to the Virgin. The surviving fragment is relatively small. On its verso (fol. 35v), the scribe reproduced the manuscript's main layout in a transcription of the hymn [*Be*]*nedica*mus *p*[*atrem*] et *filiu*m *cum* sanc*to spiritu*. As elsewhere in the manuscript, the Latin verse is followed by its French translation: *Beneissum*[*s* ----]. This is a very short text, consisting of only two or three pairs of verses. The remainder of the folio was most probably occupied by another prayer to the Virgin.

Very little survives of this other (sixth) prayer, but its Latin rubric in red ink can be read at the end of the final line of the hymn: [ORATIO *AD*] *S*anctam *MAR*[*IAM*]. It is difficult to determine whether this additional prayer to the Virgin was written in French or in Latin. However, the imprint of this section is visible on the paper frame of the following folio (fol. 36r). The migration of iron-gall ink particles has preserved a faint trace of the text, allowing the reconstruction of the end of the first line of the prayer, which appears to contain the sequence *–pn–*. This is more consistent with the vernacular spelling *–mpn–* found in French words calqued on Classical Latin forms with *–mn–*, although the spelling may also occur in Medieval Latin just as well.

The remainder of the manuscript is considerably more difficult to assess. Both sides of the fragments assembled as the so-called fol. 36, 37, and 38 are burnt beyond recovery. A modern note added by the restorers suggests that fol. 37r may have contained an Apostles' Creed, although no part of the text can now be read. Some further observations are nevertheless possible for fol. 37v. Although the text itself is entirely illegible, the paragraphs appear to have begun with the majuscules *Q*, *L*, *A*, *D*, *A*, *A*, alternating between gold and blue letters. In addition, the phrase *lur cors* can be discerned in the penultimate line. On the final folio, fol. 39r, which is composed of three separate fragments, the word *nequedent* is visible in the lower section. On its verso (fol. 39v), the phrase *entent al* can likewise be distinguished towards the bottom of the fragment. These few traces suggest that the lost texts may have consisted either of further Latin hymns translated into French (as perhaps on fol. 37v) or of additional vernacular prayers (as on fol. 34r–35v).

The burnt state of this manuscript therefore conceals what was probably one of the most interesting (and perhaps richest) examples of textual arrangement among bilingual Psalters. In this respect, it may prove even more revealing than the Winchester Psalter, which currently occupies a central place in discussions of the Anglo-Norman Psalter tradition. This, however, is the subject of the following chapter.

Victoria p dd. vox x ad prem de diabolo dicit.

In fine p. vox ecclie exped aduentum xpi.



Desq: aquam
sq: quo
sire
diff
ublie
obli
rasu
uiscer̃s
mei
detinentiu:
mei penitus:
desq: aquam
u q: quo
repundrai
abscondes fa
ta face
dem:
em tuã a me:
desq: aquam
sq: quo pona
cunseil
cor silia
en la meie
ame.
in amma mea.
dolur
dolorea
en mun
quer
in corde meo
par iurn:
desq:
pdiem: usq:
aquam
t exaltab
serat
quo exalta
elhalcier
inimicos:
bitur inimic?

hu lange
quo
dyuingen
dñe
oſep
obliui
sier ſt
cerſ me
hu me on ende
in finem:
oſhyer
quoui q:
acyppeſo du
duertis fa
onſine hine ffram me.
ce tua a me.
hu longe
ſette
quam diu pona
ſeſeæhtcunge
cor silium
on mine
ſæule.
in amma mea:
on minre
dolorea
heopteen
ſæp
in corde meo
hurh dæg
Oppenne
pdiem. sq:
bid up ahafen
quo exalta
min
fyond
bitur inimic?

Psalm? de
a
m q tot? l
.e. q̃m q l
non ama

Consilu
.i. eſt q̃
i aduſi
ſio. tam
q̃ diu p
n ponat
i amma
ſeclá. n̄
ds infi
et plená

The Old English background of the Anglo-Norman psalters

THE CASE FOR OLD ENGLISH PRECEDENTS (VA)

The thing that makes the interpretation of the filiation of MS Arundel 230 and MS Douce 320 extremely difficult is their back-and-forth consonance and dissonance. Some passages resemble to the letter, and there are passages which could not be more dissimilar. Neither of the two manuscripts can be the copy of the other. Ecdotics might suggest that they could both be linked to a third manuscript, but this explanation does not take into account translatological issues. We need to address the manner in which the rewriting of glosses shapes new texts. This is common in Old English glosses to the Psalms, a textual tradition the last exemplars of which partly coincide with Arundel and Douce (cf. Toswell 2014 for an introduction to Old English Psalms and psalters).

Old English glosses rarely use the word order of the vernacular language (Crowley 2000 for one rare situation); they are mostly tributary to Latin. It is also worth noting that vernacular glosses could have been one of the tools for the standardisation of the Old English language in late 10th century Winchester under bishop Æthelwold, as part of the Benedictine Reform (Gneuss 1972; cf. Gretsch 2001; Gretsch 2005; Lendinara 2019, p. 87–92). Since the translations of the Bible could have played a similar role in the evolution of Old French (e.g., Trenel 1904), the comparison is worth investigating.

Concerning Old English Psalter glosses, there still remains a general tendency to divide them into two groups. Research rather speaks of a "network of relationships" between *Group α* of Old English psalter glosses and *Group δ* (cf. Pulsiano 1991). It was argued that one cannot understand the links between them if they are edited alone (cf. Pulsiano 1992 for the proposal of a joint edition of all glosses). According to Philipp Pulsiano, the only solution would be to present them in a collective form (see the concordance of Pulsiano 2001 for a posthumous first volume in a planned series of four).

Leaving aside the links with an Old English metrical psalter (O'Neill 2016; cf. Toswell 1997) and the issue of dialectal implications (cf. Kitson 2002; Kitson 2003; Ogura 2006), both features being less interesting in the current framework, my presentation starts with the first group of texts, *Group α* (for the use of *α* and *δ* in reference to manuscript groups instead of individual manuscripts, see Schabram 1965, p. 23, *passim*; Gretsch 1999, p. 17–21; cf. Lendinara 2023, p. 338). *Group α* consists of its namesake codex *A* (London, British Library, MS Cotton Vespasian A i; manuscript *B* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 27; and another independent apograph known as *C* (Cambridge, University Library, MS Ff. 1. 23). The relationship between the three is complex, yet all are early texts, dating back to 9th century, 10th century, and *c.*1000 respectively. In spite of various attempts made at identifying an *Urtext*, filiation remains rather unclear, much like in the case of the Old French Psalters known as Oxford and Arundel with the addition (or not) of Orne and Maidstone (e.g., Pulsiano 1996 for the complex links between *C* and *A*).

Most manuscripts in *Group δ*, on the other hand, are of a later date. Despite the fact that *D* (London, British Library, MS Royal 2 B v) is also early, dated to mid-10th century, the other glosses were compiled in early 11th–century: *L* (London, British Library, MS Additional 37517, in a 10th–century codex); mid-11th century—*G* (London, British Library, MS Cotton Vitellius E xviii); mid– or third quarter of the 11th century—*F* (London, British Library, MS Stowe 2) and *H* (London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius C vi); second half of the 11th century—*J* (London, British Library, Arundel MS 60); or 11th–12th century—*K* (Salisbury, Cathedral Library, MS 150, in a manuscript dated to the second half of the 10th century). Filiation is once again problematic. And there is also a version *I*, Lambeth Psalter from the first half of the 11th century (London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 427), which contains different glosses with many mixed readings from *Group α* and *Group δ*, as well as corrections and revisions.

The same could be said about the Old English gloss of the Eadwine Psalter (E—Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.17.1, mid–12th century). Its basis could be a version of *Group α*, while corrections to its Old English text could be made on the basis of *Group δ* (e.g., Lindelöf 1904; cf. O'Neill 1992: 126—who identifies Vespasian Psalter (*A*) and Regius Psalter (*D*) as models for the base of the text and corrections respectively). Nevertheless, given the presence of several scribes working on the Old English text, not to mention double glosses (i.e., two glosses given for the same Latin word), the issue of these corrections is intriguing. Many corrections look like they were made as spontaneous interventions (Zagórska 2020a; Zagórska 2020b). A different situation concerns the Salisbury Psalter (*K*) of *Group δ*. *D* being the base, the glossator of *K* probably chose to eliminate the poetical renderings of *D* and his choices fell sometimes too close to those found in various glosses from *Group α* (cf. Lendinara 2021, p. 192–196).

In most cases, peculiar variations and similitudes within *Groups α*, *δ*, or in between the two groups are stuck in the basic causality dilemma. However, research seems to be focused mainly on the relationship between the apparatuses of glosses. Pictured in the form of a deterministic chain of transmission, glosses are expected to move from point *α* to point *δ*, or vice-versa. This happens because they are seen as independent from the Latin text to which they adhere, an idea inherited from the nineteenth century—the century of dictionaries, national philologies, and national identities. Lendinara 2002a, p. 249–254 (with examples), pointed out that a gloss should not be readily taken as a translation of its Latin lemma. Glosses cannot be used as the lemmata of a modern dictionary, to be mined for renderings to use in a translation. Such a choice apparently ignores the specific circumstances that link *lemmata*—i.e., clusters of words in a source text—and their *interpretamenta*—clusters of glosses corresponding to such *lemmata*. By the same token, treating a gloss (and

Old French and Old English interlinear glosses in the Eadwine Psalter (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.17.1, f. 21r).

Photo: Vladimir Agrigoroaei, 2025. Courtesy of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College Cambridge.

its meaning(s)) as a word within a prose translation is likewise off the mark. The said *lemma* and *interpretamentum* form a cluster. It is my personal opinion that an edition which meets this requirement is the partial one by Pignatelli, Lavrentiev (s.a.)—who edited the Latin and Old French glosses of MS Arundel 230.

There is also the issue of double *interpretamenta* in vernacular glosses. The entries of glossaries with *interpretamenta* drawn from different sources woven together by scribes can operate as interpretation networks of their respective *lemmata* (cf. Lendinara 2002a, p. 257–265). Another category comprises glosses, the *interpretamenta* of which stem from the former. A bridge is thus built between the two glosses (*lemma 1* + *interpretamentum 1* and *lemma 2* + *interpretamentum 2*) (Lendinara 1992a). This and other features of the *interpretamenta* (and their origin once detected) makes so-called errors of translation entirely irrelevant in the discussion of many glosses. Glossators did not have just the source text in mind. Their work was multifaceted, anchored in both source texts and glossaries (Lendinara 1992b; cf. Lendinara 2012). For instance, as regards Psalter glosses, the "errors" of the K gloss (i.e., Salisbury Psalter) are none other than a diorthosis type of rewriting based on a Romanum gloss, but with the help of commentaries and additional works (Lendinara 2021). Viewed in light of the abovementioned instances, the so-called errors of language or translation in the Old French Arundel Psalter might be the result of a similar method of glossing. When MS Arundel 230 breaks with MS Douce 320 or presents odd rephrases of a clusterial nature, this happens because its interlinear gloss is not an actual translation, but only the adaptation of source material in order to fit the purpose devised by (or for the use of) the glossator.

When historical analysis is applied to the corpus of Old English interlinear glosses to the Psalms, none of them can be considered a prose translation (for a prose translation of the Psalms, see the Old English text of Psalms 1–50 in an 11th–century Canterbury manuscript—Paris, BnF, MS lat. 8846; Ps 51–150 have a verse translation in the same manuscript). The tradition started rather early, at the end of the 7th century. It characterised Germanic languages as a group—not only Old English, but also Old High German, Old Frisian, and it spread as far as Scandinavian lands (Lendinara 2002b; cf. Bremmer 2007; Grauwe 1990 for Old Frisian). Old Franconian glosses to the Psalms from the 10th century were also part of the same phenomenon (cf. Kyes 1969 for an edition). Furthermore, a recent book by Blom proves beyond doubt that the culture of glossing flourished upon an "early medieval paratextual network" (Blom 2017, p. 4). This network connected several Western-European non-Romance languages in the span of six long centuries, and it created its own system of verbal and non-verbal expression (syntax marks, punctuation, and layout must be taken into account too). Moreover, the Psalms were central in the development of glossing. This is amply demonstrated by Blom 2017.

Blom identified three types of glosses. The first one concerns "substitution glosses [that] replace a lemma from the principal text with another term in order to provide more or less exact lexical equivalents or perceived equivalents." They can be divided in SUB1 "glosses which provide a synonym or translation of a noun (phrase), verb (phrase), preposition(al phrase), adverb, or conjunction;" SUB2 "substitution glosses which provide an explanatory replacement" (some […] derived from the commentary paratext in the margin of the manuscript); and SUB3 those that provide a paraphrase of a lemma, "more difficult to fit into a taxonomy." (Blom 2017, p. 29–32). This corresponds to the peculiar mechanics of complex translation clusters analysed in the recent *Translation Automatisms* volume (Agrigoroaei, Sasu, Voleková, Svobodová, Korondi, Ungureanu, Gînsac 2023). Old English interlinear glosses to the Latin Psalms often belong to this category of substitution glosses.

The second category postulated by Blom includes "supplement glosses [that] elucidate the morphology and syntax of the principal text by supplying additional clarifying forms, often repeated, or otherwise deduced, from context." These are hard to identify in Old French glosses, as they are bereft of any evident uses for language acquisition and educational hermeneutics. They can be "complete constituents, words or a group of words that function as a single syntactic unit, such as an object, a subject, or a phrase, added to a sentence in the principal text." Supplement glosses divide into SUP1 "gloss [that] supplies a constituent," and SUP2 gloss that "supplements a constituent." Syntax marks can belong to this subcategory. Blom notes that "non-verbal glosses are especially common in Irish and Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, consisting of combinations of abstract signs (dots, commas, and dashes) and letters to explicate the syntactic context of a lemma." (Blom 2017, p. 32–34).

Blom's last category consists of "commentary glosses provid[ing] new information to and elucidate[ing] a given lemma, but without substituting or supplementing the principal text." He further notes that "defining this category and the relation between commentary glosses, scholia and commentary proper is problematic, which results in these terms often being used interchangeably." He then divides them into four subcategories: COM1 "provide lexical or etymological commentary"; COM2 "provide commentary on morphology and syntax; COM3 "provide variant readings or other text-critical information," and COM4 cover glosses that "give explicative commentary, for example on exegesis or historical background." (Blom 2017, p. 34). This corresponds to a situation that we also noted, namely that of glosses of an exegetical nature that "can be similar to the contemporary translation technique known as 'description'—i.e., replacing a term or an expression with a description—and 'amplification'" (Agrigoroaei, Sasu 2023, p. 37, with translatological bibliography in the footnotes). Blom's categories 1 and 3 can be found in Old French texts—substitutions and commentaries, that is, linguistic variation or the implications of exegesis. Blom's second category, that of supplement glosses, is hard to find in Old French glosses, as it is related to the peculiar interest for grammar that we see in the "early medieval paratextual network." The co-

existence of *glossae collectae*, class glossaries, and alphabetical glossaries, as well as the presence of Old English glosses in Latin grammatical texts suggests that language acquisition and hermeneutics were interwoven to a certain degree (e.g., Lapidge 1982; Gneuss 1990; Gneuss 1993; Lendinara 2020). Furthermore, a similar interest in grammar, glosses (some on Psalms), and glossaries characterises Celtic languages (e.g., Bauer, Krivoshchekova 2022; cf. Best 1936; Law 1982; Holtz 1983; McNamara 2000; Bauer 2017; O'Sullivan 2021).

Since it was repeatedly pointed out that Old English glosses were an instrument for teaching, even though the precise dynamics of Anglo-Saxon pedagogy are not fully grasped (Lendinara 2002c; cf. Stanton 2002), one must also note that the 11th and 12th centuries saw a shift in the evolution of the contents of libraries, the responsibility for which did not lie with the Norman Conquest, but with a Western-European cultural trend that started earlier. The essential place occupied by grammatical and educational works characterising the period before the 11th century was gradually overtaken by patristic works and commentaries (Webber 1997; cf. Thomson 1986). The decline of Old English translations or glosses (such as those from the Lambeth and Eadwine Psalters) coincides with this decline of grammatical and educational works, whereas the interest in patristic works and commentaries underpins the rise of glosses to (and translations from) the Psalms in the Old French literature of the 12th century. In the second part of the 12th century, a generation after the emergence of Old French translations of (and glosses to) the Psalms, vernacular commentaries to the same book of the Bible were made. The First French Commentary to the Psalms, written in four instalments on the Continent *c.*1165, was soon copied in many Anglo-Norman manuscripts of the 12th and 13th centuries, its only extended copy being located in England: the three manuscripts of Durham, Cathedral Library, MSS A.II.11–A.II.13) (for this text, see Gregory 1990; and the last chapter of this volume).

That the Old French written tradition did not have a penchant for grammar is evident from the inventory of 12th–century texts. Yet there has always been a peculiar category of Anglo-Norman texts of a didactical nature, mostly poems, many of which belong to the wider corpus of biblical adaptations (see two cases concerning the Psalms: the First French Metrical Psalter, studied by the *PSalteRATIO* ANR project—London, British Library, Harley MS 4070 + Additional MS 50000; and the *Miserele* poem in London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 431—edited by Grange 2015; many more texts of this category were written both in England and on the Continent; see e.g., Sansun of Nantuil's *Proverbs*, Évrat's *Genesis*, etc.). Such texts precede and underpin the rise of Anglo-Norman glossaries and grammars in the 13th century (cf. Hunt 1991), as the latter represents a specific group of texts with tight insular dynamics.

It is therefore safe to assume that French culture ended up assimilating local cultural trends after a while, but this was a hesitant process. Full cultural assimilation was not possible at the very beginning of the occupation; only stimulus diffusion, that is, achieving similar results with different means. Since the earliest manuscripts in the corpus of Old French psalters are either proper translations (Douce) or glosses based on the *lemma-interpretamentum* pattern (Arundel), I believe that the Arundel gloss should be interpreted along the same lines as the Old English glosses to the Psalms.

When stating this, I am not defending the view of Howlett 1996. I am merely referencing several instances where Old French texts are based on Old English precedents (e.g., Agrigoroaei 2020). Perhaps the best example is the *Comput* of Philippe de Thaon (*c.*1113/1119), one of the first (if not *the* first) Old French poem of the aforementioned didactic group. The odd genre and subject of Philippe's poem can be linked to the fact that computistical works, a fashionable type of texts before the Conquest, continued to thrive in England after 1066 (cf. Lendinara 2007, esp. p. 92–102, for various computistical works).

This is where a comparative look at Old English and Old French translations and glosses to the Psalms bears interesting fruit in a number of respects. Anglo-Norman textual tradition formed during the 12th century, which represented not only a decline but also the end of the Old English tradition of glosses. Still, there are other similarities to be taken into account in connection with the pattern of *lemma-interpretamentum*. Perhaps the most interesting feature are the so-called "glossary words," that is, words that occur only in the limited frame of certain interlinear glosses. Defined as 'morphological borrowings' or 'structural replicas' (Kornexl 2003, p. 206; cf. Lendinara 2019, p. 93–94), they are the by-product of an etymological approach to glossing that can be noticed in Old French examples, too. Leaving aside the case of the Oxford Psalter or of the Arundel Psalter, the etymological formations of which will be analysed in the next instalment of this paper, I will present an example that was already analysed in a recent publication.

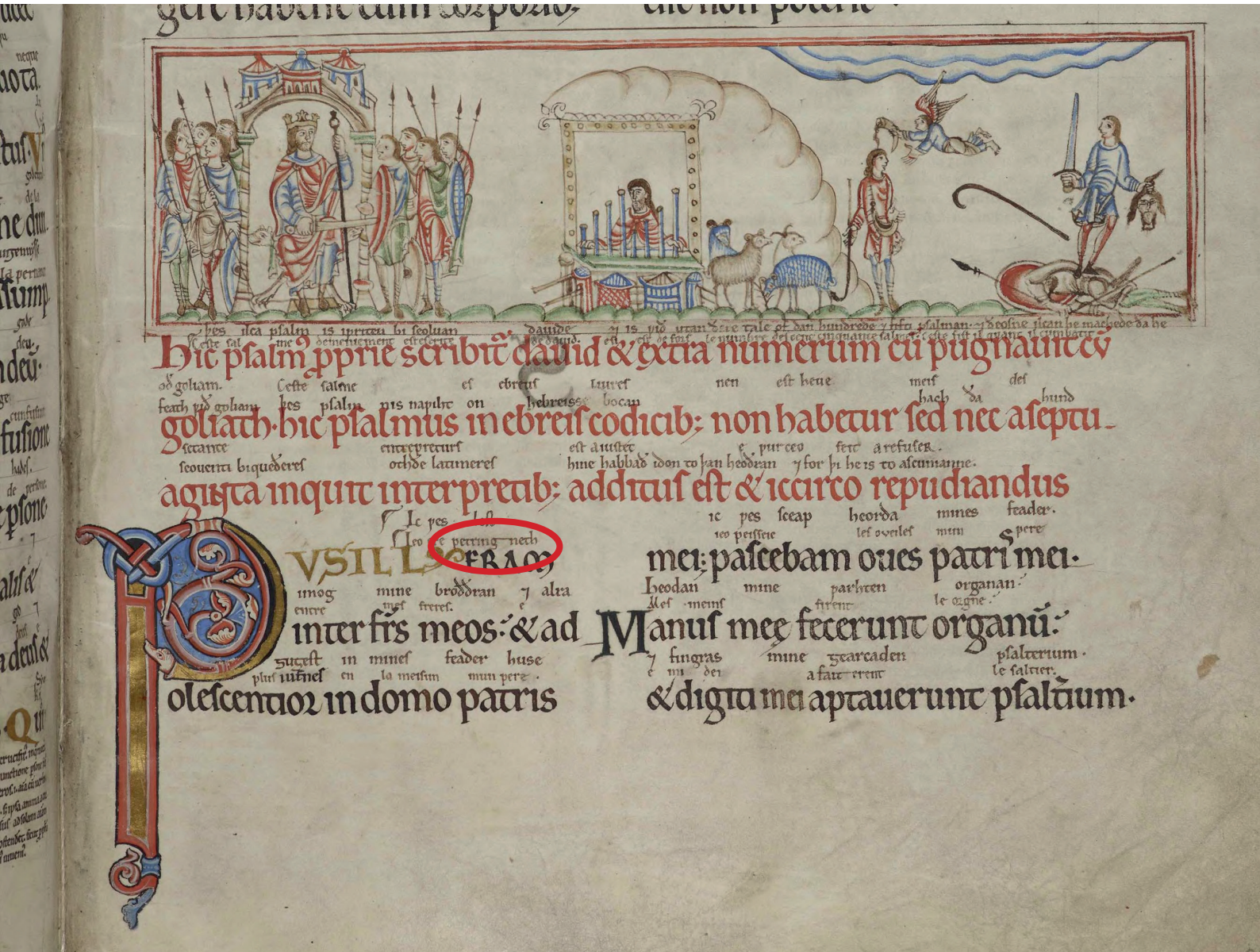
I argued that the rendering of Lat *pusillus* as OFr *petringneth* in the Old French gloss of the Eadwine Psalter's Psalm 151 must be interpreted along the same lines as the translation choice *peterinés* that renders Lat *pusillus* in the anonymous Walloon translation of saint Bernard's *Sermones in annuum* (Agrigoroaei 2023, p. 123, 125). The translation choice is one and the same, even though the word is not attested elsewhere in the corpus of Old French texts; different translators came up with identical etymological formations as a result of identical translation strategies (extreme functional equivalence). The presence of such tailor-made words in Old English glosses, often in connection with Latin realia (Lendinara 2012, p. 967–974) suggests that they cannot be extracted from their *lemma-interpretamentum* setting, to be included in actual dictionaries of the old language. This is indeed the case of *petringneth*, which should not have been included in the *Anglo-Norman Dictionary*—on the one hand, because *petringneth* is a structural by-product of a *lemma-interpretamentum* cluster, being the vernacular answer to Lat *pusillus*; on the other hand, because this word formation is not Anglo-Norman, since an identical formation occurred in a Walloon text of the same period.

I do not share the opinion that vernacular *interpretamenta* from interlinear glosses should be studied in complete isolation from actual prose translations, some of which are based on similar or identical translation strategies. The fact that OFr *peterinés* occurs in a prose translation is proof enough that the situation is more or less the same. Instead, I have already argued that extreme-functional translation strategies in the vernacular texts of the 12th century did not operate between high-prestige sources and low-prestige target texts. The juncture of diglossia and bilingualism created four main language categories between the source text and target text: 'high-prestige and low-prestige Latin, high-prestige and low-prestige Romance, with an infinity of intermediate degrees'. The translator (or glossator) adapted a text 'from a high variety of the Latin language to a high variety of French, passing through a low-prestige type of Latin' (*latin haut et bas, roman haut et bas, avec une infinité de degrés intermédiaires,* […] *d'une variété haute de la langue latine à une variété haute du français, par l'entremise d'un latin en variété basse*; Agrigoroaei 2016, p. 297). In my own opinion, 'glossary words' could be the result of a certain aesthetic of translation, based on an extreme functional translation strategy.

This aesthetic is evident only in a handful of Old French texts, most of which can be traced back to 12th–century England. Apart from the aforementioned translations and glosses to the Psalms, the group includes the translation of the book of Judges (made for Norman Knights Templar), and that of the four books of Kings, both of them made in the second part of the 12th century (cf. Curtius 1911; Albon 1913; Ham 1937; Nobel 2015). In a literary context that favoured verse adaptations, it is possible that this minority of translations based on extreme functional translation strategies could have been influenced by Old English models, just as certain texts from Wallonia and Lorraine show that a similar approach to an extreme functional translation strategy could have been influenced by German models (Agrigoroaei 2011, vol. 1, p. 527–537).

The best illustration of the manner in which Old French took off by the exact time that Old English was gradually dying out is none other than Eadwine Psalter. Its Old English composite gloss was written in the interline of Romanum, while the Old French gloss—independent from the text of the Oxford Psalter (see the demonstration in Agrigoroaei 2023)—was transcribed in the adjacent column of Hebraicum. However, there are other types of encounters as well (see again Agrigoroaei 2019).

▼ *Ps 151 and the translation choice* petringneth *in the Eadwine Psalter (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.17.1, f. 281r).*
Courtesy of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College Cambridge.



THE PSALTER IN ENGLAND: AN OVERVIEW OF THE VERNACULAR APPROACHES UNTIL THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

Patrizia Lendinara

MS Arundel 230 and MS Douce 320

The study undertaken by Alessia Chapel and Vladimir Agrigoroaei in the framework of the ANR *PSalteRATIO* project focuses on 12th– and 13th–century England. The English interest in the Psalter lasted centuries, producing a considerable number of Psalter manuscripts (more than a dozen of which glossed in Old English, a translation in prose and one in verse) and passing on the baton to French. Their research is devoted to the translation of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320, and also to the interlinear version of the Psalter in London, British Library, MS Arundel 230. Both works play a crucial role when read from multiple perspectives. Chapel has taken into examination the erasures in MS Douce 320.

The London manuscript, British Library, MS Arundel 230 is an interlinear French gloss added to a slightly earlier version of the *Gallicanum*, with both texts dating from the second half of the 12th century. The codex is composite, made of four parts (fol. 1–6; fol. 7–161; fol. 162–180; fol. 181–194), and was copied at the Benedictine Abbey of St Peter, St Paul, and St Andrew in Peterborough in the 12th and 13th centuries. Folios 7r–146r contain the Psalter with the interlinear translation in French, followed by canticles and hymns. The collection of pieces which usually accompany the Psalter (fol. 157v–161r) had, by this time, progressively reached a stable composition. However, in the case of MS Arundel 230 there is neither a liturgical calendar nor prayers, as if the patron and scribes performing their task had chosen to give more prominence and attention to the text of the Psalter.

The translation of MS Arundel 230 sets the manuscript apart from what would become the norm of French versions of the Psalter, even though it would seem that its author has learned the lesson of the 10th and 11th interlinear glosses to the Psalter in Old English. The 'originality' of MS Arundel 230 is underscored by Agrigoroaei on several occasions in the previous discussion. The approach builds on what went before, independently of the language, but within the same category of text, a vernacularisation of a Biblical work. Working on the logic of *lemma* / *interpretamentum* allows to detect how close is the dialogue between the Arundel version and the Latin text of the Psalter. This is true notwithstanding the changes in the word-order (*e.g.*, the possessive adjective and the name it determines), which is too often remarked. It is not a matter of greater and lesser freedom, but a question of firm anchoring.

On the other hand, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320 is a French prose text with no parallel Latin text. MS Douce 320 is a composite manuscript where Psalms and Canticles (fol. 37–75) were later combined with a 13th–century French translation of the Benedictine Rule, a key text of medieval monasticism. Upon thorough analysis of the erasures of MS Douce 320, it would appear that this translation is a rewriting of a former continuous gloss. According to Chapel and Agrigoroaei, MS Douce 320 is actually a reworking of an interlinear gloss. In this regard, the same considerations made above for MS Arundel 230 apply, although the two scholars work at a more remote step: hence its fluidity. The second conclusion that is reached is that the previous layer of MS Douce 320 should not be identified in MS Arundel 230. In the suggested interpretation, the original gloss was not that 'servile' as regards the Latin text that it accompanied, but (as to their words) it was already "fluid". This assumption, which results rather obscure when applied to a text which is irretrievably lost, is better exemplified by the parallel analysis of the interlinear version of Arundel MS 230. The aspect of the text's fluidity emerges more evidently when the translation operates with longer clusters, which allows a larger degree of freedom when it comes to word-order and syntax in general.

The study of the erasures shows that the scribe of MS Douce 320 is striving to correct his errors in spelling / pronunciation, inflection / agreement, and word order / syntax. The scribe is apparently making editorial adjustments on the fly as he works at speed, and realigning his translation with the Latin source. Short 2015 has underscored that scribal erasures remain visible, making clear the nature of the corrections. In the study, the authors highlight how several corrections were made to have the French text sound more continental, with all the meaning attached to this term which also meant high-prestige. The capillary assessment of the erasures starts from a graphematic and grammatical level to then move onto sociolinguistic questions. The Latin text, if there was one, remains in the background and it is evident how the Oxford Psalter manuscript is unusual in its all-French component. Later manuscripts of this translation have a full Latin text or at least Latin incipits.

The St Albans Psalter (Hildesheim, Dombibliothek, St Godehard MS 1) is dated 1123–1135 and is possibly one of the several Psalters produced or commissioned by St Albans. The text of the Psalters is preceded by a prefatory cycle. The more than 200 initials, quite large—also compared to the relatively small size of the manuscript—and inhabited with figures, provide a visual version to the texts to follow, starting with the prayers and, with further continuity, with the psalms. Much has been written on the patron of the codex and its recipient within the walls of St Albans. Hefty is also the more firmly grounded assessment of the units of the manuscript, which combines a Psalter and its common paraphernalia with the *Song of St Alexis* and a treatise on Good and Evil.

As in other instances, all components of the insular Psalter manuscripts contribute to illustrate their nature. However, in this respect, the two manuscripts under examination seem to follow a different path from that of other contemporary Psalter manuscripts (both the trilingual Eadwine Psalter and the all-Latin ones): they bear no special illumination, but betray a good (and at times apparently similar) care in the layout and in alternating the colours of the capitals. Additionally, when it comes to MS Arundel 230, the balancing of the Latin and French texts aligns the manuscript to similar codices.

The Psalter in England

Of the many early English manuscripts of the Psalter, eleven are provided with a continuous interlinear gloss in Old English. A number of fragments now in Cambridge, Haarlem, Sonderhausen, Elblag, and Alkmaar (of a further continental manuscript in England by the mid–11th century, known by the sigla ***N***; see Gneuss, Lapidge 2014, no. 141 and the recent discovery of further fragments reported by Porck 2024) are also provided with glosses. One manuscript (***M***) (New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, MS M 776; mid–8th century) bears sparse glosses in the vernacular. Another, the Southampton Psalter (Cambridge, St John's College, MS 59; 10th/11th century, written in Ireland and probably arrived in England before 1100) features glosses in both Old Irish and Latin.

What is more, both *Romanum* and *Gallicanum* versions of the Psalter were provided with Old English glosses. *Romanum* and *Gallicanum* were both in use in England, but the latter ousted the Romanum by the middle of the 10th century. A clear net of relationships between these glossed Psalters emerges. The ***A–type*** group comprises: ***A*** (London, British Library, MS Cotton Vespasian A. i; second quarter of the 8th century with 9th–century glosses), ***B*** (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 27; first half of the 10th century), ***C*** (Cambridge, University Library, MS Ff. 1. 23; *c.*1000). The gloss of ***B*** and ***C*** is independently derived from A. The ***D–type*** group includes most Psalters of a later date: ***D*** (London, British Library, MS Royal 2. B. v; mid–10th century), ***F*** (London, British Library, MS Stowe 2; mid– or third quarter of the 11th century), ***G*** (London, British Library, MS Cotton Vitellius E. xviii; mid–11th century), ***H*** (London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius C. vi, mid– or third quarter of the 11th century), ***J*** (London, British Library, MS Arundel 60; second half of the 11th century), ***K*** (Salisbury, Cathedral Library, MS 150, f. 1–151; second half of the 10th century with an 11th–12th century gloss), ***L*** (London, British Library, MS Add. 37517; third quarter of the 10th century with an early 11th–century gloss) (see Schabram 1965, p. 21–28, Pulsiano 2001 and Kitson 2001 and 2003). While some apparatuses date to the same time as the Latin text or slightly afterwards, others are multilayered.

The Lambeth Psalter (***I***) (London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 427; first half of the 11th century) offers an independent gloss which, however, incorporates ***A–type*** as well as ***D–type*** glosses, as well as providing evidence for a process of correction and revision of the Old English interlinear glosses. The affiliation and the relative position of ***E*** (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.17.1, 12th century, see below) is hard to determine. The corrections and the additions of ***E*** (from Ps 2 to Ps 77) as well as the latter stratum of the occasional glosses of ***M*** (see below) belong to the ***D–type***.

In addition to these glossed Psalters, mention should be made of a manuscript (Paris, BnF, MS lat. 8824; mid–11th century, origin unknown) containing the Latin *Romanum* and a facing vernacular translation of the psalms (Ps 1–50 in prose, Ps 51–150 in verse).

In total, the manuscripts written or owned in England up to 1100 contain more than forty complete or fragmentary Psalters in Latin, which are recorded in the *Catalogue* by Gneuss, Lapidge 2014. Moreover, the presence in a number of these codices of Latin glosses and commentaries attests to the high level of textual exegesis of the Psalter text in England (see Rushforth 2009 and 2011).

The first continuous interlinear gloss of the Psalter, that of the Vespasian Psalter, is written in Mercian and dates to the 9th century (the manuscript was likely copied in Canterbury, St Augustine's Abbey, in the 8th century). As far as England is concerned, the very first group of texts bearing sparse Old English glosses which were contained in either English or originally continental manuscripts is followed, after a time-gap of about a century, by the Vespasian manuscript, which bears a large and structured presence of interlinear glosses, alongside with another codex, the Blickling manuscript, which provides evidence for the on-going process leading to a continuous gloss. Besides the Psalter, the Vespasian manuscript features nine canticles and five Hymns. The *Te Deum*, *Quicumque vult*, and prayers were added in the 11th century. The trend to combine the Psalter with liturgical paraphernalia will become more evident in the 12th century and the early Middle English period.

By comparison with the earlier group of occasional glosses in Old English, which were in part scratched and even in-text, both the medium of the gloss, written in ink throughout, and the contents of the manuscripts are wholly different. However, note that in the case of the Vespasian gloss (***A***), the dialect is Mercian, while the Blickling Psalter (***M***) (New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, MS M 776; mid–8th century) was written in Southern England and bears glosses in West Saxon (both the former and the latter layer dating to the beginning of the 9th and the late 10th century respectively). Vespasian offers a continuous interlinear gloss to the whole Psalter, while Blickling has sparse glosses which were incremented by another layer of glosses more than a century later. These are more random and that of Blickling cannot be called a focused project to implement the interlinear gloss as with the *Lorica* of Laidcenn mac Baith in the Book of Cerne (Cambridge, University Library, MS Ll 1.10; 820x840) (Lendinara, forthc.)

The hierarchical relationship between the Latin and the vernacular is generally evident in the layout of the interlinear versions of the Psalter. There are manuscripts that were ruled from the outset to contain interlinear glosses. In other instances, one or more layers of glosses, either in Latin or in the vernacular, were added between the lines of the text or in the margins of the manuscript. The arrangement of the folio yields invaluable evidence for the study of glosses and allows to establish, for example, whether a gloss was an addition or was copied along with the main text. Glosses might be written in the hand of the main text, or added at a subsequent stage by the same or a different hand.

Indeed, the trend toward the production of Psalter accompanied by an interlinear vernacular gloss sees a final acceleration, so that the majority of the Old English interlinear versions date to the 11th century. There is one interlinear gloss, that of ***K***, which dates to the end of the 11th

or the beginning of the 12th century (Lendinara 2021).

The scriptoria associated to the 11th–century Old English interlinear versions of the Psalter were the two houses of Winchester (Psalters ***F***, ***G***, ***H***, ***J***, and possibly ***I***, for which see below). The manuscripts of Psalters ***F*** (London, British Library, MS Stowe 2), ***G*** (London, British Library, MS Cotton Vitellius E. xviii), and ***J*** (London, British Library, MS Arundel 60) were copied at New Minster, Winchester, while ***H*** (London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius C. vi) at Old Minster. Most importantly, Psalter ***D*** (London, British Library, MS Royal 2. B. v), the exemplar of the ***D–type*** group of glossed Psalters, was in Winchester by the second half of the 10th century (the original of its vernacular gloss was possibly brought there from Abingdon, whence Æthelwold and some of the monks accompanying him came, according to Wildhagen 1912, resumed and reworked by Gretsch 1999; most importantly Gretsch 1999, p. 233–241 and *passim* demonstrated that the Royal glossator drew in some ways on the ***A–type*** gloss). Also an ***A–type*** glossed Psalter, the Junius Psalter manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 27) (***B***), written in the first half of the 10th century, has been associated with Winchester.

The bishop of Winchester, Æthelwold (963–984), was one of the principal proponents of the English Benedictine Reform of the second half of the 10th century. The revival of monastic life brought along an increase in book production and the re-establishment of a solid educational background for Latin learning, promoting several translations. Moreover, the Reform gave impetus to continuous interlinear glosses of texts such as the *Regula Sancti Benedicti* (the translation in the vernacular of the *Regula* is to be placed at the very beginning of such a momentous period in the Old English language) and the Psalter. Instruction in English seems to have comprised the translation of set Latin texts, and it is quite evident that the teaching methods employed by Æthelwold in the school at the Old Minster at Winchester (his cathedral church) involved the use of English, though, possibly, only at an oral level (Wulfstan, *Vita Sancti Æthelwoldi*, chapter 31). The school at Winchester was established after 963.

The fact that Æthelwold used the vernacular with his students was not particularly new. However, the stress laid by Wulfstan on this feature of the teaching carried out at Winchester bears witness to an attitude developed in the late Anglo-Saxon period toward the status and function of the vernacular, the use of which had gained ground in the interim between Alfred and Æthelwold.

Æthelwold's literary production attests to his concern with both English and Latin. He translated into English the *Regula Sancti Benedicti* and composed the *Regularis concordia*, a Latin customary (issued after the council of Winchester in 973), which served as the norm for the reformed Benedictine monasticism in England. He is also thought to be the author of the interlinear gloss of the Royal Psalter (***D***) and the glosses to Aldhelm's prose *De virginitate* preserved, among others, in Brussels, KBR, MS 1650 (see Gretsch 1999: 261–331 and 332–383, respectively).

In the second half of the 10th century, a standardized lexical usage linked to Winchester became established. Æthelwold's school and the Winchester scriptorium were the regulating forces behind this trend of linguistic normativity. The standardisation that took place with the epicentre in Winchester is also the final result of the intellectual atmosphere at King Æthelstan's court (924/5–927 and 927–939, King of the English), where Æthelwold was raised (see Foot 2011, chapter 3). The texts which reflect the 'Winchester usage' include the works of Ælfric, the Lambeth Psalter gloss, the interlinear gloss to the *Expositio hymnorum*, and the Old English translation of the Rule of Chrodegang of Metz (for an overview, see Hofstetter 1987).

The Old English gloss to the Royal Psalter (***D***) has been accredited to Æthelwold by Gretsch. Its gloss has been praised for the abundance of its vocabulary and for the knowledge of Psalter exegesis which looms behind a number of his interpretations of Biblical verses (Gretsch 1999, p. 261–331). This interlinear gloss to a *Romanum* offers sophisticated renderings of the verses and experiments with proposing new renderings for a good number of Latin words. The glossator employed a range of synonyms and largely used word-formation to coin new compounds, which would go on to earn their place elsewhere. There are Old English words such as *geðwære* 'kind, gentle', *ðæslic* 'suitable', and *gymen* 'care', which are used both in the interlinear apparatus to the Royal Psalter and Aldhelm's glosses in Brussels, KBR, MS 1650.

Glosses and glossaries had a role in normalizing the rendering of set Latin words. The interaction between the two languages can be observed nowhere better than in interlinear glosses, which allow us to understand the ways in which these texts were interpreted. Glosses demonstrate the concern over a correct rendering of the meaning and in the selection of synonyms. The same purpose is evident in the Old English translations (Lendinara 2019). As Mechthild Gretsch remarks in the conclusions of her book, "[s]uch interest in a stylistic and intellectual refinement of the vernacular cannot be paralleled anywhere else in early medieval Europe" (Gretsch 1999, p. 426). The Royal Psalter (***D***) gloss as well as the Old English translation of the Benedictine Rule, reproduces a nascent state of the Winchester usage.

All the interlinear glosses composed at Winchester, with the sole exception of the Lambeth Psalter (***I***), draw on the interlinear gloss of ***D***. However, in a number of instances, the other ***D–type*** Psalter glosses will not repeat the renderings of Psalter D choosing instead a more common gloss word, and will therefore reduce the lexical variation which is typical of Psalter ***D***.

The Lambeth Psalter (***I***) (London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 427) was written in the early 11th century, perhaps at Winchester, although like many Lambeth manuscripts it has a late–medieval provenance of the Augustinian priory

Beginning of Ps 4 in the Eadwine Psalter (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.17.1, f. 4r).

The three main columns present the text of the Hebraicum, *the* Romanum, *and the* Gallicanum. *The Old French gloss is transcribed above the* Hebraicum *(left); the Old English gloss is transcribed above the text of* Romanum *(middle), and various Latin glosses are transcribed in the interline and on the margin of the* Gallicanum *(right).*

Courtesy of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College Cambridge.



Huo Uicerom
apelamo
can cicif
tem dauid
exaudi
mei deus de la
me deus iu
meie iustise;
stuę męę;
ex tribu
I tribu
latum purlug
latione dilata
nas amg. aief mer
sti michi.misе-
ere mei & ex
or la meie
audi oratione
ureisun; li fil
meam: Filii
de barun desiaquat
uiri usq;quo
li nuen noble
mdiu mei ig
huncusement
nomimose di
amez uus uamcet
ligiat uanita
querant
tem: quęren
men chunge
tes mdacium:
cuesure; E cu-
semp: Et cog
nussez que
nosatte qm mi
meruell reudre
rabilem reddi
li fires le suen
dit domin mi
merciable: li fires
sedem suu: dns
orrat mei
exaudiet me
cume ió crietai
cum clamaue
a lui;
ro ad euc;
traser e ne
Irascimini & no
uuillez pecher
lite peccare.

Cum
ie
inuo
se crede de
care
huse
te
hepdest me
exaudistu me
god ihrpusnesse
deus iustuę
mye. on
męę: n
se spinee
tribulatione
hu robredest me.
dilatasti me.
Miserе me; dpulrain
Miserere mi dne:
7 se lure mme
& exaudi orati
se bed
onem meam.
monnabearna
Filii hominum
hu lange spape. E heure
usquequo gra
ophedren to
ues corde: ut
hyon luziadge
quid diligitis
delnesse
uanitatem &
secad
quęritis mda
leasunge prod
cium. Scitote
hedre dpulr
quoniam mag
ten zemicla de
nificauit do
his hadz ng.
minus sanctu
dpulrain
suum: domin
se lmde me
exaudiet me
hanne ic clypede
dum clamare
to him
.ad euc.
ysse ad 7
Irascimini & no
nellen se senzien
lite peccare.

Hebr.

Rom.

In finē p dā
cantic ppha m
crepat iudeos.

Miserē de iustitia
dilatōe. ē mis.
ira miserat h mte.
Oro ÷ de petendis
bonis. & cumita
de me: filii. h.

Venial ÷ ira que
ñ ducē ad effectū.

Cum inuocarem exaudiuit me deus iustitię meę: in tribulatione dilatasti michi. Miserere mei: & exaudi orationem meam.

Filii hominum usq;quo gravi corde: ut quid diligitis uanitatem & quęritis mendacium: Et cognoscite quoniam mirificauit dominus sanctum suum: dominus exaudiet me cum clamauero ad eum.

Irascimini & nolite peccare.

Psalm demoribz ad agendū. ut deserant falsidū. & uana seli. cantici. quia fit mentio de eterna iocunditate.
Exēplo sui increpat infideles de falsis dīis.

Dilatasti. ab angustiis istis in latitudinē gaudii duxisti. vñ gaudem in tribulatione. prī indicauit se auditū. nā qsi hīs in corde dīm et loquitur.

ad huc miserere.

Diligitis. uoto amplexamini. quęritis labore. uana idola & mdacia. quę ñ dās. l trena. quę ñ facium. q. promittunt.
Nota. Simmicus pomitur dicta cū visione quę est in corde: ruminat. ira hic. Vt nolite diligē uana. scīt. ḥ. diapsalma sic iungi uerat.

Donās exaudiet. de reqe. ira nos. ió clamate sic digni auditu: irasc. i. si mot surgit animq ñ. ē. in potestate: ñ ei sentiat ratio.
Mot animi in potestate nra. ñ. ē. s. dī gra reparе possum. qđ g ostendit. s. pmittit. quod culpe: phibet. lex. hapis docet. sol ñ occidup. i. u. ut peccatū sit omo. vl teum irasci: iustitia aut ira ceteri plenitudine mitigare.

Gall.

of Llanthony Secunda in Gloucestershire. Only a part of the Psalms are provided with continuous Old English glosses. The manuscript also contains a few glosses in Latin, usually quite short, which have been thoroughly examined, together with the other texts included in the manuscript, by Patrick O'Neill (O'Neill 1991). "The Lambeth Psalter gloss is [...] a fresh and highly competent interlinear version", writes Gretsch 1999, p. 27, and belongs to the 'Winchester group'.

Psalter ***D***, the ancestor of one of the groups of Old English glosses Psalters (***D–type***), moving from Winchester, was at Christ Church, Canterbury by the 11th century. From the same scriptorium of Canterbury comes Psalter ***L*** (London, British Library, MS Add. 37517). On the other hand, the latest Psalter gloss (11th–12th century), that on the Psalter of Salisbury (***K***), was written at the Shaftesbury Abbey, in Dorset (Lendinara 2021).

The 12th–century hinge

The 12th century inaugurated a long period of multilingualism in England. This circumstance was true only for a small percentage of population, living in towns such as London, York, or Canterbury, and for some of the classes of the population and their exchanges both oral and written. In the last decades, the approach to medieval multilingualism in general and Anglo-French bilingualism in particular has significantly changed, which makes it possible to study the literary production from a different perspective.

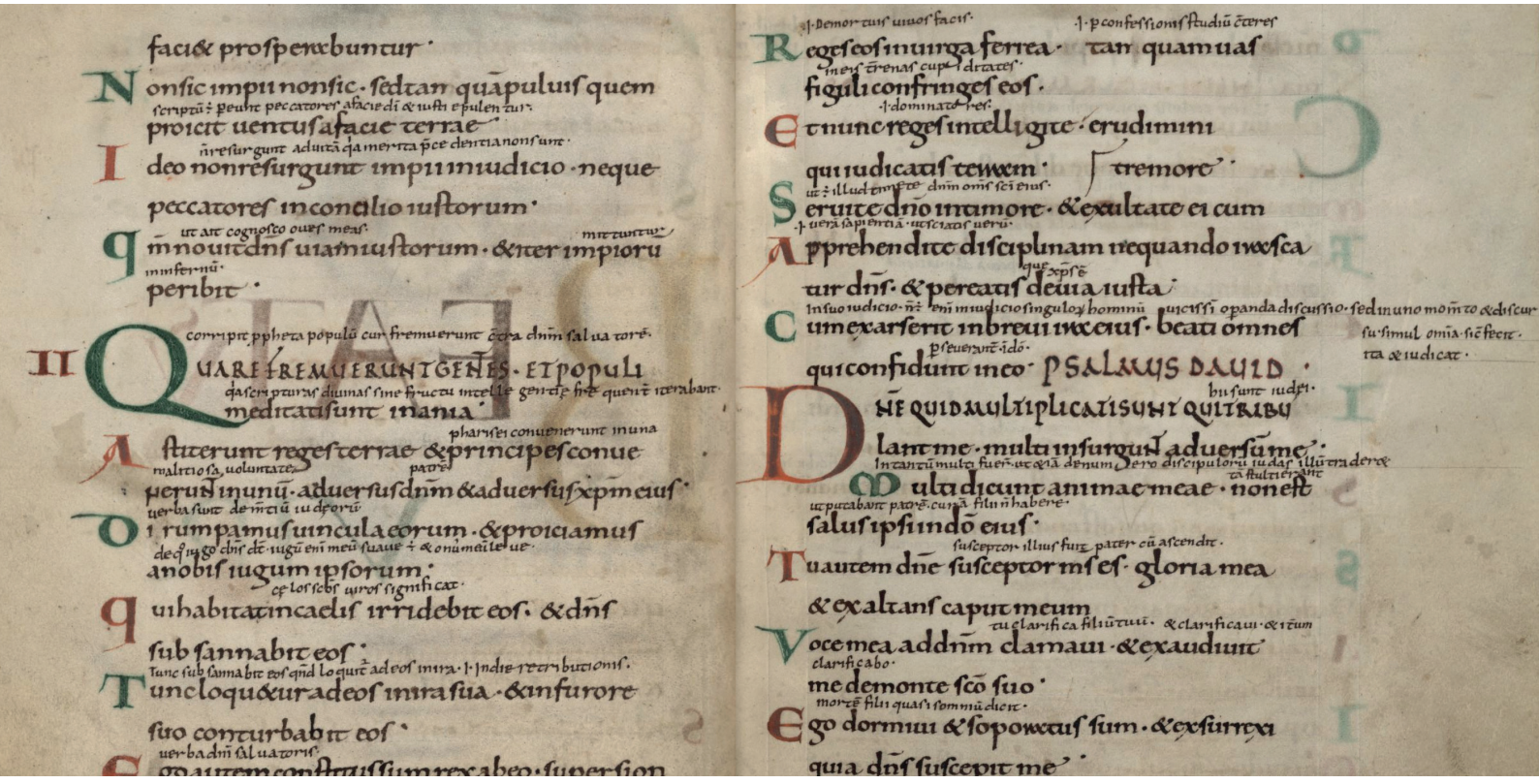
As far as glosses are concerned, while the centuries to come will see the production of a large number of glosses and glossaries, only the four short glossaries of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 730 are copied at the beginning of the 13th century (Cataldi 2023). Texts continued to be glossed in English, for example, Aldhelm's, whose *De virginitate* was object of study well in the 13th century. Every new selection of *glossae collectae* vouch for the interest accorded to the same works as in the last centuries of Anglo-Saxon England. For instance, I have identified a whole series of *glossae collectae* from Bk III of Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, *Bella Parisiacae urbis* in a late Anglo-Saxon glossary (London, British Library, MS Cotton Domitian i) and batches of glosses from the same work in two 12th–century glossaries (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.3.37 and London, British Library, Royal MS 7. D. ii) (Lendinara 2023).

The typologies of glossary inherited from the Anglo-Saxon period continue, although intermittently as the alphabetical glossaries, and new genres such as the metrical vocabularies are introduced. The semantic domains of topical glossaries include new lexical fields (and shares of new items) which reflect the changes of society. Most remarkable is the employment of different languages: Latin, English, and French. The choice of the language of the *interpretamenta* (French or English), the pairing of French and English, and the gradual replacement of French with English yield a number of cues on the changing role of French, also in relation to teaching practices and the target language. Psalters continued to be glossed, and such a production has no interruption.

The Eadwine Psalter

The Eadwine Psalter (***E***) participates in the picture of the 12th century taken into examination by Agrigoroaei, however idiosyncratic its project, not only for the triple text,

▼ *Print screen close-up of the interlinear glosses of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 411, f. 2v-3r (Ps 2 and beginning of Ps 3).*
Source: https://parker.stanford.edu/



but in its combination of different levels of paratext, not only the images inherited from the Utrecht Psalter and shared by other contemporary Psalter manuscripts stemming from this same model. Dated to the 1150s, this Psalter, with three main columns on a page, is earlier than other works employing French and offers an example of parallel use of both English and French, on a parity stance, possibly in accordance with the wish of the manuscript's patron, the prior Wibert, and, at the same time, with no interference whatsoever on the respective texts. It has been remarked how Latin does not play the third wheel; on the contrary it is the main language of the Eadwine Psalter—note that the column with the *Gallicanum* is the largest one and the outermost on both sides—and it is with the Latin text that the illustrations of the psalms converse.

The codex contains a post-Conquest calendar from Christ Church, which has received much attention. This calendar features different layers of feasts and maintains all the main feasts that had been observed in Anglo-Saxon Canterbury. It hence includes both the feast day of Augustine (26 May), and that of his translation (13 September), but not the recently introduced feast for the ordination of Augustine (16 November).

The codex, Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS R. 17. 1, is a display manuscript, written and produced at Christ Church, Canterbury, *c.*1155–1160 (with additions *c.*1160–1170). In this *Psalterium triplex*, the *Romanum* bears interlinear glosses in Old English while the *Hebraicum* has an incomplete interlinear version in Old French. The codex also features one of the early instances of *Glossa ordinaria* (a commentary on Ps 1–150) and exegetical prologues. Its Old English glosses, rarely called into question and for a long time mistrusted by scholars, adhere to an ***A–type*** version, much altered against a ***D–type*** gloss as far as the first part of the psalms is concerned (Ps 2–77). The gloss also features about 2500 exclusive glosses (once evaluated within the Old English psalter gloss tradition, see Faulkner 2017). As mentioned above, the manuscript includes an apparatus of illustrations, besides the well-known memorialization of Eadwine the 'prince of scribes', who was however only one of the at least thirteen scribes that worked at the codex, within a close interconnected programme of manuscript construction.

Although the Old English gloss of the Eadwine Psalter features a number of corruptions, it is possible to compare its word choices to the other interlinear versions of the Psalter composed in England before, being it the last link in a chain, whereas its French version is a novelty, but not, at least at this stage, a target of the study by Agrigoroaei. Indeed, both the glosses and the Latin commentaries of the Eadwine Psalter are in need of reconsidering. As far as the Old English gloss is concerned, for example, the number of hapaxes is quite low and, to a summary calculation, only around thirty, that is much less than the Lambeth Psalter, but also than the Royal Psalter and on par with the Stowe Psalter on the one hand (***D***–Psalters), and the Vespasian on the other (***A***–Psalters), not to speak of the Old English translation in verse. Moreover, such reckoning should, in my opinion, take into account the differences between single and multiple interpretations, which are characteristic of some late interlinear Old English gloss, where hapaxes witness to a wish of word accumulation, rather than to a pursuit of refining the rendering of the Latin.

Its status of an uncommon illustrated *Psalterium triplex* (we will have to wait until Paris, BnF, MS lat. 8846, for a similar, although more minimalistic and unfinished enterprise), is such to justify Agrigoroaei's choice. Moreover, the Eadwine Psalter French text comes through a different route from that of MS Arundel 230 and MS Douce 320 and will be at the start of a different tradition.

The Eadwine Psalter is one of the surviving medieval copies of the Utrecht Psalter, which arrived in Canterbury in the late or early 11th century. The Utrecht Psalter (Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Bibl. Rhenotraiectinae 32), a 9th–century Carolingian Psalter with 166 pen illustrations, seems to have been disbound on purpose when the scribes of London, British Library, MS Harley 603 (first half of the 11th century) penned its first copy with more than 100 pen and wash drawings, which ends abruptly at Ps 143:12.

The 13th–century Psalters

The Utrecht Psalter was in England from about 1000 to 1640. The artists working in the Canterbury scriptoria replicated its iconography, but also increased the readability of each psalm in their copies: in the Harley Psalter the text is carefully laid out to march in step with the images, the more so because there is no need to match the Latin text with a vernacular version. This last was an exercise that might affect an entire manuscript and was practiced when dealing with bilingual texts. Its outcome is commented upon on several occasions by Agrigoroaei with regards to French and Latin. Moreover, when copying the Utrecht Psalter, the illustrations of the Eadwine and Harley Psalter (and the Paris Psalter) produce a number of subtle changes, building on the Carolingian iconographic solutions and adding their own variations.

The Anglo-Catalan Psalter, manuscript Paris, BnF, MS lat. 8846, was written at Canterbury about 1200 and implemented much later (*c.*1340) in Catalonia, where the codex had been moved shortly after being copied. This manuscript, also known as Great Canterbury Psalter or Paris Psalter, covers most of the psalms up to Ps 52. Its iconographic paratext is not limited to illustrations, but includes full page images and capitals. Incompletion is apparently a constant with massive works such as this, if not with the main texts itself, but with paratext. Time might run short, patronage and money vanish, goodwill and the perspective of divine recompense wear off.

In the Anglo-Catalan Psalter, the *Hebraicum* is glossed in Anglo-Norman, a few English glosses accompany the *Romanum*, while the widest column is allotted to the *Gallicanum*, which is written in a larger script. The text bears marginal and interlinear glosses likely drawn from the *Glossa ordinaria*. The hierarchy seems to be constant and the layout of the folios, here and in other instances, can teach important lessons. This Psalter is the last rep-

resentative of a series of manuscripts following the lead of the Utrecht Psalter and, while paratextual apparatuses seem to lose their raison d'être, after a century or so, a new style of Psalters begins to thrive in England. The 14th–century exemplars classified as East Anglian go beyond the time-space of this research, however, they deserve a mention considering the remarkable change in the paratext iconography that seems to overturn the canon of the Utrecht group and, at the same time, vouches for a different use of the Psalter.

The group, which is far from homogeneous in his iconographic choices and disposition of the Latin text, includes the Ormesby Psalter (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 366, *c.*1300–1325), given to the Norwich Cathedral by the monk Robert of Ormesby about 1325, with its richly decorated margins—and its "linear, rhythmic, sculptural style" (Watson 1974: 4); the Oxford Psalter (Oxford, All Souls College, MS 7), possibly destined to Ely, showing a more restrained decoration than Ormesby, the Gorleston Psalter (London, British Library, MS Add. 49622), for which one may already speak of Gothic style, and the first half of London, British Library, MS Arundel 83, dated to 1310–1320 (now bound together with the De Lisle Psalter). The first part of the manuscript includes, besides the Psalter (with the text written in two columns), a calendar, the canticles, a litany, the Office of the Dead, and an unfinished Hours of the Passion. It hence looks to the Books of Hours which will include about fifty psalms set in a different context and with a well-identified lay recipient, and where the interest in Psalter results in England, to the detriment of its vernacularisation.

Watson 1974 includes in his scrutiny also the St Omer Psalter (London, British Library, MS Add. 39810), from Norfolk (?), *c.*1325–1330, the Tickhill Psalter (New York, Public Library, Spencer MS 26), and a Psalter in the library of the Marquess of Bath, Longleat House, MS 11, as well as a manuscript such as the Douai Psalter (Douai, Municipal Library, MS 171). As far as its stylistic features are concerned, the Longleat Psalter has connections with New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, MS 53, another codex whose illumination stems from the workshop of Queen Mary's Psalter (London, British Library, MS Royal 2. B. vii) and has been attributed to its atelier, whose influence spread until Paris, inspiring Master Honoré, active *c.*1300.

Much reproduced and often out of context are the *bas-de-page* of some of these manuscripts, although the relationship—though far and intricate—with the Psalter text is rarely taken into examination and largely missed. In some cases, the pursuit of a fuller Psalter iconography affects the beginning of the *Beatus* with historiated medallions surrounding its initial to supplement the visual apparatus. The *Beatus* page had for a long time its own story and these manuscripts show the culmination of the tendencies of the English Psalters.

The higher-level study of Psalter and the Latin commentaries

In the early English period, the Psalter was used both for monastic and lay audiences. It was the central book of the Divine Office, but it was also used for personal or private devotion and education. In monastic settings, monks were required to memorize the entire Psalter and the psalms were the basic text for elementary education. Open to question is the use of Psalter at a more advanced level in the early English period and in the following centuries. Rebecca Rushforth, who has devoted two important studies to the Latin commentaries of Psalter, underscores the valence of the message of Cassiodorus in his *Expositio psalmorum*, where the psalms are seen as the basis for every discipline of proper education (e.g., the remarks in his commentary to Ps 150). Her studies yield witness of "a more sophisticated level" of the Psalter approach in late Anglo-Saxon England.

The evidence for higher-level psalm study seems slight, at first glance, because it has been commonplace not to take heed of Latin glosses, even when they had been written by the same scribe as the Old English ones. Relevant to Rushforth's investigation is a manuscript with an exegetical commentary written in the Continent and acquired in England: the so-called Achadeus Psalter (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 272). The codex comes from the Rheims area and is dated to the late 9th century: the Latin commentary was added in England in the mid–11th century, perhaps at Canterbury. These Latin glosses came from a single exemplar and are the same as those occurring in a number of South German manuscripts such as St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 27, which features an extensive marginal gloss in Latin.

Another codex of possible continental origin, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 411, has the first twelve psalms fully annotated in Latin, but the remaining part bears only a few Latin glosses. This codex might come from West France, perhaps from Tours, and was completed at Canterbury in the early 11th century, where a line drawing of a standing man, who has been identified with David, was added on f. 1v facing the beginning of the Psalter. Scholars such as T.A.M. Bishop (1954–1958) rather suggest a Canterbury origin and remark on the similarity of this manuscript with the Boethius' codex, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 214. In this case, the Latin gloss draws from a number of sources, including Cassiodorus, and suggests a personal study of the Psalter, the more so for its unfinished status.

The next manuscript studied by Rushforth is a fragment of Worcester, Cathedral Library, MS F. 173, f. 1 (10th century; West Midland region), which bears an integral gloss (all that remains is the end of Ps 33 and the beginning of Ps 34). As can be seen from this folio, the layout of the Latin text of the Psalter was adjusted line by line to fit the glossing material that accompanies it. The different spacing between the lines of the text witnesses to the attention of the scribe and finds a counterpart in the codices analysed by Agrigoroaei. The care shown in producing such manuscripts finds a reason in the destination of these codices and apparently is the same, notwithstanding the difference or the equality of the languages of the text and its comment, whatever form it takes.

An interesting remark uttered by Rushforth may be ad-

dressed to Agrigoroaei concerning the likelihood of the same conditions as regards MS Arundel 230 and MS Douce 320. According to Rebecca Rushforth, in the case of the Achadeus Psalter and the Worcester fragment, the addition of a gloss might have contributed to the value of the manuscript at issue. This argument might be extended to the Old English additional component of the Royal and Lambeth Psalters.

The Royal Psalter manuscript (*D*) also features a commentary, which is drawn from the *Expositio psalmorum* of Cassiodorus, sometimes word for word. Davey 1979 edited the Latin commentary, focusing on the difficult issue of the relationship between the commentary and the authoritative Old English gloss of the same codex. Intriguing is the hypothesis that the Psalter continued to receive additional material from the same scribe over time (note, however, that Gretsch thinks that the Royal Psalter was itself a copy). Indeed, Royal MS 2. B. v was likely a teaching manuscript.

For its part, the Lambeth Psalter (London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 427: *I*), written in the early 11th century, perhaps at Winchester, contains, besides the interlinear gloss in Old English, a few glosses in Latin, usually very short, which have been taken into examination by O'Neill 1991.

Towards the Book of Hours and manuscripts' contents

While the 11th–century Psalters might be employed either for liturgical readings or private devotion, there was a steady progress toward manuscripts for individual devotion, quite distinct from the service book. This too was initially part of the clerical Divine and it has been suggested that some of the later medieval Books of Hours were meant for liturgical purposes, although the majority of them was used by the laity. The trend that led to the development of the Books of Hours was completed by the 13th century and the earliest surviving English example of the Book of Hours was written *c.*1240 for a laywoman living in or near Oxford. The 'de Brailes Hours' includes a selection of psalms, either penitential or gradual.

By the 14th century the basic contents of the Books of Hours were standardized, featuring, beside fifty–two different psalms, a liturgical calendar, extracts from the Gospels, the Mass reading for major feasts, the Little Office of the Virgin Mary, the Office for the Dead and the Hours of the Cross and a Litany of Saints. The Psalter was still the foundation of these Books and maintained its value for secular individuals

Another path to follow towards a better understanding of the Psalter manuscripts would be to contrast the content of the codices where the Psalter is accompanied by Old English glosses (and also the sole early English manuscript with a translation in the vernacular carried out in 11th–century Canterbury) with the manuscripts under examination in this research and those which will stem from these last.

It is worth remarking, that, as the medieval period progressed, the contents of the manuscripts containing the Psalter had grown to include a liturgical calendar, hymns, canticles, and prayers, not to speak of single images and cycles of images with different distribution and intensity. On the other hand, the presence, within the Psalters used by a monastic community, of texts for confession and penitence is indicative of the pastoral role performed by these texts within these communities. Compare the addition—before the beginning of the 14th century—of a translation of the Benedictine Rule to the French Psalter of Douce MS 320.

The Oxford Psalter and the Galba Psalter

The text of the Oxford Psalter had a continuation in a dozen copies dated to the 12th to 13th centuries (such as London, British Library, MS Add. 35283: see Dean, Boulton 1999, p. 240), but there might be more copies not yet charted. Of all these codices, which demonstrate the relevance of the Oxford Psalter in England, the Winchester Psalter (London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero C. iv, mid–12th century; Winchester) merits a mention. It is a bilingual Psalter on two columns, where the layout is such that, when the book lays open, the French version, in the initial part of the codex, occupies the centre, as the Latin is at its left in the versos and at its right in the rectos.

Latin-French double Psalters feature some evolution as regards the representation of the hierarchies of the two languages as in the fragment of Psalter in Maidstone, Kent County Archives, MS file Fa Z 1. A first transcription of the Maidstone fragments is provided at the end of the study published by Chapel and Agrigoroaei.

It is remarkable that the Winchester Psalter also witnesses the influence of a Psalter imported to England, the Galba Psalter, also known as the Æthelstan Psalter (London, British Library, MS Cotton Galba A. xviii: written at Rheims in the first quarter of the 9th century). By the early 10th century, the manuscript had reached England, where two prefatory quires (fol. 1r–19v) were added containing a metrical calendar (fol. 3r–14v) illuminated with zodiac signs, KL monograms, single figures, and five full-page pictures. Four prayers copied in the last folios of this book which have been associated with King Æthelstan (fol. 200r–v with the last prayer incomplete) are thought to have passed through the hands of Israel the Grammarian who is said to have spent some time at the court of King Æthelstan, in the years 924–939, probably as a refugee from political turmoil in Brittany. Israel was a scholar of Breton origin (but he is also deemed to be a Welshman or an Irishman), who, after this sojourn, returned to the Continent where, from about 940 onwards, was the tutor of Bruno, later Archbishop of Cologne (953–965).

The codex has 38 full-page illustrations grouped at the beginning. This is the prefatory cycle of illustrations imitated by the Tiberius Psalter (London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius C. vi). In particular, the two pictures of the Saved (Winchester Psalter, fol. 34r) and the Damned (Winchester Psalter, fol. 37r) both remind that of the Galba Psalter, fol. 2v (Deshman 1997). Deshman highlights the connections, both textual and art-historical, with the calendar in MS Junius 27, which also features a Psalter (Psalter *B*).

BEATVS VIR. Q̄ NON ABIIT IN CONSILIO

BENEVRE REZ. Q̄ BEAR. KI NE ALAT AL CUNSEIL

impiorum & in uia peccatorum non stetit: & in cathedra pestilentie non sedit.

Sed in lege domini uoluntas eius: & in lege eius meditabitur die ac nocte. Et erit tanquam lignum quod plantatum: secus decursus aquarum: quod fructum suum dabit in tempore suo.

Et folium eius non defluet: & omnia quecunq; faciet prosperabuntur.

Non sic impii non sic: sed tanquam puluis quem proicit uentus a facie terre.

Ideo non resurgunt impii in iudicio: neq; peccatores in consilio iustorum.

Quoniam nouit dominus uiam iustorum: & iter impiorum peribit.

QVARE fremuerunt gentes: & populi meditati sunt inania.

deffeuns: e en la uoie despeche urs ne stut e en la chaere de pestilence ne sist.

Mais en la lai de nre seignur la uolente de lui: e en la sue la penserat p nut e p iur.

Et iert ensement cum le fust ki est plantez de iuste les decurs deseuues: ki durrat sun fruit en sun tens. Et fuiet ps̄pes: e sa foille ne decurrat: e unes les choses q̄ il unkes feurat serrunt

Nen issi li felun nent issi: mes ensement cume pudre que iuuent giete de la face de la tre.

Empuntco ne resurdrunt li felun en iuise: ne li pecheur el cunseil des dreturiers.

Kar nre sire cunuist la uoie des iuste: e la uoie des deffeluns perat.

VRQ̄ fremirent lez gent: e li pueple purpenserent uaines choses.

The bilingual psalters in double-column format

OVERVIEW OF THE FIRST BILINGUAL PSALTERS IN DOUBLE-COLUMN FORMAT (VA)

Now that the links between the Douce, Arundel, Maidstone, and Orne witnesses and the early development of the French Psalter tradition have been examined, it is necessary to turn to the larger corpus. The most convenient point of departure is the group of bilingual psalters that present the Latin Gallicanum in one column and a vernacular translation belonging to the Douce tradition in the other. The discussion will begin with the earliest witnesses, copied before the middle of the thirteenth century. Once these manuscripts have been presented and their principal features outlined, the remainder of the corpus can be introduced and analysed in greater detail.

It is within this group that the structure inherited from MS Douce 320 underwent its most significant developments. The Psalms and five Canticles transmitted by the Douce text were progressively supplemented with additional Canticles, the Athanasian Symbol, prayers, and other devotional texts, producing a wide variety of contents. The resulting corpus is complex and often difficult to interpret. The aim of the following pages is therefore not to establish definitive conclusions, but rather to identify the main lines and provide a framework for future research. And where better to begin than with the most famous of these manuscripts: the Winchester Psalter, also known as the Psalter of Henry of Blois?



London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero C.IV (*c.*1150-1170)

The Winchester Psalter, also known as the Psalter of Henry of Blois, is a manuscript likely produced around 1150–1160 for St Swithun's Priory in Winchester. Probably commissioned by Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester and brother of king Stephen, it is famous for its full-page miniatures illustrating scenes from the Old Testament, the life of Christ and the Virgin Mary, and the Last Judgment. With the Latin and Old French versions of the Psalms arranged in parallel columns, the volume combines Anglo-Saxon traditions with Romanesque art. Among its most celebrated images are the striking Mouth of Hell and the Dormition of the Virgin, which reflects Byzantine artistic influence (see e.g., Haney 1980; Haney 1986).

Because the Winchester Psalter was probably commissioned by a bishop, Rector 2010, p. 204, has sought to interpret the French version of the Psalms within the framework of courtly culture. His principal evidence is the use of the word *barun* at the opening of Ps 1 (fol. 37r), where he argues that the substitution of *huem* ("man") by *barun* reflects a relocation of the Psalms into the social, literary, and legal world of the feudal aristocracy. He identifies a similar phenomenon in London, British Library, MS Additional 35283, where the phrase *Beneit seit li ber* is interpreted as "blessed be the barons" or "knights." However, *ber* and *barun* are, in their primary lexical sense, synonymous with *huem*. The scribe of the Winchester Psalter could not have intended a courtly or feudal reinterpretation of the Psalms: in the other occurrences of *beatus vir* (Ps 31:2 and Ps 33:9), he retained the translation *beneurez li huem*. As for *barun* and *ber*, these two readings mark the emergence of two secondary textual traditions, distinct from the *huem* reading preserved in the Douce and Arundel texts (*vide infra*).

The manuscript opens with a prefatory cycle of thirty-eight full-page miniatures accompanied by captions in Latin and French (fol. 2r–39r). It is followed by a calendar in Latin (fol. 40r–45v), the bilingual text of the Psalms in Latin and French (fol. 46r–123v), followed by bilingual Canticles (fol. 123v–132r) as follows: *Confitebor* (fol. 123v); *Ego dixi* (fol. 124r); *Exultavit cor meum* (fol. 124v); *Cantemus domino gloriose* (fol. 125r); *Domine audivi* (fol. 125v); *Audite celi* (fol. 126v); *Benedicite* (fol. 128v); *Te Deum* (fol. 129r); *Benedictus* (fol. 129v); *Magnificat* (fol. 130r); *Nunc dimittis* (fol. 130r); *Gloria in excelsis* (fol. 130r, without

◀ *Opening folio of the Latin and Old French Psalms in the bilingual psalter from Cambridge, Clare College, Forbes Mellon Library, MS 6, fol. 139r-v.*

Photo: Vladimir Agrigoroaei, 2025. By permission of the Master and Fellows of Clare College Cambridge.

◀ *Opening folio of the Latin and Old French Psalms in the Winchester Psalter (London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero C.iv, fol. 46r).*

▲ *French captions and Latin inscriptions on scrolls in the image cycle of the Winchester Psalter (London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero C.iv, fol. 11r and 12r).*

Source: https://iiif.bl.uk/. From the British Library collection.





French translation); *Pater noster* (fol. 130v); *Credo* (fol. 130v); Athanasian Symbol (fol. 130v). They are succeeded by a litany in Latin, without French translation (fol. 132r–v), a series of Latin prayers (fol. 133r–141v), and finally by a short group of four prayers that resumes the bilingual double-column arrangement, with the Latin text accompanied by its French translation (fol. 142r–v).

A recent study (Agrigoroaei 2023c) has examined the role of Old French vernacular material in the mid-twelfth-century Winchester Psalter (London, British Library, Cotton MS Nero C.IV). In addition to the widely noted vernacular captions in the opening pictorial cycle and the bilingual layout of the Psalms and Canticles on double columns, this luxury codex also contains, in its end matter, a collection of Latin prayers and collects hereafter referred to as *libellus precum*. Notably, while the vast majority of these devotional texts are transmitted exclusively in Latin, the final four items are accompanied by Old French translations arranged in parallel columns.

The same study argues that these vernacular elements perform primarily an ornamental rather than a didactic or functional role, serving as a linguistic frame that both encloses and highlights the principal Latin text. It further proposes that this visual and textual configuration may have been influenced by an established insular tradition of bilingual manuscripts and Old English glossing practices.

Scholarly debate has long sought to determine the precise functional purpose of Anglo-Norman bilingual psalters, with some functionalist interpretations proposing that they were extensively used for individual reflection, contemplative meditation (e.g., Rector 2009; Rector 2010), or as aids for parsing liturgical readings (e.g. Hasenohr 1990). However, Agrigoroaei 2023a argued that, in the case of this particular manuscript, a clear distinction between collective public liturgical practice and private devotional reading is difficult to sustain.

Since the Winchester Psalter is commonly thought to have been commissioned for, or used by, Henry of Blois—who held the offices of Bishop of Winchester and Abbot of Glastonbury between 1129 and 1171—and given that an elite ecclesiastic such as Henry would have been fully fluent in Latin, there would have been no practical need for an Old French translation to facilitate the comprehension or internalisation of the sacred text. A further caution concerns the tendency to interpret twelfth-century psalters through the conceptual framework of later medieval Books of Hours, particularly those of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Whereas early private devotional compilations such as the thirteenth-century De

Brailes Hours contain clearly demarcated personal devotional sections and vernacular prayers tailored to individual use, the structure of the Winchester Psalter differs fundamentally. It incorporates complete monastic collects and extended liturgical orations, including lengthy texts such as the *Oratio Sancti Bredani* and the *Quaestio Sancti Augustini*, which suggest a context of communal, institutional, or hybrid monastic–cathedral use rather than exclusively solitary devotion.

A compelling piece of evidence supporting the non-functional, primarily decorative nature of the manuscript's structure lies in the arrangement of its illuminated initials. Standard medieval practice divided psalter texts according to either a tripartite scheme (partitioning the text into three sections of fifty Psalms, beginning at Psalms 1, 51, and 101) or an octopartite system intended for ferial distribution. In the Winchester Psalter, however, the illuminator conflates elements of both systems inconsistently, omitting Psalm 52 while giving particular emphasis to Psalm 109, and deploying decorative initials across the Latin and French columns in divergent artistic idioms.

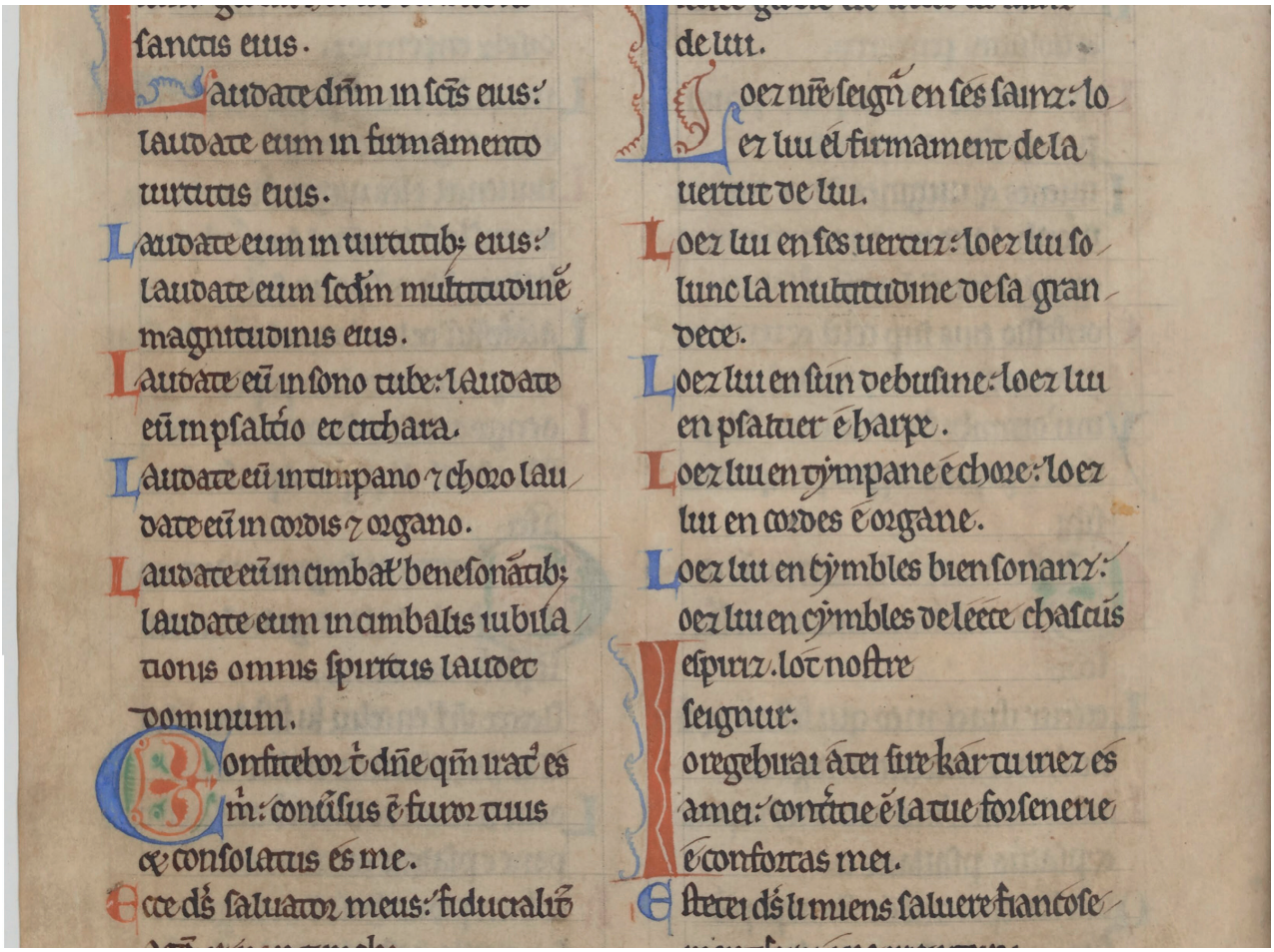
Moreover, the manuscript abandons the conventional structural demarcation between the Psalms and the Canticles. This irregular visual organisation suggests either a limited concern for standard liturgical segmentation on the part of the artisan or, more plausibly, a prioritisation of visual richness and aesthetic display over strict functional coherence. Taken together, these features point towards an overarching design logic driven by ornamental elaboration rather than by rigid liturgical precision.

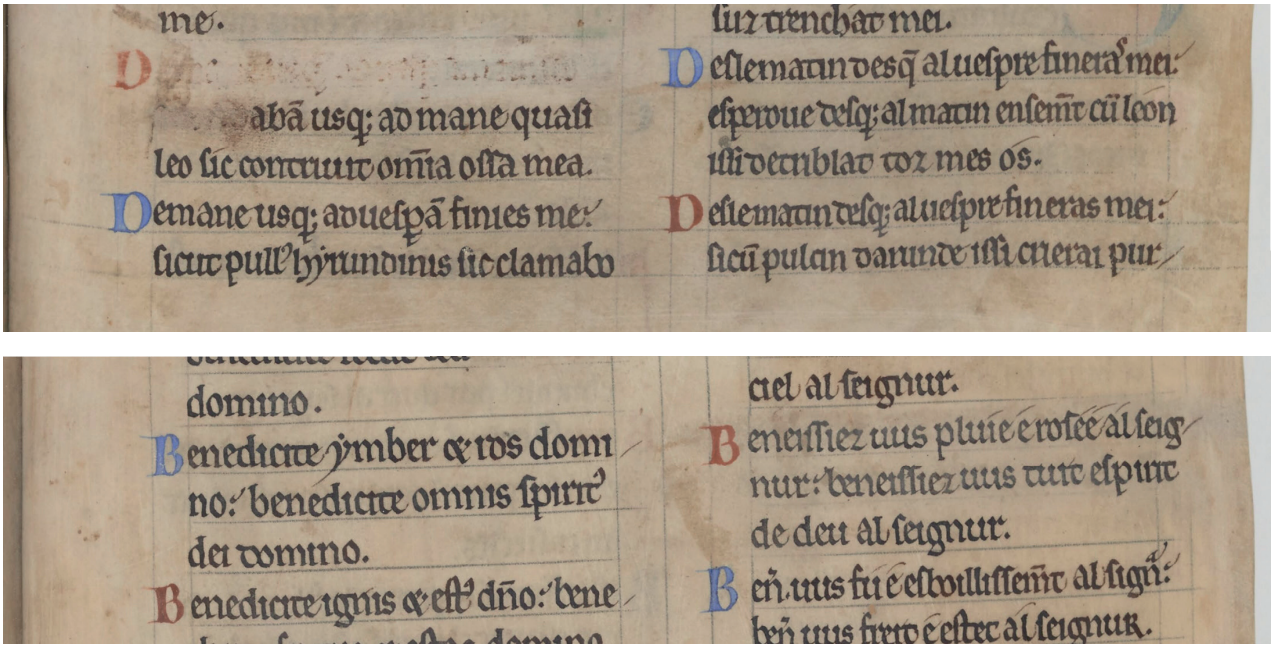
The vernacular text maintains a subordinate relationship to the dominant Latin text. This structural hierarchy is mirrored in the opening image cycles, where characters hold internal scrolls inscribed with Latin inscriptions while the scenes are merely framed in the margins by Old French descriptive captions. The same logic is applied to the end matter. After copying ten full folios containing purely Latin prayers, the scribe abruptly introduces Old French translations for only the final four pieces: the *Oratio ad petendas lacrimas* (Prayer for the Gift of Tears), an uncaptioned prayer used for Tuesdays and Fridays, an *Oratio post Psalterium*, and another one known as *Liberator animarum*.

The motivation was not to provide a reading comprehension aid for a vernacular audience, but rather to deliberately close the book using the same parallel bilingual presentation with which it opened, creating a unified thematic and visual "casing" for the entire artifact.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 768 (last quarter of the twelfth century)

A manuscript with many erasures is Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 768, the so-called Corbie Psalter, allegedly from Salisbury. As noted by Ruby 2010, p. 173, this manuscript shares the same dimensions as the





End of the Psalms and beginning of the Canticles in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 768, fol. 114v.

Erasure in the Latin column of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 768, fol. 115r (Is 38:12b-Is 38:13a).

Erasure and rewriting in the French column of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 768, fol. 122r (Dn 3:64).
Source: http://gallica.bnf.fr/.

Winchester Psalter and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS n. acq. lat. 1670, and thus fits squarely within the category of double psalters.

The French text transcribed in the right-hand columns of this manuscript has been erased as far as Ps 68:7 (fol. 55v), where it is possible to observe that the erasure was interrupted while still in progress. A further section, extending from Ps 68:24 to Ps 71:11 (fol. 56r, the folio immediately following the last surviving un-erased section, to fol. 58v, where the erasure stops mid-page), has also been erased. Even in this unusual section of the Psalter, however, traces of the French text remain visible in the form of the red and blue majuscules marking the beginning of verses or sections. Further gaps occur in the subsequent psalms. On fol. 76v, two verses from Ps 95 (*Venite exultemus*) are written. The text beginning on fol. 77r returns to Ps 95 and repeats the same two verses, but the second column no longer contains the French version. Instead, it continues the Latin text from the first column.

This change also appears to coincide with the intervention of a different hand, which seems to have taken over the copying of the text. Moving on, on fol. 78r, the second column is left blank at the end of Ps 98, and the following folio (fol. 78v) is entirely blank as well. From fol. 79r onwards, only the majuscules alternating between red and blue remain visible; the rest of the text has been erased. Nevertheless, their alignment suggests that the original layout was preserved, with Latin in the left column and French in the right column. This arrangement appears to have continued throughout Ps 100, including the upper part of fol. 79v. Last but not least, from fol. 80r (Ps 101), the two texts resume their normal alignment, with the Latin and French versions placed in parallel columns and no further erasures affecting the vernacular text.

Nevertheless, even this final section of the Psalter is not entirely unaffected by erasures or modifications. On fol. 93r, the scribe appears to have omitted the French psalm initial majuscule. On f. 115r, an erasure is visible in the Latin text, although it consists only of a short erased section. The intended text was presumably [Is 38:12b *De mane usque ad vesperam finies me* + Is. 38:13a *sper*]*aba*m *usque ad mane quasi leo sic contriuit omnia ossa mea.* The first erased letters do indeed appear to correspond to *De mane*, but the placement of the descender of *quasi* does not fit the right position, and there is likewise insufficient room for the remaining letters of the sentence. The correction was therefore probably made because the original text had been copied incorrectly, at least in part.

Moving on, at Dn 3:64 (fol. 122r), the French text has instead been erased and subsequently rewritten. This may result from a copying error such as a *saut du même au même* or a similar type of scribal mistake. And on fol. 99r, the sequence and execution of the painted majuscules provide evidence for the order in which they were added. The sequence of decoration indicates that the psalm initials were painted first, with the verse initials being added at a later stage.

Before turning to the other manuscripts, the following list presents the order of the Canticles in MS lat. 768: *Confitebor* (fol. 114v); *Ego dixi* (fol. 115r, with an erasure in the Latin text); *Exultauit cor meum* (fol. 115v); *Cantemus domino gloriose* (fol. 116v); *Domine audiui* (fol. 117v); *Audite celi* (fol. 118v); *Te Deum* (fol. 121r); *Benedicite* (fol. 121v); *Benedictus* (fol. 122v); *Magnificat* (fol. 123r); *Nunc dimittis* (fol. 123v); Athanasian Symbol (fol. 123v, with an erasure in the French text at fol. 124v and acaudate).



qm̃ iratus es mihi. conuersus est
furor tuus et consolatus es me.
Ecce ds̃ saluator meus. fiducialit
agam et non timebo.
Quia fortitudo mea & laus mea dn̄s.
& fc̃s: mihi in̄ salutem.
Haurietis aquas in gaudio de fon
tibus saluatoris. et dicetis in illa
die confitemini domino & in
uocate nomen eius. Iudica terra.
omn̄a facite in populis adinuentio
nes eius. mementote quoniam
am excelsum est nomen eius.
Cantate domino qm̃ magnifice
fecit. annuntiate hoc in uniuersa
xulca & lauda habitatio sion. qa
magn⁹ in medio tui san
ctus israel.

Ego dixi in dimidio dierū
meorū. uadā ad portas inferi.
Quesiui residuum an
norū meorū. dixi non uidebo
dn̄m dn̄m in terra uiuentium.

Copenhague, Universitetsbiblioteket Arnamagnasanske Samling 618 4° (last quarter of the twelfth century)

The same arrangement, with the French text placed in the second column alongside the Latin text, is found in the Copenhagen Psalter, dated to the last quarter of the twelfth century and produced somewhere in England. The French text, transcribed by the same scribe who copied the first column, containing the Gallicanum text, has been irretrievably lost (cf. Skårup 1977). It was erased in order to make room for an Icelandic translation of the Psalms, dated 1586, which now occupies the second column (see e.g., Kirby 1986, p. 126—the manuscript is also described by Ruby 2010, p. 178; and Careri, Ruby, Short 2011, p. 40).

It appears that the French text in this second column followed the text of MS Douce 320; however, this hypothesis cannot be conclusively verified, since the palimpsest condition prevents a detailed examination of the translator's choices. There are very few places where this translation can still be observed. In most cases, only isolated words have survived, either because they were not completely removed by the eraser or because traces of the original text remain visible through the impression left on the reverse side of the folio.

Such fragments, however, are too limited to allow for a meaningful comparison with the Oxford text, as they are too insignificant and decontextualised. There are nevertheless two passages where a comparison is possible. In the lower part of fol. 38r, the unusual arrangement of the two texts (Latin and French), in relation to the illuminated initials marking the beginning of Ps 51, makes it possible to identify a few vernacular words translating Ps 51:3.

The Latin text in the left-hand column, which is itself severely damaged, can be reconstructed as follows: *QVID GLORIA[RIS IN] MALITIA* ; *qui potens* [*es in i*]*niquitate*. The French text reads: "*QV*[--- ---]*E*[---] *EN MALICE* ; *ki puissant ies en felunie*. The surviving portion thus suggests a translation that shares the same wording as the corresponding verse in MS Douce 320.

Could the first letter be an error on the part of the illuminator, who drew a *Q* instead of a *P*, perhaps influenced by the Latin text? The very limited space available for the enlarged initials in the French text only partially supports this hypothesis. There is not enough room for *QVR* in place of *PVR*, but it is more straightforward to assume that the scribe simply omitted the word *pur*, moving directly from the initial letter to *quei*.

The second section where a comparison is possible is found at the end of the manuscript. The Psalter also contained the Canticles and their French translation, possibly followed by additional texts (prayers, litanies), although the final folios of the manuscript have since been torn away. The traces of the French text, which was likewise erased, are nevertheless more visible on fol. 116v–118v, where they are no longer obscured by the overlying Icelandic translation (of Protestant origin).

◀ Confitebor tibi *(Is 12:1) and* Ego dixi *(Is 38:10) in Copenhague, Universitetsbiblioteket Arna-magnasanske Samling MS 618 4°, fol. 116v.*
Photograph: Suzanne Reitz. Source: https://handrit.is/.

In the fortunate cases of fol. 116v and 118r, we are able to observe even more substantial portions of the French text. I shall focus on the first of these folios, which preserves fragments of the Canticle of Isaiah (Is 12:1–6) and of the Canticle of Ezekiel (Is 38:10–11):

C[onfitebor tibi domine]	A tei regeirai sire	**Is 12:1b**
q*uoniam* iratus es michi ⁝ conuersus est furor tuus et consolatus es me .	ka[r --] curuce [--- --- ---] est la tu[e] fu[--- --- ---]	
Ecce d*eus* saluator meus ⁝ fiducialit*er* agam et non timebo .	Este[--- --- --- --- --- ---] cuseme[--] fe[--- --- ---]	**Is 12:2a**
Quia fortitudo mea *et* laus mea d*omi*nus . et f*actus est* michi in salutem .	Kar la [--- --- --- --- --- ---] ge [--- --- --- --- --- ---]alu	**Is 12:2b**
Haurietis aquas in gaudio de fontibus saluatoris ⁝ et dicetis in illa die confitemini domino et inuocate nomen eius. ¶terra.	Vus esp[--- --- --- --- ---] fun[---] del salueur e [d]irrez [--- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---] [--- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]	**Is 12:3b+** **Is 12:4a**
Nota*s* facite in populis adinuentiones eius . memento*te* quoniam excelsum est nomen eius .	Cun[--- ---]ples les soens ad[--- --- --- ---]brez q*ue* [--- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]	**Is 12:4b**
Cantate domino q*uoniam* magnifice fecit ⁝ annuntiate hoc in uniu*er*sa .¶	Ch[--- ---] g[--- --- ---]t le f[--- --- --- --- --- ---] t*er*re.	**Is 12:5**
[E]xsulta et lauda habitatio sion ⁝ q*ui*a magnus in medio tui sanctus Israel .	Esle[--- --- --- ---]de syon. k[--- --- --- --- --- ---]i saint is[--- ---]	**Is 12:6**
Ego dixi in dimidio dieru*m* meo*rum* ⁝ uada*m* ad porta*s* inferi .	J[--- --- --- ---]nete de mes iurz [;] ie irai a[---] de [--- ---]ern.	**Is 38:10a**
[Q]uesiui residuum annorum meo*rum* ⁝ dixi non uidebo d*omi*nu*m* d*eu*m in terra uiuentium .	[---] la [r]em[---] de mes anz ; [--- --- --- --- --- ---] en terre de ui[ua]nz.	**Is 38:10b+** **Is 38:11a**

It is evident here that the translation is a copy of the text found in MS Douce 320, with only a few minor variations: occasional inversions in word order, differences in spelling, and a single case of a modification introduced during transmission, namely *curucé* in place of *iriez*.

This specific translation choice *curucé* is otherwise attested in the Psalter preserved in MS Additional 35283, fol. 113r, where the Old French column reads: *IEO regehirai a tei sire kar tu es corucez a mei* . The Psalter of MS n. acq. lat. 1670, fol. 165r, also reads: *Jeo regehirai a tei sire kar tu es curuciez a mei*. Since the Winchester Psalter (fol. 123v), the Corbie Psalter (fol. 114v), and the Cambridge Clare College text (fol. 128v) all read *i(r)riez*, in agreement with the text of MS Douce 320, and since MS Arundel 230 likewise preserves the reading *irez* in its interlinear gloss, it is obvious that the Copenhagen Psalter, MS n. acq. lat. 1670, and MS Additional 35283 form a distinct subgroup and derive from a common ancestor, if not directly from one another.

Although the exact relationship between the three manuscripts cannot be determined with certainty, owing to the acaudate state of MS Additional 35283 and the poor legibility of the Copenhagen Psalter, the common reading in Is 12:1 indicates that they form a distinct terminal subgroup within the textual tradition.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n. acq. lat. 1670 (late twelfth century)

This other manuscript, dated to the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century, presents what may be regarded as a conventional layout. It was analysed in detail by Delisle 1891, whose conclusions were later incorporated into the synthesis of Leroquais 1940–1941, vol. 2, p. 140–142, where the manuscript is dated to around 1200. However, the rationale underlying Leroquais's dating does not provide sufficient evidence to establish such a chronology with certainty.

The identification of the place of production with Christchurch, Canterbury should be treated with caution. It appears to rest on the presence of Thomas Becket's feast in the opening calendar, yet a single liturgical indication is insufficient evidence for such a precise localisation. While Careri, Ruby, Short 2011, p. 200, refer to Ker 1964, p. 39, in support of this attribution, Ker's book does not in fact mention the manuscript. The online 2025 version of Sharpe, Willoughby 2015 bases the same attribution "on the basis of liturgical evidence, often to be found in the kalendar." Ruby 2010, p. 176, also adopts this attribution without offering supporting bibliographical references.

The manuscript opens with a calendar in its introductory section, followed by the text of the Psalms arranged in two columns, in Latin and French. It then contains the Canticles, accompanied by their translations, and the Athanasian Creed. The additional components commonly found in Psalters are also included: prayers, the Apostles' Creed, and the *Gloria*, all provided with French translations. A litany, however, appears only in Latin at the end of the manuscript. The bilingual text from Ps 36:25 to Ps 43:1 is missing, owing to the loss of leaves between fol. 45 and 46. Delisle had suggested that an entire quire was missing at this point.

The symmetry of the two columns, which structures most of the manuscript, is remarkably precise: each Latin verse is followed in the right-hand column by a French verse occupying the same number of lines. The two texts are introduced by identical decorated initials and were copied by the same scribe. Some have even argued that, in this manuscript, the *mise en texte* appears to take precedence over the text itself (Careri, Ruby, Short 2011, p. 200).

Much of the discussion of the manuscript has focused on accentuation and on the scribe's use of the letter **ø** to transcribe the diphthong **[oe]** (e.g. Ruby 2010, p. 177–178; Careri, Ruby, Short 2011, p. 200; first noted by Delisle 1891, p. 267). Comparisons have been made with the use of the same letter in the First French Commentary to the Psalms. However, the claim that Stewart Gregory attributed this phenomenon to a Danish origin because it occurs in manuscripts of the Commentary on is entirely unfounded (Ruby 2010, p. 178, makes this assertion). In fact, Gregory 1990, vol. 1, p. 29, 66–67, and n. 135) contradicts Liebman 1959 on this point, demonstrating that this feature was an archaic orthographic practice attested in numerous early French manuscripts. Consequently, the use of this particular spelling in MS n. acq. lat. 1670 is of no particular significance for the present study, since

▼ *Latin and Old French text of Ps 1:1 in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS n. acq. lat. 1670, fol. 7r.*
Source: https://gallica.bnf.fr/.



it merely reflects the orthographic habits of the scribe. As it cannot be correlated with comparable spellings in another manuscript, it instead underlines the individuality of this witness.

Ruby 2010, p. 176, also observed a particular feature concerning abbreviations: they are considerably more numerous in the Latin section. She noted that the use of *&* in the Latin column corresponds systematically to the Tironian note ⁊ in the French column. Since the same convention can be found in many other manuscripts, she questioned whether this might indicate a distribution of certain abbreviations according to language. The answer is indeed affirmative, but not on the basis of the bibliography cited by Ruby, since there is no connection with the *Sermon sur Jonas* preserved in the Valenciennes fragment. This practice is instead inherited from bilingual Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, where the abbreviation for the copulative conjunction is *&* in Latin and ⁊ in Old English. A comparable convention can be observed in manuscripts where Old French was later added, such as London, British Library, Cotton MS Titus A.iv.

This represents the full extent of what recent scholarship has retained from Delisle's initial study. Yet Delisle also pointed out several features that subsequent research has, to some extent, overlooked. One point that previous studies had not noticed, although Delisle 1891, p. 262, had already transcribed the passage, is that the first verse of the opening Psalm is identical to the version found in the Winchester Psalter. If Delisle's transcription can be trusted, MS nouv. acq. lat. 1670 originally read: *Benvr*[*et li*] *b*[*arun*] *ki nen ala el cunseil des feluns et en la ueie des pecheurs nestut . et en le siege de pestilence ne sist.* The opening three words are now barely legible, as the folio has deteriorated and the ink no longer contrasts sufficiently with the background colour. Nevertheless, this correspondence indicates either that the French text was copied from the Winchester Psalter or that both manuscripts ultimately derive from a common antigraph.

Delisle 1891 compared this section of the text with MS Douce 320 and overlooked the coincidence with the Winchester Psalter. Nevertheless, he sought to extend the scope of his comparisons and therefore also examined the Corbie Psalter, in particular Ps 137, as well as the *Te Deum*. The latter comparison is especially significant, as it demonstrates that MS n. acq. lat. 1670 is related to many other manuscripts as well. At the same time, Delisle 1891, p. 266 carefully compared the Lord's Prayer in MS n. acq. lat. 1670 with that of the Winchester Psalter and showed that the two versions correspond exactly. He consequently recognised the central position occupied by MS n. acq. lat. 1670 and called for further research in order to establish its place within the group of Anglo-Norman Psalters.

London, British Library, Additional 35283 (first half of the thirteenth century)

This manuscript has been dated on palaeographical grounds to the first quarter of the thirteenth century. Its precise provenance cannot be established with certainty. It has been suggested, on the basis of obits recorded in the calendar, that the manuscript may at some point have belonged to the Benedictine priory of Finchale, a cell of Durham. However, it does not appear in the late medieval inventory of the Finchale library. By that period, it had already passed into the possession of the Lee family, one of whose members subsequently donated it to the Cistercian abbey of Whalley in Lancashire. (Sharpe, Willoughby 2015; cf. Talbot 1952, p. 272).

The manuscript contains a calendar (fol. 1r–6v); the Psalms with their Old French translation in the Douce version (fol. 7r–112v), although more than one leaf has been torn out; the Canticles, likewise translated into French but incomplete owing to the loss of several leaves (fol. 113r–115v); and a litany (fol. 116r–118v). A missing leaf, formerly located between fol. 83v and 84r, is now preserved as fol. 9 of London, British Library, MS Additional 35069. Additional lacunae occurring after fol. 54 and 62 indicate the loss of the bilingual text covering Ps 49:6–Ps 67:14 and Ps. 70:14–Ps 77:57, respectively.

Although relatively late in comparison with the other bilingual psalters, this codex constitutes an essential witness to the corpus. As in the layout already encountered in other manuscripts, the French text occupies the second column of each page. The manuscript is, however, heavily worn and contains numerous annotations throughout, most of them of a later date. This suggests that the codex remained in use over a considerable period of time. It would be premature to infer a specifically liturgical function, however, since the evidence provided by the Latin text is insufficient to support such a conclusion.

A liturgical use of the manuscript may nevertheless be envisaged at a later stage, on the basis of a series of annotations written in Latin by a fourteenth-century hand. Examples include *Seruite deo* in *timore*… in the lower margin of fol. 10r, in connection with Ps 7; *Domine deus meus in te speraui*… in the lateral margin of f. 14r, in connection with Ps 11; and *Respice* et *exaudi me domine*… in the lower margin of f. 15v, alongside Ps 15. Similar annotations occur next to Ps 16 (*Bono*rum *meo*rum *non indiges*…) on fol. 16v and continue throughout the manuscript. Further notes, copied either by the same hand or by two additional fourteenth-century hands, are found on fol. 17v, 20v, 21v, 22r, 22v, 29v, 31r, 33v, 36r, 39r, 43r, 45v, 46v, 48r, 53r, 54v, 56v, 59r, 62r, 64r, 66r, 67v, 69v, 71r, 72v, 77r, 81r, 82v, 83v, 86r, 89r, 91v, 94r, 96v–100v, 101v, 103v–104v, 106v–107v, 110v–111v, and 115v. These annotations invariably relate to the Latin text and therefore clearly concern the Latin column rather than the French translation. They suggest that, at least during the fourteenth century, the manuscript continued to be read and used in a context that may have included liturgical practice. At the same time, they reinforce the conclusion that the function of the French text remained explanatory or devotional rather than liturgical.

Rather than dwelling further on such observations concerning the use of the manuscript, it is more relevant to consider aspects of its production. It should first be noted

that French was clearly the primary language of the scribe, who frequently encountered difficulties when copying the Latin text. On fol. 70r, for instance, the scribe omitted an entire line in the Latin column, in the middle of the folio. The difficulty arose with Ps 84:12, of which he copied only the first half (*Veritas de terra orta est;* et *iusticia*), whereas the corresponding French text presented no difficulty at all (*Veritet de terre nee est; e iustise del ciel esgardat*). The blank space left in the first column was subsequently filled by another hand, which added the continuation of the Latin verse: *de celo prospexit*. The numerous examples of this kind need not all be discussed here.

If the example discussed above is not sufficient to illustrate the difficulties encountered by the scribe when copying the Latin text, further evidence can be found on fol. 86r–v. On the recto, the Latin text in the first column (Ps 117) ends with the first part of verse 2: *Dicat nunc Israel quoniam bonus; quoniam*. The following column, on f. 86v, begins directly with verse 3: *Dicat nunc cornus aaron ; q*uonia*m in s*ecu*l*u*m mi*sericordi*a eius*. The scribe omitted the second half of verse 2 (*in seculum misericordia eius*). This omission, however, is not reflected in the French text, which preserves the complete passage on fol. 86r–v and contains an additional line: *la misericorde de luj*. The missing continuation of the Latin text was subsequently supplied on the verso by another scribe (the same hand responsible for the addition on fol. 78v), who inserted *in s*ecu*l*u*m mi*sericordi*a eius*. It should also be noted that, in this same passage, the scribe who omitted the second half of Ps 117:2 also wrote *cornus* instead of *domus*. This further suggests that he experienced considerable difficulty in handling the Latin text, which he appears to have mastered less confidently than the French version.

What should be retained from these observations is that the scribe did not devote the same degree of attention to the Latin and vernacular texts and that he appears to have been more at ease with the French version. At the same time, the later corrector did not pay comparable attention to the vernacular text. In this respect, it may be useful to cite an example from fol. 78v–79r, where a hand contemporary with that of the main scribe added a few Latin words in the lower margin. This addition clearly represents a correction to the Latin text; however, the French text, which contained the same error, was left uncorrected.

On this folio, the principal scribe copied the first two verses of Ps 92 and then turned the folio (fol. 79r). As a result, the Latin text on the following folio became a conflation of verses from the same psalm. The two columns of fol. 78v end with Ps 92:2 (*Parata sedes tua ; ex tunc a seculo tu es*) and its French translation (*Apareillez e*st *tun siege desidu*n*c des in siede tu ies*). The Latin text on fol. 79r, however, combines the incomplete verse 3 with the opening part of verse 4: *Eleuauerunt flumina fluctus suos ; a uocibus aquarum multarum*. The French text is likewise affected by the same error: *Esleuerent li flum lur/ floz ; des uoiz des mutes eauues*. The corresponding Gallicanum text for Ps 92:3–Ps 92:4 reads: *Elevaverunt flumina, Domine, elevaverunt flumina vocem suam, elevaverunt flumina fluctus suos a vocibus aquarum multarum. Mirabiles elationes maris; mirabilis in altis Dominus*. It was therefore necessary for another hand to correct the omission in the Latin text by adding the missing portion in the lower margin of fol. 78v. This correction includes only the part of verse 3 absent from the manuscript: *Eleuaverunt flumina d*omi*ne ; eleuau*e*runt flumina uocem suam*. This intervention is particularly significant, since the corrector restored only the Latin text; the corresponding error in the French translation, which reproduces the same omission, was left uncorrected.

We are therefore confronted with an ambiguous situation: the principal scribe appears to have been more at ease with the French text, whereas the corrector was concerned exclusively with the Latin text. If the evidence discussed above is not considered sufficient, the very end of the manuscript removes any remaining doubt. The final component of the codex, the acephalous litany beginning on f. 116r, is entirely in Latin; yet the last three words of the Litany, at the end of the second column of f. 117v, are in French:

> *…ac defu*nc*torum omnium fideliu*m *sac*ri *baptismatis unda renatorum animabus q*uie*te p*er*frui sempiterna . P*er *eundem . Benedicam*us *d*omi*no . Deo* GRA*t*ia*s . Benedicite . D*omi*nus . Parlum De Joie .*

Why, then, did this happen? Was it simply the result of scribal habit, or does it reflect a deliberate choice? The occurrence is all the more remarkable since the entire litany is in Latin. A more plausible explanation is that the scribe continued to perceive French as the dominant linguistic framework of the manuscript, having previously copied the Psalter as a bilingual text, with Latin and French presented in parallel columns throughout. The prominent role of French in a bilingual psalter was not, however, an isolated phenomenon. A comparable situation can be observed in the Winchester Psalter, where the vernacular likewise provides a visual framework for the Latin text and plays a defining role in the conception and organisation of the manuscript.

What remains is to select a portion of the text for testing. For practical reasons, I have chosen the first three Psalms, as this section is absent from Arundel and allows the comparison to focus on a clearly defined textual unit. Before undertaking this analysis, however, one further manuscript needs to be introduced.

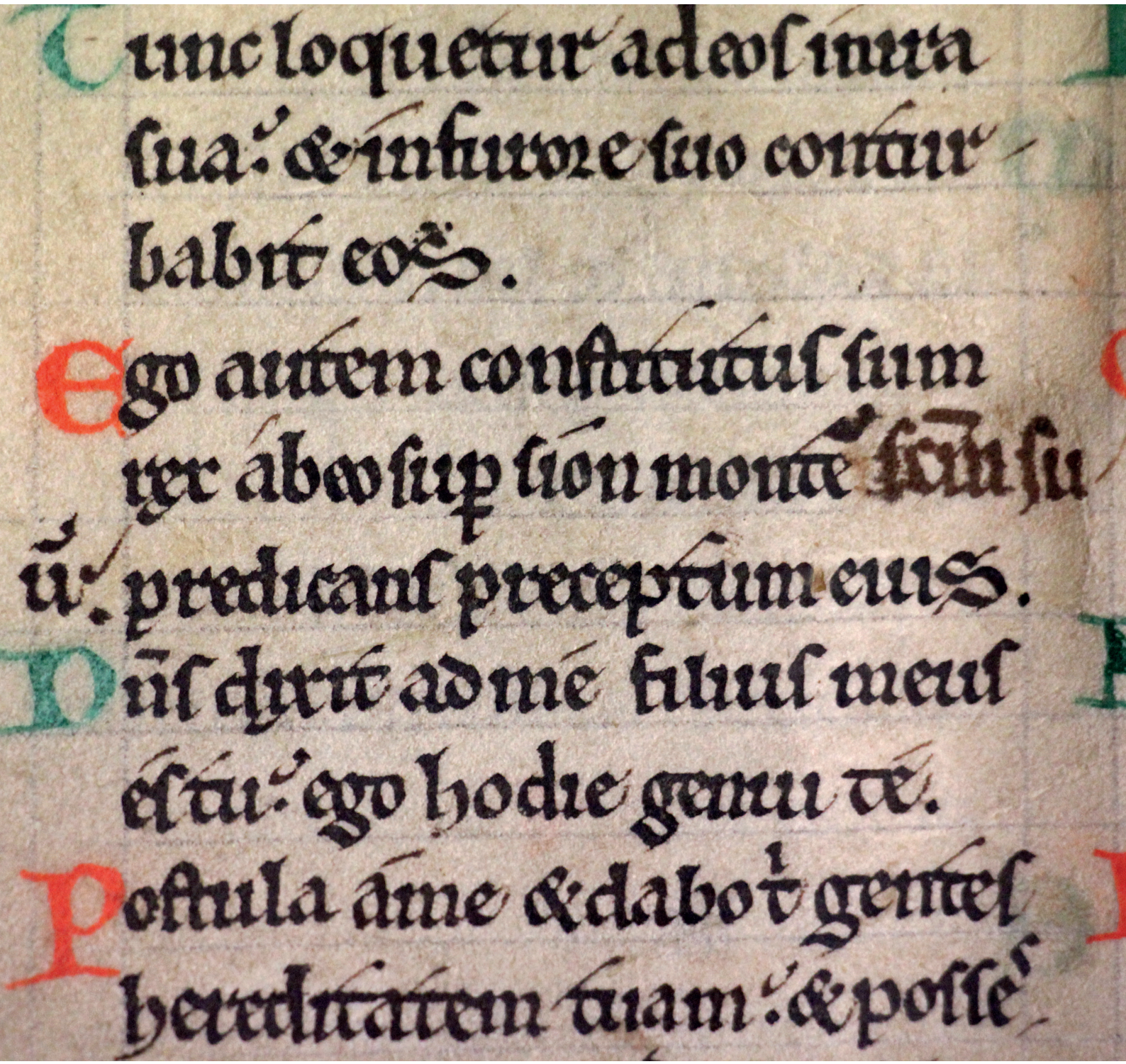
Cambridge, Clare College, Forbes Mellon Library, 6 (Kk.3.6) (early thirteenth century?)

Often overlooked, this manuscript has received remarkably little scholarly attention. It is absent from Careri, Ruby, Short 2011, including their appendix of doubtful manuscripts, while Ruby 2010 does not discuss it at all. Beyond its mention in the local catalogue (James 1905, p. 11-13), and the latter's suggestion that the inclusion of saint Kineburga in the calendar may indicate an origin in, or association with, the Peterborough region (James 1905, p. 12), the manuscript has virtually no bibliography devoted to

it. Yet, as will become evident at the end of this chapter, it may represent one of the most important witnesses to the double-column psalter tradition.

The manuscript starts with a calendar (fol. 1r) followed by the text of the Psalms (fol. 7r) on two columns, in Latin and Old French. The Canticles are arranged as follows: *Confitebor* (fol. 128v); *Ego dixi* (fol. 129r); *Exultauit* (fol. 130r); *Cantemus* (fol. 130v); *Domine audiui* (fol. 131r); *Audite celi* (fol. 132r); *Te Deum* (fol. 136r); *Benedictus* (fol. 136v); *Benedicite* (fol. 137v); *Magnificat* (fol. 138r); *Nunc dimittis* (fol. 138v); and the Athanasian Symbol, acaudate (fol. 139r). This is the only witness where the *Benedictus* precedes the *Benedicite*. The remainder of the manuscript, dating from the fourteenth century, consists of later additions, including an acephalous litany, a series of prayers, hymns, and various notes. We can now proceed to the first test in the comparison of textual variants.

▼ *Close-up of an erasure and correction in Ps 2:7 in Cambridge, Clare College, Forbes Mellon Library, MS 6, fol. 7v.*
Photo: Vladimir Agrigoroaei, 2025. By permission of the Master and Fellows of Clare College Cambridge.



THE FIRST THREE PSALMS IN THE WINCHESTER PSALTER AND OTHER DOUBLE-COLUMN PSALTERS (VA)

Ps 1:1	[fol. 46r] BEATus VIR Qui non abiit in consilio impiorum · *et* in uia peccatorum non stetit · *et* in cathedra pestilentię non sedit ·	[fol. 46r] BEONVRE **BARVN** chi ne alat el cunseil des feluns ⁝ et en la ueie des pecheurs ne stout · et en la chaere de pestilence ne sist ·
Ps 1:2	Sed in lege domini uoluntas eius ⁝ et in lege eius meditabitur die ac nocte ·	Mais en la lei de nostre seignor la uolunte**d** · e en la sue lei purpenserat par iurn e par nuit ·
Ps 1:3a	Et erit tanquam lignum quod plantatum est secus decursus aquarum ⁝ quod fructum suum dabit in tempore suo	E iert ensement cume le fust que**d** est plantet de iuste les decurs des ewes · ki dunrat sun fr**oi**t en son tens ·
Ps 1:3b	Et folium eius non defluet ⁝ *et* omnia quecumque faciet prosperabuntur	E sa fuille ne decurrat ⁝ e tutes les coses que il unques fera**d** ⁝ serunt fait prospres ·
Ps 1:4	Non sic impii non sic ⁝ sed tanquam puluis quem proicit uentus a facie terre	Nient eissi li felun nient eissi ⁝ mais ensement cume la puldre que li uenz getet de la face de terre ·
Ps 1:5	Ideo non resurgunt impii in iudicio ⁝ neque peccatores in concilio iustorum ·	Empuric**o** ne **s**urdent li felun en iuise ne li pecheor el conseil des dreituriers ·
Ps 1:6	Quoniam nouit dominus uiam iustorum ⁝ *et* iter impiorum peribit ·	Kar nostre sire cunuist la ueie des iustes ⁝ e **l**eire des feluns perirat ·
Ps 2:1	QVARE fremuerunt gentes ⁝ *et* populi meditati sunt inania	PUR quei fremirent les genz · e li pople purpenserent uaines coses ?
Ps 2:2	Astiterunt reges terrę *et* principes conuenerunt in unum ⁝ aduersus dominum *et* aduersus *christ*um eius ·	Li rei de terre estourent ⁝ e li prince sei asemblerent en un ⁝ en contre nostre seignor e en contre sun crist ·
Ps 2:3	[fol. 46v] Dirumpamus uincula eorum ⁝ *et* proiciamus a nobis iugum ipsorum ·	[fol. 46v] Derumpums les lur liens ⁝ e degetums de nus le iu**c**h de els .
Ps 2:4	Qui habitat in cęlis irridebit eos ⁝ *et* dominus subsannabit eos ·	Chi habitet es ciels les escharnirat ⁝ e nostre sire les subsannerat ·
Ps 2:5	Tunc loquetur ad eos in ira sua ⁝ *et* in furore suo conturbabit eos ·	Lores parlerat a els en sa ire ⁝ e en sa furur les conturberat ·
Ps 2:6	Ego autem constitutus sum rex ab eo super syon montem sanctum eius ⁝ predicans preceptum eius ·	Mais ie sui establit reis de lui sur syon sun saint munt preechanz sun cumandement ·
Ps 2:7	Dominus dixit ad me filius meus es tu ⁝ ego hodie genui te ·	Nostre sire dist a mei tu es li miens filz ⁝ ie**o** **oei** te engendrai ·
Ps 2:8	Postula a me *et* dabo tibi gentes hereditatem tuam ⁝ *et* possessionem tuam terminos terrę ·	Requier de mei · e ie**o** durrai a tei les genz la tue hereditet ⁝ e la t**o**e possessiun les termes de terr**ę** ·
Ps 2:9	Reges eos in uirga ferrea ⁝ *et* tanquam uas figuli confringes eos ·	Tu**s** **[els]** gouerneras en uerge ferrine ⁝ e sis fr**e**indras ensem**e**nt cume le uaisel del potier ·
Ps 2:10	Et nunc reges intelligite ⁝ erudimini qui iudicatis terram ·	Et ore uos reis entendez ⁝ seiez apris uus chi iugiez la terr**ę** ·
Ps 2:11	Seruite domino in timore ⁝ *et* exultate ei cum tremore ·	Seruez a nostre seignor en crieme ⁝ e si esleeciez a lui ot tremblur ·
Ps 2:12	Apprehendite disciplinam nequando irascatur dominus ⁝ *et* pereatis de uia iusta ·	Pernez disc**e**pline que nostre sire alcune fie**d**e ne **si** **curst**[*e e*] perisseiz de la iuste ueie ·
Ps 2:13	[C]um exarserit in breui ira eius ⁝ beati omnes qui confidunt in eo ·	Cume la sue ire esprendrat en brief tens ⁝ beneure**z** tuit icil **k**i en lui se fient ·
Ps 3:2	DOMINE quid multiplicati sunt qui tribulant me ⁝ multi insurgunt aduersum me ·	Sire a quei sunt multipliet cil **k**i mei tr**u**blent ⁝ mult sesdrecent en cuntre mei ·
Ps 3:3	Multi dicunt animę meę ⁝ non est salus ipsi in deo eius ·	Mult dient a la meie aneme ⁝ nen est salut a lui en sun deu ·
Ps 3:4	Tu autem domine susceptor meus es ⁝ gloria mea *et* exaltans caput meum ·	Mais tu sire ies li miens receuerre · e la meie glorie **eshalc**anz mun chief ·
Ps 3:5	Voce mea ad dominum clamaui ⁝ *et* exaudivit me de monte sancto suo ·	Ie criai a nostre seignur par ma uoiz ⁝ e il me oit de son saint munt ·
Ps 3:6	Ego dormiui *et* soporatus sum ⁝ *et* exurrexi quia dominus suscepit me ·	Ie dormi e si sumeillai ⁝ e releuai ⁝ kar nostre sire me recout ·
Ps 3:7	Non timebo milia populi circumdantis me ⁝ exurge domine saluum me fac deus meus ·	Ne crendrai milliers de pople auirunant mei ⁝ esdrece te sire li miens deu fai me salf
Ps 3:8	Quoniam tu percussisti omnes aduersantes michi sine causa ⁝ dentes peccatorum contriuisti ·	Kar tu as ferut tuz contrarianz a mei senz achaisun ⁝ les denz des pecheors tu as atriblet ·
Ps 3:9	Domini est salus ⁝ *et* super populum tuum [fol. 47r] benedictio tua ·	**Le nostre seignur est saluz** ⁝ e sur ton [fol. 47r] poeple la tue bene**icun** ·

The most significant readings that distinguish this manuscript from the version preserved in MS Douce 320 are marked in bold. Most of these will be discussed in the following paragraphs and will demonstrate that, despite the temptation to consider the Winchester Psalter one of the earliest double-column bilingual Latin-French Psalters, it is in fact a rather peripheral witness within the tradition, and one that has undergone significant modification.

The most conspicuous *varia lectio* is, as already noted, the reading *barun* in Ps 1:1, which corresponds to *beneurez li huem* in MS Douce 320 and *li benurez huem* in MS Arundel 230. The exact same reading occurs in MS nouv. acq. lat. 1670, where the definite article was legible as well in the time of Delisle: *benuret li barun*.

Another variant is found in MS Additional 35283: *beneit seit li ber*, a reading that corresponds to the text preserved in Cambridge, Clare College: *benevrez li ber*. It is impossible to determine what MS lat. 768 (the Corbie Psalter) originally read in this verse. The large decorated initial *B* of its *Beatus* has been cut away, while the opening portion of the French translation in the second column has been erased. The Vitellius fragments likewise preserve no corresponding text.

Nevertheless, the evidence indicates that the manuscripts under consideration fall into three groups according to their rendering of the key noun: *huem*, *barun*, and *ber*. The original reading is readily identifiable as *huem*. The remaining question is therefore to determine which of the two secondary forms, *barun* or *ber*, represents the earlier stage in the development of the tradition.

A step closer to resolving the conundrum is provided by the second most conspicuous *varia lectio* of the Winchester Psalter. There, the sequence *le nostre seignur est saluz* translates the first part of of Ps 3:9. In MS Douce 320, the text was corrected by means of an interlinear insertion, yielding *\de nostre seignur / Saluz est*. Even the modern interlinear gloss in MS Arundel 230 reads *de nostre seignur est saluz*, preserving the translation of the Latin genitive, regardless of the source from which it was derived (possibly even the erased medieval gloss that it appears to overlap at this point).

Significantly, the nominative found in the Winchester Psalter is absent from MS nouv. acq. lat. 1670, which instead reads *Saluz est a nostre seinur*. In this instance, MS nouv. acq. lat. 1670 aligns with MS Additional 35283, which likewise has *Saluz est a nostre seignur*. The latter, however, no longer agrees with the Cambridge, Clare College manuscript, whose text reads *De nostre seignur est salut*.

The evidence therefore suggests that the Cambridge text, although considerably later than many bilingual Psalters discussed here, preserves a reading closer to that of MS Douce 320 and thus appears to stand nearer to the archetypal form of the translation. This observation raises the possibility that the Winchester Psalter, together with the other double-column psalters, derives not from the Cambridge manuscript itself, but from a common antigraph that still preserved the more conservative reading reflected in Cambridge, Clare College. Such a hypothesis would explain both the agreement between Cambridge and Douce and the secondary innovations represented by the Winchester Psalter and other witnesses belonging to the same branch.

Since additional evidence is required to refine the analysis, it is useful to examine a series of dental consonants occurring in the Winchester Psalter, whether etymologically motivated or introduced to mark hiatus:

(a) *uolunte**d** e en la sue lei* (Ps 1:2) for MS Douce 320 *uoluntet*. Cf. MS n. acq. lat. 1670 *uolente*; MS Additional 35283 *uolunte*; MS Cambridge Clare College *uolente*.

(b) *le fust que**d** est plantet* (Ps 1:3a) for MS Douce 320 *queð*. Cf. MS n. acq. lat. 1670 *ki*; MS Additional 35283 *qui*; MS Cambridge Clare College *ki*.

(c) *que il unques fera**d*** (Ps 1:3b) for MS Douce 320 *ferat*. Cf. MS n. acq. lat. 1670 *fera*; MS Additional 35283 *ferat*; MS Cambridge Clare College *ferat*.

(d) *alcune fie**de*** (Ps 2:12) for MS Douce 320 *alquune fieðe*. Cf. MS n. acq. lat. 1670 *fiee*; MS Additional 35283 *fieied*; MS Cambridge Clare College *fiede*.

When Douce preserves a final *-t*, the other witnesses generally retain the same form, whereas the Winchester Psalter renders it as *-d*. The final example involves a ***ð*** represented as d in all witnesses and therefore offers little assistance for establishing textual relationships. The relative pronoun in the second example also provides little evidence, since it has been normalised.

Four additional *variae lectiones* relate either to spelling conventions or to pronunciation:

(e) *dunrat sun fr**oi**t* (Ps 1:3a) for MS Douce 320 *frut*. Cf. MS n. acq. lat. 1670 *fruit*; MS Additional 35283 *fruit*; MS Cambridge Clare College *frut*.

(f) *le iu**ch** de els* (Ps 2:3) for MS Douce 320 *iuh*. Cf. MS n. acq. lat. 1670 *iuch de eals*; MS Additional 35283 *iuch dels*; MS Cambridge Clare College *iuch de eus*.

(g) *e sis fr**ei**ndras* (Ps 2:9) for MS Douce 320 *fraindras*. Cf. MS n. acq. lat. 1670 *frandras*; MS Additional 35283 *fre\i/nderas*; MS Cambridge Clare College *leffreindras*.

(h) *la meie glorie **eshalc**anz mun chief* (Ps 3:4) for MS Douce 320 *exalchanz*. Cf. MS n. acq. lat. 1670 *eshalcanz*; MS Additional 35283 *exaltanz*; MS Cambridge Clare College *eshausanz*.

Indeed, one of these cases (*eshalcanz*) demonstrates a relationship between the Winchester Psalter and MS n. acq. lat. 1670. Another (*freind(e)ras*) may suggest a connection with MS Additional 35283; however, the latter either preserves a reading closer to MS Douce 320 in the case of *eshalcanz*, or reflects a form of diorthosis (corrective rewriting).

Three further examples illustrate either scribal mistakes or peculiar spellings:

(i) *e **l**eire des feluns* (Ps 1:6) for MS Douce 320 *le eire*. Cf. MS nouv. acq. lat. 1670 [hole in the parchment]; MS Additional 35283 *e leire*; MS Cambridge Clare College *e le eire*.

(j) *ie**o** **oei** te engendrai* (Ps 2:7) for MS Douce 320 *ie hui*. Cf. MS nouv. acq. lat. 1670 *ie\o/ ui tei engendrai*; ms Additional 35283 *ieo hui*; ms Cambridge Clare College *io hui*.

(k) *ne **si** **curst**[e e] perisseiz de la iuste ueie* (Ps 2:12) for MS Douce 320 *curiuist*. Cf. MS n. acq. lat. 1670 *ne se curust*; MS Additional 35283 *ne se curuist*; MS Cambridge Clare College *nescuruz*.

These final cases establish that the Winchester Psalter cannot represent the point of origin of any of the manuscripts considered here. Despite being one of the earliest witnesses, it occupies a peripheral position within the transmission of the text, and further analysis must therefore turn to the macrostructure of the double-column manuscripts in order to identify additional evidence.

However, double-column Psalters are not the only witnesses that must be taken into account in a macrostructural analysis. Since the problem we face concerns the varying number of appendices to the Psalms—from the five Canticles found in MS Douce 320 to as many as fifteen additional Old French textual blocks in the Winchester Psalter, alongside further Latin material left untranslated, or twelve in the Cambridge, Clare College witness—it is necessary to establish a method for comparing this shapeshifting tradition, organising the evidence, and identifying further textual material to analyse in order to reach more precise conclusions.

The analysis must therefore extend beyond the text of the Psalms themselves to the manuscript's macrostructure. Each version of the Old French Psalms contains a distinct constellation of supplementary texts, and these additions reveal closer affinities with particular manuscript traditions than do the Psalms alone. A comparison of their macrostructural organisation is thus essential for understanding the relationships between the different versions. To assist the reader, the relevant macrostructural features have been summarised in a table on the facing page, providing an overview of the possible relationships among the various versions. The selection has not been determined by layout alone. Accordingly, bilingual psalters that do not employ a two-column format have been incorporated into the comparison, as they form part of the same broader tradition.

The first point that emerges is that MS Douce 320 and MS Arundel 230 are genuinely isolated from the other witnesses, since most additional texts are absent from both manuscripts. The fact that *Audite celi* is the last canticle to receive a gloss in Arundel confirms the close relationship between it and Douce. At the same time, this observation suggests that all the other versions included in the comparison derive from a common ancestor in which the translation tradition had already begun to develop beyond *Audite celi*.

What remains unclear is whether the witnesses that do not include vernacular translations of the Gloria, *Pater noster*, and *Credo*, proceeding directly from the *Nunc dimittis* to the Athanasian Creed (the Corbie Psalter and the Cambridge, Clare College manuscript among them) represent an earlier stage of the tradition and therefore stand closer to this common ancestor than the witnesses that contain a more extensive collection of texts, such as the Winchester Psalter and MS n. acq. lat. 1670. The available evidence does not allow this question to be resolved with certainty. It is tempting to regard the shorter sequence as preserving an earlier stage of the textual tradition. Nevertheless, it is equally possible that the additional prayers and devotional texts found in the other manuscripts were already present in the common ancestor and were subsequently omitted in certain branches of the transmission. As matters stand, the available evidence does not permit a definitive conclusion. Could the additional prayers preserved in the Winchester Psalter and the Vitellius Fragments point in that direction? Or, to put it differently, might their presence suggest that the expanded sequence was already part of the common ancestor rather than a later development?

And herein lies the difficulty: although the additional material of Psalters has been studied in the past, it has not always been examined adequately, and the resulting shortcomings have led to misunderstandings regarding the development of the tradition. One example will illustrate this point.

Bouly, Lesdain 1968, p. 74, define MS Additional 35283 as a psalter with Canticles, Athanasian Symbol, and litany, but there is no trace of the Athanasian Symbol in that manuscript. The vernacular text follows the version of MS Douce 320 up to the fourth Canticle (Ex 15:18), after which the text is interrupted by a lacuna and resumes with the insular saints of the litany. This indicates that the litany, which appears in Latin only, must have begun at least one folio earlier than the surviving text suggests. Since the final two Canticles of MS Douce 320 (Hab 3 and Dt 32) are extensive and occupy six folios in the Winchester Psalter, which preserves an arrangement similar to that found in MS Additional 35283, it is highly unlikely that sufficient space remained at the end of the quire to accommodate a bilingual Athanasian Symbol before the beginning of the litany. A more plausible reconstruction is that the transition from Dt 32 directly to the litany was much more immediate, perhaps without any intervening text. Alternatively, a larger portion of the manuscript may have been lost, in which case the original arrangement could have resembled that of the Winchester Psalter. This hypothesis, however, is also difficult to sustain, since the final quire of the manuscript shows no evidence of bilingual organisation, and the four concluding prayers are preserved only in Latin and do not correspond to those found in the Winchester Psalter.

In any case, the French translation of the Athanasian Symbol emerges as one of the most stable elements of the tradition, being preserved in a considerable number of manuscripts. It may, in fact, occupy a pivotal position in the development of the corpus, marking the point at which the tradition begins to diverge. On the one hand, it is after this text that the additional prayers found in the Winchester and Vitellius witnesses appear to have been incorporated. On the other, it provides the structural anchor for almost all surviving versions of the collection. Its position remains remarkably consistent across the manuscript tradition, with only two apparent exceptions. Even in those cases, however, its absence is the result of lacunae rather than deliberate omission, making it entirely possible that the Athanasian Symbol originally formed part of those textual witnesses as well. As a result, it seems reasonable to regard it as one of the organising principles of the collection and a key point of reference for understanding the evolution of the tradition.

The following pages examine the relationship between these prayers and the corresponding texts preserved in the Cambridge, Clare College manuscript, MS n. acq. lat. 1670, and the Winchester Psalter, while also considering their place within the broader tradition represented by Arundel, where they survive only in Latin. Given the similarities in both content and structure, the Vitellius Fragments, presented as an addendum at the end of the previous chapter, must likewise be taken into account.

Blue indicates Latin texts.
Red indicates French texts.

	Oxford Psalter—Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320	*Arundel Psalter*—London, British Library, MS Arundel 230	*Winchester Psalter*—London, British Library, Cotton MS Nero C.IV	*Vitellius Fragments*—London, British Library, MS Cotton Vitellius E.IX	*Corbie Psalter*—Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 768	Copenhague, Universitetsbiblioteket Arna-magnasanske Samling 618 4°	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS n. acq. lat. 1670	London, British Library, MS Additional 35283	Cambridge, Clare College, Forbes Mellon Library, MS 6 (Kk.3.6)
Confitebor tibi (Is 12:1)	1 fol. 73v	1 1 fol. 146r	1 1 fol. 123v	? ?	1 1 fol. 114v	1 [1] fol. 116v	1 1 fol. 165r	1 1 fol. 113r	1 1 fol. 128v
Ego dixi (Is 38:10)	2 fol. 73v	2 2 fol. 146v	2 2 fol. 124r	? ?	2 2 fol. 115r	2< [2<] fol. 116v	2 2 fol. 166r	2 2 fol. 113r	2 2 fol. 129r
Exultauit (1 Sa 2:1)	3 fol. 74r	3 3 fol. 147r	3 3 fol. 124v	? ?	3 3 fol. 115v	>3 [>3] fol. 117r	3 3 fol. 167r	3 3 fol. 114r	3 3 fol. 130r
Cantemus (Ex 15:1)	4 fol. 74r	4 4 fol. 148r	4 4 fol. 125r	? ?	4 4 fol. 116v	4< [4<] fol. 117r	4 4 fol. 168r	4 4 fol. 114v	4 4 fol. 130v
Domine audiui (Hab 3:2)	5 fol. 74v	5 5 fol. 149r	5 5 fol. 125v	? ?	5 5 fol. 117v	>5 [>5] fol. 118r	5 5 fol. 170r	? ?	5 5 fol. 131r
Audite celi (Dt 32:1)	6 fol. 75r	6 6 fol. 150v	6 6 fol. 126v	>1 1< fol. 24r	6 6 fol. 118v	6< [6<] fol. 118v	6 6 fol. 172r	? ?	6 6 fol. 132r
Te Deum (hymn)		8 fol. 154v	8 8 fol. 128v	? ?	7 7 fol. 121r	? ?	7 7 fol. 176r	? ?	7 7 fol. 136r
Benedicite (Dn 3:57)		7 fol. 153v	7 7 fol. 129r	? ?	8 8 fol. 121v	? ?	8 8 fol. 177r	? ?	9 9 fol. 137v
Benedictus (Lk 1:68)		9 fol. 155r	9 9 fol. 129v	>3 3< fol. 31v	9 9 fol. 122v	? ?	9 9 fol. 178r	? ?	8 8 fol. 136v
Magnificat (Lk 1:46)			10 10 fol. 130r	>5 5< fol. 32v	10 10 fol. 123r	? ?	11 11 fol. 181v	? ?	10 10 fol. 138r
Nunc dimittis (Lk 1:46)			11 11 fol. 130r	>6 6< fol. 33r	11 11 fol. 123v	? ?	12 12 fol. 182r	? ?	11 11 fol. 138v
Gloria in excelsis (doxology hymn)			12 fol. 130r	>4 4< fol. 32r		? ?	15 15 fol. 183r	? ?	
Pater noster (Lord's Prayer)			13 12 fol. 130v	? ?		? ?	13 13 fol. 182r	? ?	
Credo (Apostles' Creed)			14 13 fol. 130v	? ?		? ?	14 14 fol. 182v	? ?	
Quicumque vult (Athanasian Symbol)		10 fol. 155v	15 14 fol. 130v	>2 2< fol. 28r	12 12 fol. 123v	? ?	10 10 fol. 179r	? ?	12 12 fol. 139r
Litany of saints (litany)		11 fol. 157v	16 fol. 132r	>7< fol. 33v	? ?	? ?	16 fol. 183v	6 fol. 116r	13 fol. 140r
Various texts (collects / prayers)		12 fol. 160v	17 >15 fol. 133v	>8 7< fol. 34r	? ?	? ?	17 fol. 185r	7 fol. 117v	14 fol. 141r

▲ *Distribution and sequence of the Canticles and additional materials in the double-column Psalters, compared with* MS *Douce 230,* MS *Arundel 230, and the Vitellius Fragments of the British Library. The numbers indicate the position of each item following the Psalms, while folio numbers are provided to facilitate identification within the manuscripts.*

Before turning to the question of the prayers, it is necessary to introduce a number of additional witnesses into the discussion. These manuscripts are generally treated as secondary evidence, largely because of their relatively late date of production, most of them belonging to the fourteenth century. As a result, they are often considered less useful for reconstructing the earliest stages of the tradition. Such a view, however, risks overlooking the valuable evidence they preserve. Several of these later witnesses transmit collections of prayers that are absent from, or only partially represented in, the earlier manuscripts. These texts are of particular importance, for they shed light on the evolution, transmission, and reception of the Douce textual tradition. Consequently, despite their late date, they must be taken into account. The prayers preserved in some of these manuscripts provide valuable evidence for understanding the broader development of the tradition.

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. gall. 16 (*c.*1303–1308)

The so-called *Isabella Psalter*, now preserved in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, is a richly illuminated bilingual Psalter produced in England in the early fourteenth century, probably around 1303–1308. It has traditionally been associated with Isabella of France (1295–1358), the queen consort of Edward II, who arrived in England at the age of twelve and was crowned queen in 1308. The manuscript is traditionally considered to have been produced as a royal wedding gift from Edward II to Isabella. This association is reinforced by the manuscript's illustrations, notably the initial to Ps 119, which depicts a queen (probably Isabella herself) kneeling between the coats of arms of England and France (fol. 94r). The calendar also suggests that the volume was produced for the diocese of York, perhaps in connection with the Augustinian priory near Nottingham. For all these, see e.g. Stanton A.R. 2002.

In this context, the colophon on fol. 125v is particularly puzzling. It reads: *Conscripti lutetie A*nno *Dom*ini *M . cc .* and it was first noted by Delisle 1861, p. 545, fn 1, who regarded this as evidence in favour of a Parisian origin for the manuscript. More recently, Kowalska 2018, p. 16, argued that this text "refers to [the manuscript's] date and place of origin," thereby providing evidence "that litanic prayer was in use in Paris around 1150–1200." She then proceeds to discuss the Parisian litanies found in various *Bibles historiales*, a subject into which I will not venture here, for fear of opening a much broader debate that would take us too far from the present discussion. In fact, the precise place of origin of the manuscript (or of the litany whose concluding lines appear on fol. 125v) is of little relevance to the present discussion. I assume, however, that the colophon cannot refer to the litany, since it does not occur at its conclusion. Rather, it was copied after a series of five prayers, in an arrangement that appears comparable to that found in the Winchester Psalter, with the notable difference that the prayers preserved in the Isabella Psalter are in Latin only.

The richly illuminated manuscript preserves the Psalms in both Latin and Anglo-Norman, arranged in a parallel format: the Latin text occupies the left-hand pages, while the vernacular translation appears on the facing right-hand pages and is written in red ink. Its decorative programme combines royal imagery, biblical narratives, and





marginal cycles of exceptional richness. The Latin versos contains decorated initials and narrative scenes, including cycles devoted to the Creation and to the life of king David. The vernacular rectos are distinguished by a separate visual programme: their initials incorporate heraldic devices, while the lower margins accompanying the first seventy-seven Psalms are decorated with a bestiary cycle.

At the end of the Psalms, the bilingual arrangement is maintained in the Canticles, which continue the parallel presentation of the Latin and vernacular texts, as follows:

◀▶ *Close-ups of the beginning of Ps 119 on the Latin verso (fol. 93v) and French recto (fol. 94r) of Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. gall. 16.*

▲ *Close-up of the colophon in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. gall. 16, fol. 125v.*

▲ *The beginning of the Psalter in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. gall. 16, fol. 7v (Latin) and 8r (French).*

Source: https://www.bavarikon.de/ (Creative Commons).

Confitebor (fol. 110v/111r); *Ego dixi* (fol. 110v/111r); *Exultavit cor meum* (fol. 111v/112r); *Cantemus domino gloriose* (fol. 112v/113r); *Domine audivi* (fol. 113v/114r); *Audite celi* (fol. 115v/116r); *Te Deum* (fol. 118v/119r); *Benedicite* (fol. 119v/120r); *Benedictus* (fol. 120v/121r); *Magnificat* (fol. 120v/121r); *Nunc dimittis* (fol. 121v/122r); and *Quicumque vult* (fol. 121v/122r). The last two sections of the volume contain Latin texts only: litany (fol. 123v); and the aforementioned prayers (fol. 125v: (1) *Deus qui corda fidelium sancti spiritus recta sapere*; (2) *Deus cui proprium est misereri semper et parcere*; (3) *Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui facis mirabilia magna solus*; (4) *Deus a quo sancta desideria recta consilia et iusta sunt opera*; (5) *Deus qui es omnium sanctorum splendor mirabilis*. They do not correspond to the four prayers at the end of the Winchester Psalter.

The text of the Psalms appears to be most closely related to the version preserved in Cambridge, Clare College. In Ps 1:1 we read: *Benurez li ber* (fol. 6r), as in MS Additional 35283, MS lat. 768 (Corbie Psalter), and Cambridge, Clare





Jesse genuit dd̄ regē de cui⁹ p
genie pcessit maria mat dn̄i.

Beatus vir qui non abiit in cō
silio impio⁹ & in via peccato⁹
non stetit. & in cathedra pesti
lencie non sedit.

Sed in lege domini voluntas
eius: et in lege eius meditabi
tur die ac nocte.

Et erit tanquam lignum qd̄
plantatum est secus decursus
aquar⁹ quod fructum suum
dabit in tempore suo.

Et folium eius non defluet: & omnia quecūq; faciet prosperabunt.

Non sic impii non sic: sed tanquam pulvis quem proicit ventus a facie terre.

Ideo non resurgunt impii in iudicio: neq; peccatores in consilio iustor⁹

Quoniam novit dns viam iustor⁹: & iter impior⁹ peribit.

Quare fremuerunt gentes:

& populi meditati sunt inania.

Astiterunt reges terre & principes conuenerunt in
unum: aduersus dominum & aduersus xp̄m eius.

Dirūpamus vincula eor⁹: & proiciamus a nobis iugum ipor⁹.

Qui habitat in celis irridebit eos: & dns subsannabit eos.

Tunc loquet ad eos in ira sua: & in furore suo conturbabit eos.

Ego autem constitutus sum rex ab eo sup syon montem sanc
tum eius: predicans preceptum eius.

Dominus dixit ad me filius meus es tu: ego hodie genui te.



Enuncerai le verq̃ne alat el cõseil
des feluns e en la uoie des pecheors
ne stout: e en la chaere de pestilẽ
ce ne sist.

Mes en la lei de nostre seignor
sa uolunted. e en la sue lei pur
penserat par iorne par nuit.

E iert en semẽt come le fust q̃
est planted de ruste les decurs de
ues: q̃ dorat sũ fruit en sun tens.

E sa foille ne decurrat: e totes
les choses que i lunques ferat serrunt faiz prospres.

Nient issi u felun nient issi: mais en semẽt come la puldre q̃
li uenz iette de la face de terre.

E in pĩce one sunt ẽ li felon en uise: ne li pecheor al cunseil des dreiturẽs.

Car nẽ sire conuist la uoie des iustes: e le cemin des felons perirat.

Pur quei fremirent les genz:
e li poeple purpenserent uaines choses.

Li rei de terre estourent: e li prince se asemblerent en un: en cõ
tre nostre seignur e en contre sun crist.

Derumpũs les lorliens: e degetuns de nos le nug de els.

Ki habitet es cels les escharnirat: e nostre sire gaberat els.

Dres parlerat a els en sa ire: e en sa furor les conturberat

Mes ieo sui establiz reis de lui sur Syon sun saint munt: prechant
son comandement.

Nostre sire dist a mei tu es li miens fiz: ieo hui te engendrai.

College. In Ps 3:9, we read: *De nostre segnur est saluz* (fol. 9r), similar to Winchester Psalter, MS Arundel 230, and the same version of Cambridge, Clare College. As for Is 12:1b, it reads: *car tu ies iriez a mei* (fol. 111r), which is identical to the so-called Corbie Psalter, the Winchester Psalter, and the Douce and Arundel versions, as well as to the version preserved in Cambridge, Clare College. It is worth recalling that the other witnesses (MS Additional 35283, MS n. acq. lat. 1670, and the Copenhagen Psalter) have *curucé*. We encounter the same readings and the same pattern of dependency on the Cambridge, Clare College version as a distinct subgroup in the following manuscript, which belongs to a similar chronological context.

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 278 (early fourteenth century)

Although it cannot be considered a double-column Psalter in the strict sense, the following witness deserves to be introduced here because of its importance for understanding the later development of bilingual Psalter layouts in the fourteenth century.

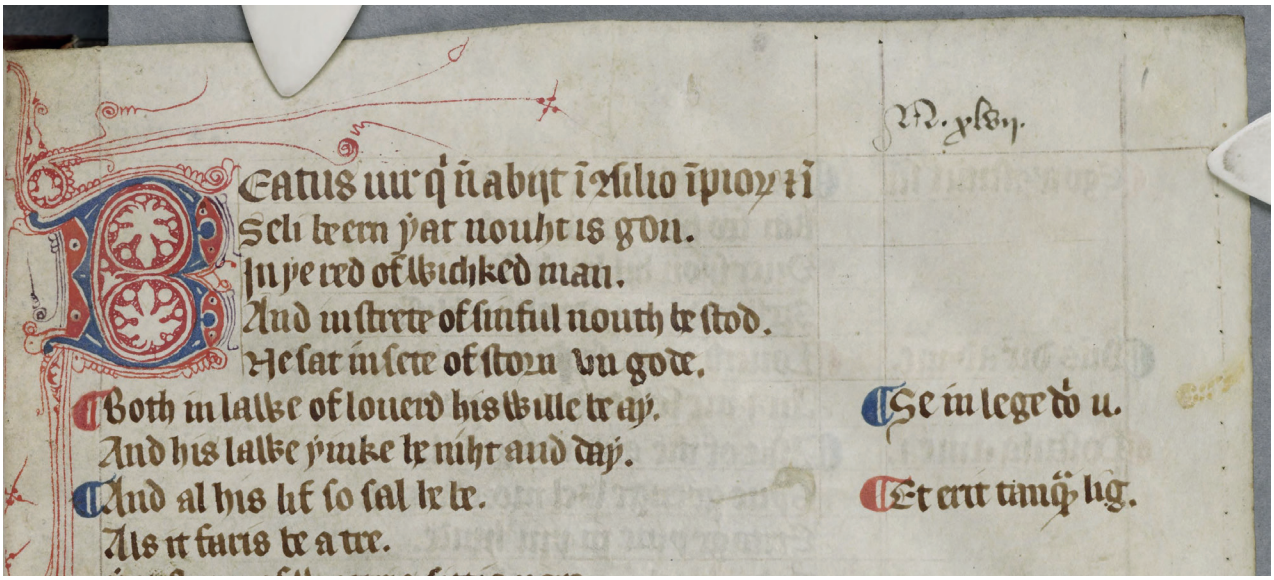
The Old French translation preserved in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 278 appears to belong to the same textual branch as MS Additional 35283, MS lat. 768 (the so-called Corbie Psalter), and Cambridge, Clare College, Forbes Mellon Library, MS 6. This is evident in the reading of Ps 1:1, where it shares the reading *Bonuref li ber*. Since the manuscript does not contain a *Confitebor*, it is impossible to verify its reading of Is 12:1b. However, its text of Ps 3:9 agrees more specifically with that of the Clare College manuscript (and, incidentally, with MS Arundel 230, although the agreement with the latter is coincidental) against the alternative readings found in the other witnesses: *De nostre seign*ur *est salut*.

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 278 is a witness that brings together two vernacular versions of the Psalms: a Middle English verse Psalter occupying fol. 1r–90r, followed by an Anglo-Norman prose Psalter on fol. 91r–146v. The latter belongs to the textual family derived from Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320. The Middle English poem is the text commonly known as the Surtees Psalter, a translation preserved in five additional manuscripts. Among these, London, British Library, MS Harley 1770 is particularly relevant, since it also contains an Anglo-Norman translation derived from MS Douce 320. In MS Harley 1770, however, the arrangement is reversed: the French text precedes the English, and it is presented in a bilingual two-column format (*vide infra*).

The manuscript has traditionally been associated with Norwich Cathedral Priory, although this provenance requires some qualification. The attribution derives from a fifteenth-century note on fol. 1r reading *N. xlvij*, interpreted as a Norwich provenance mark. This interpretation was discussed by Ker 1985, p. 263, who included the manuscript among the witnesses bearing similar annotations. The mark, however, only demonstrates that the manuscript was present at Norwich at some point in the fifteenth century and does not necessarily indicate its original place of production or early ownership. The interesting point is that the reader's annotations and corrective marks on fol. 1r were written by the same hand as the provenance mark. This reader appears not to have fully understood the text and corrected the spelling of certain words in order to make them more comprehensible.

Neither of the two vernacular Psalters contained in MS 278 includes the canticles. Both the Middle English verse translation and the Anglo-Norman prose text are accompanied by marginal Latin lemmata corresponding to the opening words of each verse of the Gallicanum. The vernacular texts therefore constitute the principal textual components of the manuscript, while the Latin apparatus functions as a secondary reference system. The layout of the two sections is remarkably similar: the transition from the Middle English poem to the Anglo-Norman prose text (separated by one blank folio) does not involve any substantial modification of *mise en page*, except that each line of the Middle English stanza receives its own line break.

The French section begins with Ps 1 on fol. 91r and continues until fol. 147r. At the end, after the *Laudate*, the scribe copied Psalms 148–150, treating them as a continuous text rather than as separate concluding Psalms. No additional end matter survives in this section. The absence of Canticles appears therefore deliberate, although it remains impossible to determine whether their omission occurred in MS 278 itself or already in the manuscript from which it was copied.



Several features demonstrate that the two vernacular Psalters were conceived as parts of a single project rather than as independent textual additions. They were copied by the same scribe, employ the same system of marginal Latin annotations, and use the opening verse of each Psalm as a visual division between textual units. Moreover, the transition between the two texts occurs within the same gathering: the Middle English section ends and the French section begins within the quaternion comprising fols. 89r–96v. The beginning of the French Psalter is further emphasized by a deliberately added reading marker: a narrow strip of parchment, approximately half the width of a little finger, attached to the outer margin of fol. 91, specifically designed to facilitate access to the second part of the manuscript.

The codicological structure of MS 278 provides additional evidence concerning its production and later handling. The manuscript preserves an exquisite system of quire organisation. On the recto of many quires following a verso with a catchword, small letters appear in the lower outer margin, accompanied by a sequence of horizontal strokes marking the order of the bifolia within each gathering. These indications correspond to modern Arabic numerals placed in the lower right-hand corner of the folios, probably added during nineteenth-century codicological examination.

The surviving sequence begins with fol. 17r, marked with the letter ***c***, followed by bifolium indicators on fol. 18r–20r. Similar systems occur throughout the manuscript: ***d*** on fol. 25r, followed by indicators on fol. 26r–28r; further gatherings continue through letters ***k***, ***l***, ***m***, ***n***, and eventually ***p***, ***q***, and ***t***. Several letters are now partially lost because of trimming, while others have disappeared entirely. The consistency of the bifolium markings, however, demonstrates that the gatherings were carefully organized during production.

The distribution of these signs also reveals different interventions during the making of the manuscript. Up to the letter ***n***, the marginal letters appear to have been added by a small separate hand, probably that of a binder or another person assisting in the preparation of the gatherings. The letters ***p*** and ***t***, however, appear to have been written by the same hand responsible for copying the text itself, with identical ink tint and pen characteristics. This suggests that, towards the end of the copying process, the scribe may have imitated the earlier practice of the assistant who had organized the gatherings.

The markings concerning the order of the bifolia, however, appear to have been produced consistently by the same type of fine, pointed pen throughout the manuscript, including in the later gatherings. This indicates that the person responsible for organizing the quires continued to assist with the preparation of the manuscript until the final stages of production.

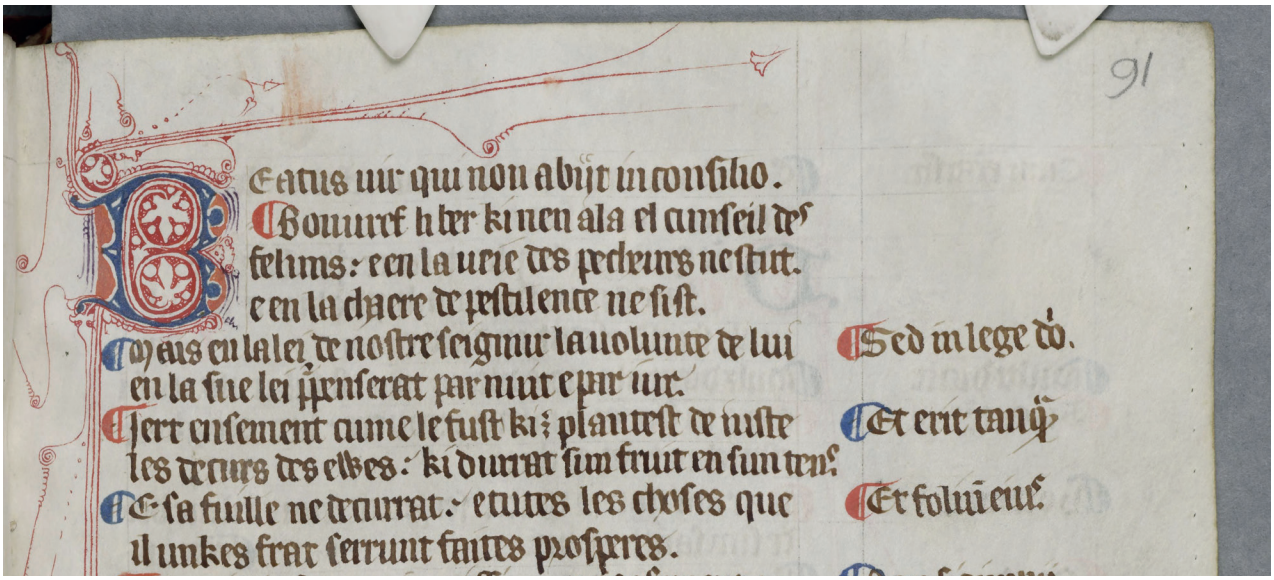
The final gathering deserves particular attention. The last quire appears at first to consist only of two bifolia with the sewing placed between fol. 146 and 147. However, fol. 149v preserves the same ruling pattern as the rest of the manuscript, despite following several blank and unruly folios (147v, 148r–v, and 149r). Fol. 148r also retains traces of pricking. It is therefore possible that the bifolium comprising fol. 148–149 originally belonged to the final gathering but was removed and reused as a flyleaf once it became clear that no further text would be copied.

No evidence suggests that the manuscript originally contained a calendar at the beginning, and no quire appears to have been lost. The surviving codex is therefore likely to preserve its original extent.

The catchwords provide further insight into the copying process. They are not consistently taken from a specific text but appear to have been selected opportunistically from either the vernacular text or the Latin marginal apparatus. This suggests that the scribe probably added catchwords at the completion of each gathering, using whichever text he had most recently copied. Although this cannot be demonstrated conclusively, the alternation between Middle English, Anglo-Norman, and Latin elements may reflect the multilingual working practices involved in producing the manuscript.

Close-ups of Ps 1:1 in the Middle English Surtees Metrical Psalter (fol. 1r) and of the Anglo-Norman prose translation derived from the Douce tradition (fol. 91r) in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 278.

Source: https://purl.stanford.edu/dw236nr9575.



The manuscript contains few signs of later use. As already stated, the notes on fol. 1r belong to the same fifteenth-century hand responsible for the provenance mark. This reader appears not to have fully understood the vernacular text and often corrected spellings in an attempt to make unfamiliar forms more intelligible. Other later annotations, such as those on fol. 10r and elsewhere, belong to a much later, post-Renaissance hand.

Taken as a whole, MS 278 appears less like a private devotional book than like a carefully produced collector's manuscript. It contains no substantial evidence of personal ownership, private annotation, or individualized use. The deliberate combination of two vernacular Psalter traditions, the careful organization of the quires, and the presence of the parchment reading marker introducing the Anglo-Norman section all suggest a manuscript designed for preservation and display rather than ordinary devotional practice. The function and significance of this parchment marker deserve further investigation, particularly through comparison with similar examples in other medieval manuscripts. Such an investigation, however, falls beyond the scope of the present study.

London, British Library, Harley 273 (before 1329)

The next manuscript in chronological order is one that has already received extensive attention. In a previous study (Agrigoroaei 2018), I examined this curious reworking of the Douce text and concluded that it represents a remarkable linguistic phenomenon. The text appears to have been revised by a fourteenth-century French-speaking English scribe who, while preserving the syntax and word order of his antigraph with remarkable fidelity, systematically replaced much of its vocabulary. The result is neither a straightforward copy nor a wholly new translation, but rather a thorough lexical updating of an older text, the grammatical structure of which remained largely intact.

I argued that less than two centuries after the creation of the Douce version, the learned scholarly French of the twelfth-century translators had become largely obscure or artificial to fourteenth-century Anglo-Norman readers. To bridge this gap, the anonymous rewriter embarked on a project that resembles neither a standard medieval Western adaptation nor a simple lexical modernization. Instead, I draw a parallel between his method and the Byzantine practices of diorthosis (the systematic correction and editorial updating of sacred texts) and metaphrasis (rhetorical and stylistic rewriting).

Through detailed comparative textual analyses (specifically examining Ps 1, Ps 51, Ps 100, and Ps 150 alongside the variants of MS Douce 230 and the Winchester Psalter, I demonstrate how the Ludlow scribe constructed his own distinct method. He replaced archaic terms, Latinisms, and high-register terms with more familiar, everyday vocabulary. He exhibited clear preferences, such as replacing possessive adjectives with analytical constructions (e.g., *de li*) or systematically swapping terms like *iuste* for *dreiturel* and replacing derivatives of 'fear' (*crieme*) with derivatives of 'fright' (*peur*) or 'doubt' (*doute*). Rather than strictly simplifying, he often replaced standard words with rarer or more vivid alternatives, revealing an aesthetic pleasure in rewriting for its own sake. He was likely working alongside a Latin Gallicanum text; where the old Anglo-Norman French was too opaque, he consulted the Latin, occasionally introducing Latinisms (*examinasti*, *amplius*) or correcting earlier translation errors. Ultimately, I observe that as my scribe advanced through the manuscript, thje Ludlow scribe began to break down due to fatigue, inconsistency, and occasional copying errors. Rather than a strictly pedagogical tool or a commissioned ecclesiastical revision, I concluded that this unique text was an authorial, almost literary game (an English scribe experimenting with an artificial language of his own invention to replace the forgotten learned language of the past). The ultimate proof that the scribe was English is the replacement of the French word for 'jaws' by the actual English word *jaws*.

Research has argued that the scribe originated from Ludlow, southern Shropshire, since fol. 1v contains, written in red ink, the dedication date of the parish church of St Lawrence at Ludlow on 13 February. This so-called Ludlow scribe appears to have been active between 1314 and 1329, at least on the basis of the date of his copy of the Purgatory of St Patrick. He has also been associated with substantial portions of other surviving manuscripts, including London, British Library, Harley 2253 and Royal 12.C.XII (see, for this, Revard 2000).

The manuscript is composite, consisting of six distinct parts. The first of these is of interest here, as it is structured as a proper psalter, perhaps copied from an earlier psalter antigraph. It has a specific layout, being pricked and ruled in ink, on double columns, and a fifteenth-century hand added a title to this section of the manuscript: *The salter in French.*

Fol. 1r–6v contain a calendar, including the dedication date of the parish church of St Laurence at Ludlow mentioned above. The calendar is followed by a blank folio, on which the Ludlow scribe copied the text of several papal indulgences. The Psalms then follow, in the rewritten translation discussed above, and are followed in turn by the Canticles, which occupy fol. 53v–59r. They are, in the following order: *Confitebor* (fol. 53rb); Ego dixi (fol. 53rb); *Exultavit* (fol. 53va); *Cantemus domino* (fol. 53vb); *Domine audiui* (fol. 54rb); *Audite celi* (fol. 54vb); *Te Deum* (fol. 56ra); *Benedicite* (fol. 56rb); *Benedictus* (fol. 56va); *Magnificat* (fol. 56vb); *Nunc dimittis* (fol. 56vb); *Quicumque vult* (fol. 57ra); the litany in French (fol. 57vb: *Sire merci*); *Pater noster* (fol. 58vb); prayers (fol. 59ra). At least three of these prayers are also found in the Isabella Psalter, the only difference being that they are preserved here in French, whereas they appear there in Latin. (*Deus cui proprium; Omnipotens sempiterne deus*, and *Deus qui es omnium sanctorum splendor).* The blank folio left at the end of these prayers marks a kind of conclusion to the Psalter. The manuscript unit nevertheless continues with two further texts: the Hours of the Virgin, accompanied by prayers, and the Hours of the Dead, which is acaudate.

The text of the Psalms in MS harley 273 derives from a different branch of the tradition from those discussed above, its antigraph probably occupying a higher position in the stemma in relation to MS Douce 320. Its reading for Ps 1:1 is: *Benoyt le home qe ne aloyt en le counsail de nient deboneires* ⁝ et *en la uoye de pecheors nestut* · et *la cheere de pestilence ne sist* · (fol. 8ra). The reading of Ps 3:9 is likewise very close to that of MS Douce 320: *Du seignur saluz est* ⁝ *e sur tun people ta bensoun* · (fol. 8va). I will return to this version of the psalter in the discussion of

the Athanasian Symbol and of the prayers appended to the end of the psalter manuscripts.

London, British Library, Additional 44949 (fourteenth century)

The so-called Tywardreath Psalter entered the British collections in 1937 as a memorial gift to M. R. James. Although eighteenth-century marks associated the manuscript with Tywardreath Priory, a Benedictine house in Cornwall, modern scholarship has shown that it was in fact produced in northern England during the reign of Edward III. At a later stage, it passed through the hands of the Arundells of Wardour and the Clifford family before acquiring its present name. The manuscript was intended for lay devotional use. The text is presented in Latin with an alternating French translation. while the Latin text is supplemented throughout by explanatory glosses distinguished by red underlining. The volume is also notable for its lavish decoration, characteristic of fourteenth-century English manuscript production.

This manuscript does not conform to the structure of the other psalters discussed above. Its first section, extending up to fol. 32r, contains a substantial collection of devotional material in both Latin and French, in prose and verse. The texts include a French introduction to a Latin prayer attributed to pope Innocent, promising a forty-day papal indulgence for its daily recitation (fol. 3r); prayers for the seven hours (fol. 3v); a Latin prayer of the Cross (fol. 7); the French devotional poem *Marie douce mere* (fol. 7v); a French poem on the Mass (fol. 10v); the Latin prayer *O intemerata* (fol. 16v); three Latin prayers (*Interveniat pro nobis…*, *Beati Johannis apostoli…*, and *Domine Jhesu Christe qui pro salute nostra pendens in cruce…*) (fol. 17v); two French prayers (fol. 18r); a song attributed elsewhere to the trouvère Thibaut of Amiens (fol. 19r); a French poem in praise of the name of Jesus (fol. 20v); a French Marian poem on the Annunciation (fol. 23r); a French poem praising the name of Mary (fol. 25r); the Nine Joys of Our Lady, attributed to Rutebeuf (fol. 27v); and a French poem on the Five Joys (fol. 29r). At the end of this section, fol. 31 is left blank, apparently marking a division between this devotional collection and the remainder of the manuscript. None of these texts correspond to the prayers normally found at the end of Anglo-Norman psalters. Extracts from these works have been published by Långfors 1948.

The Psalter proper begins with the calendar (fol. 32r), at the end of which another folio was left blank (fol. 38). The text of the Psalms begins on fol. 39r and is arranged in alternating Latin and vernacular verses, in a format comparable to that found in the Maidstone and Vitellius fragments. The same arrangement is maintained for the Canticles, which begin on fol. 275r. They are as follows: *Confitebor* (fol. 275r); *Ego dixi* (fol. 275v); *Exultauit cor meum* (fol. 277r); *Cantemus domino* (fol. 278v); *Domine audiui audicionem* (fol. 281r); *Audite celi* (fol. 284r); *Benedicite* (fol. 290r); *Benedictus* (fol. 291v); *Te Deum* (fol. 292v); *Magnificat* (fol. 294r); *Nunc dimittis* (fol. 295r); *Quicumque vult* (fol. 295r). The manuscript then continues with a litany in Latin only (fol. 298v), which concludes with a Latin prayer copied in smaller script: *Saluos fac seruos et ancillas tuas.* This is followed by five more Latin prayers (fol. 302v): (a) *Deus cui proprium est misereri semper*; (b) *Pretende domine famulis et famulabus tuis*; (c) *Ure igne sancti spiritus renes nostros et cor nostrum domine ut tibi casto corpore…*; (d) *A domo* [*tu*]*a quesumus domine spirituales nequicie r*[*epe*]*lantur et aerearum discedat malignitas tempestatum . per .*; (e) *Deus qui es sanctorum tuorum splendor mirabilis atque lapsorum subleuatorum inenarrabilis…* Only two of them can be found in other Anglo-Norman psalters.

According to Långfors 1948, p. 118–119, the French translation following each verse is unique to this manuscript, differing from the standard Anglo-Norman Psalter tradition, and therefore constitutes an important example of fourteenth-century Anglo-Norman prose. In fact, however, this psalter belongs to the *ber* group, and its divergences from the other witnesses do not result from a process of rewriting comparable to that observed in MS Harley 273. Rather, they are the consequence of the replacement of earlier translation choices by new ones derived from a series of glosses inserted into the Latin text. Långfors correctly observed that these additions are marked by an initial *id est* and underlined in red, but he noted that the vernacular translation only "sometimes" (*parfois*) follows these insertions. In reality, at least in all the cases examined here, the translation consistently corresponds to these glosses.

Consider the reading of Ps 1:1 and note how two essential replacements have been introduced, while the *ber* reading inherited from the antigraph has nevertheless been preserved with remarkable fidelity (fol. 39r): *Beatus uir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum* et *in uia peccato*rum *non stetit* ⁝ et *in cathedra ·i· iudicio · pestilencie ·i· falsitatis non sedit · // Beneit soit le bier que ne foreie el con*sail *de sen grees* et *ne estuet en la voie des peccheours* ⁝ et *ne siet el iuggement de fausnie ·*

However, the text of MS Additional 44949 does not align with Cambridge, Clare College, at Ps 3:9, where its reading is instead closer to that of MS Additional 35283 and MS nouv. acq. lat. 1670. The text of fol. 41v reads: *Domini est salus* et *super populum tuum domine est benedicio tua · // Saintee est de nostre sire* ⁝ *et ta beneison sire est sur ton poeple ·*

The most suitable place to illustrate the distinctive variants of MS Additional 44949 is fol. 45v, where the translation of Ps 7:13–17 is found:

Nisi conuersi fueritis de malo gladium suum ·i· uindictam uibrabit ·i· demonstrabit arcum suum ·i· minas tetendit ·i· facit \et/ *parauit illum ·*

Si vous ne tournez de mal il demonstra sa vengeance il fait ses manaces et *les apparaile ·*

Et in eo parauit uasa ·i· penas mortis sagittas suas ·i· uulnera ardentibus in penis effecit ·

Et en ceo il apparailla peines de mort · et *fist ses plaies as ardauntz en peines ·*

Ecce peccator parturit ·i· facit in iusticiam concepit dolorem et *peperit iniquitatem ·*

Uoi le peccheour fait noun dreiture si conceust dolour et *enfaunte iniquitee ·*

Lacum ·i· infernum aperuit et *effodit eum ;* et *incidit in foueam quam fecit ·*

Il oeueri enfern et *le fowi* et *chai el foesse quil fist ·*

Conuertetur dolor eius ·i· contra caput eius ; et *in ·i· contra uerticem ipsius iniquitas eius descendet ·*

Sa dolour serra tournee en countree sa teste et *sa iniquitee*

descendra en countre son haterel ·

The fact that, for the final Latin verse (Ps 7:17), he inserted the gloss *contra* but forgot to add the preposition *in* at its first occurrence (writing it only before the second mention of the same gloss) indicates that he was copying from an antigraph that already contained these insertions, rather than introducing them himself. This does not necessarily imply that the antigraph itself contained the modified French translation. That question remains unresolved, since the modifications to the Douce text may have been introduced during the copying process itself.

There are several instances in which the glosses occupy the entire sentence, and the translation appears to have been shaped exclusively by their presence. Consider Ps 10:3 (fol. 50v-51r): *Quoniam ecce peccatores intenderunt ·i. fecerunt arcum ·i· minas parauerunt sagittas ·i· malicias suas in pharetra ·i· duricia ut sagittent · id est molestent in obscuro rectos corde // Car voi les peccheours firent lour manaces si apparaillerent lour malices en duresce qil lmolestent en priuee les dreitureux de quoer ·*

As the text progresses, these explanatory gloss insertions become increasingly rare, although a few interesting cases remain. On fol. 77v, for instance, there is an erasure in Ps 28:7–Ps 28:8:

Uox domini intercedentis flammam ignis ⁝ \uox domini concucientis desertum et *commouebit dominus desertum cades ad uindictam propter inhabitancium nequicia ·/*

La voiz nostre sire entrecheaunt flamme de feu la voiz nostre sire feraunt desert et *nostre sire commouera le desert de cades a vengeaunce pur le mal des enhabitauntz ·*

The fact that the toponym *Cades* is also underlined shows that these insertions were not introduced by the scribe himself but were already present in his antigraph. Unlike the other additions, *Cades* forms part of the original biblical text and is not an explanatory gloss. No gloss source containing this development has been identified. It may have been created independently, perhaps through an association of Ps 27:4 (*secundum nequitiam adinventionum ipsorum*) with Ps 106:34 (*a malitia inhabitantium in ea*). This manuscript will be discussed again in the second part of the present study, in connection with the Athanasian Symbol.

London, British Library, Harley 1770 (fourteenth century)

This volume, likely originating from the Augustinian priory of Kirkham, combines within a single codicological project two distinct vernacular adaptations of the Psalms. It is the same situation as in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 278, only that the French version is the main text, copied before the English Surtees Psalter.

The Old French text lacks its opening folio, but Ps 3:9 reads *De nostre seignour est saluz* (fol. 1vb), indicating that it belongs to the same textual group as Cambridge, Clare College. This affiliation is further confirmed by the reading *tu ies iriez* in Is 12:1b (fol. 143rb), a characteristic shared by that witness and a few others.

The first section contains the Gallicanum accompanied by the text of the Douce version, arranged in a bilingual two-column format. The second section transmits the Surtees Psalter. At first sight, it appears to consist of two separate units, one French and one English, a circumstance that encouraged scholars to assign them different dates and cultural contexts. A closer examination of the manuscript, however, demonstrates that both units were produced as parts of a single enterprise (cf. Agrigoroaei 2024).

The decorative programme provides the first indication of this unity: the initials introducing the Psalms in the bilingual section correspond to those of the Middle English section, while the alternation of red and blue initials employed in the Anglo-Norman text finds its counterpart in the system used to mark the marginal Latin references accompanying the English translation. The manuscript was copied by a team of four or five scribes, several of whom worked across both sections. The same hands responsible for portions of the marginal apparatus in the Anglo-Norman part can also be identified in the Middle English section. Moreover, the recensions and abbreviation practices found in the accompanying devotional texts reveal that the scribes repeatedly consulted the same exemplars rather than copying one section from the other.

One of the most remarkable features of Harley 1770 is its marginal apparatus. Throughout the bilingual section, the margins contain stanzas from a thirteenth-century Latin rhythmic Psalter of the Virgin, represented by the recension beginning *Ave virgo virginum parens absque pari*, traditionally attributed to Stephen Langton. These verses are accompanied by collects belonging to the so-called Roman series, sometimes associated explicitly with biblical verses and sometimes transmitted without such references. This elaborate paratextual system accompanies the entire French section and initially continues into the Middle English one, before being abandoned after the sixteenth stanza and collect.

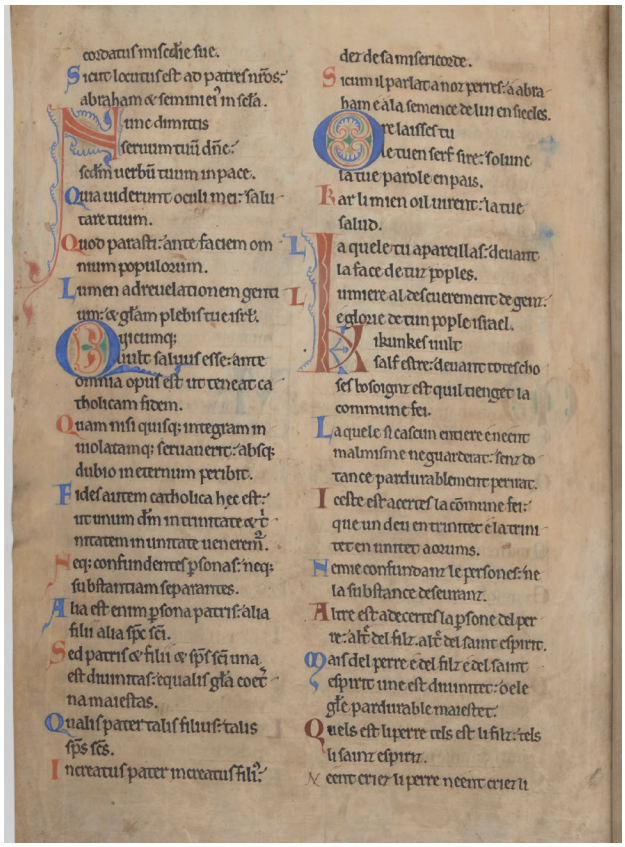
The production of the manuscript was evidently a highly ambitious undertaking and not without difficulties. The scribes worked from at least two independent antigraphs, one transmitting the Rhythmic Psalter of the Virgin and another containing the series of collects. Problems emerged when the compilers reached Ps 118. At this point the correspondence between Psalm text, Marian stanzas, and collects collapsed. Texts that originally belonged together became misaligned, producing a cumulative displacement that increased as copying progressed. In an attempt to restore coherence, the scribes inserted additional Marian stanzas from other sources and displaced the remaining marginal material into the section containing the Canticles. The decision to discontinue the marginal apparatus in the Middle English section was probably deliberate. The different page layout, smaller script, and absence of a parallel Latin biblical column made the already fragile alignment between the various textual layers increasingly difficult to maintain.

The sequence of Canticles in the bilingual Latin–French section of the manuscript is as follows: *Confitebor* (fol. 143r); *Ego dixi* (fol. 143v); *Exultavit cor meum* (fol. 144v); *Cantemus domino gloriose* (fol. 145v); *Domine audivi* (fol. 147r); *Audite celi* (fol. 149r); *Benedicite* (fol. 152r); *Benedictus* (fol. 153r/v); *Magnificat* (fol. 154r); *Nunc dimittis* (fol. 154v); *Te Deum* (fol. 154v); *Quicumque vult* (fol. 155v); *Pater noster* (fol. 157v), imperfect at the end.

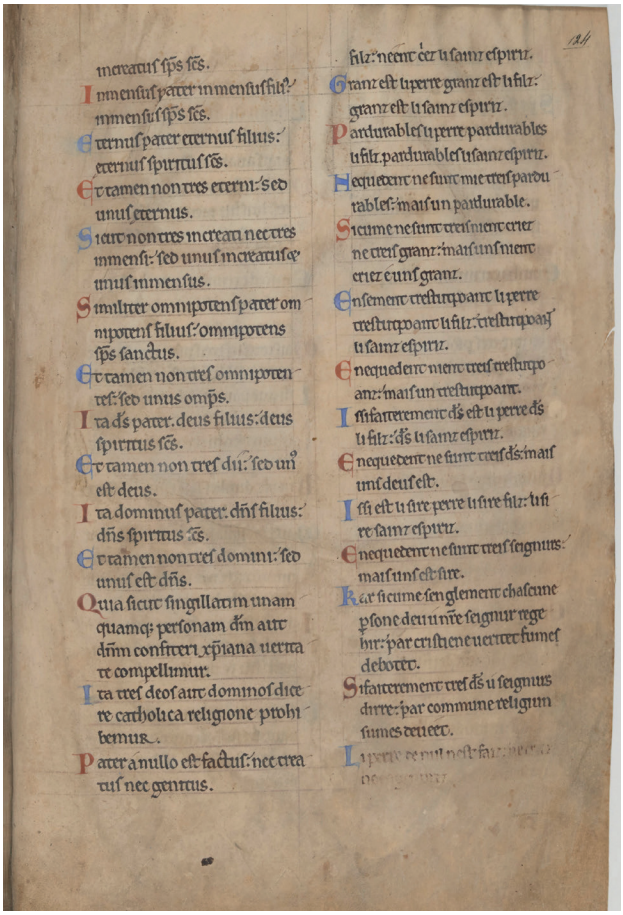
THE INCORPORATION OF THE ATHANASIAN SYMBOL INTO THREE DOUBLE-COLUMN BILINGUAL PSALTERS AND A PSALTER WITH ALTERNATING VERSES (VA)

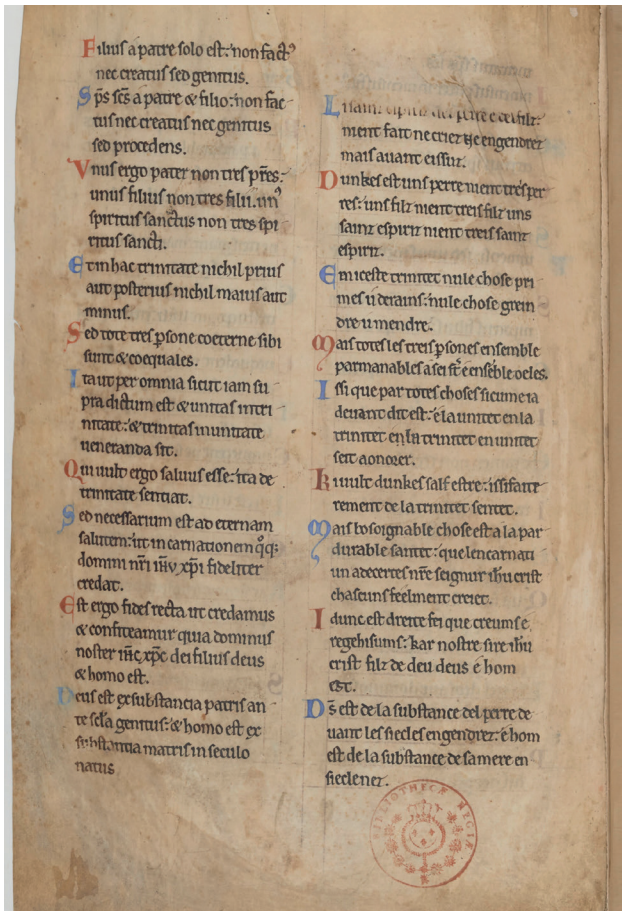
The comparison of the vernacular translations of the Athanasian Symbol, announced at the end of the first section, may now be undertaken. The additional manuscripts presented in the intervening section enrich the corpus of witnesses and make it possible to reassess the position of each manuscript within the tradition.

The textual accretions consisting of the final four Canticles, the *Te Deum* and *Gloria*, and the communal prayers, including the Athanasian Symbol, pose particular interpretative challenges. At first sight, on the basis of the table presented at the end of the first section, one might expect the Winchester Psalter, which transmits a shorter version of this material, to represent an intermediate stage in the development of the tradition, preserving a form of the text that predates the fuller expansions found elsewhere. Such an assumption would appear to accord with a straightforward model of textual growth, whereby supplementary material was gradually added over time. Yet the evidence does not support such a simple reconstruction. As will become apparent, the Winchester Psalter cannot be interpreted merely as an intermediary witness, and its relationship to the other witnesses once again proves to be considerably more complex than the extent of the material it preserves might initially suggest.



Latin text and translation of the Athanasian Symbol in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 768, fol. 123v-124v.
Source: http://gallica.bnf.fr/.





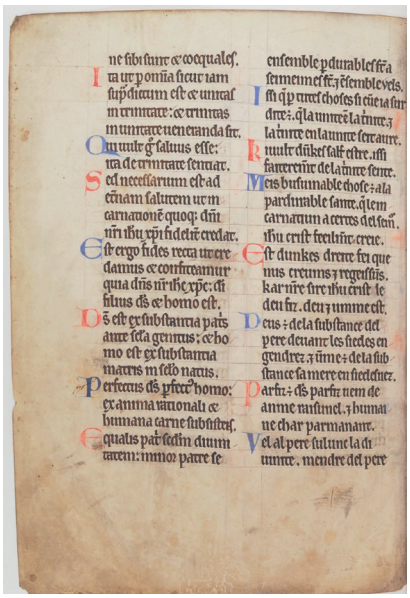
	London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero C.iv		Cambridge, Clare College, Perne Library, MS 6 (Kk.3.6)	
1	Qvicumq*ue* uult saluus e*sse* ⁝ ante omnia opus est ut teneat catho[fol. 131r]licam fidem ·	Ki que unkes ueolt estre salf ⁝ deuant tutes choses li est mestier que il tienge ueire [fol. 131r] creance ·	Quicumq*ue* uult saluus e*sse* ⁝ ante omnia opus est ut teneat catholica*m* fidem ·	Qvikunkes u[-]olt salf estre ⁝ deuant tut[e]s choses besuins · e*st* · q*ue* il tenget la c[*um*]mune feit ·
2	Quam nisi quisq*ue* integram inuiolatatamq*ue* seruauerit ⁝ absq*ue* dubio in eternum peribit ·	La quele si chascuns entiere é nient malmise ne guarderat · senz dutance pardurablement perirat ·	Quam nisiquisq*ue* integram inuiolata*m*q*ue* seruauerit ⁝ absque dubio in et*er*num peribit ·	Laquele se chasc[u]ns entierem*en*t e nient malmise ne guarderad · se*n*z dutance pardurablem*en*t p*er*irat ·
3	Fides autem catholica hęc est ut unum deum in trinitate ⁝ *et* trinitatem in unitate ueneremur ·	Ceste est acertes la ueire creance que un damnedeu en t*r*inite é la trinite en unite aurum ·	Fides autem catholica hec *est* a\u/t unum deum in t*r*initate *et* trinitate*m* in unitate ueneremur ·	Iceste · e*st* · adecertes la co*m*mune feit ⁝ q*ue* un dev en t*r*in[i]tet · e la t*r*initet en unitet honoruns ·
4	Neq*ue* confundentes p*er*sonas ⁝ neq*ue* substantiam separantes ·	Ne mie confundanz les p*er*sones ⁝ ne de la sustance deseuranz ·	Neque confundantes p*er*sonas ⁝ neq*ue* substantia*m* sep*ar*antes ·	Ne mie c*un*fundanz les p*er*sones ⁝ ne la substance dese[u]ranz ·
5	Alia est enim p*er*sona patris ⁝ alia filii · alia spiritus sancti ·	Altre est acertes la persone del pere ⁝ altre del fiz · altre del saint esp*er*it ·	Alia *est* enim p*er*sona pat*r*is ⁝ alia filii alia sp*i*ritus sanct*i* ·	Altre · e*st* · adecertes la p*er*sone del p*er*e ⁝ autre del filz autre del seint esp*er*it ·
6	Sed patris *et* filii *et* sp*i*ritus sanct*i* una est diuinitas ⁝ equalis gloria coeterna maiestas ·	Mais del pere · et del fiz · et del sainte esp*er*it une est diuinite · úele glorie · ensemble pardurable maiested ·	Sed patris *et* filii *et* sp*i*ritus sanct*i* una *est* diuinitas ⁝ equalis glo*r*ia coet*er*na maiestas ·	Mais del p*er*e · et del fiz e del seint esp*er*it une · e*st* · deuinitet ⁝ u ele glo*r*ie · ensemble pardurable maiest[et ·]
7	Qualis pater talis filius ⁝ talis sp*i*ritus sanct*us* ·	Quels · e*st* pere tels · e*st* li fiz · tels li saint esp*er*it ·	Qualis pater talis filius · talis sp*i*ritus sanctus ·	Quels · e*st* · li p*er*e tels · e*st* · li fiz ⁝ tels · e*st* · li seint esp*er*it ·
8	Increatus pater increatus filius ⁝ increatus spiritus sanctus ·	Neient criet li pere · neient criet li fiz · neient cried li saint esperiz ·	Increat*us* pater increat*us* filius increatus sp*i*ritus sanct*us* ·	Nient c*r*iez li p*er*e neient c*r*iez li fiz me*n*t c*r*iez ⁝ li seinz esp*er*iz ·
9	Immensus pater · immensus filius ⁝ immensus spiritus sanctus ·	Granz est li pere · granz est li filz ⁝ granz est li saint esp*er*it ·	Inmens*us* pater inmensus filius inmensus sp*i*ritus sanctus ·	G*r*anz · e*st* · li p*er*e g*r*anz · e*st* · li fiz ⁝ g*r*anz · e*st* · li seinz esp*er*iz ·
10	Eternus pater eternus filius ⁝ ęternus spiritus sanctus ·	Pardurable est li pere · pardurable est li fiz ⁝ pardurable li saint esp*er*it ·	Eternus pater et*er*nus ⁝ et*er*nus sp*i*ritus sanct*us* ·	Pardurables · e*st* li p*er*e pardurables · e*st* · li fiz pardurables · e*st* · li seinz esp*er*it ·
11	Et tamen non tres ęterni ⁝ sed unus ęternus ·	E nequedent ne sunt mie treis pardurables ⁝ meis uns pardurable ·	Et tamen non tres et*er*ni ⁝ *sed* unus et*er*nus ·	E neq*ue*dent ne s*un*t mie trei\s/ pardurable\s/ ⁝ un*us* pardurable\s/ ·
12	Sicut non tres increati nec tres immensi ⁝ sed unus increatus *et* un*us* immens*us* ·	Sicume ne sunt treis nient criet · ne treis granz · meis un nen c*r*iet · é un g*r*ant ·	Sicut non tres increati nec tres inmensi ⁝ set unus increatus *et* unus inmesus ·	Sicume ne s*un*t treis néént c*r*iez ne trei\s/ g*r*anz ⁝ mais uns nient c*r*iez · *et* uns g*r*anz ·
13	Similiter omnipotens pater omnipotens filius ⁝ omnipotens sp*i*ritus sanct*us* ·	Ensement trestut poant est li pere · trestuz poanz est li filz · trestut poanz est li saint esperit ·	Similiter omnipotens pat*er* [fol. 139v] om*n*ipot*en*s filius om*n*ipot*en*s sp*i*ritus sanct*us* ·	Ensem*en*t trestut poant li perre [fol. 139v] trestut poanz li filz ⁝ trestut poant li seinz esp*er*iz ·
14	Et tamen non tres omnipotentes ⁝ sed unus omnipotens ·	E nequedent nient ne sunt treis trestut poanz ⁝ meis un trestut poant ·	Et tamen non tres omnipotentes ⁝ set un[u]s omnipotens ·	E neq*ue*dent neient ne s*un*t trei\s/ trestuz poanz ⁝ mais uns trestut puant ·
15	Ita deus pater · deus filius · deus spiritus sanctus ·	E issi faiterement d*eu*s est pere d*eu*s est filz · deus est saint espirit ·	Ita d*eu*s pater d*eu*s filius ⁝ d*eu*s sp*i*ritus sanctus ·	Issifaiterem*en*t d*eu*s · e*st* · p*er*e d*eu*s · e*st* · filz ⁝ d*eu*s · e*st* · li seinz esp*er*iz ·
16	Et tamen non tres dii ⁝ sed unus est d*eu*s ·	E nequedent ne sunt mie treis deus ⁝ meins uns est deus ·	Et tamen non tres dii set unus *est* d*eu*s ·	E neq*ue*dent néént ne s*un*t treis d*eu*s ⁝ mais uns · deus ·
17	Ita dominus pater domin*us* filius · dominus spiritus sanctus ·	E issi est li sire pere · li sire filz ⁝ li sire saint esperit ·	Ita dom*in*us pater dom*in*us filius ⁝ domin*us* spirit*us* sanctus ·	Issi · e*st* · li sire p*er*e li sire filz · li sire seinz esp*er*iz ·
18	Et tamen non tres domini ⁝ sed unus est dominus ·	N nequedent neient ne s*un*t treis seignurs ⁝ meis uns est sire ·	Et tam*en* non tres dom*in*i ⁝ set un*us* est dom*in*us ·	E neq*ue*dent neent ne s*un*t trei\s/ seign*ur*s ⁝ mais uns · e*st* · sire ·
19	Quia sicut singillatim unamqua*m*q*ue* p*er* sonam d*eu*m aut dominum confiteri · *christ*iana ueritate compellimur ⁝	Kar si cume senglement chascune p*er*sone damnedeu ú nostre seign*ur* regehir · par *christ* Iane ueritet sumus [fol. 131vr] debutet issi faiterem*en*t	Quia sicut singillatim una*m*qua*m*q*ue* p*er*ona*m* d*eu*m aut dominum confiteri *christ*iana ueritate com*p*ellim*ur* ⁝	Kar si cume senglem*en*t chascune p*er*sone da*m*nedev ⁝ u nost*re* seignur regehir ⁝ par *christ*iene ueritet sumes debutet ⁝ issi faiterem*en*t
20	ita tres deos aut dominos dicere ⁝ catho[fol. 131v]lica religione prohibemur ·	trei\s/ damnesd*eu*s u seignur dire par co*m*mune religiun sume deueet ·	ita tres deos aut dominos dicere ⁝ catholica religione p*r*ohibemur ·	treis da*m*ned*eu*s · v treis seignurs dire par co*m*mune religiun sumes deuee ·
21	Pater a nullo est factus ⁝ nec creatus nec genitus ·	Li pere dalcun nest fait ⁝ ne criez ne engendrez ·	[Pa]ter a nullo *est* fact*us* ⁝ nec creatus nec genitus ·	Li p*er*e de alcun nest fait ⁝ ne c*r*ieed ne engendret ·

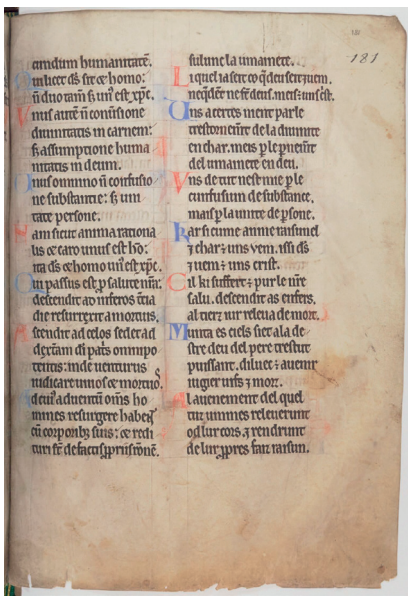
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS n. acq. lat. 1670		Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 768		
Qvicunque uult saluus esse : ante omnia opus est ut teneat catholicam fidem ·	Kikunkes uult salf estre deuant tutes choses busuin est que il tienge la cummune fei ·	Quicumque uult saluus esse ⁝ ante omnia opus est ut teneat catholicam fidem ·	Kikunkes uult salf estre ⁝ deuant totes choses bosoignz est quil tienget la commune fei ·	1
Quam nisi quisque integram inuiolatamque seruauerit ⁝ absque dubio in eternum peribit ·	La quele si chascun entiere et nient malmise ne guardera · senz dutance pardurablement perira ·	Quam nisi quisque integram inuiolatamque seruauerit ⁝ absque dubio in eternum peribit ·	Laquele si cascun entiere é néent malmisme ne guarderat ⁝ senz dotance pardurablement perirat ·	2
Fides autem catholica hec est ut unum deum in trinitate ⁝ et trinitatem in unitate ueneremur ·	Iceste acertes la cummune fei est · que un deu en trinite et la trinite en unite aurum ·	Fides autem catholica hęc est ⁝ ut unum deum in trinitate ⁝ et trinitatem in unitate ueneremur ·	Iceste est acertes la commune fei ⁝ que un deu en trinitet é la trinitet en unitet aorums ·	3
Neque confundentes personas ⁝ neque substantiam separante\s/ ·	Nemie ensemble meller les persones · ne la substance deseuranz ·	Neque confundentes personas ⁝ neque substantiam separantes ·	Nemie confundanz le persones ⁝ ne la substance deseuranz ·	4
Alia est enim persona patris ⁝ alia filii alia spiritus sancti ·	Altre *est* acertes la persone del pere · altre del fiz altre del seint esperit ·	Alia est enim persona patris ⁝ alia filii alia spiritus sancti ·	Altre est adecertes la persone del perre ⁝ altre del filz · altre del seint espirit ·	5
Sed patris *et* filii *et* spiritus sancti una *est* diuinitas equalis [fol. 179v] gloria ⁝ coeterna maiestas ·	Mais del pere *et* del fiz *et* del seint esperit · une *est* diuinite · vele [fol. 179v] glorie ensemble pardurable maieste ·	Sed patris *et* filii *et* spiritus sancti una *est* diuinitas ⁝ equalis gloria ⁝ coeterna maiestas ·	Mais del perre é del filz é del saint espirit une est diuinitet · oele glorie pardurable maiestet ·	6
Qualis pater talis filius ⁝ talis spiritus sanctus ·	Quels est li pere · tels *est* li fiz · tels *est* li seinz espirit ·	Qualis pater talis filius ⁝ talis spiritus sanctus ·	Quels est li perre tels est li filz ⁝ tels li sainz espiriz ·	7
Increatus pater increatus filius ⁝ increatus spiritus sanctus ·	Nient crie li pere · nient crie li fiz · nient crie li seinz esperiz ·	Increatus pater increatus filius ⁝ [fol. 124r] increatus spiritus sanctus ·	[N]éént criez li perre néént criez li [fol. 124r] filz ⁝ néént criez li sainz espiriz ·	8
Inmensus pater inmensus filius ⁝ inmensus spiritus sanctus ·	Granz *est* li pere granz *est* li fil · granz *est* li seinz esperiz ·	Inmensus pater inmensus filius ⁝ inmensus spiritus sanctus ·	Granz est li perre granz est li filz · granz est li sainz espiriz ·	9
Eternus pater eternus filius ⁝ eternus spiritus sanctus ·	Pardurable *est* li pere pardurable li fiz pardurable li seinz esperiz ·	Eternus pater eternus filius ⁝ eternus spiritus sanctus ·	Pardurables li perre pardurables li filz · pardurables li sainz espiriz ·	10
Et tamen non tres eterni ⁝ sed unus eternus ·	E nequedent ne sunt mie treis pardurables · meis uns pardurable ·	Et tamen non tres eterni ⁝ sed unus ęternus ·	Nequedent ne sunt mie treis pardurables ⁝ mais un pardurable ·	11
Sicut non tres increati nec tres inmensi ⁝ sed unus increatus *et* unus inmensus ·	Sicume ne sunt treis nient crie ne treis grant · meis un nient crie · *et* un grant ·	Sicut non tres increati nec tres inmensi ⁝ sed unus increatus *et* unus inmensus ·	Sicume ne sunt treis nient criez ne treis granz ⁝ mais uns nient criez · é uns granz ·	12
Similiter omnipotens pater omnipotens filius ⁝ omnipotens spiritus sanctus ·	Ensement trestut poant *est* li pere trestut poant li fiz · trestut poant li seinz esperiz ·	Similiter omnipotens pater omnipotens filius ⁝ omnipotens spiritus sanctus ·	Ensement trestutpoant li perre trestutpoant li filz · trestutpoant li sainz espiriz ·	13
Et tamen non tres omnipotentes ⁝ sed unus omnipotens ·	E nequedent ne sunt mie treis trespoant · meis uns trespuissant ·	Et tamen non tres omnipotentes ⁝ sed unus omnipotens ·	E nequedent nient treis trestutpoanz ⁝ mais un trestutpoant ·	14
Ita deus pater deus filius ⁝ deus spiritus sanctus ·	Issi faitierement deus *est* li pere deus *est* li fiz · deus *est* li seinz esperiz ·	Ita deus pater · deus filius ⁝ deus spiritus sanctus ·	Issifaiterement deus est li perre deus li filz ⁝ deus li sainz espiriz ·	15
Et tamen non tres dij ⁝ sed unus est deus ·	E nequedent ne sunt mie treis deus · meins uns deus ·	Et tamen non tres dii ⁝ sed unus est deus ·	E nequedent ne sunt treis deus ⁝ mais uns deus est ·	16
Ita dominus pater dominus filius ⁝ dominus spiritus sanctus ·	Issi sire *est* li pere · sire *est* li fiz · sire *est* li seinz esperiz ·	Ita dominus pater · dominus filius ⁝ dominus spiritus sanctus ·	Issi est li sire perre li sire filz ⁝ li sire sainz espiriz ·	17
[fol. 180r] Et tamen non tres domini ⁝ sed unus est dominus ·	[fol. 180r] E nequedent ne sunt mie treis seinurs ⁝ mais uns est sire ·	Et tamen non tres domini ⁝ sed unus est dominus ·	E nequedent ne sunt treis seignurs ⁝ mais uns est sire ·	18
Quia sicut singillatim unamquamque personam deum aut dominum confiteri ⁝ christiana ueritate compellimur ·	Kar sicume senglement chascune parsone deu v seinur regehir · par christiene uerite sumes debute ·	Quia sicut singillatim unamquamque personam deum aut dominum confiteri christiana ueritate compellimur ·	Kar sicume senglement chascune persone deu ú nostre seignur regehir ⁝ par cristiene ueritet fumes debotet ·	19
Ita tres deos aut dominos dicere ⁝ catholica religione prohibemur ·	Issi faiterement treis deus v seinurs dire · par cummune religiun summes deuéé ·	Ita tres deos aut dominos dicere catholica religione prohibemur ·	Si faiterement treis deus ú seignurs dirre ⁝ par commune religiun sumes deuéét ·	20
Pater a nullo est factus ⁝ nec creatus nec genitus ·	Li pere de nul *est* fait · ne crie ne engendre ·	Pater á nullo est factus ⁝ nec creatus nec genitus ·	Li perre de nul nest faiz ⁝ ne [criez] ne [en]g[endrez] ·	21

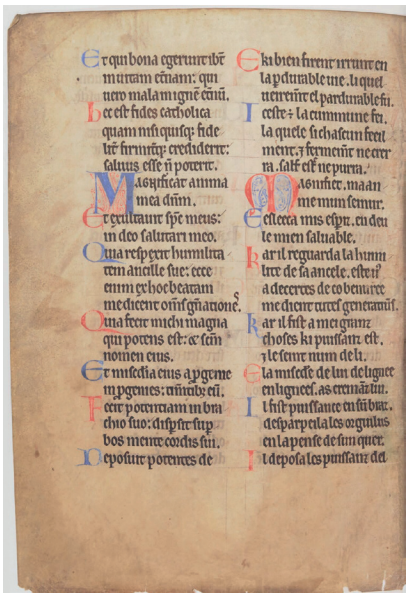
	London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero C.iv		Cambridge, Clare College, Perne Library, MS 6 (Kk.3.6)	
22	Filius a patre solo est ⁝ non factus ⁝ nec creatus sed genitus ·	Li filz de sul pere est nient fait ne cried meis engendret ·	Filius a patre solo *est* non factus ⁝ nec creat*us* set genitus ·	Li fiz del p*er*e · e*st* sul ⁝ neent criet neen gendret ·
23	Spiritus sanctus á patre *et* filio ⁝ n*on* factus · nec creatus nec genitus sed procedens ·	Li sainz espirit del pere é del pere e del filz ⁝ nest fait ne cried ne engendret mais auant issut ·	Sp*iritus sanctus* a patre filio non factus ⁝ nec creatus nec genitus sed p*ro*cedens ·	Li seinz esp*er*iz del p*er*e e del filz · néént fait ⁝ ne criez ne engendrez · mais auant eissuz ·
24	Vnus ergo pater · non tres patres ⁝ unus filius non tres filii ⁝ unus spiritus sanctus non tres sp*iritus* sancti ·	Dunkes est un pere nient treis peres uns filz nient treis filz ⁝ uns saint espirit nient treis sainz espiriz ·	Vnus *ergo* pater non tres patres ⁝ unus filius n*on* tres filii unus sp*iritus sanctus* non tres spirit*us* sancti ·	Dunkes est un pere néént treis p*er*es ⁝ uns fiz néént treis fiz uns seinz esp*er*iz ⁝ néént treis seinz esp*er*iz ·
25	Et in hac trinitate nichil prius aut posterius nichil	Et en iceste ternitet nule chose p*ri*mes ú dereins nule chose greindre u mei*n*dre ·	Et in hac trinitate nichil prius aut posterius ni[---]	En ceste t*ri*nitet nul chose p*ri*mes u derainz nule chose grendre[---]
26	maius aut minus ⁝ sed tote tres p*er*sone ⁝ coeterne sibi sunt *et* coequales ·	meis tutes les treis p*er*sones ensemble u eles	_ _	_ _
27	Ita ut p*er* omnia sicut iam supradictu*m* est *et* unitas in trinitate ⁝ *et* trinitas in unitate ueneranda sit ·	Essi que par tutes coses si cume ia surdite cose est ⁝ q*ue* la unitet e*n* la t*ri*nitet · é la trinitet en la unitet seit a enurer ·	_ _ _

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS n. acq. lat. 1670		Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 768		
Filius a patre solo est non factus ⁝ nec creatus sed genitus ·	Li fil del sul pere *est* nient fait · ne crie mais engendre ·	[fol. 124v] Filius á patre solo est ⁝ non factus nec creatus sed genitus ·	[fol. 124v] [--- --- --- --- ---]	22
Spiritus sanctus a patre *et* filio non factus ⁝ nec creatus nec genitus sed procedens ·	Li sainz esperiz del pere *et* del fiz · nest fait · ne crie · ne engendre · mais auant issuz ·	Spiritus sanctus á patre *et* filio ⁝ non factus nec creatus nec genitus sed procedens ·	Li sain[z espiriz del] perre e del fiz nient fait ne criez ne engendrez · mais auant eissuz ·	23
Vnus ergo pater non tres patres ⁝ unus filius non tres filii ⁝ unus spiritus sanctus non tres spiritus sancti ·	Dunkes *est* uns pere · nient treis peres · uns fiz nient treis fiz · uns seinz esperiz nient treis sainz esperiz ·	Vnus ergo pater non tres patres ⁝ unus filius non tres filii · unus spiritus sanctus non tres spiritus sancti ·	Dunkes est uns perre nient tre\i/s perres ⁝ uns filz nient treis filz uns sainz espiriz nient treis sainz espiriz ·	24
Et in hac trinitate nichil prius aut posterius ⁝ nichil maius aut minus ·	En iceste trinite nule chose primes ý dereins · nule chose greindre ý meindre ·	Et in hac trinitate nichil prius aut posterius nichil maius aut minus ·	E ~~m~~\en/ iceste trinitet nule chose primes ú derains ⁝ nule chose greindre ú mendre ·	25
Sed tote tres persone⁝ coeter[fol. 180v]ne sibi sunt *et* coequales ·	Mais tutes les treis parsones [fol. 180v] ensemble pardurables sunt a seimeimes sunt · *et* ensemble ý els ·	Sed tote tres persone⁝ coeterne sibi sunt *et* coequales ·	Mais totes les treis persones ensemble parmanables á sei sunt é ensemble o eles ·	26
Ita ut per omnia sicut iam supradictum est *et* unitas in trinitate ⁝ *et* trinitas in unitate ueneranda sit ·	Issi que par tutes choses si cume ia surdite *est* · que la unite en la trinite · *et* la trinite en la unite seit aure ·	Ita ut per omnia sicut iam supra dictum est *et* unitas in trinitate ⁝ *et* trinitas in unitate ueneranda sit ·	Issi que par totes choses sicume ia deuant dit est ⁝ é la unitet en la trinitet ~~en~~ la trinitet en unitet seit a onorer ·	27
Qui uult ergo saluus esse ⁝ ita de trinitate sentiat ·	Ki uult dunkes salf estre · issi faiterement de la trinite sente ·	Qui uult ergo saluus esse ⁝ ita de trinitate sentiat ·	Ki uult dunkes salf estre ⁝ issifaiterement de la trinite sentet ·	28
Sed necessarium est ad eternam salutem ut incarnationem quoque domini nostri ihesu *christi* fideliter credat ·	Meis busuinable chose *est* a la pardurable sante · que lincarnatiun acertes del seinur ihesu crist feeilment creie ·	Sed necessarium est ad eternam salutem ⁝ ut incarnationem quoque domini nostri IHESV *christi* fideliter credat ·	Mais bosoignable chose est á la pardurable santet ⁝ que lencarnatiun adecertes nostre seignur ihesu crist chascuns féélment creiet ·	29
Est ergo fides recta ut credamus *et* confiteamur quia dominus noster ihesus *christus* ⁝ dei filius deus *et* homo est ·	Est dunkes dreite fei que nus creums *et* regehissums · kar nostre sire ihesu crist le deu fiz · deu *et* umme est ·	Est ergo fides recta ut credamus *et* confiteamur quia dominus noster IHESUS *christus* dei filius deus *et* homo est ·	Idunc est dreite fei que creums é regehisums ⁝ kar nostre sire ihesu crist filz de deu deus é hom est ·	30
Deus est ex substantia patris ante secula genitus ⁝ *et* homo est ex substantia matris in seculo natus ·	Deus *est* de la substance del pere deuant les siecles engendrez · *et* umme *est* de la substance sa mere en siecles nez ·	Deus est ex substantia patris ante secula genitus ⁝ *et* homo est ex substantia matris in seculo natus ·	Deus est de la substance del perre deuant les siecles engendrez ⁝ é hom est de la substance de sa mere en siecle nez ·	31

Latin text and translation of the Athanasian Symbol in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS n. acq. lat. 1670, fol. 179r-181v.
Source: http://gallica.bnf.fr/.







	London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero C.iv		Cambridge, Clare College, Perne Library, MS 6 (Kk.3.6)	
32	Perfectus deus p*er*fectus homo ⁝ ex anima rationali *et* humana carne subsistens ·	Parfiz est d*eu*s parfiz est hume de anme ratio e de humaine carn parmanant ·	_	_
33	Equalis patri s*ecundu*m diuinitatem ⁝ minor patri secundum humanitatem ·	Vel al pere sulunc la diuinitet ⁝ mendre del pere sulunc la humainetet ·	_	_
34	Qui licet deus sit *et* homo ⁝ non duo tamen sed unus est *christ*us ·	Liquel ia seit co que deu seit e hom nequedent ne s*un*t dui meis uns · e*st* · crist ·	_	_
35	Vnus autem non conu*er*sione diuinitatis in carnem ⁝ sed assumptione humanitatis in deum ·	Uns adecertes nient par la tresturnement de la diuinitet en carn ⁝ mais par lemp*a*rnement del humanitet en deu ·	_	_
36	Vnus omnino non confusione [fol. 132r] substantię ⁝ sed unitate persone ·	Vns de tut nient par confusiun [fol. 132r] de substance ⁝ mais par le unitet d*e* la p*er*sone ·	_	_
37	Nam sicut anima rationalis *et* caro unus est homo ⁝ ita deus *et* homo unus est *chr*istus ·	Kar si cume anme rationel é la carn uns est huem ⁝ issi d*eu*s é hom uns · e*st* · crist ·	_	_
38	Qui passus est p*ro* salute nostra ⁝ descendit ad inferos tercia die resurrexit á mortuis ·	Cil ki suffert est pur le no*st*re salut ⁝ descendit as enfers al terz se drecat de mort ·	_	_
39	Ascendit ad cęlos sedet ad dexteram dei patris omnipotentis ⁝ inde uenturus iudicare uiuos *et* mortuos ·	Muntat as cels set a la destre deu sun pere trestut poant ⁝ diloc est auenir iugier e les uis é les morz ·	_	_
40	Ad cuius aduentum omnes homines resurgere habent cum corporib*us* suis ⁝ *et* reddituri sunt de factis propriis rationem ·	Al aduenement del quel tuz humes esdrecerunt od lur cors é rendrunt de lur propres faiz raisun ·	_	_
41	Et qui bona egerunt ibunt in uitam ęternam ⁝ qui uero mala in ignem ęternum ·	E cil ki bien firent irrunt en la pardurable uie ⁝ li quel ueirement mal en pardurable fou ·	_	_
42	Hęc est fides catholica ⁝ quam nisiquisq*ue* fideliter firmiterq*ue* crediderit ⁝ saluus esse non poterit ·	Icest est la commune fei la quele si chescun fedeillement é fermement crerrat ⁝ salf estre ne porrat ·	_	_

When considered collectively, the variants recorded in these three versions reveal a particularly intricate pattern of textual transmission. The Winchester Psalter and the Cambridge Clare College manuscript are closely associated through a number of shared lexical choices, forms from which the Paris manuscripts appear to diverge. At the same time, Cambridge aligns with the two manuscripts of Paris in several significant theological formulations, whereas the Winchester Psalter stands entirely apart with its distinctive reading *ueire creance*. Yet Cambridge also introduces a number of readings peculiar to itself, such as the translation choice *honoruns* for *veneremur*. Vitellius, unfortunately, offers no significant textual variants relevant to the present analysis and must therefore be excluded from this stage of the comparison.

The variation points not to a linear or chronological development of the Anglo-Norman vocabulary, but rather to a range of contemporaneous lexical options available within the scribal tradition. Consider, for instance, the variation between *deu* and *damnedeu*. If treated in isolation, this opposition leads into a methodological impasse, since there is no secure basis on which to prefer one reading over the other. The Winchester Psalter appears to favour *damnedeu*, whereas the two Paris manuscripts consistently attest *deu*, while Cambridge initially reads *deu* before shifting, in two subsequent occurrences, to *damnedeu*. Yet neither form can be considered inherently original on purely linguistic grounds. *Deu* may represent a more neutral theonym, aligned with Latin *deus*, whereas *damnedeu* reflects a devotional amplification that could equally well have been present already in the initial translation.

By far the most interesting phrase is *catholicam fidem*: the Cambridge and Paris witnesses converge in their rendering *la cummune fei*(*t*), a formulation that foregrounds the universal dimension of the faith, whereas the Winchester Psalter prefers a more explicitly theological paraphrase, emphasising the notion of true belief. Likewise, for *opus est ut*, Winchester employs the verbal expression *li est mestier que*, while Cambridge and the two manuscripts of Paris prefer constructions built around *besuins / busuin*

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS n. acq. lat. 1670		Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 768		
Perfectus deus perfectus homo ⁝ ex anima rationali *et* humana carne subsistens ·	Parfiz *est* deus parfiz uem de anme raisunel · *et* humaine char parmanant ·	_	_	32
Equalis patri secundum diuinitatem ⁝ minor patre se- [fol. 181r]cundum humanitatem ·	Vel al pere sulunc la diuinite · mendre del pere [fol. 181r] sulunc la úmainete ·	_	_	33
Qui licet deus sit *et* homo ⁝ non duo tamen sed unus est *christus* ·	Liquel ia seit co q*ue* deu seit *et* úem · nequedent ne sunt deus · meis uns crist ·	_	_	34
Vnus autem non conuersione diuinitatis in carnem ⁝ sed assumptione humanitatis in deum ·	Uns acertes nient par le trestornement de la diuinite en char · meis par le parnement del umainete en deu ·	_	_	35
Unus omnino non confusione substantie ⁝ sed unitate persone ·	Vns de tut nest mie par le cunfusiun de substance · mais par la unite de parsone ·	_	_	36
Nam sicut anima rationalis *et* caro unus est homo ⁝ ita deus *et* homo unus est *christus* ·	Kar sicume anme raisunel *et* char *est* uns ́vem · issi deus *et* uem *est* uns crist ·	_	_	37
Qui passus est pro salute nostra ⁝ descendit ad inferos tertia die resurrexit a mortuis ·	Cil ki suffert *est* pur le nostre salu · descendit as enfers · al tierz iur releua de mort ·	_	_	38
Ascendit ad celos sedet ad dexteram dei patris omnipotentis ⁝ inde uenturus iudicare uiuos *et* mortuo\s/ ·	Munta es ciels siet a la destre deu del pere trestut puissant · diluec *est* auenir iugier uifs *et* morz ·	_	_	39
Ad cuius aduentum omnes homines resurgere habent cum corporibus suis ⁝ *et* redituri sunt de factis propriis rationem ·	A lauenement del quel tuz ummes releuerunt od lur cors · et rendrunt de lur propres faiz raisun ·	_	_	40
[fol. 181v] Et qui bona egerunt ibunt in uitam eternam ⁝ qui uero mala in ignem eternum ·	E ki bien firent irrunt en la pardurable uie · li quel ueirement el pardurable fu ·	_	_	41
Hec est fides catholica quam nisiquisque fideliter firmiterque crediderit ⁝ saluus esse non poterit ·	Iceste *est* la cummune fei · la quele si chascun feeilment · *et* fermement ne crerra · salf estre ne purra ·	_	_	42

est. However, these agreements are not, in themselves, sufficient to establish Cambridge and the two Paris manuscripts as a distinct textual subgroup.

A particularly revealing divergence occurs in the rendering of *veneremur*. Whereas Winchester and both Paris texts retain the adoration (*aurum*), Cambridge adopts the distinct reading *honoruns*, thereby shifting the emphasis from worship to honour. This raises the problem of innovation and retention: which manuscript reflects the original state of the text, and which departs from it?

The transmission of core doctrinal vocabulary is characterised by remarkable lexical stability across all three witnesses. It is inconceivable that these manuscripts preserve two distinct translations. Instead, they all descend from a single original translation, albeit through relatively independent branches of transmission rather than a simple stemmatic sequence. The textual evidence indicates that scribes exercised a limited but perceptible intervention, adapting individual translational choices while preserving the overall integrity of the source material.

Comparison appears to favour Paris and Cambridge later in the text, particularly in the section where the final portion of the Athanasian Symbol is absent from the Cambridge witness. In this section, *necessarium* is rendered as *busui(g)nable chose* in both Paris and the Winchester Psalter, suggesting that this could be the primary translation choice and that Winchester represents a rewriting.

With this in mind, other features become immediately apparent. The word order of the first proposition likewise supports this hypothesis, with *salf estre* functioning as a direct calque on the Latin structure, whereas the Winchester Psalter reorders the sequence as *estre salf* in accordance with vernacular syntactic fluency.

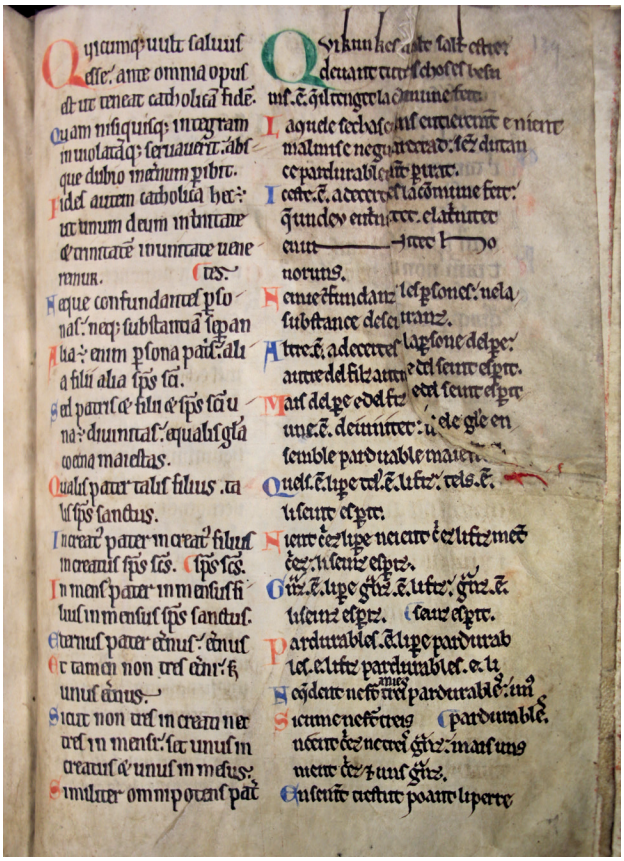
It is therefore unsurprising that most of the alterations in the Winchester Psalter are concentrated at the beginning of the Athanasian Symbol. As the work of the scribe progresses, his revisions disrupt the alignment of the two columns, before eventually giving way to an effort to restore this textual alignment. At this stage, the focus shifts from modifying the vernacular text itself to re-establish-

ing correspondence with the Latin source. This may explain why, upon reaching the final proposition of the Symbol, the scribe abandons his early intervention and simply reproduces the reading found in his antigraph, writing *commune fei* as in Paris MS n.acq.lat. 1670, whereas in the opening proposition he had more pedantically substituted *ueire creance*. This indicates that the Paris and Cambridge versions are closest to the original, while the text of the Winchester Psalter should be regarded as a form of diorthosis.

The only complication is that both Cambridge and the two Paris manuscripts introduce their own minor innovations. For instance, *aurum*, used to translate *veneremur* in Winchester and Paris, appears as *honoruns* in Cambridge, where we also encounter a scribal error such as *unus* for *uns*, the insertion of a *neent* absent from Paris and Winchester, and the inversion *est sul*. Nevertheless, when the translation is examined further, it becomes clear that the original translation choice was *aurer*, as is suggested by forms such as *seit aure* in Paris MS n.acq. lat. 1670 and even *a enurer* in Winchester, where Paris MS lat. 768 reads *a onorer*. The absence of the corresponding passage in Cambridge is regrettable, since it might have shown whether this witness also preserved or modified the same *honurer* innovation a second time.

The two Paris manuscripts, by contrast, appear to diverge through their use of *nul* in place of *alcun*, a form

Latin text and translation of the Athanasian Symbol in Cambridge, Clare College, Forbes Mellon Library, MS 6, fol. 139r-v.
Photo: Vladimir Agrigoroaei, 2025. By permission of the Master and Fellows of Clare College Cambridge.



otherwise attested in both Cambridge and the Winchester Psalter. These are minor variants and are readily explicable within the framework of a such a textual tradition. For all that it is worth, comparable errors and variations are also attested in Winchester. There is little to be gained from analysing a scribal error such as *ternitet* (Winchester) for *trinite*(*t*) (Cambridge and Paris), nor from the additional *e del pere* in Winchester, which is clearly attributable to a eye-skip of the *saut du même au même* type.

I am not attempting to compile a comprehensive catalogue of these errors. The crucial point, however, is that the overall pattern of correspondences tends to place Cambridge closer to the two Paris manuscripts than to Winchester, while both Cambridge and the Paris witnesses appear to preserve readings that are generally closer to the original source.

The strongest evidence for this view occurs at the end of the Athanasian Symbol, in a passage where Cambridge is again lacunary. For *resurgere* ("rise again"), the Winchester Psalter opts for "stand straight up" (*al terz* [*ior*] *se drecat de mort*), whereas Paris MS n.acq.lat. 1670 employs the more standard verb "rise" (*al tierz iur releua de mort*). The same opposition recurs two propositions below: the Winchester Psalter again reads *tuz humes esdrecerunt od lur cors* for Latin *omnes homines resurgere habent cum corporibus suis*, while Paris consistently has *tuz ummes releuerunt od lur cors*. The preference for *relever* as the more natural translation is supported by our previous work on this lexical and translational pattern.

The most faithful translations consistently favour this solution, from our Anglo-Norman Psalters through to the First French Commentary on the Psalms, where it functions as a form of natural, dynamic equivalence embedded in the vernacular. By contrast, etymologising calques based on the Latin—attested even in a macaronic Creed recorded in Constantinople after the Fourth Crusade—tend to prefer the Latinism *resusciter* or related verbal forms (cf. Agrigoroaei, Kangas, Chapel 2023).

These two tendencies may be understood as the only oscillating poles across the textual tradition, including the so-called epic prayers in the Old French *chansons de geste*. Against this background, the solution adopted in the Winchester Psalter appears anomalous and may therefore be characterised as a rather pedantic rephrasing strategy.

In conclusion, the evidence suggests the existence of a single underlying Old French translation of the Athanasian Symbol, transmitted through partially independent but interacting branches. The four witnesses analysed here do not represent distinct translations, but rather different degrees and modes of scribal intervention within a shared textual tradition. The two manuscripts of Paris and the variant of Cambridge generally preserve readings closest to the original translational stratum, notwithstanding occasional local innovations, while Winchester is characterised by a more systematic tendency towards rephrasing, reorganisation, and stylistic modification.

However, this does not mean that the preferred versions are invariably superior. Paris MS lat. 768, for instance, occasionally aligns with Winchester and Cambridge against Paris MS n. acq. lat. 1670. One such case is the reading *trestut-*

omps filius omps ips scs.

Et tamen non tres omnipotentes: sed unus omnipotens.

Ita ds pater ds filius: ds ips sanctus.

Et tamen non tres dii sed unus deus.

Ita dns pater dns filius: dominus spiritus sanctus.

Et tam non tres dni: sed unus.

Quia sicut singillatim unamquamque psonam deum aut dominum confiteri xpiana veritate cogimur: ita tres deos aut dominos dicere catholica religione prohibemur.

Pater a nullo: factus: nec creatus nec genitus.

Filius a patre solo: non factus: nec creatus sed genitus.

Ps scs a patre filio non factus: nec creatus nec genitus sed procedens.

Unus ergo pater non tres patres: unus filius non tres filii unus ips scs non tres spiritus sancti.

Et in hac trinitate nichil prius aut posterius ni-

creatur poant dici: creatur poant dici

Et negidem nigidem ne fr tres esp.

creatur poant: mais unus creatur pu

Ita fr tres ne fr pe ds Tant. ne fr: ds ne fr. u sem esp.

Et negidem uecem ne fr tres ds: mais uns deus.

Ita fr. ne fr pe u fre pe u fre fr: u fre sem esp. Mais uns. ne fr.

Et negidem necem ne fr tres seignrs:

Car sicume sengleme chascune ppe sone dame dey: une seignr regehir: par xpiene uerite il me fr debuem: ne fr tant tres dames ds. ne tres seignrs dire par commune e——— e ligum sumes deuec.

Ne pe de alcun nest fait: ne creed ne engendrez.

Ne fr del pe ne fr sul: necem creer ne engendrer.

Ne sem esp del pe ne del fr necem fait: ne mez ne engendrez mais a uam em sus.

Dun kel ne fr ne pe necem tres pes: uns fr necem tres fr uns sem esp: necem tres sem esp ptz.

Ne este fr autre mul chose p mes u deram nule chose grendre

poanz, preserved by Winchester, Cambridge, and Paris MS lat. 768, whereas Paris MS n. acq. lat. 1670 has *trespoant*. Another instance is the translation of *confundentes* as *confundanz*, where Paris MS lat. 768 again agrees with Winchester and Cambridge, while Paris MS n. acq. lat. 1670 reads *ensemble meller*. A third example is the inclusion of *chascuns* and *nostre* in propositions 19 and 29. Furthermore, Paris MS lat. 768 shares with Winchester certain orthographic features, such as the preservation of etymological dentals in word-final position, and lexical forms such as *adecertes*. These similarities, however, are of limited value for establishing textual relationships. More significant is the use of an accented **ú** in Paris MS lat. 768, corresponding to the accented **ý** found in Paris MS n. acq. lat. 1670, a feature that suggests a particularly close connection between the two Paris manuscripts. On balance, these observations lead me to regard Cambridge and Paris MS lat. 768 as generally closer to the source text.

This assessment must nevertheless be tempered, since Paris MS lat. 768 also exhibits a number of innovations of its own, including the apparent scribal errors *fumes* (proposition 19), *parmanables* (proposition 26), and the specific form *idunc* at the beginning of proposition 30. Furthermore, both Cambridge and Paris MS lat. 768 are fragmentary witnesses, lacking a substantial portion of their ending, and thus cannot be used to reconstruct in full the coda appended to the second Canticle of Moses in the Psalter. All that can be stated with confidence is that this coda must already have been present in the common ancestor of our four surviving witnesses.

This pattern suggests that the Winchester Psalter represents a secondary diorthosis, while later manuscripts such as Cambridge and Paris stand closer to the original source. At the same time, it offers a possible framework for dating the innovation within the tradition: the translation of the Athanasian Symbol was likely produced and integrated into the Douce version within a bilingual manuscript tradition. It is therefore a bilingual manuscript, rather than Douce MS 320 itself, that most plausibly served as the antigraph for the Winchester Psalter, where the Athanasian Symbol was transmitted from yet another source.

When the later stages of the tradition are examined, several points of interest emerge. The version preserved in MS Additional 44949 (fol. 295r) appears to have undergone a process of rewriting, similar to that already noted in its translation of the Psalms. The scribe therefore maintained a consistent approach throughout the manuscript, suggesting that the rewriting may have been undertaken specifically within the context of this codex rather than inherited from an earlier stage of transmission:

Quicumque uult salvus esse ante omnia opus est ut teneat catholicam fidem ·

Qicumqes volt **estre saufs mestier e**st deuaunt totes choses qil tiegne la **foi catholike** ·

Quam nisi quisque integram inuiolatamque ser[fol. 295v]uauerit absque dubio in eternum peribit

La quele si chescun nel auera garde entiere *et* nient blemye ⁝ sauntz doute il perira perdurablement ·

Fides autem catholica hec est ut unum deum in trinitate *et* trinitatem in unitate ueneremur ·

Adecertes la foi catholike est ceo que nous honuroms vn deu en trinitee *et* la trinitee en unitee ·

Neque confundentes personas neque substantiam separantes ·

Ne mye confoundauntz les persones ⁝ ne disseuerauntz la substaunce ·

Alia enim est persona patris alia filii, alia spiritus sancti ·

Car altre persone est del père altre del filz altre del seint espirit ·

Set patris *et* filii *et* spiritus sancti una est diuinita\s/ equalis gloria coeterna maiestas ·

Mais owele glorie *et* une diuinite est del pere *et* del filz *et* del seint esperit maieste ensemble pardurable ·

However, the reading *honuroms* for *veneremur* suggests that this version is related to the variant preserved in Cambridge, Clare College. The same conclusion is supported by the reading *Ne mye confoundauntz*, which likewise aligns it with that branch of the tradition. Interestingly, these two features occur in exactly the same form in another manuscript containing heavily rewritten texts, although one that is unrelated to MS Additional 49949: MS Harley 273.

The complete text of this other version of the Athanasian Symbol is transcribed here not because it is essential to the present analysis, but because the extent and nature of its modifications deserve a separate study, to be undertaken in future publications:

[fol. 57ra] ...Quecumqe velt **sauf estre** ⁝ deuant toteschoses **meister est qe** il tienge la **comune fei** ·
La quele si checune entiere e nent uiole ne auera garde ⁝ sanz doute en permainablete perira ·
Iceste est acertes la comune fei ⁝ qe un deu en trinite . *et* trinite en unitee **honororoms** ·
Nemie confundanz les persones ne la substance deceuerans ·
Car autre est la persone du piere ⁝ autre du fiz ⁝ autre du seint espirit ·
Mes du piere e du fiz et du seint espirit une est diuinete ouele gloire ensemble permainable maieste ·
Quel est le pere ⁝ tel le fiz ⁝ tel le seint espirit ·
Nient forme le piere nent forme le fiz ⁝ nient forme le seint espirit ·
Grant est le pere grant le fis ⁝ grant le seint espirit ·
Perdurable pere perdurable fiz ⁝ perdurable seint espirit ·
E neqedent ne mie treis perdurable\s/ mes un perdurable ·
Sicum ne sunt treis nent formes ⁝ ne treis grans mes vn nent forme *et* vn grant ·
Ensement tot puissant piere tot pussant fiz ⁝ tot pussant seint espirit ·
E neqedent ne sont mie trais tot pussanz mes vn tot pussant ·
[fol. 57rb] [e]nsi deuz est piere deu est fiz deu est seint espirit ·
E neqedent ne sont mie treis deus mes un deu ·
Ensi est sire le piere · sire le fiz sire le seint espirit ·
E neqedent ne sont treis sires ⁝ mes vn sire ·
Car sicum senglement chescune persone deu *et* seignor regeier par cristiene uerite sumes custreint ⁝ ensi treis deuz ou seignors dire par comune religion sumes defenduz ·
Le piere de nul est fet ⁝ ne fourme ne engendre ·
Le fiz de soul piere est ⁝ nient fet ne forme mes engendre ·
Le seint espirit du piere *et* du fiz nent fet ne forme ne engendre mes auant issaunt ·
Donc est vn pere nent treis peres vn fiz nent trois fiz vn

seint espirit nient treis seinz espiriz ·
En iceste t*ri*nite nule chose p*ri*mes ou drainz nule chose g*re*ndre ou meindre mes totes t*re*is p*er*sones ensemble p*er*durable a soi sount *et* ensemble ouels ·
Ense qe p*ar* totes choses sicome ia deuant dit est ⁝ qe la vnite en t*ri*nite *et* la trinite en unite seit a honorer ·
Qe veut donc sauf estre ⁝ auxi de la trinite sente
Mes bosoignable chose a la p*er*durable saunt qe acertes la incarnacion de n*ost*re seignor iesu crist lealment creit ·
[fol. 57va] Est donk dreite fei qe n*us* creums *et* regeisoms qe n*oste*r seignor ih*es*u crist le fiz deu deuz *et* home est ·
Deu est de la substance de piere ⁝ deuant les siecles engendre *et* honie est de la substance de mere en siecle neez ·
Parfit deu p*ar*fit home de alme renable *et* humene char reposaunt ·
Ouel au pere solu*m* la diuinite meindre du piere solu*m* la humanite ·
Lequel ia seit ceo qe deuz seit *et* home ⁝ neqedent ne sont mie deuz mes un est crist ·
Un ac*er*tes nient p*ar con*u*er*tion de la diuinite en char mes p*ar* la assumption de la humanite en deu ·
Un ac*er*tes nent p*ar con*fusion de substa*n*ce ⁝ mes p*ar* la vnite du p*er*sone ·
Car sicu*m* la alme renable *et* la char est vn home ⁝ ensi deu *et* home est un crist ·
Qui suffri passion pur n*ost*re sante descendit as enfernes de terce iour leua de mort ·
Monta a cels siet a la destre deus un piere tit pussaunt ⁝ deleoc est auener iuger uifs *et* mors ·
A le auenemen*t* de kit oz homes releueront oue lur cors ⁝ *et* sont a rendre de lur p*ro*pre fetes resounz ·
E ki biens firent irront en la vie p*er*durable ⁝ ki ac*er*tes mals en feu p*er*durable ·
Icestre est la comune foi laquele [fol. 57vb] si checune loiaument *et* fermemen*t* ne crerra ⁝ sauf estre ne porra ·

There are significant lexical and semantic differences between the two texts throughout. Many of these, such as *formé* for *créé*, *violé* for *malmise*, or *custreint* for *debutet*, indicate a process of rewriting in Harley 273. This rewriting, however, does not appear to have been carried out from the version preserved in Cambridge, Clare College, but rather from a source underlying both witnesses.

A particularly revealing case concerns propositions 19 and 20: MS Harley 273 preserves them as two separate propositions, whereas Cambridge, Clare College combines them into a single sentence and introduces additional modifications. Although a direct confrontation with the Latin cannot be entirely excluded for MS Harley 273 (especially given cases such as the absence of the auxiliary verb 'to be' in propositions 7 and 10, where the older vernacular versions preserve it but the Latin does not) the broader evidence points in another direction. The Ludlow scribe does not appear to have systematically consulted the Gallicanum when copying the vernacular Psalm translation. It is therefore unlikely that he would have done so for the Athanasian Symbol. A more plausible explanation is that MSS Harley 273 and Cambridge, Clare College derive from a common vernacular source, with MS Harley 273 representing a later stage of rewriting and adaptation.

These conclusions must nevertheless remain tentative, since they are based on a limited number of observations and on a relatively small portion of the textual evidence. The available material is insufficient to justify the reconstruction of a stemma, and a dedicated study would be required to clarify the relationships between these witnesses in a more comprehensive manner.

Moving forward, two other late Anglo-Norman versions of the Athanasian Symbol appear to derive from, or at least to be closely related to, the text preserved in the Winchester Psalter. Consider, for example, the version preserved in MS Harley 1770 (fol. 155vb). Only the beginning of the vernacular text is transcribed here:

Kikunkes uelt **estre sauf** ⁝ deuant totes choses **li est mestier** ke il tienge **ueire creance** ·
La quele si chascuns ne la garderat entiere e uient uiolee ⁝ sanz dotance perira pardurablement ·
La ueire creance a certes est ceste ⁝ qe nus **enurum** un deu en trinite eternite en unite ·
Ne descuranz confundanz p*er*sones ⁝ ne substance ·
[fol. 156rb] Une est uerement la p*er*sone del pere altre del fiz altre del saint espirit ·
Mes del pere e del fiz e del saint esp*er*it est une deite egal glorie ensemble durable maieste ·

An identical version can be found in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. gall. 16 (fol. 122r):

Kjunkes uelt **estre salfs** ⁝ deuant totes choses **li est mestier** que il tienge **ueire creance** ·
Laquele si chascuns ne la garderat entiere e nient uiolee ⁝ sanz dotance perirat pardurablement ·
La ueire creance acertes est ceste ⁝ que nus **enurum** un deu en trinite · et*er*nite en unite ·
De deseuranz confundanz p*er*sones ⁝ ne substance ·
Une est ueireme*n*t la p*er*sone del pere ⁝ altre del filz · altre del sai*n*t esp*er*it ·
[-]ais del pere e del filz e del saint esperit est une deite ⁝ egal glorie · ensemble durable maieste ·

It is not merely the readings highlighted in bold that are significant. Together, they point towards a textual affiliation with the Winchester Psalter. Moreover, at least one of them, *enurum* for *aurum*, suggests that this relationship was mediated through an intermediate witness, now lost, in which the scribal error had already occurred. There is also the question of the two present participles in proposition 4, which have been rearranged in a highly unusual manner and moved to the beginning of the sentence. This peculiar syntactic alteration is unlikely to be accidental and further suggests dependence on the same intermediate witness through which the other distinctive readings were transmitted. An even more striking shared error occurs in proposition 3, where 'eternity' is written in place of 'trinity'. Such a substitution can hardly be explained independently and constitutes strong evidence that both texts derive from a common intermediary in which the error had already been introduced.

With these considerations in mind, let us now turn to the version preserved in the Vitellius Fragments. It is certainly far too incomplete to allow a sentence-by-sentence comparison, but it nevertheless preserves some interesting lexical readings. The microfilm scan is of insufficient quality to allow the identification of most characters, as the greyscale image renders the faint traces of the text almost impossible to discern. However, an in situ examination of the fragment, combined with the use of UV light,

revealed faint traces of a reading *…e fei*, which is most probably part of a *comune feie* reading. This would therefore exclude any connection with the Winchester Psalter.

A particularly unusual reading occurs in proposition 29, where the beginning of the line clearly preserves a form of *mais necessaire est*, a formulation that differs significantly from the other witnesses, although nothing further can be securely reconstructed from the fragmentary text. The presence of the verb 'to be' in proposition 7, as in all twelfth-century versions, further confirms that the text of MS Harley 273 represents a rewriting by the scribe rather than a direct transmission from an older vernacular antigraph. Another noteworthy feature is the translation of *omnipotens* as *tutpoanz*, rather than *trestut poanz*, the form found in the other twelfth-century witnesses.

The version preserved in the Vitellius Fragments therefore appears to stand apart from the other witnesses. It is nevertheless impossible to determine whether its position within the tradition is comparable to that of the Winchester Psalter, representing a further development of the textual tradition, or whether it is instead closer to the apograph of MS Douce 320 that first introduced the Athanasian Symbol and perhaps other additional material, such as the remaining canticles and prayers.

Against this background, other features must be examined that further confirm the position of the Winchester Psalter as a distant development within the tradition, most notably the vernacular concluding prayers, which were discussed in a recent publication. The Vitellius fragments also preserve a series of prayers, as do MS Harley 273 and several other late witnesses. This question will be explored in the following analysis, where these texts are transcribed and compared. The situation is, however, more complex than it may initially appear, particularly because of the different sets of prayers transmitted in the Vitellius fragments.

The Athanasian Symbol in the Vitellius fragments (London, British Library, MS Cotton Vitellius E.ix)

1 [fol. 28r] [---]/[---]
[---]/[---]e fei[e ---]

2 [--- serua]uer[it ---]/[---]
[--- g]uar[---]/[---]t ·

3 [---]
[---]

4 [--- per]sonas ⁝ ne[q*ue*] substantia*m* separante[s ·]
[---] les p*er*s[ones] ⁝ ne la substance deseu[ra---]

5 [---]ia patris ⁝ alia filii · alia spiritus s*ancti* ·
[---]e del pere ⁝ altre del fiz · altre del [---]/[---]

6 [---] una est diuinitas ⁝ equalis glo[---]/[---]
[---]del seint esperit une est diu[---]/[---] glorie en[--- ---] able maiestet[-]

7 [---]alis filius ⁝ talis spiritus sanctus ·
[---]e tels est li filz · tel est li seint espiriz[-]

8 [---] pater ⁝ increat*us* filius ⁝ increat*us* sp*iritus* san[---]
[---] nient criez li fiz · nient criez li sei[---]

9 [---]ater · inmensus fili*us* · inmensus spi[---]
[---] granz li filz · granz li seinz esp[---]

10 [--- etern]us filius · e[ternus s---]
[---]

11 [fol. 28v] [Et t]ame[n ---]
[---]/[---]

12 [S]icu[t ---]/[---]crea[---]
[S]icu[m---]/[---]

13 [S]imil[iter ---]/potens sp[ir---]
[E]nsement tuit p[o]an[z ---]/[po]anz li seint espiri[z ·]

14 [E]t tamen n*on* tres omnip[oten]tes sed u[---]
[E]t nequedent nient treis tutpoanz ⁝ ma[---]

15 [I]ta deus pater · d*eus* filius · deus spiritus s[---]
[E] issifaiterement d*eus* li pere · deus [li] pere ⁝ [---]/ li s[eint] espirit [-]

16 [E]t tamen non tres dii [-] sed unus [---]
[E]t nequedent nient treis d[---]

17 [It]a d*omin*us pater d*omin*us filius d*omin*us spiritus [---]
E issifaiterement sire li pere ⁝ sire li [---] sir[---]

18 [Et t]amen n*on* tres d*omi*ni ⁝ sed unus est domi[---]
[Et n]equedent nient tres seignurs ⁝ mais un[---]

19 [--- si]cut singillatim una*m*qua*mque* p*er*son[am ---] / [---]um confiteri ⁝ *christ*iana u[---]ate [---]
[---]e senglement chescune p*er*sone[---]/[---] cristiene veritet s[um]es deb[---]

20 [fol. 29r] [---]
[---] deueiet .

[---]ec [---] 21
[---]

[---]d geni[---] 22
[---] mais e[---]/[---]

[---]reat[---]/[---] 23
[---]/[---]

[---]nus filius no[---]/[---]res spiritus sa[---] 24
[---] uns fiz nient [---]/[---]nz espiriz ·

[---] posterius ⁝ ni[---]/[---] 25
[---] a[---]/[---]

[---]ales 26
[---]/[---]

[---]/[---]itas [---]/[---]a sit [-] 27
[---]a[---]/[---]

[fol. 29v] [---] / [---] 28
[---] / [---]

[---nec]essarium [---] / [---] 29
[---]is nece[---] / [---]

[---] ergo [---]/[---] 30
[---] / [---] nostre [---]

[D*eu*]s est ex su[---]/[--- ho]mo ex substan[---] 31
[Deu]s est de la subst[---]/[---] *et* huem est de la [---]

[---]tus deus p*er*f[---]/[---]mana car[---] 32
[Par]fit d*eus* pa[---]/[---]ne char[---]

[Equ]alis patr[---]/[---]ndum h[---] 33
[---]l pere s[---]/[---]unc hum[---]

[---l]icet d*eus* [---] 34
[---]

[---]/[---] 35
[---]/[---]

[fol. 30r] [---]/[---] 36
[---]/[---]

[---] ho[---]/[---] 37
[---] est uns [---]/[---]

[---]escend[---]d infer[---]/[---]uis · 38
[---] nostre salut descend [---]/[---]euat [---]

[---]dex[---]am dei patris [---]/[---] *est* iudicare uiuos *et* m/[---] 39
[---]deu pere tut [p]oa[---]/[---]z ·

[---]resurgere h[---]/[---] de fac[---]/[---] 40
[---]er[---]/[---]/[---]

[---]/[---] 41
[---]/[---]

[---]nisiquisq*ue* fi[---]/[---]us esse non 42
[---]/[---]

The transmission and incorporation of vernacular prayers in the Winchester Psalter, the Vitellius fragments, and later medieval witnesses (VA)

It has already been argued that the vernacular texts of the Winchester Psalter, including its four concluding prayers, function as a form of casing or frame surrounding the Latin texts of the manuscript. It is now necessary to examine these texts themselves in greater detail.

The linguistic analysis of Agrigoroaei 2023c reveals that these four final vernacular translations contain distinct textual errors and omissions that do not align with the translation strategy of the Douce text which is copied in this manuscript. This finding implies that the scribe composed these translations of his own accord.

To be more precise, the French prayers do not look like they were copied from a separate vernacular source. The scribe may simply have translated them directly from the Latin. A close examination of the process reveals several indications of such an activity. In particular, the phrase *ad remedium anime mee* was not translated at the appropriate place. When the scribe inserted *me profite* between *a salu* and *a sualge*, we appear to witness the act of translation as it occurred: the scribe was looking at the Latin text, searching not only for equivalent French words but also for an appropriate syntactic structure. In attempting to rearrange the elements of the sentence, he omitted certain words and translated them only afterwards.

There is also the issue of the scribe's omissions. In the Latin text, he omitted the "stone" of the first prayer, although it is preserved in the French translation

This process was further complicated by the practical concerns of layout. The final word, *durablement*, was written over two lines and stretched in order to fill, as far as possible, a blank space that disturbed the symmetry of the two columns, yet one line was still missing. These various difficulties seem to have affected the scribe's approach, as he immediately abandoned the attempt to adapt the Latin syntax fully to French. From that point onwards, he proceeded with a largely word-for-word rendering up to *supplico ergo peccator*, a phrase at which he once again allowed himself to return to the syntax of the vernacular.

The evidence therefore suggests that the translation of the four prayers was produced by the scribe himself and that the vernacular text, probably serving a decorative as well as a devotional function, was intended to provide a bilingual conclusion to a manuscript for which bilingualism constituted a defining feature. It is therefore highly unlikely that the translations of these prayers derive from the antigraph that also contained the Athanasian Creed. Their absence from the Paris and Cambridge, Clare College manuscripts further strengthens this conclusion.

The four bilingual prayers in the Winchester Psalter (London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero C.IV)

ORATIO AD PETENDAS LACRIMAS ·
Omnipotens mitissime deus qui sitienti populo fontem uiuentis aque [de petra] produxisti ⁝ educ de cordis nostri duritia compunctionis lacrimas · ut peccata nostra plangere ualeamus remissionemq*ue* de miserante consequi mereamur ⁝ P*er* ·

Oreisun a preier lermes ·
Devs tuz poanz ki es mult sues ki mesis fors al pople seelant de la pierre fontaine de uif ewe · met fors de la durece de nostre cuer lermes de compunctiun ki ne poissiem pleindre noz pecchiez · e ke nus deseruiem consiure remissiun tei merciant · P*er*.

ORATIO.
Omniu*m* sanctor*um* tuo*rum* intercessionib*us* quesumus d*omi*ne gr*ati*a tua nos protegat · *et christi*anis omnibus uiuentib*us* atq*ue* defunctis misericordiam tuam ubiq*ue* pretende · ut uiuentes ab omnib*us* impugnationib*us* defensi tua opitulatione saluentur · *et* defuncti remissionem mereant*ur* accipere delictoru*m* · P*er* ·

Sire nus te preium par les depriemenz de tuz tes sainz coure nus la tue grace · e dune ta misericorde a tuz les crestiens ki sunt uif e ki sunt feni en tuz lius · ke li uiuant defendu de tuz mais · seient salue par la tue adiutorie · e icil ki mort sunt deseruent a receivre remissiun de lur pecchiez ·

ORATIO POST PSALTERIV*m*.
Om*nipoten*s misericors deus clementiam tuam suppliciter deprecor ut me famulu*m* tuum tibi fideliter seruire concedas · *et* perseuerantiam bonam · *et* felicem consummationem michi largiaris · *et* hoc psalterium quod in conspectu tuo decantaui · ad salutem · *et* ad remedium anime mee · *et* omniu*m* amicorum meorum proficiat in sempiternu*m* · P*er* ·

Oreisun apres le saltier
Trestuz poanz e merciables deus ieo depri supplement ta piete ke tu otreies mei le tuen serf que ieo te poisse fedeilment seruir · e me dunges bone parseuerance e beneuree consummatiun · e icest saltier que ieo ai cante en tun esguart a salu me profite a sualgete de manme e de tuz mes amis durablement ·

ORatio.
Liberator animaru*m* mundi redemptor iesu christe domine de*us* eterne · rex immortalis ⁝ supplico ergo peccator p*er* immensam clementiam tuam · *et* per magnam misericordiam tuam · *et* p*er* modulationem psalmoru*m* quam ego indignus peccator decantaui · libera animam meam *et* animas famulorum tuo*rum* et famularu*m* [fol. 142v] tuarum de peccato · Abstolle corda nostra de omnib*us* prauis *et* p*er*fidis cogitationib*us* · Libera domine animas nostras *et* corpora nostra de seruitute peccati · Repelle a nobis concupiscentias carnales · Libera nos de omni impedimento sathane · *et* ministrorum eius uisibiliu*m* *et* inuisibilium <*et* inuisibilium> *et* infidelium tuorum qui querunt impedire animas nostras · p*er* dom*inu*m ·

Deliureres des anmes del munt rachateres iesu crist sire deus durables · reis non mortel · ieo peccheur pri par la tue grande pietet · e par la tue grant misericorde. e par la melodie des salmes · que ieo nun digne peccheur ai chanted deliure manme e les anmes de tes sers e de tes an servantes [fol. 142v] de pecchie tol noz cuers de tutes felunesses e puruerses cogitatiuns deliure sire noz anmes e noz cors del seruise de pecchie · Debute sire de nus cuueitises charnals deliure nus de tut lenpechement del diable e de ses menistres desueiables e des nunueables e des nunfedeilz ki querrent en peechier noz anmes ·

There is, however, a particularly intriguing feature. In the first prayer, *omnipotens* is translated as *tuz poanz*, an unusual formula that we have already encountered in the Athanasian Symbol of the Vitellius Fragments, but not in the version preserved in the Winchester Psalter. Since the Vitellius fragments also transmit a series of prayers, it is therefore appropriate to turn our attention to them at this point. Nevertheless, the first observation to emerge from a comparison of these materials is that none of the prayers transmitted in the Vitellius fragments corresponds to the four prayers preserved in the Winchester Psalter. Moreover, since these prayers occupy different positions

The Old French prayers in the Vitellius fragments (London, British Library, MS Cotton Vitellius E.ix)

[fol. 31r] [--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
pranez discretium [---]ger [--- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
Dune mei ueillant sens *et* iuintise [--- --- --- --- ---]
en tuz mes faiz *et* dune ki ieo seie aprestiz [--- ---]
tes oilz a tut [---] ke [---]isse grace deuz[--- --- ---]
luinz fai de [---] sp[--- ---]il · *et* de u[--- --- --- ---]
glorie de en[---] de ha[---] de tristes[--- --- --- ---]
de auarice · de [-] glutuni[--- --- ---]e[--- --- --- ---]
de desperatiun · de [---]e · se[---]nes[--- --- --- ---]
iurie · *et* dune mei [---] ka[--- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
et fud *et* esperance · a te[---]es[--- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
de curage · obedience · uolent[---]ce[--- --- --- --- --- ---]
et dereintet · contemnera[--- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
tres uertuz par les queles ieo[--- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
telte de la tue amur · *et* dune[--- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
ot les humles · *et* ot les di[--- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
ot les org[---] ot les [--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
das sire [--- ---] de[--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
tiuitet [--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
creiere [--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
cumandemenz [ke --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
[--] paruienge le[-] ua[--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
de asuagant pe m[--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
a[-]rum li [--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
tu aimes · *et* [--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
es amet [--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
a [t]ei sul · kar tu [--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]

[fol. 34r] [--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
[--- --- ---] pur rien [--]s esperer · q[--- --- --- --- ---]
prest del parduner par ceo requier [--- --- --- --- ---]
niere deu sante[--- ---] · Dulce dame [--- --- --- --- ---]
dez a uostre [--- --- ---q]uerez · Que il [--- --- --- ---]
ma uie amende[- e] lui amer e henurer [--- --- --- ---]
ci deseruir · que ieo puisse la par uenir [--- --- --- ---]
bien senz m[-]l[--- --- --- ---] e tuz [--- --- --- --- --- ---]
E a tuz ceals pu[--- --- --- ---] par [--- --- --- --- --- ---]
merci · Que nus [--- --- ---] od sun [--- --- --- --- --- ---]
senz fin loer · Sire iesu duilz [--- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
de uostre mere · D[--]nus chait[--- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
sumes enseueli · D[--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
nus deliurez · [--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
eals nus [--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
a sa dulce m[--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
sance pard[--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
D[--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
[--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---] bien a [--- ---]
[--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---] Ve [--- --- ---]
[--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---] substan[--- ---]
ce · D*eu*s sire pere · d*eu*s sire f[iz --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
riz · adiue mei que ieo ne[--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
taille · Ceo deiuent cr[-]re[--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
lur lei · que pere sen[--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
[n]eient · De ton que[--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
[--]l e senz tuz f[--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
[---] bunte · De te[--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
[--- ---]s pareil a t[--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
[fol. 34v] [--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
[--- ---]rez ker nest fiz · il ne [--- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
[--- ---]maistre k[--- ---]reit [--- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
[--- ---]souraine ue[--- ---] souraine [--- --- --- --- --- ---]
[--- ---]ceste c*un*fessiun [--- ---]echiet [--- --- --- --- ---]
[--- ---]me for[--- --- --- ---] salu[--- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
[--- ---]fias · e de[--- --- ---] Tr[---]itas [--- --- --- --- ---]
[--- ---]rent merci[z --- --- ---] de tuz[--- --- --- --- ---]
[--- ---]· e la m*er*ueillie [--- ---] le [---] guart e[--- --- ---]
[--- ---]nseilz ki pecheurs [---] en conue[---] De me [---]
[--- ---]bel sire que en cest[--- --- --- ---] es[--- --- ---]
[--- ---]ermanable gl*o*rie [--- ---] ne [--- ---]lent de[---]
[--- --- ---]ki pl*us* a[--] spe[--- --- --- ---]mant ente[---]
[--- --- ---]les det[--- --- --- --- --- ---] deable lu[--- --- ---]
[--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---] n*ost*re [---]
[--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]re forfa[---]
[--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
[--- --- --- --- ---]reg[--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
[--- --- --- --- --- ---]de[--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
[--- --- --- --- --- ---]als pl[--- --- ---]esp[--- --- --- --- ---]
[--- --- --- --- --- ---]ace[--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
[--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
[--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
[--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]DOMINVM [--- --- --- ---]
[--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]

[fol. 35r] [--- ---]o[---]e troue nus atut[--- ---]ant [--- ---]
[---]· En sa destre nus aluat · [---]reine uu[--- --- ---]
[---]unat . Od lui regnez en sa glorie · [---]us tuz tens
[---]me deuotement k[e --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]la
[--- s]einte uirg[--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]is
[---]eneit senz[--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
[---]n · ki pa[--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
[---]unt pa[--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
[---]reu[--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
[fol. 35v] [--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
[Be]nedicam*us* p[atrem] *et* filiu*m* cum *sancto* spiritu . Laude[m*us et*]
sup*er* exalte[m*us*] eum in secula;
Beneissum[s] le [pe]re é le fiz [o]d le saint espirit l[--]m[---]
e su[---]
Be[--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- d]abilis *et* [---]
[--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]
[--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]ables[---]
[--- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---][ORATIO AD] *sanctam* MAR[IA*m*]
[--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]pn[---]
[--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---]

within the overall structure of each Psalter, they appear to represent distinct textual initiatives rather than parallel transmissions of similar devotional material.

The absence of any direct textual relationship between the two witnesses does not, however, prevent us from reconstructing the general logic behind the expansion of the Psalter material. The evidence is not without difficulties, but these can often be overcome. It is unfortunate, for instance, that in the case of the second prayer preserved in the Vitellius fragments (fol. 34r–v), a small fragment of another folio was fused to the main parchment fragment from line 7 onwards on the right-hand side. This addition makes the underlying text impossible to read, as the increased thickness of the parchment prevents sufficient translucency. And the verso of the same folio presents a further difficulty: the ink has become discoloured, and the most visible traces are not those of the writing on the verso itself, but rather the impressions left by the text on the recto. Nevertheless, the surviving evidence is sufficient to establish an important point. At the bottom of the folio, the only clearly legible element is a rubric that can be reconstructed as [ORATIO AD] DOMINVM. A similar situation occurs on the following folio (fol. 35), where the verso, beneath the bilingual arrangement of the hymn *Benedicamus patrem*, preserves another rubric that can be reconstructed as [ORATIO AD] SANCTAM MAR[IAM]. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the complete Vitellius Psalter contained a series of prayers introduced by rubrics comparable to those found in the Winchester Psalter. Moreover, the evidence preserved on fol. 31r–v suggests that these French prayers may not simply have been translations copied alongside the Latin texts, but independent vernacular compositions or adaptations. This would indicate that the devotional dimension of the Vitellius Psalter was not restricted to Latin, but was also actively developed in the vernacular.

This explains why the two witnesses are structurally similar while transmitting entirely different prayers. It also suggests that both represent independent developments from a model in which the Athanasian Symbol was the only text appended to the (first five?) Canticles. At this point, it is worth considering what followed the Athanasian Symbol in the Vitellius Fragments.

The entire fol. 30 was severely damaged by fire, yet it remains possible to discern that the recto ended with the final proposition of the Athanasian Symbol. The text beginning on fol. 30v must therefore belong to a different textual unit. Although this opening section is equally damaged and cannot be identified, it preserves traces of a different decorative pattern. Visible remains of gilded initials (***P***, ***L***, and ***A***) occur within the lines of text rather than in the left-hand margin, unlike the initials marking the preceding bilingual arrangements. This points to a different mode of textual organisation, with decorated initials serving to articulate the text internally. The text also appears to become monolingual once again, although the state of preservation does not allow the language to be determined with certainty.

A further change occurs on the sixth line, where a new textual unit begins with a large decorated ***C*** and is introduced by an *Incipit*. All of this material precedes the first prayer, which begins only on fol. 31r. It is therefore possible that another text originally stood between the Athanasian Symbol and the two sets of prayers. Whether this intermediary text was in Latin or in French cannot be established, but its existence would further demonstrate that the expansion of the Psalter did not proceed according to a single model and could involve additional devotional material inserted between the Athanasian Symbol and the prayers.

With this in mind, it is necessary to turn to the other witnesses that preserve prayers. It immediately becomes apparent that, although some of them transmit a Psalter text related to that of the Winchester Psalter, they do not reproduce the same logic in the material that follows the Canticles. The situation is further complicated by the presence in the Winchester Psalter of additional Old French versions of the *Pater noster* and the Apostles' Creed. Whether these texts were inherited from an antigraph or translated specifically for that manuscript remains uncertain. This is one of the questions that the following analysis must address. This is where the Vitellius fragments must be left aside, since neither of these texts is preserved in them.

Winchester Psalter (London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero C.iv)

[fol. 130v] ...Li nostre pere qui ies es ciels saintefiez seit li tuens nums auienget li tuns regnes ·
Seit faite la tue uoluntet si cum en ciele é en la terre ·
e nostre pain cotidian dun á nus oi ⁝ é pardune a nus les noz detes · eissi cume nus pardunums a noz deturs ne nus mener en temtatiun ⁝ mais deliure nus de mal amen ·
IEO crei en deu le pere tut poant le criatur de ciel é de terre · e en iesum crist le suen fil uniel nostre seignur ·
Qui conceud est de saint esperit · e nez de marie la uirgine ·
Sufferz suz pontie pilate · crucefiez · morz · é sepeliz ·
Descendiet as enfers · al terz iur releua de morz ·
Muntat al cels siet a destre de deu le pere trestut poant ·
diluec est auenir a iugier les uis é les morz ·
Ieo crei el saint espirit · sainte iglise crestiane ·
Communiun des sainz · Remissiun des pecchiez ·
Resurrectiun de carn · e uie parmanable amen ·

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS n. acq. lat. 1670

[fol. 182r] ...Li nostre pere ki ies es ciels · seit seintifie li tuns nums · auienge li tuens regnes seit faite la tue uolente
[fol. 182v] si cume en ciel *et* en tere ·
Nostre pain chascun iurnel dune ví · *et* pardune a nus les noz dettes sicume nus pardununs a noz detturs · *et* ne nus meine en tempteisun · mais deliure nus de mal · issi seit ·
Jeo crei en deu le pere tut poant · le creatur de ciel *et* de tere · *et* en ihesu crist sun fiz uniel nostre seinur · ki conceut *est* del seint espirit · né de marie la uirgine · sufferz suz pontio pilate · crucifie · mort *et* enseueli · descendi as enferns · el tierz iur releuat de mort · munta es ciels · siet a la destre de deu pere trestut puissant · Diloc est auenir · iugier les [fol. 183r] uifs *et* les morz ·
Iø crei el seint espirit seinte iglise catholica · la communiun des seintes choses · remissiun des pechiez · resurrectiun de char · *et* uie pardurable seit ·

The version of the *Pater noster* in the Winchester Psalter and that preserved in MS n. acq. lat. 1670 are closely related and belong to the same translation tradition. Most of the differences between them are minor and consist of spelling variation. A small number of readings involve differences in word order or grammatical form. The petition "hallowed be thy name" appears in Winchester as *saintefiez seit li tuens nums*, whereas MS n. acq. lat. 1670 reads *seit seintifie li tuns nums*. Yet the most significant difference concerns the petition for daily bread. Winchester translates the Latin *quotidianum* with the learned borrowing *cotidian*, whereas MS n. acq. lat. 1670 has the more vernacular expression *chascun iurnel*. The conclusion of the prayer provides another noteworthy variant. Winchester ends with the simple liturgical formula *amen*, whereas ms n. acq. lat. 1670 replaces it with the vernacular expression *issi seit* ("so be it"). This substitution is particularly striking because it represents not merely a different spelling or grammatical form, but an explicit translation of the traditional Latin ending.

Taken together, these variants indicate that the two manuscripts transmit essentially the same text while preserving independent developments within a common tradition. Most differences suggest that one of the two scribes adapted the text either towards greater fidelity to the Latin original (if the changes were made in the Winchester Psalter) or towards a more vernacular mode of expression (if the changes were made in a version related to MS n. acq. lat. 1670).

The comparison of the *Credo* is particularly interesting because it largely confirms the impression already gained from the *Pater noster*: the Winchester Psalter and MS n. acq. lat. 1670 are extremely closely related witnesses, but they are not copies of one another. Rather, they appear to derive from a common textual tradition while preserving independent revisions and occasional modernisation. As in the *Pater*, most differences are orthographic or morphological. The overall sequence of clauses is identical, and both translations remain very close to the Latin source. Several differences, however, are more revealing. One concerns the description of the Church. Winchester reads *sainte iglise crestiane*, whereas n. acq. lat. 1670 has *seinte iglise catholica*. The latter is a much closer rendering of the Latin *sanctam ecclesiam catholicam*. This parallels the tendency already noted in the *Pater noster*, where the two witnesses occasionally choose different lexical solutions while transmitting the same underlying text. However, the difficulty is that the translation strategies seem to be inverted here. In this case, Winchester moves away from the Latin source in favour of more interpretative renderings, whereas MS n. acq. lat. 1670 retains a formulation that is closer to the Latin text.

A second significant difference occurs in the phrase following the Church article. Winchester reads simply *communiun des sainz*, whereas MS n. acq. lat. 1670 expands this to *la communiun des seintes choses*. Here the Paris manuscript again seems closer to the literal sense of the Latin *communionem sanctorum*, understood as "holy things" rather than "saints." Whether this reflects a different exemplar or a deliberate revision is difficult to determine, but it shows that MS n. acq. lat. 1670 sometimes preserves readings that appear more learned or more explicitly tied to the Latin source.

The ending of the Creed provides another striking parallel with the *Pater*. Winchester concludes with the traditional liturgical formula *amen*, while MS n. acq. lat. 1670 ends with *seit*. This corresponds closely to the variant readings *issi seit* and *amen*. The recurrence of this feature in two different parts of the texts strongly suggests that it is not accidental. It appears to reflect a consistent tendency in the tradition represented by MS n. acq. lat. 1670 to translate or vernacularize certain liturgical formulas rather than simply reproducing them in their inherited Latin form.

As a result, the Creed slightly complicates the conclusions suggested by the analysis of the Pater. In the Lord's Prayer, MS n. acq. lat. 1670 often appeared more vernacular than Winchester, notably in its translation choice *chascun iurnel*. In the Creed, however, the opposite tendency can sometimes be observed. Readings such as *catholica* and *seintes choses* are arguably more literal renderings of the Latin than Winchester's *crestiane* and *des sainz*. The evidence therefore does not support a basic opposition between a conservative Winchester text and a vernacularised Paris text. Rather, both manuscripts seem to participate in a common translation tradition that remained fluid, allowing scribes to move either toward the Latin source or toward more idiomatic vernacular expression depending on the passage.

Taken together, the *Pater noster* and the *Credo* suggest that the relationship between the two manuscripts is very close indeed. The agreement in structure, syntax, and much of the vocabulary is too extensive to be coincidental. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that both versions render *omnipotens* as *tut poant*. This shared translation suggests a common textual ancestry. When the adjective appears again later in the Creed, however, the two witnesses diverge: Winchester reads *trestut poant*, while MS n. acq. lat. 1670 has *trestut puissant*. This variation is consistent with the broader pattern of revision observable in the two texts.

As a result, if the *Pater noster*, the Creed, and several other prayers were translated as part of a single undertaking, it is quite plausible that Vitellius, which consistently preserves this particular rendering, stands closer to the common source. If, however, the texts were translated independently, the shared choice could simply be coincidental, the product of separate translators arriving at the same solution for *omnipotens*. The available evidence does not allow the question to be settled with certainty, and both possibilities must remain open. The only reason I am inclined to favour the first interpretation is that Vitellius preserves several features that appear more archaic and that align it with the readings found in Arundel and Douce. These include the use of the strong forms of the possessive adjective, as well as the preservation of final dentals. One might also note that the decorated initials of each proposition are always painted within the text block rather than in the margin. Taken together, these features could suggest that Vitellius stands closer to the common source. However, such arguments remain largely circumstantial, and their interpretation is inevitably subjective. None of these features provides decisive evidence, and

they are therefore insufficient on their own to establish the direction of transmission with confidence.

It is perhaps preferable to leave the question open and turn instead to later translations that also deserve consideration. One such version appears at the end of the French section of MS Harley 1770:

> Nostre pierre qi ies en ciels sen saintifie tun nun .
> Auiegne tun regne .
> Seit fet ta uolunte sicome en ciele e en la terre .
> Nostre pain ches---

A catchword, *cotidianum*, appears in the lower margin of fol. 157vb, indicating that at least one further folio or quire originally followed and is now lost. The difficulty is that the manuscript's quires were mounted on paper guards during the British Museum rebinding of 18 September 1963, making it impossible to determine the extent of the loss. As a result, there is no way of knowing whether only a single folio is missing—containing, most likely, the remainder of the *Pater noster* and the Creed—or whether an entire quire has disappeared, which could have included the Creed, a litany, and additional prayers.

The surviving portion of the *Pater* in MS Harley 1770 appears to show a closer affinity with the version preserved in MS n. acq. lat. 1670 than with that of the Winchester Psalter, although the evidence remains limited. The opening petition, *sen saintifie tun nun*, corresponds more closely to MS n.acq.lat. 1670's *seit seintifie li tuns nums* than to Winchester Psalter's *saintefiez seit li tuens nums*.

The most intriguing feature may be the beginning of the last line, *Nostre pain ches---*. Although the remainder is lost, the surviving letters invite comparison with MS n. acq. lat. 1670's *chascun iurnel* rather than Winchester's more Latinate *cotidian*. If the antigraph's reading was indeed something like *chescun iurnal* or *chescun jour*, this would provide further evidence of a connection with the tradition represented by MS n. acq. lat. 1670. Nevertheless, the fragment is too brief and too heavily damaged to permit any firm conclusion, and any assessment of its affiliations must remain tentative.

At this point, it is necessary to turn to MS Harley 273, where the *Pater noster* appears among a group of texts appended after the litany, at the conclusion of the psalter-like section of the manuscript:

> [fol. 58vb] … Noster piere qe est en ciel ton non seit seintifie deu · Auigne ton regne qe est sanz quere · ta uolunte seit fet en ciel *et* en tere · donez n*us* hui p*ar* amur n*ost*re pain de checun iour · nos maufes p*ar*donez n*us* sicomo a nos malfesors p*ar*donoms · en temptation ne n*us* menez · Mes de touz mals n*us* deliuerez ·
> Deu u*us* sauue marie de grace replenie li sires est ou v*us* · entre totes femes deneite seiez v*us* · *et* le fruit de ton ventre beneit seit sur touz ·
> Euigne sur n*us* ta misericorde sire ·
> E ta sante solum ta p*ar*ole ·
> Seiez a n*us* sire tour de fortesce ·
> De la face del enimi ·
> Sauf fetes ton people sire ⁝
> E beneiez a ton heritage ·
> Soit fet pes en ta v*er*tu ·
> E habundance en tes tours ·
> Perdurable repos donez a mors ·
> E p*er*durable lum*er*e respleine a euz ·
> Sire oiez ma oreison ⁝
> E mon cri uendra a toi ·
> Deuz a ki p*ro*pre chose est enpitiuer toz iors *et* esp*er*nier · receuez nostre preiere · *et* quels la chene de trespas constreint · la m*er*ci de ta pitie asoile ·
> Tout pussant p*er*durable deu redrecez nos fez en ton bien pleisir · qe en le non de ton tres ame fiz deseruoms des bons eoures habunder ·
> Tot pussant p*er*durable deu qe fetes g*ra*ns m*er*ueilles soul auant tendez sur tes seriaunz *et* sur totes *con*gregations a euz bailles lespirit de saluable g*ra*ce *et* qe en uerite a toi pleisent ⁝ a euz la p*er*durable roseie de ta benesoun einz uersez ·
> A les almes prioms sire de tes seriaunz *et* seriauntes la o[fol. 59rb]reison des p*ri*anz p*ar*fitez qe euz de touz pechiez lauez ⁝ *et* de ta redem*p*cion faces estre p*er*ciners · Deu qe estes de tes seinz meruilouse resplendissour ⁝ *et* descolourges sur leueour nient countable · fetes n*us* tes seriaunz p*ar* les eides de la benore uirgine marie *et* touz seinz en chescun leu estre defenduz e p*ar* familiarite ou *con*sanguinite ou p*ar* oreison ou p*ar* *con*fession a n*us* en ioinz *et* a tot people crestien totes engaiz del enimi deceuable debotuz g*ra*ntez a celestiene pais de repeir le entree · *et* a les almes de touz leals mors p*ar* le unde de seinte baptisme reneez de repos user p*er*durable ·

The MS Harley 273 version of the *Pater noster* appears to be more distant from both the Winchester Psalter and MS n. acq. lat. 1670 than those two are from each other. Nevertheless, if one must choose between the two, it seems somewhat closer to MS n. acq. lat. 1670 than to Winchester. MS Harley 273 has *nostre pain de checun iour*, which is closer to MS n. acq. lat. 1670 and MS Harley 1770. This agreement is unlikely to be accidental. At the same time, MS Harley 273 introduces a number of innovations that make direct affiliation difficult to establish. The kingdom petition is expanded into *auigne ton regne qe est sanz quere*. The forgiveness petition introduces the pair *malfes / malfesor*s, and the final clause reads *mes de touz mals nus deliuerez*. These are substantial reworkings rather than simple scribal variants. From a stemmatic perspective, therefore, MS Harley 273 does not look like a direct descendant of either Winchester or MS n. acq. lat. 1670. Rather, it appears to represent a later redaction of the prayer in which the language has been amplified.

There is, of course, much more that could be said, especially since several of the prayers that form the textual collection following the *Pater noster* in MS Harley 273 also occur, in Latin, in other manuscripts. The particular character of this witness, however, makes a detailed analysis beyond the scope of the present study. The most promising avenue for future research lies in its French translation of the litany and in the relationship of this text to the litanies found at the end of certain psalters belonging to the textual tradition of the *Bible historiale*. Such questions require a separate investigation.

For the present, it seems preferable to conclude this chapter with the presentation of two further fragments of bilingual vernacular psalters that remain little known. Although these fragments were previously examined by Dorothy Sneddon, her findings have never been published, and it is therefore appropriate to present and discuss this unpublished research here.

Dorothy Sneddon and her work on Anglo-Norman Psalters

Clive R. Sneddon

Dorothy Sneddon's research came from a combination of her own interests and abilities and the circle of family and friends with which she grew up. She was interested in the origins of Anglo-Norman and in how texts were written, copied and rewritten. Her parents were medieval historians, who encouraged working critically with original sources. Her father, Christopher Cheney, wrote a history of the family firm of Cheney and Sons, printers in Banbury, and was himself Professor of Medieval History, first in Manchester and then in Cambridge. Her parents thus gave her access as family friends to a range of scholars, including her future supervisor, Tim Reid, Professor of French Philology in Manchester and then Professor of Romance Languages in Oxford. Her mother was also a church historian and published with her father the Letters of Innocent III relating to England and Wales.

Having qualified as a Graduate Librarian, she was appointed a cataloguer in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, in 1966, where she had to catalogue quickly and accurately the many books that crossed her desk in a copyright library. She soon decided she needed more intellectual stimulus, applied in 1967 for the BLitt and was given Tim Reid as her supervisor to study the Oxford Psalter. Studying in Oxford gave her access to lectures and seminars from the art historian Bob Delacey (L.M.J. Delaissé) and the Reader in Palaeography Malcolm Parkes, who regarded the Oxford Psalter as written *c.*1120 on the strength of its script's close likeness to that of the St Albans Psalter, datable from a mark in its calendar as written by or in 1123.

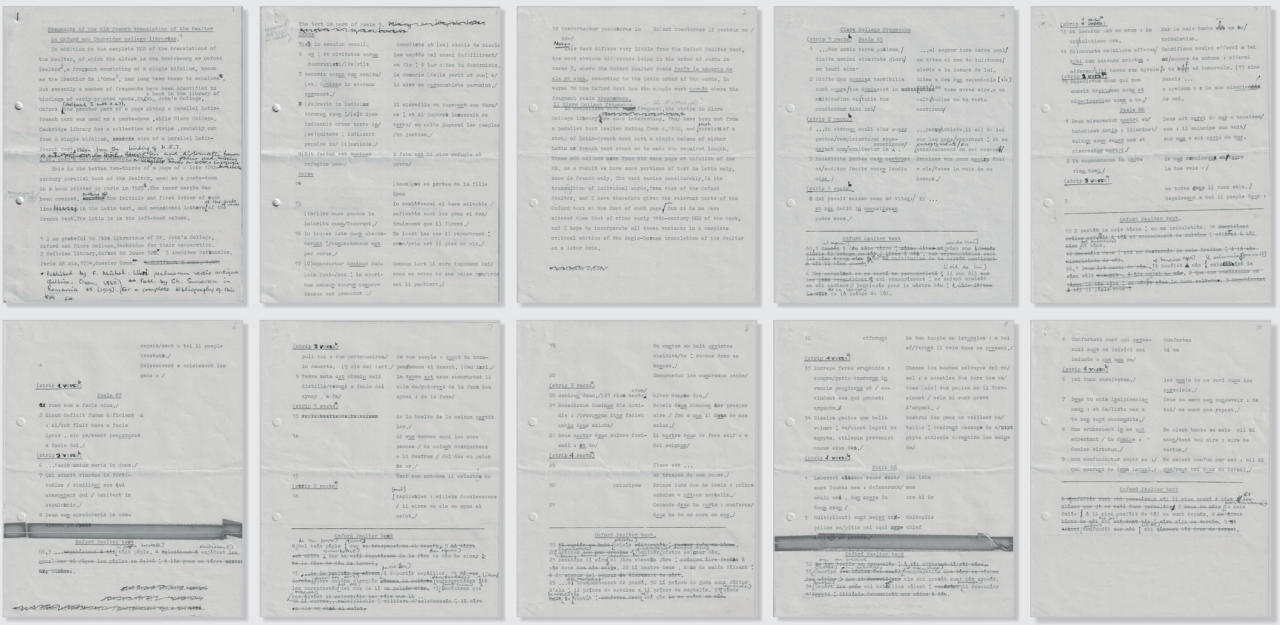
From what she said to me between 1968 and 1972, she intended to publish three major articles, one on the Arundel Psalter which appeared in *Romania* in 1978, one on the Anglo-Norman Bible Psalter, and one on the Psalter in the Anglo-Norman Bible History, which she regarded as a different translation. Her 1972 thesis included a draft critical text of Psalms 1-10 as a prelude to her critical edition of the Oxford Psalter for the Anglo-Norman Text Society.

We will never know for sure why her programme of work was not completed. Her plans for her family were disrupted by health issues in 1979-1980, and the death of her supervisor in 1981 deprived her of a trusted sounding board who I as a Continental French specialist could not replace. My own appointment to the French Department in the University of St Andrews in 1974 took her away from Oxford, though she did work as a cataloguer in the St Andrews University Library for the last three months of 1974. It did not help that the deposited copy of her thesis was lent to a university library in the USA and was lost by the US postal services when it was returned, leaving only the not fully corrected second copy for the Bodleian.

Would she have completed her research if she had obtained an academic post on the strength of her BLitt? Perhaps, but the reality of the early 1970s is that such posts as were available mostly went to those with teaching experience overseas. I have discussed this presentation with Dorothy, and she broadly agrees with it, but she is happy to leave it to me and grateful to Vladimir Agrigoroaei for publishing what can be published; her advancing dementia means she can no longer think about her work independently.

▼ Facsimiles of the unpublished study held in the archives of Dorothy A. Sneddon, reproduced here by kind permission of the Sneddon family.

The unpublished text by Dorothy A. Sneddon, reproduced from the family archives, is set against a grey background to indicate its distinct editorial status and to differentiate it from the original contributions commissioned for the present volume, which are presented in the standard format on a white background.



Fragments of the Old French translation of the Psalter in Oxford and Cambridge college libraries[1]

Dorothy A. Sneddon

In addition to the complete manuscripts of the translations of the Psalter, of which the oldest is the Montebourg or Oxford Psalter,[2] a fragment consisting of a single bifolium, known as the Psautier de l'Orne,[3] has long been known to scholars. But recently a number of fragments have been identified in the bindings of early printed books.

In a book in the library of St. John's College, Oxford (shelfmark I subt. 1. 47), the greater part of a page giving a parallel Latin-French text was used as a paste-down, while Clare College, Cambridge library has a collection of strips, probably cut from a single bifolium, also of a parallel Latin-French text, taken from the binding of K. 5. 7.

I shall give a brief description and diplomatic transcription of each fragment, with resolved abbreviations in italics and missing or illegible words or letters in square brackets.

St. John's College fragment [I subt.d1.47].

This is the bottom two-thirds of a page of a late twelfth–century parallel text of the Psalter, used as a paste-down in a book printed in Paris in 1585.[4] The inner margin has been cropped, cutting off the initials and first letter of each line in the Latin text, and occasional letters at the ends of words of the French text. The Latin is in the left-hand column. The text is part of Psalm 9.



▲ *Oxford, St. John's College Library. Bilingual Psalter fragment in the cover of Girolamo Mercuriale's* Variarum lectionum *printed by Nicolas Nivelle in Paris, 1585. Former* [I subt.1.47] *and current shelfmark* [HB4/4.a.4.21] *of the printed item.*
Photo: Petra Hofmann, 2026. By permission of the President and Fellows of St John's College, Oxford.

Notes

1 I am grateful to the Librarians of St. John's College, Oxford and Clare College, Cambridge for their cooperation.

2 Bodleian Library, Oxford MS Douce 320. Published by F. Michel: *Libri psalmorum versio antiqua Gallica*, Oxon. 1860.

3 *Archives Nationales*, Paris AB xix, 1734, dossier Orne. Published by Ch. Samaran in *Romania* 55 (1929).

4 This text differs very little from the Oxford Psalter text, the most obvious difference being in the order of words in verse 7, where the Oxford Psalter reads *Perít els ot suen*, according to the Latin order of the words. In verse 18, the Oxford text has the simple verb *turnét* where the fragment reads *trestornez*.

[r] [e]t in seculum seculi ·	[r] manablete et [en] siecle de siecle	Ps 9:5
em ⁝ et civitates eo*rum* destruxisti / [Pe]ríít	Les espéés del enemi defaillirent / en fin ⁝ e lur citez tu destruisis ·	Ps 9:6
memoria eo*rum* cu*m* sonitu / [et] do*min*us in eternum pe*r*manet · /	La memorie [de]ls perit ot sun ⁝ e / li sire en pa*r*manablete parmaint · /	Ps 9:7
[Pa]ravit in iudicio thronu*m* suu*m* ⁝ [e]t ipse iudicabit orbem terre i*n* / [ae]quitate ⁝ iudicabit populos in / [i]usticia · /	Il apareilla en iugeme*n*t sun thro/ne ⁝ et il jugera le cercle de te*r*re / en oelte jugerat les pueples / en justise · /	Ps 9:8
[E]t factus est do*min*us refugium pau/	E faiz e*st* li sire refugie al povre /	Ps 9:9
[v] [lauda]tiones tuas in portis filie Sion	[loen]ges es portes de la fille Syon	Ps 9:14
Exultabo in salutari tuo ⁝ infi/xe sunt gentes in interitu que*m* / fecerunt · /	Io mesléécerai el tuen salvable / enfichéés sunt les genz el des/truiement que il firent · /	Ps 9:15
In laqueo isto que*m* absconder*unt* ⁝ / co*m*prehensus e*st* pes eorum · /	En icest laz que il repostrent ⁝ com/pris est li piez de els · /	Ps 9:16
[C]ognoscetur do*min*us iudicia faci/ens ⁝ in operibus manuu*m* sua*rum* compregensus est peccator · /	Coneuz iert li sire iugemenz fai/sanz es ovres de ses mains com/pris est li pechiere · /	Ps 9:17
Convertantur peccatores in in/	Seient trestornez li pecheur en in/[4]	Ps 9:18

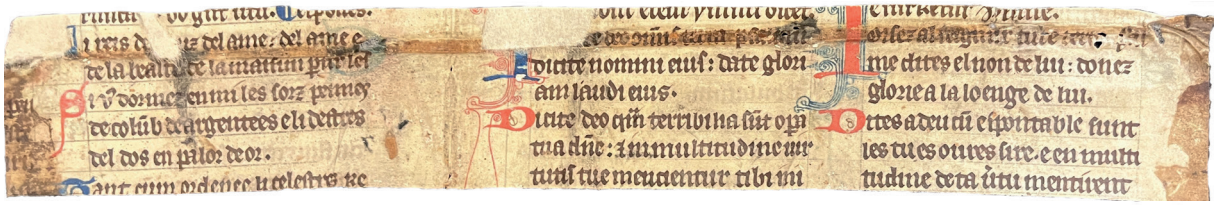
Clare College fragments [K. 5. 7. binding].

In comparison with the St John's College fragment, the strips in Clare College library are more interesting. They have been cut from a parallel text Psalter dating from *c.*1300, and each consists of a strip of Latin-French text with a single column of either Latin or French text stuck on to make the required length. These odd columns come from the same page or bifolium of the manuscript. As a result we have some portions of text in Latin only, some in French only. The text varies considerably, in the translation of individual words, from that of the Oxford Psalter, and I have therefore given the relevant parts of the Oxford text at the foot of each page.

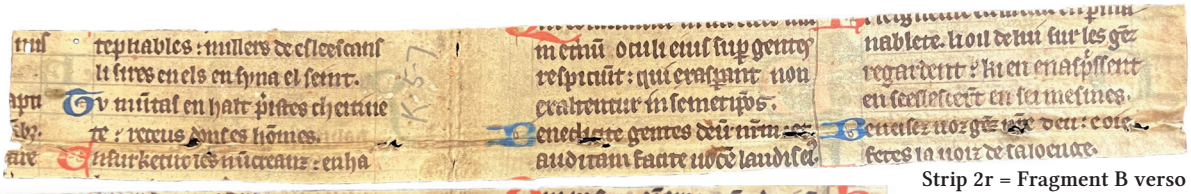
But it is no more altered than that of other early fourteenth–century manuscripts of the text, and I hope to incorporate all these variants in a complete critical edition of the Anglo-Norman translation of the Psalter at a later date.

Ps 65:1	[Strip 1rb] … deo omnis terra psalmum / dicite nomini eius : date glori/am laudi eius ·	… al segnur tute terre psal/me dites el non de lui : donez / glorie a la loenge de lui ·
Ps 65:2	Dicite deo q*uoniam* terribilia sunt op*er*a / tua d*omi*ne : et in multitudine vir/tutis tue mencientur tibi ini/	Dites a deu cu*m* espontable sunt / les tues ovres sire · e en multi/tude de ta vertu mentirent /
Ps 65:6	[Strip 2rb] … in etern*um* oculi eius sup*er* gentes / respiciunt : qui exasp*er*ant non · / exaltentur in semetipsos · /	… parma/nablete · li oil de lui sur les ge*n*z / regardent ⁖ ki en enasp*ri*ssent / en seeslescerent en sei mesmes · /
Ps 65:7	Benedicite gentes deu*m* no*stru*m : et / auditam facite voce*m* laudis ei*us* · /	Beneisez voz genz no*st*re deu : e oíe / fetes la voiz de sa loenge · /
Ps 65:8	[Strip 3rb] Qui posuit animam meam ad vita*m* : / *et* non dedit i*n* co*m*moti*o*ne*m* pedes meos · /	Ki …
Ps 65:13	[Strip 1va] Et locutum est os meum : in tri/bulatione mea ·	Kar la meie buche est en ma / tribulatiun ·
Ps 65:14	Holocausta medullata offeram / t*ibi* cum incensu arietu*m* : offeram / t*ibi* boves cum hyrcis · /	Sacrifises meulez offerai a tei od / encens de mutuns : offerai a te bu/efs od bukereals ·
Ps 65:15		alme
Ps 65:19	[Strip 2va] Benedictus deus qui non amovit or*ati*o/nem mea*m* *et* mi*seri*cordi*a*m sua*m* a me · /	Beneiz … e oreison : e la sue mi*seri*cord*e* de mei ·
Ps 66:1	Deus misereatur no*st*ri et / benedicat nob*is* : illuminet / vultu*m* suu*m* sup*er* nos et misereat*ur* no*st*ri · /	Deus ait m*er*ci de n*us* e beneisse / nus : il enlumine sun vult / sur n*us* e eit m*er*ci de n*us* ·
Ps 66:2	Ut cognoscamus in t*er*ra via*m* tua*m* /	Ke n*us* conuissu*m* en t*er*re la tue veie : /
Ps 66:2		[Strip 3va] en tutes ge*n*z li tuen salu · /
Ps 66:3		Regeisse*n*t a tei li poeple d*eus* : regeis/sent a tei li poeple trestut · /
Ps 66:4		Esleesceent e esioissent les genz : /
Ps 67:1	[Strip 1vb] …runt eum a facie eius · /	
Ps 67:1	Sicut deficit fumus deficiant : si/cut fluit cera a facie ignis · sic pe/reant pec*cato*res a facie dei · /	S…
Ps 67:6	[Strip 2vb] … facit unius moris in domo · /	
Ps 67:7	Qui educit vinctos in fortitudine / simili*ter* eos qui exasp*er*ant qui / habitant in sepulcris · /	
Ps 67:8	Deus cu*m* egredereris in conspectu po/	
Ps 67:8	[Strip 3vb]puli tui : cum pertransires / in desertu ·	de tun people : q*ua*nt tu trespas/soues el desert ·
Ps 67:9	Terra mota est etenim celi distilla/veru*n*t a facie dei synay · a fa/cie dei isr*ael*	La t*er*re *est* meue ensurketut li ciel de/guterent de la face deu synai : de la face / deu isr*ael* . /
Ps 66:13		[Strip 1ra] de la bealte de la maisun p*ar*tit les · /
Ps 66:14		Si v*us* dormez enmi les sorz pennes / de colu*m*b deargentees e li destres / del dos en palor de or · /
Ps 66:15		Tant cum ordenee li celestre ke
Ps 66:18		[Strip 2ra] …tepliables : millers deesleescanz / li sires en els en syna el seint · /
Ps 66:19		Tu mu*n*tas en halt p*r*eistes cheitive/te ⁖ receus dons es ho*m*mes · /
Ps 66:20		Ensurketut les nu*n*creanz : enha/

Strip 1r = Fragment A verso



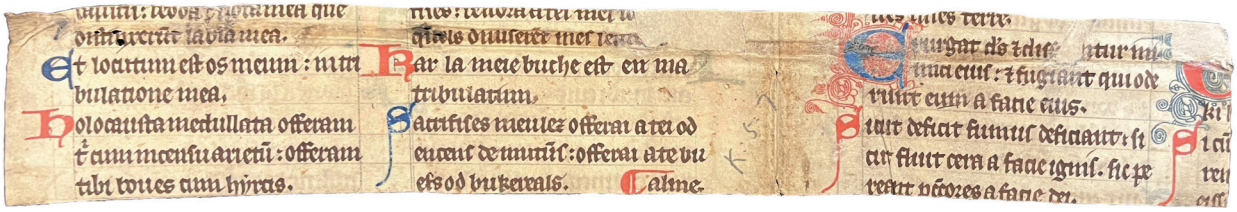
Strip 2r = Fragment B verso



Strip 3r = Fragment C verso



Strip 1v = Fragment A recto



Strip 2v = Fragment B recto



Strip 3v = Fragment C recto



Cambridge, Clare College, Forbes Mellon Library. Rectos and versos of the first three strips from K.5.7.
By permission of the Master and Fellows of Clare College Cambridge.

Ps 66:20	[Strip 3ra] dominum deum .	biter dompne deu · /
Ps 66:21	Benedictus dominus die cotidie : / prosperum iter faciet nobis deus saluta/	Beneiz deus chescun ior prospre eire / fra a nus li deus de noz saluz · /
Ps 66:22	Deus noster deus salvos faciendi : *et* do/	Li nostre deus de fere salf : e del seignur /
Ps 66:29		[Strip 4ra] Iluec est ... en trespas de son pense · /
Ps 66:30	principes	Prince iuda duc de icels : prince zabulon e prince neptalim · /
Ps 66:31		Comande deus ta vertu : cunferme / deus ke tu as ovre en nus · /
Ps 66:32	offerunt	De tun temple en ierusalem : a tei of/ferunt li reis dons ou present · /
Ps 66:33	[Strip 4va] Increpa feras arundinis : congre/gatio taurorum in vaccis populorum ut / excludant eos qui probati argento · /	Choose les bestes salvages del ro/sel : e asemblee des tors des va/thes des poples ke il forscloent / cels ki sunt prove dargent · /
Ps 66:34	Dissipa gentes que bella volunt ‘ ve/nient legati ex egypto · ethiopia preveniet manus eius deo · /	Destrui les genz ke voillent ba/taille ‘ vendrunt message de e/gipte ethiopie devancira les mains de /
Ps 68:4	[Strip 4va] Laboravi clamans rauce sane / sunt fauces mee : defecerunt / oculi mei · dum spero in deum meum /	Jeo labu ... /mes ... /ers ki io ...
Ps 68:5	Multiplicati sunt super capillos ca/pitis mei : qui oderunt me gratis · /	Multeplie ... / chief ...
Ps 68:6	Confortati sunt qui persecuti sunt me inimici mei iniuste : que non ra/	Confortez ... / ki me ...
Ps 68:6	[Strip 4rb] ...pui tunc exsolvebam · /	... les quels io ne ravi dunc les parsoleie · /
Ps 66:7	Deus tu scis insipienciam meam : et de/licta mea a te non sunt abscondita · /	Deus tu seez mon nunsaveir : de tei / ne sunt pas repost · /
Ps 66:8	Non erubescant in me qui expectant / te domine : domine virtutum · /	Ne aient hunte en meie cil ki aten/dent tei sire : sire de vertuz · /
Ps 66:9	Non confundantur super me ‘ / qui querunt te deus israel · /	Ne seient cunfus sur mei : cil ki que/rent tei deus de israel · /

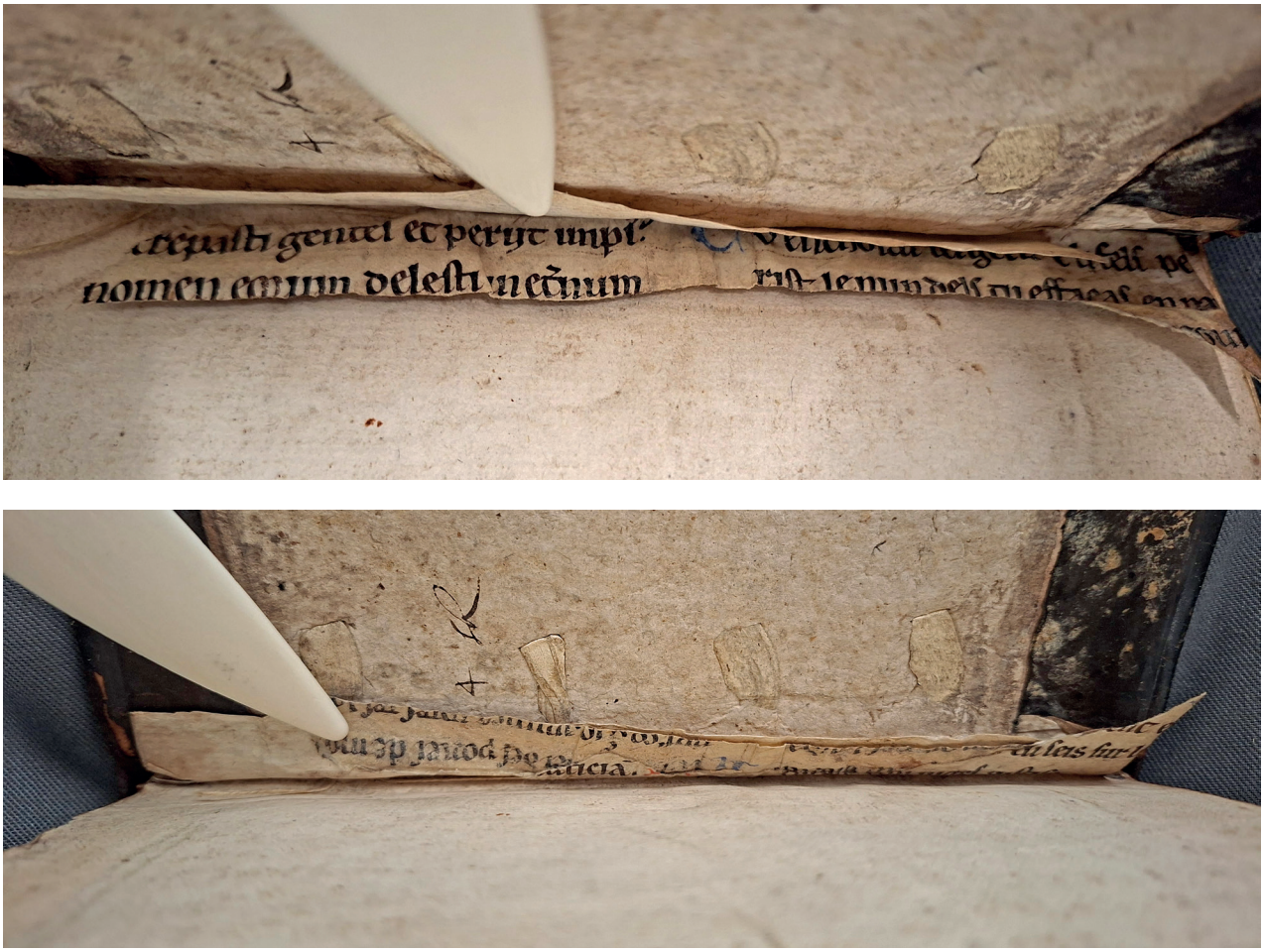
Ps 65:1 al segnur] a deu non de lui] suen num **2** e en] en **6** li oil de lui] li sun oil en seeslescerent] ne seient exalcet **7** voz genz] genz le de sa loenge] de la loenge de lui · **13** Kar la meie Buche ert] E parlat la meie buche **14** encens] encendement od bukereals] ot bucs **19** Beneiz] Benedeiz **Ps 66:1** beneisse] beneist a il enlumine sun vult] enlumint le suen volt **3** li poeple trestut] tuit pople **4** esioissent] esjodent **Ps 67:8** de tun people quant] del tuen pople cum **9** ensurketut] kar deu synai] de deu de sinay **13** partit les] a departir espuilles **14** enmi les sorz] entre meiens clergiez deargentees et] surargentedes et dos] dos de li **15** Tant cum ordenee] Dementres que desseivret **19** preistes] prisis **20** Ensurketut] Acertes enha/biter dompne] habiter nostre seignur **21** Beneiz deus] Benedeiz li sire el jurn chescun ior li deus de] deus des **22** de fere salf e del] deus de salfs faisant e de **29** en trespas de son pense] el trespassement de **30** Prince iuda duc de icels : prince zabulon e prince] Li prince de juda sunt duitur d'els : li prince de zabulon e li prince de **31** Comande] Mande ta vertu] la tue vertu ke] ice que **32** ou present] om **33** Choose] Encrepe salvages] om e asemblee] congregatiun des vathes] es vaches cels ki sunt prove dargent] els chi provet sunt par argent **34** Destrui] Depart ke voillent bataille] chi batailles volent message] li messagier les mains] ses mains a **Ps 68:6** ki me ...] chi parsuirent mei **7** mon nunsaveir] la meie folíe é li mien mesfáit pas repost] repuńs **8** cil ki] chi **9** cil ki] chi

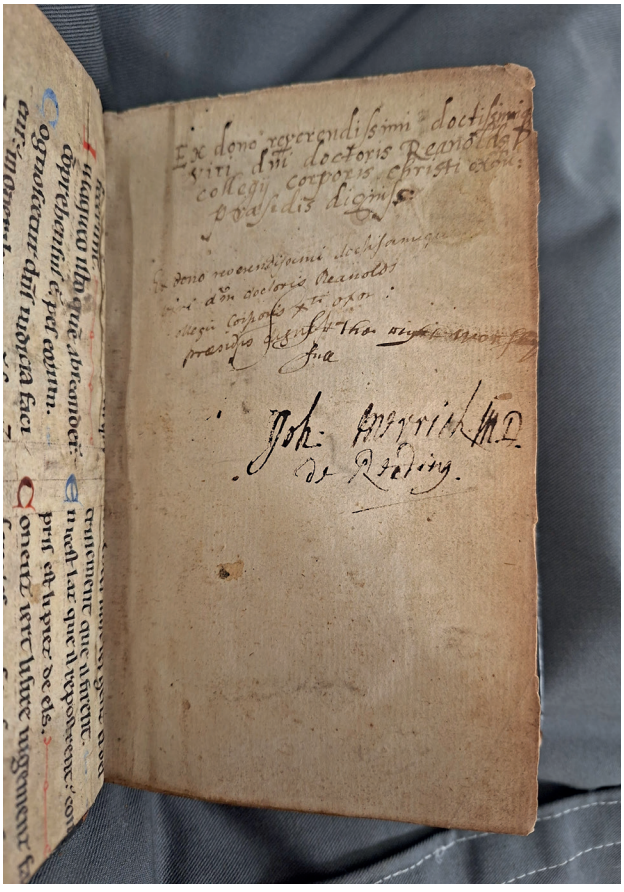
Strip 4v = Fragment D recto

Strip 4r = Fragment D verso



▲ *Cambridge, Clare College, Forbes Mellon Library. Recto and verso of strip 4 from* K.5.7.
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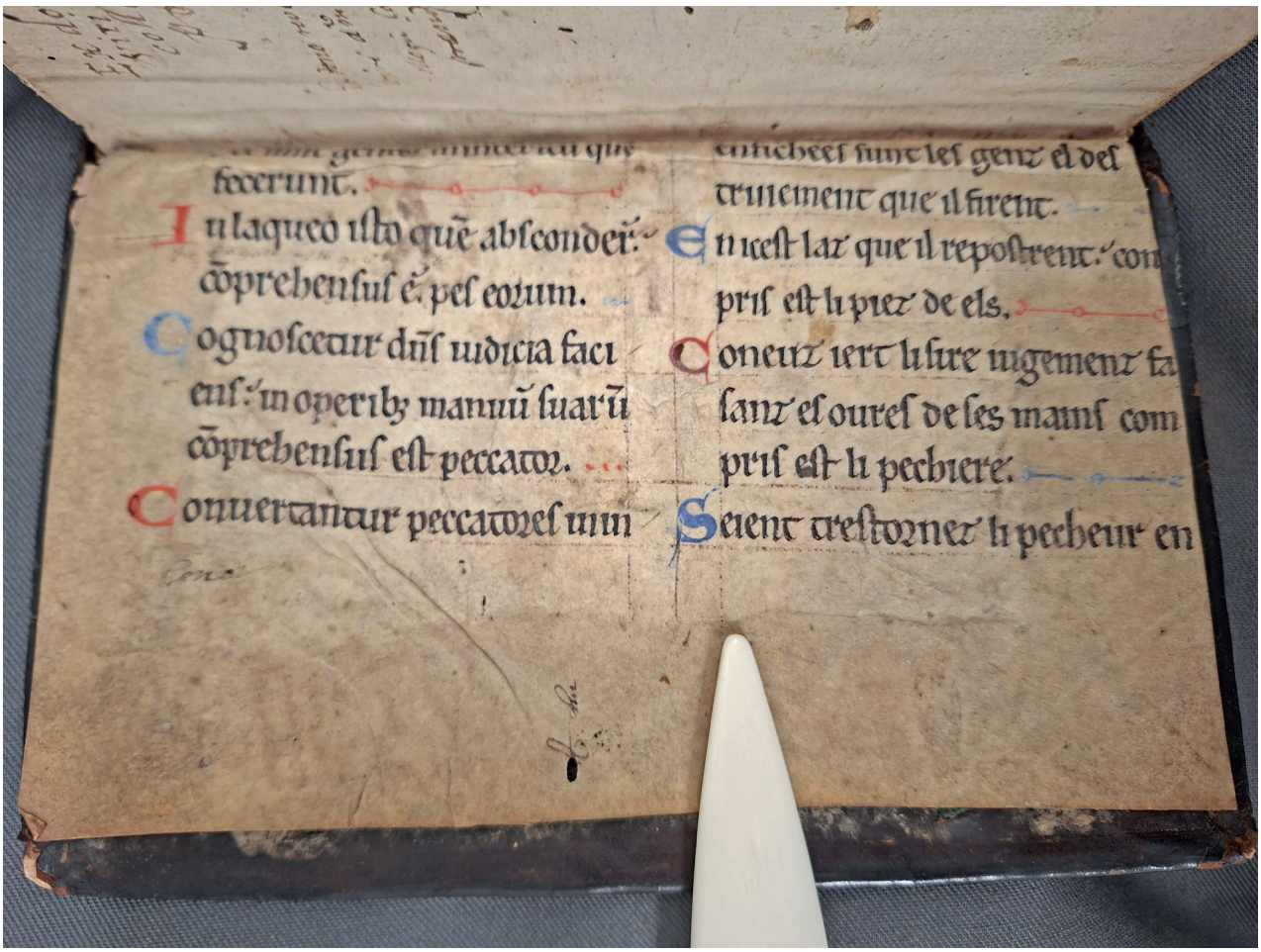
Oxford, St. John's College Library. Recto and verso of the stub at the end of HB4/4.a.4.21. *Ownership and gift inscriptions on the flyleaf of the same volume.*

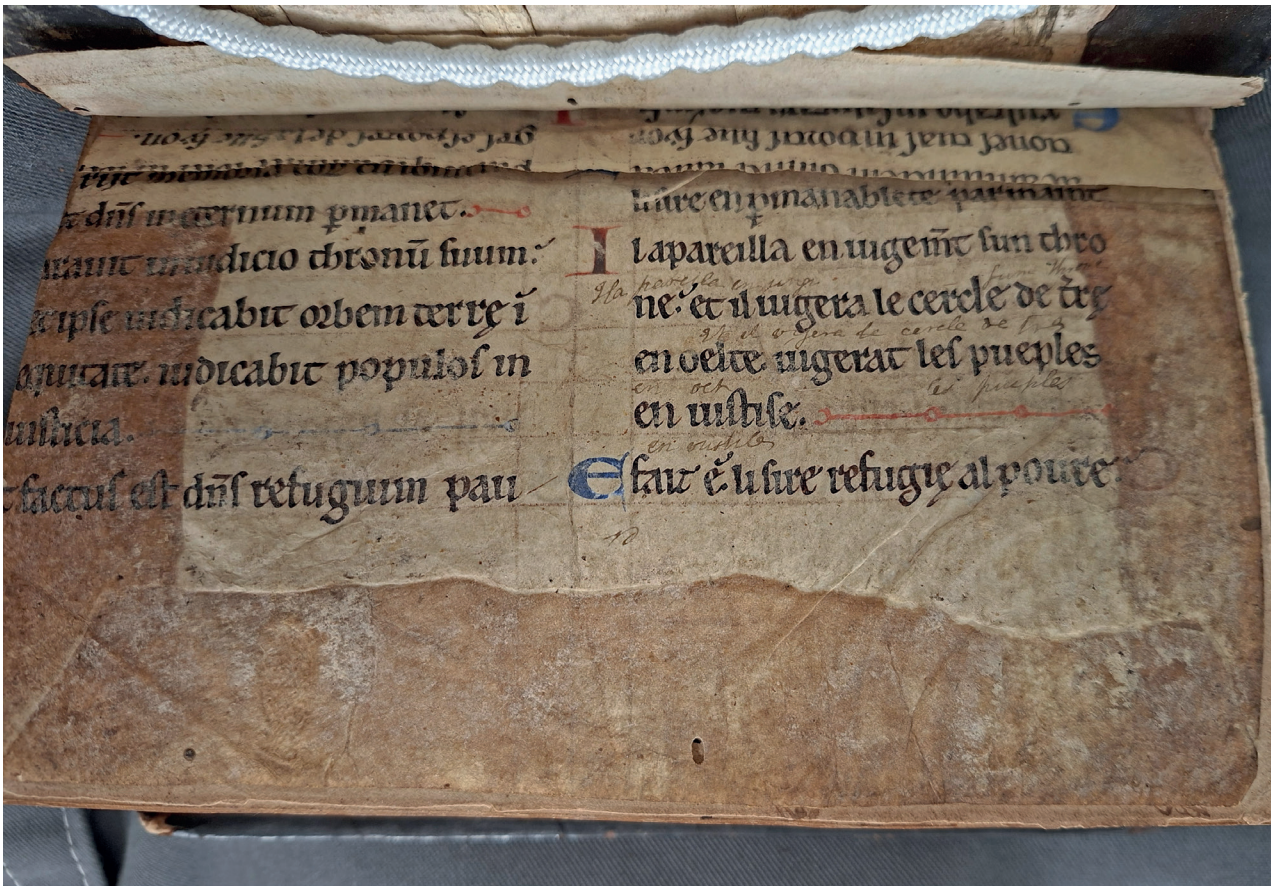
Photos: Petra Hofmann, 2026. By permission of the President and Fellows of St John's College, Oxford.

Addendum to the St. John's College fragment (VA)

Remnants from a related folio are found at the back of the same volume, where a stub from another flyleaf preserves portions of Ps 9:6 and other verses. In the left-hand column of the stub, one can read: [Inc]repasti gentes, et períjt impi*us* : nomen eorum delesti in et*er*num · The Old French translation in the right-hand column appears to be: Tv en[----- ---] genz é li fels pe/rist le num dels tu effacas en pa[---

The hand that wrote the second gift inscription mentioning John Rainolds (†1607) also appears to have recopied some of the glosses on the verso of the main fragment, at Ps 9:8. If this identification is correct, it would suggest that the medieval flyleaves were bound with the printed volume sometime after 1607, and that the same individual was active in assembling the volume and its flyleaves, likely drawing on material available in Oxford, where Rainolds had held academic positions. This may point to an antiquarian and comparative interest on the part of this later compiler, possibly involving the collection and consultation of earlier biblical versions (including Middle English and Anglo-Norman texts) during the circulation or reception of materials associated with the King James Version, both as sources of inspiration and out of scholarly curiosity.


fecerunt.
In laqueo isto quē abscondēr:
cōprehensus ē pes eorum.
Cognoscetur dñs iudicia faci
ens: in operibz manuū suarū
cōprehensus est peccator.
Conuertantur peccatores un
Enchecēs sunt les gentz el des
truiement que il firent.
En icest laz que il reposterent: com
pris est li piez de els.
Conuertert li iure iugement fa
sanz el ourel de les mains com
pris est li pechiere.
Seient trestorner li pecheur en


dñs in eternum pmanet.
manent in iudicio throni sui.
ipse iudicabit orbem terre i
equitate. iudicabit populos in
iustitia.
factus est dñs refugium pau
Li apareilla en iugemēt sun throo
ne: et il iugera le cercle de tre
en oeure iugerat les pueples
en iustise.
Estanz ē li iure refugie al poure

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND PROVISIONAL CONCLUSIONS (VA)

The analyses presented in this chapter are necessarily preliminary and should not be understood as offering a definitive reconstruction of the double-column Psalter tradition. Given the restricted corpus of textual variants examined and the limited extent of the comparisons undertaken, the results can only be considered provisional. The aim of this investigation has been less to establish a stemma than to carry out an initial exploratory survey, intended to identify broad patterns of transmission, test possible hypotheses, and draw attention to relationships that may warrant closer examination in future research.

The comparative analysis of Ps 1–Ps 3 across the double-column witnesses demonstrates that the Winchester Psalter occupies a peripheral position within the tradition and reflects a substantial process of revision rather than preserving the archetypal form of the bilingual Psalter. The manuscripts can be divided into three principal branches according to their rendering of *beatus vir* in Ps 1:1: the *huem* group (MS Douce 320 and MS Arundel 230), the *barun* group (the Winchester Psalter and MS n. acq. lat. 1670), and the *ber* group (MS Additional 35283, Cambridge Clare College; MS lat. 768; Munich; Cambridge Corpus Christi College; and MS Additional 44949). Particularly significant is the case of Clare College, which, despite its relatively late date, preserves conservative readings in Ps 3:9 that align directly with MS Douce 320. This evidence places Clare College closer to the original translation than the Winchester Psalter and confirms that the surviving double-column witnesses descend from a common conservative antigraph rather than from Winchester Psalter itself. Additional support for this conclusion is provided by Winchester's spelling innovations, including the systematic replacement of final etymological dentals (*-t*) with *-d* and the introduction of distinctive scribal errors, features that preclude its identification as the source of the remaining manuscripts.

The examination of the material appended to the Psalms—Canticles and related devotional texts—further illustrates the gradual expansion of the vernacular Psalter tradition. In this respect, MS Douce 320 and MS Arundel 230 occupy a distinctive position, as their vernacular contents conclude with the *Audite celi*. Their shared endpoint confirms the close relationship between the two manuscripts and indicates that all more extensive versions derive from a common ancestor whose textual development continued beyond this stage. Within the expanded branch of the tradition, the Old French translation of the Athanasian Creed functions as a stable structural element and serves as a point of reference for nearly all surviving witnesses.

The collation of the Athanasian Creed across the extant manuscripts demonstrates that all surviving versions ultimately derive from a single Old French translation rather than from multiple independent vernacularisations. Within this tradition, the Winchester Psalter is best understood as a secondary revision characterized by learned and often pedantic reformulations. Examples include the replacement of *la commune fei* with *ueire creance* for *catholicam fidem*, *besuins* with *mestier* for *opus est*, and *releva* with *se drecat* for *resurgere*. The fact that Winchester returns to more conventional readings such as *commune fei* toward the end of the same text reveals the inconsistent nature of these interventions. By contrast, witnesses such as Cambridge Clare College, MS lat. 768, and MS n. acq. lat. 1670 remain substantially closer to the original translation and therefore preserve a more conservative textual state.

The vernacular prayers appended to the Psalters likewise point to a diversity of local practices rather than to a unified and standardized tradition. An analysis of the four bilingual concluding prayers in the Winchester Psalter suggests that they were translated directly from Latin by the scribe responsible for the manuscript, apparently with the aim of providing the codex with a decorative bilingual conclusion. This interpretation is supported by several instances in which the translation proceeds out of sequence, a phenomenon more readily explained by direct translation than by copying from a vernacular exemplar. The Vitellius fragments, moreover, preserve a completely different corpus of Old French prayers, none of which corresponds to those found in the Winchester Psalter. Introduced by distinct rubrics and representing independent vernacular compositions, these texts demonstrate that the expansion of bilingual Psalters was driven by multiple devotional initiatives rather than by a single, standardized model.

Finally, the vernacular *Pater noster* and *Credo* preserved in the Winchester Psalter and MS n. acq. lat. 1670 clearly belong to the same translation tradition. Nevertheless, MS n. acq. lat. 1670 exhibits a consistent tendency to vernacularize liturgical formulae, replacing amen with forms such as *issi seit* or *seit*. At the same time, it alternates between highly literal renderings, such as *catholica* and *seintes choses*, and more idiomatic French expressions, including *chascun iurnel*. These features reveal an ongoing process of adaptation within a shared textual tradition and further underscore the dynamic character of the vernacular Psalter corpus.

Further research should therefore focus on the text of Cambridge, Clare College manuscript, examining it in detail and integrating it into a broader comparative analysis alongside the early versions preserved in MS Arundel 230, MS Douce 320, the Maidstone fragments, and the Orne bifolium. Only once the relationships between these five witnesses have been clearly established will it be possible to extend the investigation to the remaining manuscripts of the tradition. For the time being, however, the position of these other witnesses remains uncertain, and several alternative configurations of their relationships can be imagined. Any attempt to place them precisely within the stemma would therefore be premature until the links between the most conservative representatives of the tradition have been more firmly defined.

◀ *Oxford, St. John's College Library. Recto and verso of the main fragment in the cover of* HB4/4.a.4.21.

a empliras de leëste od tun uult
implebis me leticia cum uultu
deliz ad en ta destre
tuo: delectationes in dextera tua
tresk' en la fin.
usq; in finem. Mihi dist il sāz meis. as miens sainz. en qui io sui. q̄ sunt membra mea. à eous as tu mustre les ueies de humilitē. ki sunt ueies de uie. car eles menent ad uitā ētnā. A dimplebis me. ꝛc. Tu as empli sēōs meos leticia. ceo est la meie leëste. kar ceo kil unt esc̄t io à mei meisme. ē bien le puis faire. car il sunt membra in corpore meo. q̄d ē ecc̄lia. ℭ notez kil dist tu les empliras. el plain ne poet pl'. ē il auerunt tant de la ioie kil ne sauerunt de plus penser. Quant? Cum uultu tuo. Tut ad litteram. cū il te uerrunt facie ad faciem. Bien di io kil erent plein de ioie. car delectationes sunt in dextera ei. ℭn cest siecle ad delectationes. mais eles ne sunt mie in finē. car eles ne sē mie estables. ainz pasent tost. si amenent ēticiam. mais celes ki sē, in dextera di pat̄ celes sunt p manentes usq; in finem. ceo ē ētnalit̄ par mainablement.

Oie sire Oratio
Exaudi domine iustā dauid.
ma iustice entendez ma preiere.
ciam meam: intende deprecationem meam. ℭist psalmes ē aultre q̄tre unt cest q̄tle. Oratio dauid. ℭn ces aultres psalmes suuent auient quil oie en un uers ꝟ en dous. mais en cestui nad unkes el en tuz les

The gloss of the First French Commentary on the Psalms

A multilayered commentary written in four instalments (VA)

The First French Commentary on the Psalms offers one of the most complex surviving examples of vernacular textual stratification in late twelfth-century exegesis. Rather than emerging from a single act of authorship, the work developed through four successive redactional instalments produced over several decades. While the pioneering studies of Charles J. Liebman attributed the entire commentary to a single author, the theologian Simon of Tournai (cf. Liebman 1955; Liebman 1959; Liebman 1982), Stewart Gregory's codicological and source-critical analyses instead argued for a collaborative, multi-generational enterprise undertaken by several Walloon authors between the 1160s and the 1180s (cf. Gregory 1979a; Gregory 1979b; Gregory 1990). In a forthcoming study devoted to the readership of the text, I will argue for an intermediate position: the Commentary was most likely the work of a single author, though not the one identified by Liebman, and it underwent four distinct redactional stages, most of them probably concentrated between *c.*1165 and 1175. These questions, however, need not detain us here. The Commentary is relevant to the present discussion solely because a number of its manuscripts preserve an interlinear gloss the wording of which displays striking affinities with the Anglo-Norman translations examined in the preceding pages.

Composed in a dense macaronic idiom that deliberately interlaces Latin biblical authority with vernacular French interpretation, the Commentary was originally intended for the private spiritual instruction of Laure or Laurette, daughter of Thierry of Alsace, count of Flanders, who appears to have spent her final years in a monastic milieu. The first instalment, covering Ps 1–50, constitutes the foundational stratum of the work. Attributed to an elderly cleric, it frames its vernacular exposition as a derivative expansion of Gilbert of Poitiers's *Media Glossatura*, while drawing on topical references that may already reflect exegetical traditions of the early twelfth century.

As the commentary develops, its subsequent instalments reveal shifting relationships to its exegetical sources. The second instalment (Ps 68–100), which Stewart Gregory tentatively assigns to the same author, is marked by a more restrained and programmatic approach: it introduces minimal supplementary material and adheres closely to the structure of the *Media Glossatura*, although this identification of the source remains difficult to sustain consistently. This section is notably introduced by an extended quasi-prologue preceding Ps 68.

To bridge the structural and physical discontinuity between these two core sections, a third instalment (Ps 51–67) was composed, which Gregory attributes to a different author. He suggests an intellectual milieu shaped by the Parisian schools and familiarity with the circle of Peter Lombard; however, such claims rest largely on conjectural parallels rather than demonstrable textual evidence. The most secure indication of the instalment's composite character lies instead in a formal colophon appended at the end of Ps 67, explicitly marking its transitional function between the preceding and following sections.

Finally, the fourth instalment (Ps 101–150), according to Gregory, would have been produced by yet another translator associated with the advanced Aristotelian currents of the University of Paris. This hypothesis, however, remains open to debate, particularly since the same features (far from being specifically Aristotelian, and potentially closer, for instance, to the influence of Peter Lombard's *Magna Glossatura*) have been used by Liebman to support the attribution of the entire work to Simon of Tournai.

The fragmentation and material transmission of these four instalments are reflected in the nine extant manuscripts that preserve the tradition. The first instalment survives in New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, MS M338 (a continental copy made *c.*1200 for lady Eleanor of Vermandois), which also serves as the base witness for Gregory's partial critical edition (Gregory 1990). Its mise-en-page, closely resembling that of learned glossed books, integrates a vernacular gloss translation within the interlinear space of the large-script Latin Gallicanum, producing a distinctly dual-level paratextual structure. A comparable model is found in the insular witness Hereford Cathedral Library, MS O.III.15, which, however, preserves only a fragment of the first instalment (Ps 1–16). Additional traces of this earliest layer also survive in a homiletic reworking within the early thirteenth-century twin volumes Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MSS fr. 13315–13316, where selected excerpts are reassembled and adapted for preaching purposes, as illustrated in the accompanying image.

The second instalment survives in an isolated, acephalous form in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud. misc. 91, a witness copied around 1170. This manuscript is notable for the absence of a formal interlinear translation, instead preserving six independent biblical verses added in the margins by a later corrector. The same textual layer appears in a more continuous and integrated form in London, British Library, MS Royal 19.C.v, where the second and third instalments are combined into a single sequence covering Ps 51–100. By contrast, the third instalment is only partially transmitted in an acephalous fragment in Oxford, Merton College, MS 249, which preserves a brief excerpt spanning Ps 54:24–Ps 58:13.

However, the most complete testimony of the manuscript tradition is provided by the Durham cathedral trilogy (MSS A.II.11, A.II.12, and A.II.13). Copied in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, these three large-format volumes were each designed to contain a block of fifty Psalms and together form the only surviving set that transmits all four instalments in a single organised structure. MS A.II.11 preserves the first instalment; MS A.II.12 combines the second and third instalments (Ps 51–100); and MS A.II.13 transmits the fourth instalment (Ps 101–150).

A further, highly peripheral witness from Cambridge (Trinity College, Wren Library, MS O.2.14) illustrates the degree to which these textual units could be reconfigured. Here, an anonymous scribe extracts a single passage on Psalm 67:14 from the third instalment and precedes it with a versified prologue, producing an independent vernacular annotation on the nature of the Church.

Last interlinear gloss in the first instalment of the Commentary in Hereford, Cathedral Library, MS O.III.15, fol. 118r.

Photo: Vladimir Agrigoroaei, 2024.

With the kind permission of the Hereford Cathedral Chapter.

Copy of the first instalment of the First French Commentary on the Psalms preserved in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 13315–13316. The present folio (MS fr. 13315, fol. 117v) contains excerpts of the gloss on Psalms 2:7, 2:9, and 2:10. This witness does not include interlinear translations of the Gallicanum verses.

Photo: Vladimir Agrigoroaei, 2025.

With the kind permission of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

mes. mais dey est p̃menables. e sel tams par-
menables. sins a ne hodie ne heri. ne eras.
car il ne passe nient. & co mostre ihes eu̅ge
lista i apocalipsi. ja ri il parla de cuitate
dei supna ihrlm. Dorte ei. n̄. c. p̃. d. nox.
rj. n̄. ī. e. Cel portel dist il nierent ia cio-
sel p̃ior. ne ia nuit ni ar̄. Voi saurez bien
q̃la nuit q̃uient entre dous iors. e le fait
oun heri e del altre crai. e la una nule nui-
t ne poet auoir nul tams passable. qar en
laltre natiuitte in q̃ natus est de matre n̄a
pr̃e. la est hodie. la dist dōs pr̃. Ego. h. g. t. Co
est adire. Tu q̃el filī meus naturalr̄ et nalr̄
secdm diuinitatem sa̅ tpr̃ genitꝰ. tu el fai-
filī nūs in tempe natus de uirgine secdm
humanitatem. egel est in. u. f. Le
uerge defer segnefie le p̃menable iustice
de deu. car sil fers est roiel e ne ploie mie
uolentiers ne ne brise. ensem̄t le iustice deu
est roide ne ploie ne ca ne la. ne sert falser
ne sert falir. Et tangm̄ u. f. c. c. Li potiers e
il a fait sun pot. sil nest bien tornez. ille ble
sile torne met sil pot. sil ne peint. ille gete
puer. Ensem̄t. n. s. qui de nos faire est portiers.
q̃ nos forma de limo tre. q̃t il uoit en nos alcu
ne mesestm̄ce. il nos brise p̃ penitēce par
mals q̃ nos soffre auoir. tant q̃ il n̄ a chastiez

THE PLACE OF INTERLINEAR TRANSLATIONS WITHIN CERTAIN COPIES OF THE FIRST FRENCH COMMENTARY ON THE PSALMS (VA)

Of all these manuscripts, only two preserve an interlinear gloss translation: Morgan and Hereford. The existence of a similar gloss in the antigraph of the first Durham manuscript can be inferred, while other witnesses provide varying degrees of evidence that help clarify the status of this material. Two main questions arise: whether the gloss predates the composition of the Commentary proper or was added at a later stage, and whether it was limited to the first instalment or extended to the other instalments as well.

The complication arises from the fact that the Morgan manuscript, of continental origin, transmits the same gloss as Hereford, and to a certain extent a comparable version in the first Durham manuscript, both of which are insular. Had Morgan not survived, it would be natural to assume that the gloss was added in England, after the text had arrived there. However, since the Commentary itself is also continental (of Walloon origin), the prevailing assumption has been that the Morgan version (produced for Eleanor of Vermandois and later held in the cathedral library of Beauvais) derives from a continental exemplar unrelated to England. This, in turn, has led Gregory to posit the existence of an earlier interlinear version on the Continent, otherwise unattested, which would have preceded the composition of the Commentary itself.

Regrettably, the discussion of the interlinear gloss in the First French Commentary on the Psalms has been largely centred on the Morgan and Hereford manuscripts, leaving other significant evidence aside. Gregory considered the translation found in Durham A.II.11, embedded within the exegesis rather than presented in interlinear form, to be incomplete and defective, and he further maintained that the later instalments of the Commentary were not originally accompanied by an interlinear translation. However, the Durham manuscripts, the London Royal manuscript, and even Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud. misc. 91 all offer important material that has not been fully integrated into this debate.

▼ *Blank interlinear space left within the main text of the Psalms in London, British Library, MS Royal 19.C.V. Here, Ps 53:1 in fol. 8r.*

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▶ *Interlinear glosses transcribed as continuous prose preceding the Gallicanum verses in Durham, Cathedral Library, A.II.11. Shown here are Ps 4:8, Ps 4:9, and Ps 4:10 (fol. 10v).*

Source: https://iiif.durham.ac.uk/.

With the kind permission of the Durham Cathedral Library.



Perhaps the most striking feature of the translation of the Psalm verses proper, as transmitted in the Durham manuscript, is that it disappears from the subsequent instalments of the First Commentary in the other two manuscripts preserved in the same cathedral library. In the first manuscript (A.II.11), the French interlinear translation is copied before each Latin verse of the Gallicanum, in a script of the same size as that used for the exegesis and introduced by a red majuscule. The Latin text follows, marked by a blue majuscule and written in larger characters with a thicker writing instrument. Only thereafter does the exegetical commentary begin, without any coloured initial.

Since this specific arrangement is absent from the other two manuscripts (A.II.12 and A.II.13), in which the Latin verses are instead written in larger script and no autonomous translation is provided, while the alternation of red and blue majuscules is confined to the verse headings of the Gallicanum, this evidence suggests that the full translation (whether in the form of interlinear glosses or as a distinct textual layer) was likely produced only for the initial instalment of the Commentary and consequently transmitted exclusively in the first Durham manuscript. Nevertheless, this does not imply that traces of interlinear placement are absent from other manuscripts transmitting other instalments.

It is quite possible that the Royal copy of the Second and Third Instalments was conceived in expectation of a model similar to that of the first volume, namely one containing an interlinear gloss in the manner of the Hereford and Morgan manuscripts. Space was therefore left for such glosses in the interline of Latin verses, but as no corresponding material was found in the antigraph, this plan was ultimately abandoned. The reason for this assumption is that the height of the characters in the vernacular exegesis that follows fits exactly into the space left between the Latin lines written in large script. This is also suggested by the fact that the defect in the antigraph must have been noticed before the painter began adding the red and blue majuscules (and sometimes the uppercase letters at the beginning of each psalm), which in turn led to adjustments in the shape and size of those letters.

This is further complicated by the presence of six unusual marginal glosses in MS Laud. misc. 91, a copy of the second instalment, which Gregory dismissed without detailed analysis, but which warrant separate examination. While these annotations do not appear to belong to the same translational tradition and seem to reflect a different type of rendering, they may nonetheless be understood within a broader process of acculturation, whereby Anglo-Norman habits were applied to material originating south of the Channel.

For the sake of a more coherent presentation, we will not begin our analysis with the translation preserved in the first Durham manuscript, since it is not interlinear. It merely precedes the Latin verses of the Gallicanum and, as will become clear, is very close to the Hereford version, making a separate discussion at this stage unnecessary. We will return to it only in the broader examination of the textual relationships among these Old French translations of Ps 4, where the Arundel gloss is also brought into consideration. The marginal glosses in MS Laud. Misc. 91 will be discussed at the end of the section.

ceo ꝺ filiuſ ꝺi xp̃c qui illuminat omnẽ hom
nem uenientẽ in hunc mundũ. Il eſt lumere.
ki enluminet cheſcun hume ki uient en ceſt
mund. ſignaciũ ꝺ ceo diſt en ſeele ꝺ la lumere
del uultr deu ꝺ en ſeele ſur nuſ. qua uerbũ caro
factũ ꝺ habitauit in nob. uerbũ ceo ꝺ filiuſ ꝺi
factũ ꝺ caro. ceo ꝺ natuſeſt de uirgine. il eſt lu
mere del uultr deu. kar il nuſ rea lumere a deu
cunoiſtre. kar tut altre ſi cum hom cunoiſt le
hume par ſun uultr enſement cunoiſſum nuſ
ꝑ filiũ. ceo ken ceſte uie peot hom cuno
iſtre. e en altre cunoiſtrũ par tutement. pur
ceo eſt apele lumen ſil ꝺ apele ymago ꝑ il ymа
ge del pere. qua qualiſ ꝑ talis filius ſ altre
ment. lumen uultuſ apelet il rationem. rai
ſun. kar ceo ꝺ la ſemblance ſi unt la eſcripture
diſt fecit ds̃ hominẽ ad ymaginem ꝛ ſimi
litudinẽ ſuam. ceo ꝺ deuſ fiſt home a la ſue
ymagine ſ a la ſue ſemblance. kar par rai
ſun conuiſſum nuſ deu. e cunoiſſum e bien
e mal. Deuſtu leuciam ꝛc. Cil fol diſent. Quiſ
oſtendit nobis bona. Ihc xp̃e nr̃ qui ꝺ lum
uultuſ turni uint en terre. e par lui meime
par ſes apoſtres ſ par les prechurs de ſeinte
egliſe nuſ aprent il e caſtie. e il dient. quiſ
oſtendit nob bona ꝺ mes en nuſ dune gr̃
leesce. nient de aueir ꝺ rien ki ne pot auder
a gr̃ bo ſuigne ꝺ mes in corde meo ꝺ en mun
quor. nient de cele richeiſe ke nuſ uient. mes
de ceo ke ceo ues ke lumen uultuſ tui nus
merca ad uerai diuicias ſ ai uerai richeiſe.
ki ne mentent. Del fruit de lur furment
de lur uin ꝛ de lur oile ſunt il multiplie.
A fructu frumenti uini & olei ſui
multiplicati ſunt. A fructu fr. ꝛc. Cil di
ent. quiſ oſtendit nob bona. e ne querent mie
uera bona. pur quei. kar il ſunt multiplie. il
ne querent mie unũ ꝛ ueriũ bonũ. enz ſunt
multiplie en lur uanitez ki ne querent. Multa
bona. ceo ſunt trena bona. ke ne ſunt mie bo
na. enz ſõ mdaciũ ꝛ dunt lur uient ceo. A fru
ctu frumẽti ꝛc. Ceo ꝺ a dire. il querent tempora
lia bona ſi leſ unt. fruimẽtũ. uinũ ꝛ oleũ. e ꝑ ceo
multiplicati ſunt. Il ſunt multiplie. ceo ꝺ il
ſunt mene en tantes uaneſe en tantes cures ſ ki
ublient dẽ ꝛ ueriũ fruimẽtũ. dunt ſeinglies
diſt. Niſi granũ frumẽti cadens in tra mortu
um fuerit ipm ſolũ manet. Ceo ꝺ ſi li greins de
furmẽt ki en tre chiet ne eſt morz il remeint ſul.
ceo ꝺ a dire. ſil ne giſe en tre. ſil nad leſ pluies
leſ neifs ſ leſ geleés ki le funt creuer e germer. e
murir le ueiz grein ꝺ ne en ſurdra ia ne herbe. ne
eſpi. ne greins. Iſte ihc xp̃c fu li greins de furmẽt.
ki deuſ pr̃ ſemat en tre. il ourt leſ pluies ſ ele uent
e leſ altres tempeſtes ſ ki li uudeu li firent en tant
ka mort le menerent. Mes ke fiſt nr̃e grein de
furment ꝺ Reſurrexit a mortuis. il releua de mort
il reſurt tant ki ad bel ement empliees le gr̃ges
ꝺi pr̃i. e cele del ciel ſ cele de ſeinte egliſe. E ceo fait
a noter. ki ne diſt mie ſimplement frumentũ
uinũ ꝛ oleũ. enz miſt ſun aueoc. quen ſes lur fur
ment ſ lur uin ſ lur oile ſ lur eſt. Il eſt ſur ſi ñ di.
ceo ꝺ a dire. deuſ nad nient al ſur ne il nul nunt
al deu. En peis en ceo meime. dormerai e repoſe
rai. In pace in idipm ꝺ dormiam &
requieſcam. In pace in idipm. ꝛc. Li altre aunt
uantre e querent mencunge. mes ceo fait xp̃c e cil
keſt membrũ xp̃i. ceo quer le bien ke uerai bien
eſt. nient celui ki me ment ſ ki meſpaiſe ſ ki fait.
mes celui ki eſtait in idipm. ceo ꝺ ki parmaint tut
iurz en ceo kil eſt. en celui dormiam ꝛ requieſcã.
ceo ꝺ en celui reponerai. en celui meindrai. en celui
finerai. kar cil reponerunt tut ki cel bien aueront.
Kar tu ſire ſingulerment mal mis en eſperance.
Qm tu dñe ſingularter in ſpe ꝺ con
ſtituiſti me. Qm tu dñe ꝛc. Bien ſai ke ceo

The direct comparison of the Hereford and Morgan manuscripts (VA)

The relationship between the interlinear translation preserved in the Morgan manuscript and that transmitted by MS Douce 320 has long been debated. Initially, Samuel Berger argued that Morgan was only distantly related to the ordinary version represented by Douce (Berger 1884, p. 384). Paul Meyer subsequently recognized clear affinities between the two translations but remained uncertain whether they derived from a common exemplar or merely constituted independent versions exhibiting notable similarities (Meyer 1888, p. 130).

The question seemed to become clearer for Liebman. He treated the Morgan translation as an entirely independent rendering, distinct from the standard text preserved in Douce, and characterised it as a considerably freer translation of the Gallicanum, comparable to that of the Orne Psalter. This comparison, however, is difficult to sustain. The surviving portions of the two texts do not overlap, since the Morgan manuscript preserves Ps 1–50, whereas the Orne Psalter contains only Ps 74:40–Ps 74:61 and Ps 87:10–Ps88:14. Any direct assessment of their respective translation techniques is therefore impossible.

Gregory revisited the problem in his study of the first instalment of the commentary. After reviewing the earlier scholarship, he concluded that the interlinear translations preserved in Morgan and Hereford constituted a distinct textual version composed of two separate layers attributable to different scribes of the Morgan manuscript (Gregory 1990, vol. 1, p. 6–10).

For Gregory, the Morgan interlinear gloss was produced by two distinct scribes (**h1** and **h3**), each responsible for roughly half of the translation, and crucially representing different textual traditions. Gregory argued that the portion attributed to **h1** (also attested in Durham and Hereford) does not derive from the Eadwine Psalter (which is based on the Hebraicum) or MS Arundel 230, and is only loosely connected to MS Douce 320. He attributed the overlaps instead to limited vernacular lexical resources producing occasional coincidences in concrete semantic fields rather than evidence of a shared source (what what Agrigoroaei, Sasu 2023 later termed "translation automatisms").

In Gregory's view, the divergence between Morgan **h1** and Douce becomes systematic in lexical and syntactic terms: where MS Douce 320 uses forms such as *purpenser*, *habiter*, and *tricherie*, Morgan **h1** prefers *penser*, *manoir*, and *boisdie*. These differences are reinforced by broader syntactic tendencies, as **h1** more consistently adopts modern constructions, supplies omitted copulas, retains articles and pronouns, and avoids participial forms. Although Gregory acknowledged occasional literalisms and conservative features similar to Douce in Morgan **h1**, he interpreted these as residual traits of a similar translation strategy rather than signs of textual dependence. He concluded that the distinctive features point to Morgan **h1** being an independent rendering produced at an early stage on the Continent, predating both the First French Commentary on the Psalms and the wider dissemination of the various versions of MS Douce 320.

In his view, the situation changes radically in the second half of Morgan (conveniently located in a section where no further comparison with Hereford is possible), which was copied by hand **h3**. Gregory argued that the original translation used by the primary Morgan scribe and by the scribe of Durham A.II.11 was defective and full of lacunae, and that **h3** intervened to supply the missing material. Unlike **h1**, the passages attributed to **h3** show strong affinities with MS Douce 320, including identical vocabulary and, at times, nearly identical verses. This hand also frequently reproduces archaic syntactic structures and present participles entirely absent from the **h1** sections. For Gregory, while these correspondences do not imply direct genetic identity, they nevertheless establish a clear relationship with MS Douce 320. He therefore accepted a link with Douce only for the second part of the Morgan interlinear gloss (**h3**), not for the first (**h1**), which he regarded as an independent witness to an earlier continental translation.

However, this mechanical interpretation would only be plausible if Morgan had served as the basis for Hereford, which is impossible since Hereford predates Morgan. The hypothesis therefore becomes difficult to sustain, unless one assumes that **h1** depends on a tradition related to Hereford, while **h3** represents the innovative layer. Yet, the most significant innovations appear precisely in **h1**.

Strikingly, Gregory never considers the possibility that both Morgan hands (**h1** and **h3**) may have relied on a variant of MS Douce 320, albeit in different ways: one more dynamic and interventionist, the other more literal and conservative. Moreover, he provides no detailed justification for his conclusions and offers no concrete examples, making it difficult to assess the distinction between **h1** and **h3**, especially since the exact textual scope of each hand remains unclear.

This is compounded by the fact that Gregory's overall classification of scribal hands in the Morgan manuscript is highly elaborate but weakly grounded, distinguishing up to nine hands on the basis of minor variations in script and ink that may well reflect a single scribe. Taken together, these issues raise serious doubts about his reconstruction, particularly as he appears not to have considered the possibility of a distinct interlinear version underlying both Douce and Arundel, which could have served as a different source.

Since this conclusion was already reached in the first part of the analysis devoted to the erasures in Douce, a closer examination of the relationship between the Morgan and Hereford versions is therefore required, and the discussion will begin with their treatment of Ps 1:1.





The chained library of Hereford and the covers of MS O.III.15.

Interlinear and commentary glosses of Ps 1:1 in Hereford, Cathedral Library, MS O.III.15, fol. 43r.

Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei, 2024.

With the kind permission of the Hereford Cathedral Chapter.

Incipit liber hympnorum uel soliloquiorum ppheticorum.



Bonereus fu li heom ki naiert eatus uir qui non ambulauit in consilio impiorum. & in uia peccatorum non stetit. & in cathedra pestilentie non sedit.

Adam nre primer piere ne fu mie beatus uir: kar il ala el conseil des felons. del serpent & deue kil li firent la deu obediences entendre. & il estoit en la uoie des pecheors. quant il se delita en ceo que li serpent & eue le deceurent. & il li ꝑmistrent kil sauereit & bien & mal. & serreit si cũ dꝰ. ceo. ẽ. kil ne murreit ia. & il sist en la chaiere de pestilence. quant il escusa son peche en uers deu. kar il dousta ueir dit. peccaui dñe miserere mei. ceo est sire io ai peche aiez merci de mei. Ceo ne dist il mie. en nz monta en la chaere de soue. si se cõmença a defendre & a deraisner en uers deu. Si dist. mulier quã dedisti mi decepit me. & comẽdi. Ceo ẏ la fẽme ke tu me dunas me deceut & io manai. Quenseis se io ai peche. ceo ẏ ta culpe. ki le fẽme me donas. ki me deceut. Mais nre sire ihc xpc secundꝰ adam. il fu beatus uir. car il nala mie el conseil des felons. des iudeus ki li distrent. si filiꝰ dei. ẽ. descendat

de cruce ⁊ credimus en. Ce ē. Si ē li filz deu descende de la croiz
e nos creruns en lui. Si il ne stut mie en la uoie del pecche
os kar il ne se delita mie en mundaine richeise. Car
q̃n li iudeu le voldrent faire rei. nen out cure ne se
delita mie e co mostra il ben. quia non stetit ī uia pec
catoꝝ. ne se volt deliter el siecle. nen se volt demoreir.
Tant ⁊ uint. poure uie mena. poi ⁊ demora. ni estut ke
xxx ⁊ ij. anz. ke mil e cinc cenz anz ⁊ poust richement
estre sil uolsist. Oie fant a esgarder en quele maneꝛ
li deables uenq̃ le p̃meram hom adam. Il uenqui le p̃me
ram adam. gula. uana gl̃a. Auarica. Ce ē par glutunerie
par uane gl̃e. par auarice. Par glutunerie. q̃n il dist co
medite. ce est mangez. Si il firent glutunerie q̃n il poꝛ
le son conseil ce mangerent ke ꝰ meisme loi defendi.
Par uane gl̃e lei uenqui. q̃n il dist. eritis sicut dii. Ce ē
uos serrez sicī deu. kar co fu uane gl̃e. kil voldrent estre
semblant a deu. kar li serf ē folt ki uolt estre pieis a son
seignoꝛ. Par auarice lei uenq̃. q̃n il dist. scientes bonū
⁊ malū. Ce ē uos sauerez e ben ⁊ mal. Car co fu q̃n
auarice q̃n il counta par le diable a sauet pl̃e ds ne
li out otrie. kar auarice ce ē coueitise. En ceste mane
re q̃a il uenq̃ le secund adam. xp̃m. Il tempta. gula.
q̃n il dist el desert. q̃n nr̃e sire ihc out iune. xl. noiz e xl.
noiz e il out faim si uint le diable si li dist. Si tu es filz
deu dibe cest pereis de uenir pains. Ihc li quida il ue
nist par glutunerie si cū il fist le altre adā. q̃n il li dist
comedite. Mais li bons ihc ne fist ment de son conseil.
ainz li respondi molt sagement. Non in solo pane ui
uit homo. Ce ē. En sol pain nest mie la uie del home.
Quenlei io ai mult iune si ai feim. mais io ne sui pas

Hereford, Cathedral Library, MS O.III.15

[fol. 43r] Beatus uir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum · *et* in uia peccatorum non stetit · *et* in cathedra pestilencie non sedit ·

Bonereus fu li heom ki naient nala el conseil des felons e en la ueie des pechors ne estut e en la chaieere de pestilence ne sist ·

Adam nostre primer piere ne fu mie beatus uir · kar il ala el conseil des felons · del serpent et deue kil li firent la deu obedience enfreindre · e il estoit en la ueie des pecheors · quant il se delita en ceo que li serpent et eue le deceurent · e il li purmistrent kil sauerent e bien e mal · e serreit si cum deus · ceo · est · kil ne murreit ia · E il sist en la chaiere de pestilence · quant il escusa son peche enuers deu · kar il doust aueir dit · peccaui domine miserere mei · ceo est sire io ai peche aiez merci de mei · Ceo ne dist il mie · einz monta en la cheiere de sotie · si se comenca a defendre e a deraisner enuers deu · Si dist · mulier quam dedisti michi decepit me · *et* comedi · Ceo *est* la femme ke tu me dunas me deceut et io maniai · Quenses se io ai peche · ceo *est* ta culpe · ki le femme me donas · ki me deceut · Mais nostre sire ihesus *christus* secundus adam · il fu beatus uir · car il nala mie el conseil des felons des iudeus ki li distrent · si filius dei . est descendat [fol. 43v] de cruce *et* credimus ei · Ce *est* · Sil *est* li filz deu descende de la croiz e nos creruns en lui · E il ne stut mie en la ueie des pecheors kar il ne se delita mie en mundaine richeise · Car quant li iudeu le uoldrent faire rei · nen out cure ne se delita mie e co mostra il ben · quia non stetit in uia peccatorum · ne se uolt deliter el secle · nen se uolt demorer · Tait i uint · poure uie i mena · poi i

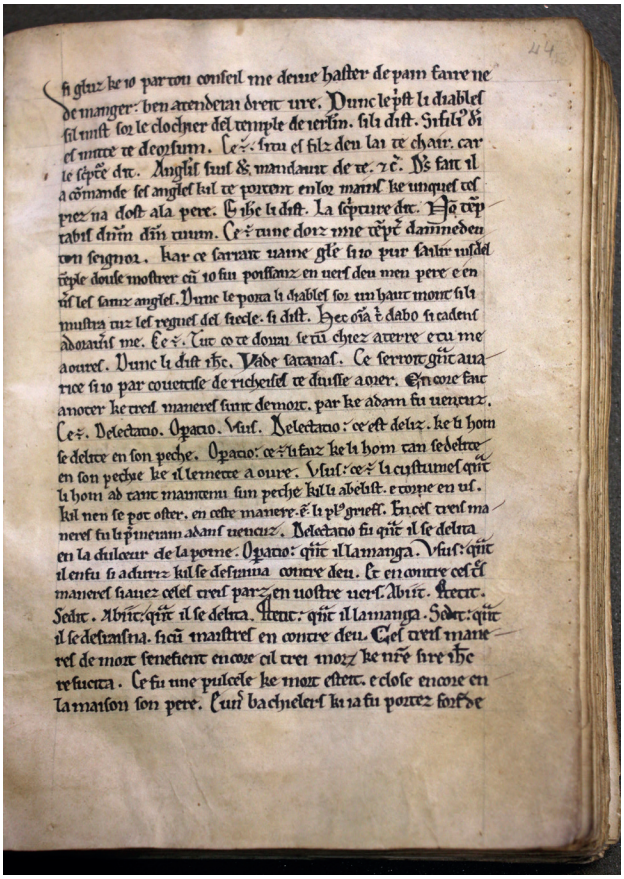
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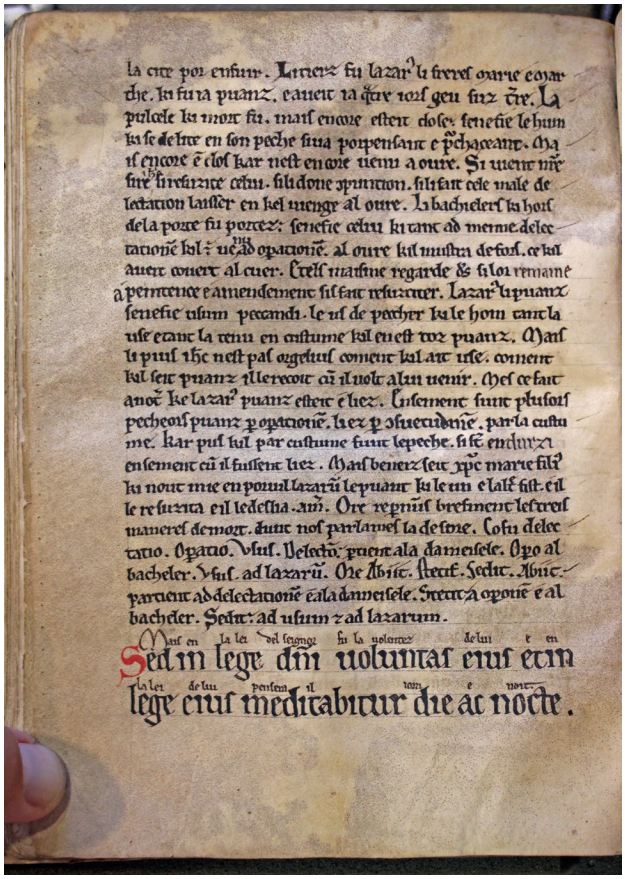
[fol. 1r] Beatus uir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum . *et* in uia peccatorum non stetit ⁝ *et* in cathedra pestilencie non sedit . **Ps 1:1**

bons eurus fu li hom qui nient nala el conseil ⁝ des feluns . *et* en la uoie des pecheors ⁝ ne stut . é en la chaiere de pestilence ne sist .

Adans nos premiers peires ne fu mie beatus uir · car il ala él conseil des felun\s/ · del serpent et déue quil li firent la deu obedience enfreindre · é il estut en la uoie des pecheors quant il se delita en ce ke li serpens é éue le deceurent · é il li premistrent · quil sauróit é bíen é mal · é seroit sicumm é dex · co est quil ne morroit ia · E il s_ist en la chaiere de pestilence quant il escusa sun pechie\z/ enuers deu · Car il deust auoir dit · pecaui domine miserere mei · co est sire ío ái pechie aies merci de moi · Ce ne dist il mie einz monta en la chaíre de sotie · si se commenca a defendre · e a desraisnier enuers deu · E dist mulier quam dedisti michi deci\e/pit me · *et* comedi · Co est la femme que tu me donas me decut · et io maniai · Quenses se io ai pechie · co est ta culpe · ke la femme me donas · ki me deceut · Mais noster sire ihesus *christus* secundus adam il fu beatus uir · car il nala mie el conseil des feluns · des íudeus · ki li distrent · si filius dei est ⁝ descendat [fol. 43v] de cruce *et* credimus ei · Co est sil *est* li fils deu · descende de la croiz · *et* nos creruns en lui · E il nestoit mie en la uoie des pecheors · car il ne se delita mie en mundaine richoise · \Car/ Quant li íudeu le uolrent faire roi · nen nout cure · ne se\j/ delita mie · é có mostra il bien · quia non stetit in uia peccatorum · ne \se/ uost deliter el secle · nen í se uo\l/st demorer · Tart í uínt · poure uie i mena · péu í

Continuation of the Commentary glosses of Ps 1:1 in Hereford, Cathedral Library, MS O.III.15, fol. 43v, 44r, and 44v.
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei, 2024. With the kind permission of the Hereford Cathedral Chapter.



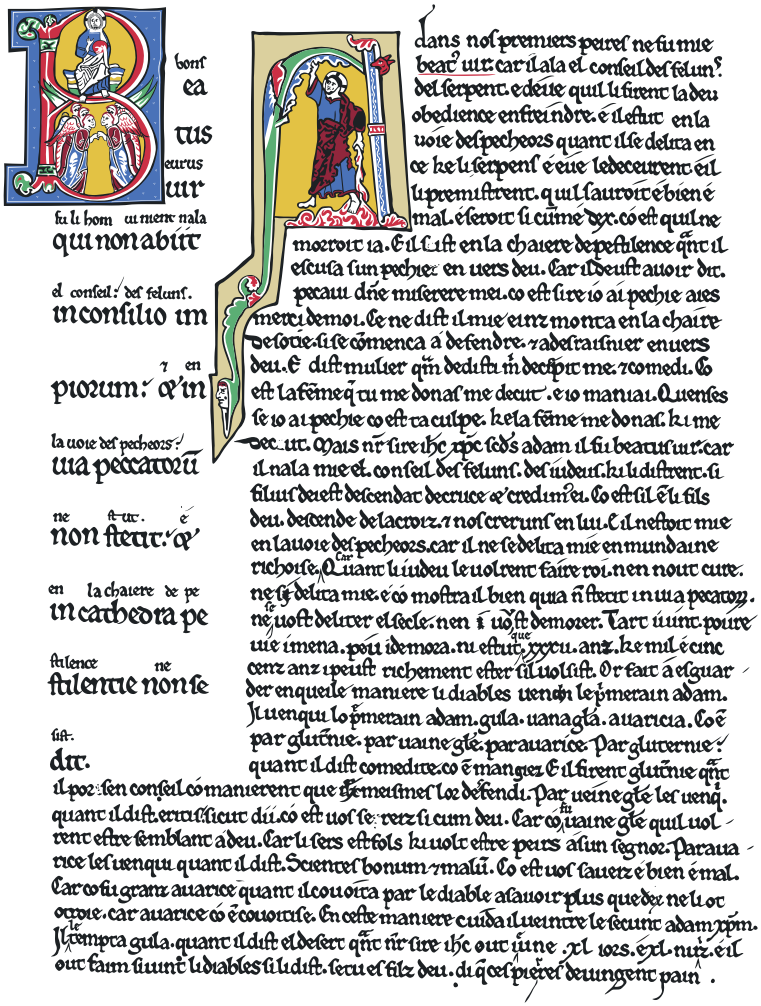


Hereford, Cathedral Library, MS O.III.15

demora · ni estut ke · xxx ij · anz · ke mil e cinc cenz anz i poust richement estre sil uolsist · Ore fait a esguarder en quele manere li deables uenq*ui* le p*re*merain hom adam · Jl uenqui le p*ri*merain adam · gula · uana glo*ri*a · Auaricia · Ce *est* par glutunerie par uaine glo*ir*e · par auarice · Par glutunerie ⁝ q*ua*nt il dist co*m*medite · ce est mangez · E il firent glutunerie q*ua*nt il por le son conseil ce mangerent ke d*eu*s meisme lor defendi · Par uaine glo*ir*e les uenqui · q*ua*nt il dist · eritis sicut dii · Ce *est* uos serrez sicu*m* deu · Kar co fu uaine glo*ir*e · kil uoldrent estre semblant a deu · kar li sers *est* fols ki uolt estre piers a son seignor · Par auarice les uenq*ui* · q*ua*nt il dist ⁝ scientes bonu*m et* malu*m* · Ce *est* uos sauerez e ben *e* mal · Car co fu g*r*ant auarice q*ua*nt il couta par le diable a sauet pl*us* ke d*eu*s ne li out otrie · kar auarice ce *est* coueitise · En cest manere q*ui*da il uentr*e* le secund adam · *christu*m · Jl tempta · gula · q*ua*nt il dist el desert · q*ua*nt n*ost*re sire ih*esus* out iune · xl · iorz e xl · noiz e il out faim si uint le diable si li dist · Si tu es filz deu di ke ces peres de uengent pains · issi le quida il ueintre par glutunerie si cu*m* il fist le altre ada*m* · q*ua*nt il dist comedite · Mais li bons ih*esus* ne fist nient de son conseil · einz li respondi molt sagement · Non in solo pane uiuit homo · Ce *est* · En sol pain nest mie la uie del home · Quenses io ai mult iune si ai feim · mais ne sui pas [fol. 44r] si gluz ke io par ton conseil me deiue haster de pain faire ne de manger ⁝ ben atenderai dreiture · Dunc le p*ri*st li diables sil mist sor le clochier del temple de ier*usal*em · si li dist · Si fili*us* d*ei* es mitte te deorsum · Ce *est* · si tu es filz deu lai te chair · car le sc*ri*pt*ur*e dit · Ang*e*lis suis d*eu*s mandauit de te · *et* c*etera* · D*eu*s fait il a co*m*mande ses angles kil te portent en lor mains ke unques tes piez nadost a la pere · E ih*esus* li dist · La sc*ri*pture dit · No*n* te*m*ptabis d*omin*u*m* de*u*m tuum · Ce *est* tu ne doiz mie te*m*pt*er* damnedeu ton seignor · kar ce sarrait uaine glo*ir*e si io pur sailir ius del te*m*ple douse monstrer cu*m* io fui poissanz enuers deu men pere e enu*er*s les sainz angles · Dunc le porta li diables sor un haut mont si li munstra tuz les regnes del siecle · si dist · Hec o*m*nia t*ibi* dabo si cadens adorau*er*is me · Ce *est* . Tut co te dorrai se tu chiez a terre e tu me aoures · Dunc li dist ih*esus* · Vade satanas · Ce serroit g*r*ant auarice si io par coueitise de richeises te duisse aorer · Encore fait a noter ke treis maneres sunt de mort · par ke adam fu uencuz · Ce *est* · Delectatio · Op*er*atio · Vsus · Delectatio ⁝ ce est deliz · ke li hom se delite en son peche · Op*er*atio ⁝ ce *est* li faiz ke li hom tan se delite en son peche ke il le mette a oure · Usus ⁝ ce *est* li custumes q*ua*nt li hom ad tant maintenu sun peche kil li abelist · et torne en us · kil nen se pot oster · et ceste manere · e*st* · li pl*us* griefs · En ces treis maneres fu li p*re*merain adans uencuz · Delectatio fu q*ua*nt il se delita en la dulceur de la pome · Op*er*atio ⁝ q*ua*nt il la manga · Vsus ⁝ q*ua*nt il en fu si aduriz kil se desraina contre deu · Et encontre ces t*re*s maneres si auez celes treis parz en uostre uers · Abiit · Stetit · Sedit · Abiit ⁝ q*ua*nt il se delita · Stetit ⁝ q*ua*nt il la manga · Sedit ⁝ q*ua*nt il se desraisna · sicu*m* maistres encontre deu · Ces treis maneres de mort senefient encore cil trei morz ke n*ost*re sire ih*esus* resucita · Ce fu une pulcele ke mort esteit · e close encore en la maison son pere · E un*s* bachielers ki ia fu portez fors de [fol. 44v] la cite por enfuir · Li tierz fu lazar*us* li freres marie e marthe · ki fu ia puanz · e aueit ia q*ua*tre iors geu suz t*er*re · La pulcele ki mort fu · mais encore esteit close ⁝ senefie le hum ki se delite en son peche si ua porpensant e p*ur*chaceant · Mais encore e*st* clos kar nest encore uenu a oure · Si uient n*ost*re sire *ihesus* si resuzite celui · si li done *com*puntion · si li fait cele male delectation laisser en kel uienge al oure · Li bachielers ki hors de la porte fu

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demora · ni estut \que/ · xxxii · anz · ke mil e cinc cenz anz i peust richement ester sil uolsist · Or fait á esguarder en queile maniere li diables uenchi le p*ri*merain adam · Jl uenqui lo p*re*merain adam · gula · uana glo*ri*a · auaricia · Co *est* par glut*er*nie · par uaine glo*ri*e · par auarice · Par glut*er*nie ⁝ quant il dist comedite · co e*st* mangiez · E il firent glut*er*nie q*ua*nt il por sen conseil có manierent que d\e/x meismes lor de\s/fendi · Par ueíne glo*ri*e les uenq*ui* · quant il dist · eritis sicut díí · Có est uos se_reiz sicum deu · Car có \fu/ uaine glo*ri*e · quil uolrent estre semblant a deu · Car li sers est fols ki uolt estre peirs á sun seignor · Par auarice les uenqui quant il dist · Scientes bonum *et* malu*m* · Co est uos sauerz é bien é mal · Car co fu granz auarice quant il couoíta par le diable a sauoir plus que d\e/x ne li ot otroie · car auarice có *est* couoitise · En ceste maniere cuída il ueintre le secunt adam · *christu*m · Jl \le/ tempta gula · quant il dist el desert q*ua*nt n*ost*er sire ih*esus* out i\e/une · xl · iors · e xl · nu\i/z · é il out faim · si uint li diables si li dist · se tu es filz deu · di q*ue* ces pie\e/res deuingent pain · [fol. 1v] ensi le cuida il ueíntre par glut*er*nie · sicum \il/ fist laltre adam · q*ua*nt il dist comedite · Mais li bons ih*esus* nen fist níent de søn conseil eínz li respondi mult sagement · Non in solo pane uíuit homo · co est \en/ sol paín nest míe la uíe del homme · Quenses ío aí molt j\e/une · si ái faím · mais ne sui pas si gluz · que io par tun conseil me doíe ~~fort~~ haster de pain \faire/ ne de mangier · bien atenderai droite øure · Dunc le p*ri*st li diables sil mist sor le clochier del temple de ier*usal*em · si li dist · Si fili*us* d*ei* es · mitte te deorsum · Co *est* se tu es filz deu · laite char · car lescriture dist · Ang*e*lis suis mandauit de te · *et* c*etera* · Deus fait il a co*m*mande ses angeles quil te portent en lor mains que unques tes piez na doist a la pie\r/re · E jh*esus* li dist · Lescriture dit · No*n* temptabis d*omin*u*m* d*eu*m tuum · Co est tu ne doiz mie tempteir damledeu tøn seignur · Car co seroít uaine glo*ri*e · se io par salir íus del te*m*ple · deusse monstreir cu*m* io soi poissanz enuers deu men peire · e enuers les sains ang*e*les · Dunc le porta li diables sor un haut munt · si li monstra tot les regnes d*el* siecle · si dist · Hec omnia t*ibi* dabo · si cadens adoraueris me · Co est tot có te donrai \ie/ se tu chiez á terre · é tu me aoures · Dunc li dist ih*esus* · Vade sathanas · Co seroit g*r*anz auarice · se io par coueitise de richoises te deusse aórurer · Enc\h/ore fait a noter · ke t*ro*is manieres sunt de mort · par que adans fu uencuz · Co est delectatio · operatio · usus · Delectatio ce est deliz · que li hom se delite en son pechie Op*er*atio co *est* li faiz q*ua*nt li hom tant se delite en son peche quil \le/ met á oure · Vsus · co *est* la costume · quant li hom á tant mai*n*tenu son pechie quil li abelist é torne en ús · kil ne sen puet oster · e ceste maniere e*st* la pl*us* gries · En ces trois manieres fu li p*re*miers adans uencuz · Delectatio fu q*ua*nt il se delita en la doceur de la pome · Op*er*atio · q*ua*nt il la mania · Vsus q*ua*nt il \en/ fu si áduriz ki il sen desraína encontre deu · Et contre ces trois manieres · si auez · celes trois parz en uo*st*er uers · Abíit · stetit · sedit · Abíit q*ua*nt il se delita · Stetit · q*ua*nt il la mania · Sedit · q*ua*nt il se deraisna · sicum maistres encontre deu · Ces trois manieres de mort senefient encore cil troi mort · q*ue* no*st*er sire ih*esus* resuscita ; Co fu une pucele ki morte estoit ~~it~~ · é close encore en la maisun son peire · E uns bachelers ki ia fu portez fors de la cite por enfuir · Li tierz fu lazar*us* li freires marie *et* marthe · ki fu ia puanz e auoit ia quatre iors geu souz t*er*re · La pucele ki morte fu · mais encore estoit close · signefie lumme ki se delite en sun pechie si ~~\le/~~ua porpensant é porc\h/aceant · Mais encore e*st* close · car nest encore uenue a løure · Si ui\e/nt no*st*er sire ih*esus* si resuscite celuj · si li done compuntíun · si li fait cele male delectatíun laissier · eínz quele ui\e/nge alóure · Li bacheleirs ki hors de la porte



▲ *Facsimile drawing of the Commentary glosses on Psalm 1:1 in New York, The Morgan Museum & Library, MS M338, entire fol. 1r, entire fol. 1v, and the upper part of fol. 2r.*

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Hereford, Cathedral Library, MS O.III.15

portez ⁝ senefie celui ki tant ad merme · delectationem kil *est* uenu ad operationem · al oure kil mustra defors · ce kil aueit couert al cuer · E tels maisme regarde deus si lor remaine *a* penitance e amendement sis fait resuzciter · Lazarus li puanz senefie usum peccandi · le us de peccher ki le hom tant la use e tant la tenu en custume kil en est toz puanz · Mais li pius ih*esus* nest pas orgelius coment kil ait use · coment kil seit puanz il le recoit cum il uolt a lui uenir · Mes ce fait a not*er* ke lazarus puanz esteit e liez · Ensement sunt plusors pecheors puanz per operationem · liez per consuetudinem · par la custume · kar pus kil par custume funt le peche · si sunt endurzi ensement cum il fussent liez · Mais beneiz seit *christus* marie filius ki nout mie en poruil lazarum le puant ki le un e lalt*re* fist · e il le resuzita e il le deslia · amen · Ore repernuns brefment les treis maneres de mort · dunt nos parlames la desore · Co fu delectatio · Operatio · Vsus · Delect*atio* ⁝ p*ar*tient a la dameisele · Operatio al bacheler · Vsus · ad lazarum · Ore Abiit · Stetit · Sedit · Abiit ⁝ partient ad delectationem e a la dameisele · Stetit ⁝ a operationem e al bacheler · Sedit ⁝ ad usum *et* ad lazarum ·

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fu portez · signefie celuj ki tant amene · delectationem · quil *est* uenuz ad operationem · al oure quil mostre defors · co quil auoit couert el cuer · E teils meisme\s/ reguarde deus si lor done penitance · é ámendement ses fait resusciter · Lazarus li puanz signefie usum peccandj · le ús de pechier · q*ue* li hom tant la úse le pechie · é tant la tenu en costume · quil en ést toz puanz · Mais li pius ih*esus* nest pas orguillos · coment quil ait úse · coment quil soit púanz · il le recoit · it cum il uølt a luí uenir · Mais có fait a not*er* · q*ue* lazarus puanz estoit é lo\i/ez · Ensemen*t* [fol. 2r] sunt plusor pecheor puant per operationem · loie per consuetudinem · par la costume · Car pois quil par costume funt le pechie · si sunt enz enduri · ensement cum il fu_ssent loie · Mais benoiz soit *christus* marie filius · ki nout mie en poruíl lazarum le puant · ki lun e laltre fist · e il le resuscita · e il le desloia · amen · Ore repernuns briement les trois manieres de mort · dunt nos parlames la desore · co fu delectatio · operatio · usus · Delect*atio* \a/p*ar*tient a la damoisele · Operatio al bacheler · Vsus · ad lazarum · Ore ⁝ abíit · stetit · sedit · Abíit \a/partint ad delectationem e \a/ la damoisele · Stetit ⁝ ad operationem · e al bacheler · Sedit ad usum é á lazarum ·

Contrary to Gregory's assumptions, the initial evidence suggests that the first gloss in Hereford and Morgan derives from a variant of the text transmitted in Douce. Entire sequences of words correspond exactly, while divergences are limited to minor translational choices.

At the same time, there is, on the one hand, a clear tendency to supply the absent verb in the predicative nominal and, on the other, to reinforce the negation in the relative clause with *n(a)ient*. These two features point to distinct strategies of rendering a more discursive text, which does not fully conform to the expectations of an interlinear gloss.

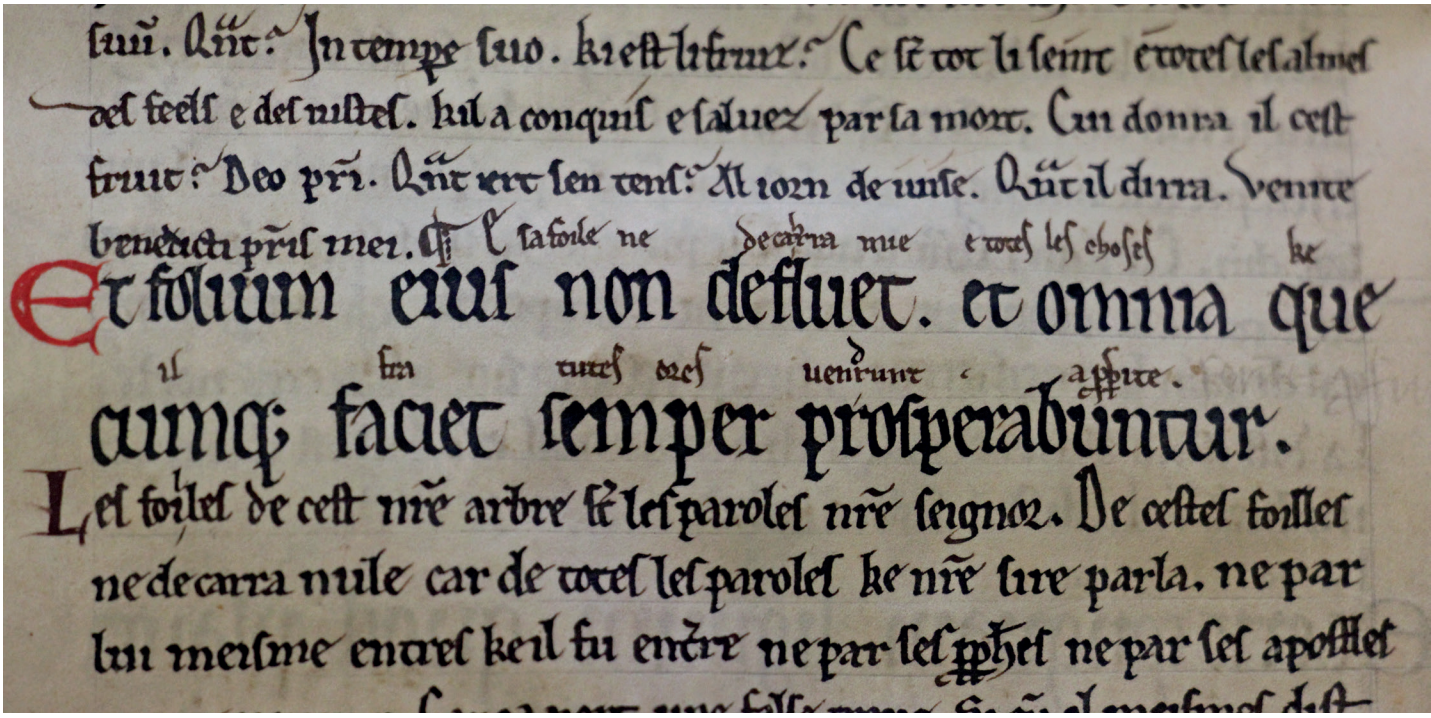
In order to determine whether these features result merely from translational automatisms or perhaps from a comparable translation strategy employed by the author of the First Commentary, it is necessary to examine the way in which certain phrases recur in the exegetical sections that follow. When one reads sentences such as *Adam nostre primer piere ne fu mie beatus uir kar il ala el conseil des felons*, the overall impression is that they are indeed dependent upon the interlinear translation. This would explain not only the insertion of the verb *fu* in a similar syntactic position within the gloss, but also the reuse of precisely the same formulation for the "counsel of the wicked." The sentence *e il estoit en la ueie des pecheors* produces much the same impression of dependence upon the translation gloss, and the same applies to *il sist en la chaiere de pestilence*.

The second part of the exegesis, however, complicates the picture, since the same ideas are restated there. In passages such as *secundus adam il fu beatus uir car il nala mie el conseil des felons*, one observes not only the recurrence of the same translational choices, but also the fact that the verb "to be" appears to derive directly from the Latin model, which in this particular case cannot be the *Media Glossatura* of Gilbert of Poitiers, since it does not include the same excursus on the Second Adam and the three modes of death.

Interestingly, whereas the first part of the passage renders Latin *stetit* through *stut* (Morgan interlinear gloss), *estut* (Hereford gloss and Morgan's first occurrence in the exegesis), and *estoit* (Hereford exegesis), the second part reverses the distribution of these forms between the two manuscripts. Hereford reads *il ne stut mie en la ueie des pecheors*, whereas Morgan has *il nestoit mie en la uoie des pecheors*. This fluid interchange strongly suggests that no substantial distinction existed between *estoit*, *estut*, and *stut* in this context. Consequently, there is no reliable way of determining which of these three forms may originally have been employed by the author of the First Commentary. The difficulty lies in the fact that we do not know whether this author was responsible for composing the interlinear gloss.

The infinitive form of the verb is most clearly attested as *ester* or *estre* (from Latin *stare*) in the exegetical passage reading *ni estut ke · xxx ij · anz · ke mil e cinc cenz anz i poust richement estre sil uolsist* (Hereford) or *ni estut \que/ · xxxii · anz · ke mil e cinc cenz anz i peust richement ester sil uolsist* (Morgan). The presence of a correction in the Morgan manuscript suggests that this passage was indeed checked against the antigraph, thereby increasing the likelihood that *estut*, attested here in both Hereford and Morgan, was the form employed by the author. As it closely resembles the form *stóut* found in Douce MS 320, while not being identical to it, the reading therefore warrants further investigation before any provisional conclusions can be reached. To that end, I shall continue the analysis by examining the interlinear glosses to Ps 1 and 2.

	Hereford, Cathedral Library, MS O.III.15	New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, M338
Ps 1:2	[fol. 44v] Sed in lege d*omi*ni uoluntas eius et in lege eius meditabitur die act nocte ·	[fol. 2r] Sed in lege d*omi*ni uoluntas eius et in lege eius ⁝ meditabitur die act nocte ·
	Mais en la lei del seignor fu la uolentez de lui e en la lei de lui pensera il iorn e noit ·	mais en la loi del segnor fu la uolentez de lui · e en la loi de lui ⁝ penserai il ior é nuit
Ps 1:3a	[fol. 45r] Et erit tanquam lignum quod plantatum est secus decursus aquarum ⁝ quod fructum suum dabit in tempore suo ·	Et erit tanq*ua*m lignum quod plantatum [fol. 2v] est secus decursus aquarum quod fructum suum dabit in tempore suo ·
	E il ert sicum le fust qui plantez est solonc le decurement des ewes ki son fuit donra en son tens ·	É il iert si cum li fuz ki est planteiz [fol. 2v] est solunc les decurremenz des euues ki sen fruit donra en sun tens
Ps 1:3b	[fol. 45v] Et folium eius non defluet · et omnia quecumq*ue* faciet semper prosperabuntur ·	Et folium eius non defluet ⁝ *et* omnia quec*umque* faciet p*rosper*abu*ntur* ·
	E sa foile ne dec\h/arra mie e totes les choses ke il fra tutes ores uen\d/runt a p*rosper*ite ·	E sa foille ne dechara mie *et* totes les choses quil fera uenr*un*t a p*rosper*ite
Ps 1:4	[fol. 46r] Non sic impii non sic ⁝ sed tanquam puluis quem proicit uentus a facie terre ·	Non sic impíí non sic ⁝ s*ed* tanq*uam* puluis quem proicit uentus a facie terre ;
	En si nerent mie li felun · mais si cum la puldre ke li uenz gete puor de la face de la terre ·	Ensi nierent mie li felun mais si cum la pórre que li uenz giete puer · de la face de la terre ·
Ps 1:5	[fol. 46r] Ideo non resurgunt impii in iudicio ⁝ neq*ue* peccatores in consilio iusto*rum* ·	[fol. 3r] Jdeo non resurgunt impíí in iudicio ⁝ neq*ue* peccatores in consilio iustorum ·
	Por ce ne releuent mie li felun el iudice ne li pecheor el conseil des dreiturers ·	Por ce ne relieuent li felun el íuise ne li pecheor el conseil des iustes
Ps 1:6	[fol. 46v] Quoniam nouit d*omin*us uiam iusto*rum* et iter i*mpio*r*um* p*er*ibit ·	Q*uoni*am nouit d*omin*us uiam iustorum ⁝ *et* iter impio*rum* p*er*ibit ;
	Car n*ostr*e sire conuist la ueie des iustes · e la ueie des felons p*er*ira ·	Car n*oster* sire conoist la uoie des íustes e la uoíe des feluns perira



▲ *Interlinear gloss translation of Ps 1:3b in Hereford, Cathedral Library, MS O.III.15, fol. 45v.*
Photo: Vladimir Agrigoroaei, 2024.
With the kind permission of the Hereford Cathedral Chapter.

The overall translation appears broadly consistent across the witnesses, with the Hereford version remaining closer to the Latin source and adhering more faithfully to the wording of the Gallicanum. A comparison of the interlinear vernacular glosses in the two manuscripts shows, however, a more complex pattern of variation.

In the Morgan Library & Museum MS M338, scribal mistakes are attested, such as *penserai* in Ps 1:2, whereas Hereford correctly preserves *pensera* (cf. Douce MS 320 *purpenserát*). A similar discrepancy occurs in Ps 1:3a, where a line break between recto and verso appears to have led the Morgan scribe to write *qui est plantez / est*, while Hereford transmits *qui plantez est* (cf. MS Douce 320 *queð est · plantét*). In Ps 1:3b, Morgan omits both the Latin *semper* and its vernacular equivalent (Hereford: *tutes ores*), whereas MS Douce 320 preserves a different variant, unrelated to Hereford (*unque\s/*).

At the same time, the evidence suggests that both interlinear gloss traditions ultimately derive from a shared earlier translation, as indicated by the correction *dec\h/arra* in Hereford Ps 1:3b, which corresponds to Morgan's uncorrected *decharra* (cf. MS Douce 320 *de_currát*). Further variation appears in Ps 1:5, where Hereford reads *iudice* against Morgan's *íuise*, the latter matching the reading of MS Douce 320 (*iuíse*). At the same verse's conclusion, Hereford reads *dreiturers*, whereas Morgan reads *iustes* for Latin *iusti*, while MS Douce 320 likewise preserves *dreiturírers*. In Ps 1:6, both Hereford and Morgan agree on *iustes* for the second occurrence of *iusti*, a form also attested in Douce MS 320 (*iústes*).

One might have anticipated Morgan to stand closer to the archetype; instead, Hereford readings can also align with MS Douce 320. The absence of a medieval interlinear gloss in MS Arundel 230 for this psalm is therefore particularly regrettable, as it would have provided a crucial additional point of comparison.

On this basis, it is possible to suggest that the interlinear gloss represents a secondary layer, introduced in the insular textual tradition after the arrival of the First Commentary in the British Isles. This is the question that will be addressed in the following paragraphs.

Unsurprisingly, the connection with the translation of MS Douce 320 is equally evident in the following Psalm. Consider, for instance, Ps 2:10, where all versions derive from the same source. The same holds true for the opening verse of this Psalm: Hereford reads *por quei*, where Douce has *pur quei*. This witness likewise preserves the Douce word order in *ueines coses* (Ps 2:1), where the same deprefixation phenomenon is observable, as *purpenser* becomes *penser*. Deprefixation appears to be a recurring feature of the interlinear glosses of the First Commentary in several other passages. See also Ps 2:3, where Hereford and Morgan read *ge(t)tuns* against MS Douce 320 *degetums*, although in this case the glossing strategy has clearly shifted, since the interlinear glosses in Hereford add *epoer en sus* and Morgan *pur en sus*. Overall, however, Hereford remains closer to Douce, particularly in terms of word order, as in Ps 2:6 (*io sui estabiiez rei de lui*). At the same time, formulae such as *prechant le comant de lui* at the end of the same verse reveal a preference for rendering the possessive pronoun in a way that appears closer to the underlying source shared with Douce and Arundel. This link with another gloss tradition becomes even more apparent in Ps 2:7, where Hereford and Morgan transmit essentially the same text, yet diverge from Douce in their treatment of the possessive adjective and the final adverb. The latter may reflect a restructuring of word order.

Certain lexical items are rendered differently across the witnesses. In Ps 2:4, for instance, Latin *habitat* is translated as *maint*, whereas MS Douce 320 reads *habítet*. The following verb remains stable (*irridebit*), rendered as *esgarnira* in Hereford, *escanira* in Morgan, and *escharnirát* in Douce. By contrast, the final verb of the verse shows renewed divergence: *subsanabit* appears as *gabera* in Hereford and *degabara* in Morgan, while MS Douce 320 reads *subsanerát*. Overall, there appears to be a tendency towards better target-language renderings, as opposed to the more

alul cmoz ꝓdens ex amore. Ceo ē crieme de bon fil e del bon sergant. si
naist de amor. Li autre formido pene, ceo ē crieme de peine. ele dit.
Jo me fierai de deu si ferai ceste mei uolente. ceste delit de ma car. ceste oppⁿ
on de poure gent e cel mal e cel altre. e uolenters enfrai plᵗ. mais io
crein enfer. Ceste creme nest une filialul de fil mais seruilul de serf
e de larron. ki lait lembler nent poz ce ke embler est uil chose e mal
uerse e mail poz ceo kil crient la hart. Ceste ē malueise e naist de hange.
Mail laultre naist de amor e poz ce sint aprel. exultate ei cū tremore.
Jo di. Seruite dñō ī timore. e mail io di apl. exultate ei cū tremore.
Ce ē eloisez uos auoec le crieme. Ce ē adire. Cremez si ke uos en
aiez ioie. Ce ē cremez le si cum fil sieū ami.

Apprehendite disciplinam nequando irat
Prenez en signement ke ne se co
ruce li sires e uos perissez de la uoie iuste. Ceo est apⁿ
catur dñs ⁊ peatis de uia iusta. dez bien
auuure ke ds ne se coruce. Dunc sest coruce ds cū il nos soffre
aa costumē ces menuz pechez dunt hum uient al gitz. Car
ce dist salemons. Quem diligit ds castigat. Cui ds amer il
le caste. Ce ē a entendre. Ille caste ces menuz kil ne uienge al
gitl. Dunt il seint dapnez. Ce ē kil dist ne perais de uia
iusta. ke uos ne perissez de la iuste uoie. ce ē de la uoie de
tace. qui uos face sauf.

Cum exarserit in breui ira eius beati
Cū le esprendera en peine ūne ses maltalenz benurez
omnes qui confidunt in eo. Ceruent tute al qui se fient en lui. En cort ter
me se pent li maltalenz de deu. Car il n'est guieres certes en tresq̄ al tems de
iuise ke ds se coruecera. mient poz ceo qui onqs fuist coru
ciez ne ia deie estre. Mail qnt il fait dunt hom se coru
ce dunc semble il kil sent coreciez. En cort ūne dist il poz ceo

neological solutions adopted in Douce. This tendency recurs elsewhere as well.

Thus, in Ps 2:5, MS Douce 320 translates *tunc* as *lores*, whereas Hereford and Morgan both use *dunc*. In the same verse, although word order and most lexical choices remain close to Douce, Latin ira is rendered as *maltalent* / *mautalent*, a solution consistently attested, including again in Ps 2:13. Similarly, in Ps 2:7, Douce's phrase *les genz la túe hereditet* corresponds to Hereford's *les genz tun heritage* and Morgan's *les genz ton heretage*. In Ps 2:9, Douce's *uerge ferríne* (for Latin *virga ferrea*) is replaced in both Hereford and Morgan by *uerge de fer*. In Ps 2:12, Morgan and Hereford both use *ens(e)ignement* where Douce reads *disciplíne* for Latin *disciplina*.

At the same time, certain renderings remain difficult to explain as straightforward lexical improvement and may instead reflect inherited translational layers. Ps 2:11 is particularly suggestive in this respect: Douce reads *criéme* and *tremblur*, Hereford *pour* and *creme*, and Morgan *pøur* and *cremeur* for Latin *timor* and *tremor*. Likewise, Ps 2:2 indicates that the source of the interlinear gloss in the insular manuscripts of the First Commentary must differ from MS Douce 320, which reads *estóurent*, while Hereford has *aresteirent* and Morgan *aresturent* for Latin *astiterunt*.

Interlinear gloss translation of Ps 2:12 and Ps 2:13 in Hereford, Cathedral Library, MS O.III.15, fol. 67v.
Photo: Vladimir Agrigoroaei, 2024.
With the kind permission of the Hereford Cathedral Chapter.

Hereford, Cathedral Library, MS O.III.15

[fol. 46v] Qvare fremuerunt gentes *et* populi meditati sunt inania ·

Por quei fremirent les genz · e li pople i penserent ueines coses ·

[fol. 47r] Astiterunt reges terre *et* principes conuenerunt in unum aduersus dominum *et* aduersus *christ*um eius ·

Li rei de la terre aresteirent *et* li prince se asemblerent en un encontre le seignor e encontre son crist ·

Dirumpamus uincula eo*rum et* proiciamus a nobis iugum ipsorum ·

Derumpons lor bens e gettuns epoer en sus de [fol. 48r] nos lor guu ·

Qui habitat in celis irridebit eos ⁝ *et* dominus subsanabit eos ·

ki maint es cels les esgarnira e li sire les gabera ·

[fol. 48v] Tunc loquetur ad eos in ira sua ⁝ *et* in furore suo conturbabit eos ·

dunc parlera a eals e sa ira e en son maltalent detorbera il eals ·

[fol. 49r] Ego autem constitutus sum rex ab eo super syon montem sanctum eius predicans preceptum eius ·

Mais io sui establiez rei de lui sur sion le son seint mont · prechant le comant de lui ·

[fol. 49v] Dominus dixit ad me filius meus es tu ⁝ ego hodie genui te ·

Li sire dist a mei tu es mes filz io tengendrai hoi ·

[fol. 50r] Postula a me *et* dabo tibi gentes hereditatem tuam *et* possessionem tuam terminos terre ·

Requier de mei e io te dorrai les genz tun heritage e ta posssession les termes de la terre ·

[fol. 50v] Reges eos in uirga ferrea *et* tanquam uas figuli confringes eos ·

Tu les guuerneras en uerge de fer e ensement cu*m*me ueissel de poter les frusseras tu ·

[fol. 51r] Et nunc reges intelligite erudimini qui iudicatis terram ·

E ore reis entendez seiez apres ki iugiez la terre ·

Seruite domino in timore ⁝ *et* exultate ei cum tremore ·

Seruez al seignor en pour e esleecez a lui ot creme ·

[fol. 51v] Apprehendite disciplinam nequando irascatur dominus *et* pereatis de uia iusta ·

Pernez ensignement ke ne se coruce li sires e uos perissez de la uie iuste ·

Cum exarserit in breui ira eius beati omnes qui confidunt in eo ·

Cu*m* se esprendera en pecte terme ses maltalenz benurez serrunt tuit cil qui se fient en lui ·

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[fol. 3v] Quare fremuerunt gentes ⁝ *et* populi meditatj sunt inania ; **Ps 2:1**

Por q*ue* fremirent les genz e li pople i penseirent choses uaines

[fol. 4r] Astiterunt reges terre *et* principes conuenerunt in unum aduersus dominum et aduersus *christ*um eius · **Ps 2:2**

li roi de la terre aresturent e li princes sasemblerent en un · encontre lo seignor e encontre søn crist ·

Dirumpamus uincula [fol. 4v] eorum ⁝ *et* proiciamus á nob*is* iugum ipsorum · **Ps 2:3**

Derompons lor loiens [fol. 4v] e getuns pur en sus de no\s/ lor íug

Qui habitat in celis irridebit eos ⁝ *et* dominus subsanabit eos ; **Ps 2:4**

ki maint es ciels les escarnira e li sire les degabara

Tunc loquetur ad eos in ira sua ⁝ *et* in furore suo conturbabit eos ; **Ps 2:5**

dunc parlera a eals e sa ire *et* en son mautalent desturbera il eals ·

Ego autem constitut*us* sum rex ab éo super syon montem sanct*um* ei*us* ⁝ predicans preceptum ei*us* ; **Ps 2:6**

Mais io suj rois establiz de luj sor syon le sien seint mont preechanz le comant de luj

[fol. 4r] Dominus dixit ad me filius meus es tu ⁝ ego hodie genuj te · **Ps 2:7**

Li sire dist á moí tu es mes fils io tengenrai új ·

[fol. 4v] Postula á me *et* dabo tibi gentes hereditatem tuam ⁝ *et* possessionem tuam terminos terre · **Ps 2:8**

Requíer de moi · *et* io te donrai les genz ton heretage *et* ta possession Les termes de la terre

Reges eos in uirga ferrea ⁝ *et* tanquam uas figuli confringes eos · **Ps 2:9**

Tu les gouerneras en uerge de fer e ensement cu*m* uaisel de pot\i/er debriseras tu eaus

Et nunc rege\s/ intelligite ⁝ erudi[fol. 5r]mini qui iudicatis terram · **Ps 2:10**

E ore roi entende_z soiez apris [fol. 5r] ki iugiez la terre ·

Seruite domino in timore ⁝ *et* exultate ei cum tremore · **Ps 2:11**

Seruez al seignor ⁝ en pøur · e esleesciez a luj en cremeur ·

Apprehendite disciplinam nequando irascatur dominus ⁝ *et* pereatis de uía íusta · **Ps 2:12**

Pernez enseignement ke ne se corrout li sire · *et* uos perissiez de la uoíe íuste ·

Cum exarserit in breui ira ei*us* ⁝ beati omnes qui confidunt in eo ; **Ps 2:13**

Cu*m* se espenra en petit terme ses mautalenz ⁝ beneúre seront tuít cil q*ui* se fient en luj ·

The broader comparison of Morgan, Hereford, Durham, Paris, Douce, and Arundel (VA)

Once we reach Psalm 4, where we also benefit from the possibility of comparing these texts with the interlinear gloss preserved in Arundel, the first step is to examine how the Psalm translation itself in the first Durham manuscript relates to the versions transmitted in the Hereford and Morgan versions. These three manuscripts clearly belong to a single, tightly knit translation family, sharing highly specific vernacular interpretations of the Latin text. For instance, in Ps 4:3, all three translate the phrase *usquequo graui corde* as *cum lungement auerez les quers pesanz*. In Ps 4:5, they all choose the idea of repentance (*uus repentez*) to translate *compungimini*, and in Ps 4:6, they uniformly translate *quis ostendit nobis bona* as *ki nus mustre biens*. All of these readings constitute innovations when compared with the texts preserved in Douce and Arundel. Moreover, such innovations occur with a far greater frequency than in the first three Psalms examined thus far, suggesting that the textual tradition represented by Durham, Hereford, and Morgan had begun to diverge from its earlier models as the scribe responsible for the rewriting progressively advanced through the text.

Within this closely related family of texts, Durham is demonstrably closer to Hereford than to Morgan. The clearest evidence for this relationship occurs in Ps 4:8, where Morgan contains a scribal error, most likely caused by an eyeskip, and consequently omits the translation of the third element in the enumeration, namely "and of their oil." Durham, by contrast, preserves the complete text and agrees with Hereford in rendering the passage as: *Del fruit de lur furment de lur uín et de lur oile sunt il multiplie*. Further evidence may be found in Ps 4:10, where both Hereford and Durham retain the preposition *en* before *esperance*, whereas Morgan omits it. This places Morgan in a relatively peripheral position within the transmission of the interlinear gloss, perhaps representing one of the latest surviving stages in its textual development.

Durham also exhibits a number of minor readings that distinguish it from Hereford and demonstrate that it is not a direct copy. Thus, in Ps 4:7, Durham reads *Enséële est* where Hereford has *Ensegnee est*. Such variants indicate that Durham is best understood as a close collateral relative of Hereford rather than as its direct descendant.

When comparing the Hereford, Morgan, and Durham group to interlinear gloss of Arundel MS 230, it becomes obvious that Arundel represents an entirely separate and highly distinct translation tradition. Where the Hereford-Morgan-Durham group aims for a more idiomatic Old French phrasing, Arundel adheres strictly to a literal, word-for-word rendering of the Gallicanum. In Ps 4:3, instead of the idiomatic phrasing found in the other three manuscripts, Arundel translates *graui corde* directly as a state of being: *serez uos de gref cuer*. This structural divergence continues in Ps 4:5, where Arundel completely avoids the word *repentez* used by the other three, opting instead for a direct etymological borrowing from the Latin *compungimini*, translating it as *aiez conpugciun*. Furthermore, Arundel translates the Latin *in idipsum* in Ps 4:9 as *en lui meimes*, whereas the copies of the First French Com-

	Hereford, Cathedral Library, MS O.III.15	New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, M338
Ps 4:3	[fol. 57r] Filíi hominum usquequo graui corde ⁝ ut quid diligitis uanitatem et queritis mendacium ·	[fol. 9v] Filíj hominum usquequo graui corde ⁝ ut quid diligitis uanitatem et queritis mendatium ;
	Filz des humes cum lungement auerez les quers pesanz porquai amez uus uanitez é querez mencunge ·	Fil des homes cum longement aurez les quers pesans por que ames uos uanitez e querez mencunge ·
Ps 4:4	[fol. 57v] Et scitote quoniam mirificauit dominus sanctum suum ⁝ dominus exaudiet me cum clamauero ad eum ·	[fol. 10r] Et scitote quoniam mirificauit dominus sanctum suum ⁝ dominus exaudiet me cum clamauero ad eum ;
	É sachez ke merueillos ad li sire fait sun seint li sire me escutera quant io crierai á lui ·	*Et* sachiez que meruellos ad li sire fait sun saint li sire me escultera quant io crierai a lui ·
Ps 4:5	Irascimini *et* nolite peccare que diciti\s/ in cordibus uestris ⁝ *et* in cubilibus uestris compungimini ·	Jrascimini *et* nolite pecare que dicitis in cordibus uestris *et* in cubilibus uestris compungimini ;
	Curuchez uos é ne uoillez pecher ceo ke uus dite\s/ en uoz querz é uoz liz uus repentez ·	Corrucez uos e ne uoillez pech\i/er co que uos dites en uos quers *et* en uos liz repentes
Ps 4:6	[fol. 58r] Sacrificate sacrificium iusticie *et* sperate in domino ⁝ multi dicunt quis ostendit nobis bona ·	[f. 10v] Sacrificate sacrificium iusticie *et* sperate in domino ⁝ multi dicunt quis ostendit nobis bona ·
	Sacrifiez sacrifise de iustice é esperez el seignor mult dient ki nus mustre biens ·	Sacrifiez sacrifice de iustice *et* esperez el seignur mult dient ki nos mostre biens
Ps 4:7	[fol. 58v] Signatum est super nos lumen uultus tui domine ⁝ dedisti leticiam in corde meo ·	Signatum est super nos lumen uultus tui domine · dedisti leticiam in corde meo ;
	Ensegnee est sor nus la lumere de ten uult tu as done leesce en mun quer ·	ensegniee est sur nus la lumiere de ten uult sire tu as done leece en mun cuer
Ps 4:8	A fructu frumenti uini *et* olei sui multiplicati sunt ·	[fol. 11r] A fructu frumenti uini *et* olei sui ⁝ multiplicati sunt ;
	Del fruit de lur furment de lor uin é de lor oile sunt il multiplie ·	Del fruit de lor forment de lor uin sunt il multiplie
Ps 4:9	[fol. 59r] In pace in idipsum ⁝ dormiam *et* requiescam ·	Jn pace in idipsum ⁝ dormiam *et* requiescam ;
	En pais en ceo meisme dormerai é reposerai ·	en pais en co meisme dormirai *et* reposerai
Ps 4:10	Quoniam tu domine singulariter in spe ⁝ constituisti me ·	Quoniam tu domine singulariter in spe ⁝ constituísti me ·
	Car tu sire singulerment mas mis en sperance ·	car tu sire singuleirment mas mis esperance ·

mentary translate it as *en ceo meisme*. Finally, in Ps 4:10, Arundel adopts a passive, highly Latinate syntax with *en sperance establis mei* to mirror *in spe constituisti me*, while the Hereford-Morgan-Durham group flips the phrase into an active verbal construction: *mas mis en sperance*.

The wider comparison with the Douce text completes the linguistic profile, revealing (as expected) that all these innovations are based on a variant belonging to the Douce–Arundel group. The essentially identical, highly literal translation preserved in these two witnesses shows almost word-for-word correspondences, in clear contrast with the Hereford-Morgan-Durham family across several major textual markers.

When considering the process of diorthosis, whereby an older, heavily literal interlinear gloss is systematically smoothed out and rewritten into a new, contextually integrated text produced specifically for the First French Commentary on the Psalms, the shared core between the Hereford-Morgan-Durham group and its source becomes the primary focus of analysis. Within this framework, the structural and lexical changes observed in Hereford-Morgan-Durham cannot be understood as an independent translation from the Latin, but rather as the result of an intentional stylistic reworking of a pre-existing French text.

In order to determine whether the common antigraph of the Hereford-Morgan-Durham group was adapted from a source closer to Douce or to Arundel, it is necessary to examine the points at which the critical textual choices converge. A closer inspection shows that this group shares significantly more structural and lexical correspondences with Douce than with Arundel.

The clearest evidence appears in Ps 4:4 (*Dominus exaudiet me*), where Arundel presents a disrupted and syntactically disordered reading (*nostre sire orrat mei auant io crierai a lui*), whereas Douce preserves a coherent and fluid structure: *nostre sire ṁe orrát quant ié crierái á lúi*. The Hereford-Morgan-Durham tradition follows Douce closely in both word order and syntactic organisation, rendering the verse as *li sire me escutera/orra quant io crierai a lui*.

A similar situation is noticeable in Ps 4:8, where Arundel transmits a defective and incomplete version of the grain, wine, and oil triad, while Douce preserves the full sequence: *Del frúit del frument · del uin é del suen őlie*. The Hereford-Morgan-Durham group likewise transmits the complete and unbroken triad (*Del fruit de lur furment de lor uin é de lor oile*), suggesting that its antigraph was based on a continuous textual tradition equivalent to that of Douce and did not reproduce the omissions and corruptions found in Arundel.

Taken together, these correspondences make it highly probable that the interlinear gloss underlying Hereford-Morgan-Durham derives either from the antigraph of Douce or from another, now lost, interlinear tradition closely related to it. It likely began with a literal interlinear gloss of the Latin Gallicanum. Douce shows a slightly prosified form of this stage, while Arundel preserves a more unstable variant. By contrast, the Hereford-Morgan-Durham group probably depends on a model close to Douce. From this base, the scribe(s) remove interlinear constraints and reshape the text into a smoother, Old French prose. In this sense, Hereford, Durham, and Morgan represent a later, more fully revised stage of the same tradition.

Durham, Cathedral Library, MS A.II.11

Fiz de humes cum lungment auerez les queors pesanz pur quei · amez u*us* uanítez *et* querez mencunge · Filíi hominu*m* usq*ue*[fol. 9vb]quo graui corde ⁝ utquid diligitis uanitatem *et* queritis mendatium ·

Et sacez ke li sires ad merueille sun seint ⁝ *et* li sires me orra q*ua*nt ieo auerai a lui crie · Et scitote q*uoni*am mirificauit d*omin*us s*anct*um suum ⁝ d*omin*us exaudiet me cum clamauero ad eum ·

[fol. 10ra] Curescez uus e ne uoillez pecher · ke uus dites en uoz quers · e en uoz liz uus repentez · Irascimini *et* nolite peccare · que dicitis in cordib*us* u*est*ris in cubilibus u*est*ris conpungimini ·

[fol. 10rb] Sacrifiez sacrefise de iustice esperez al seignur · mult dient · ki uus mustre biens · Sacrificate sacrificium iusticie *et* sperate in d*omi*no ⁝ multi dicunt quis ostendit nobis bona ·

Ensééle *est* sur nus la lumere de tun uult síre tu mas dune léésce en mun q\e/or · Signatum est sup*er* nos lumen ult*us* tui d*omi*ne ⁝ dedisti leticiam in corde meo ·

[fol. 10va] Del fruit de lur furment de lur uín *et* de lur oile ⁝ sunt il multiplie · A fructu frumenti · uíni *et* oleí suí ⁝ multiplicatí sunt ·

[fol. 10vb] En peis en ceo meíme · dormerai e reposerai · In pace in idip*sum* ⁝ dormiam *et* requiescam ·

Kar tu sire singulerment mas mis en esperance · Q*uoni*am tu d*omi*ne singulariter in spe ⁝ constituisti me ·

London, British Library, MS Arundel 230

Filíi hominum usquequo graui [f. 9r] corde ⁝ ut quid diligitis uanitatem *et* qu̧eritis mendacium ·

[---] desq*ue*quant serez uos de gref [fol. 9r] cuer ⁝ pur quei amez uos uanitez et querez menceunge ?

Et scítote q*uoni*am mirificauit d*omin*us s*anct*um suum ⁝ domínus exaudíet me cum clamauero ad eum ·

Et sachez kar ad fait merueilluse nost*re* sire seint sun ⁝ n*ost*re sire orrat mei auant io crierai a lui ·

Irascimíní *et* nolite peccare ⁝ qu̧e dícitis in cordibus uestrís in cubílíb*us* uestris conpungimíní ·

Jraisez uus et ne uoillez pecher ⁝ des coses q*ue* uos dites en cours · uoz et en liz uoz aiez conpugciun ·

Sacrificate sacrificium iusticię *et* sperate in domíno ⁝ multí dicunt quís ostendít nobis bona ·

Sacrifiez sacrefise de iustise et esp*er*ez el seignor mult dient ki uus demonst*er*at bones choses ?

Signatum sup*er* nos lumen uultus tuí domíne ⁝ dedísti lęticiam in corde meo ·

Seignez est sur nus la lumere del uult tuen sire tu dunas [--- --- --- ---] el men

A fructu frumentí ⁝ uiní *et* oleí suí multiplicatí sunt ·

Del fruit del furment ⁝ del uin et olie del sun multipliet sunt ·

In pace in idipsum ⁝ dormiam *et* requ*i*escam ·

En pais en lui meimes dormirai et reposerai ·

Quoniam tu domine ⁝ singulariter in spe constituisti me ·

Kar tu sire senglement en sperance establis mei ·

The most economical way to account for the variations in the interlinear gloss of the Hereford–Morgan–Durham group is to read them as lexical shifts driven by the exegesis that follows each verse. In the First French Commentary, the translation clearly moves away from the literalist, etymological choices of Douce or Arundel, and replaces them with words justified in the commentary as more accurate in spiritual and contextual terms.

A good example is the opposition between *compunctiun* and *repentez* (Ps 4:5). Where Douce-Arundel preserve the learned neologism *compunctiun*, Hereford-Morgan-Durham adopt *repentez*. The commentary then expands this choice into a pastoral definition of penitence: *Ce est faites penitence des uiez pecchez… e repentir · e dampner les males oures par confession · e par penitence*, explicitly linking repentance to confession and moral correction, and even situating it in the intimate space of *chambres* and *liz*.

A similar mechanism is visible in the shift from *gref cuer* to *quers pesanz* (Ps 4:3). While Douce-Arundel retain the more literal *gref cuer*, the commentary reframes *quers pesanz* through a Christological gloss: *Cum longement auerez les cuors pesanz · ke uos ne uolez leuer al ueir soleil ihesu crist ki ia est leuez*. Here, "heaviness" is explicitly reinterpreted as spiritual blindness to Christ.

A further indication of syntactic re-alignment for clarity appears in Ps 4:9 (*In pace in idipsum*). Arundel and Douce both struggle with the abstract Latin *idipsum* ("the self-same"), producing forms such as *en lui meimes* or *en icé meisme*. By contrast, the Hereford-Morgan-Durham group normalises the expression as *en ceo meisme*. This shift is reinforced by the exegesis, which explicitly paraphrases the construction in vernacular prose: *Mais celui qui esta in idipsum · Ce est qui parmeint tot iorz en ce kil est · e en celui dormiam et requiescam · Ce est en celui manderai e en celui finerai…* In this case, the Hereford-Morgan-Durham translation appears to deliberately stabilise the pronoun into a fixed demonstrative (*ceo*), reflecting the exegetical interpretation of *idipsum* not as a literal referent, but as an abstract theological concept: the unchanging, eternal nature of God.

What these cases suggest is that some of the lexical choices found in the interlinear gloss are not primary at all, but secondary extracts drawn from the exegetical layer of the commentary. In other words, the gloss and the commentary are not separate strata: they feed into one another. What remains to be established is whether the author of the Commentary had direct knowledge of an interlinear Anglo-Norman translation of the Psalms.

A radically different interpretation is also possible, according to which the addition of the interlinear gloss was a strictly insular phenomenon, occurring only when the Walloon text crossed the Channel into England and was adapted to a local cultural setting. Since Gregory noted lexical innovations only in the first part of the interlinear gloss (attributed to the so-called **h1** scribe), this could be explained as the initial enthusiasm of a scribe adapting an earlier Anglo-Norman gloss for incorporation into the Walloon Commentary.

The closer affinities with Douce observed in the second part of the gloss (**h3**) would then not necessarily reflect a different source, but rather a gradual change in scribal engagement: a progressive loss of interest in maintaining a complex interaction between interlinear translation and exegetical commentary. On this view, the apparent division between the two sections would be accidental, the result of a continuous but uneven process later attributed to two different scribal hands.

Gregory defines **h1** as "a regular minuscule book hand of the late twelfth century written in light brown-black ink, which is responsible for the bulk of the commentary and almost certainly a part of the French Psalter translation; the larger letters of the Latin text are in the same hand." His definition of **h3** is "an angular, compressed hand written in light black ink, responsible for approximately half of the interlinear French translation of the Psalter and for some small additions to the Latin text" (Gregory 1990, vol. 1, p. 3, 4). However, in the notes to his edition he later also identifies the **h3** hand in the first part of the manuscript, and he never clearly specifies which folios or biblical passages are assigned to each hand (see e.g., Gregory 1990, vol. 2, p. 526, 537, 547, *passim*). This lack of precision significantly weakens his reconstruction of two distinct sources, particularly since the evidence suggests that the two scribes may have worked in close collaboration, even side by side.

The reality is therefore that there are not two separate translations, but a single one that is variably reworked: in some passages it is more freely adapted, while in others it adheres closely to the variant preserved in Douce. The task now is to focus on determining the precise nature of the relationship between the gloss found in the later part of the first instalment and Douce (or the latter's antigraph).

To achieve this, I have selected fol. 167r of Morgan, corresponding to the interlinear gloss translation of Ps. 39: 11b–39:13, in which the first part of Ps. 39:13 was omitted and subsequently added in the lower margin. I will also provide a transcription of the exegetical text and compare both texts with those preserved in the first Durham manuscript, where this segment of the Commentary does not present traces of a previous interlinear gloss translation. To facilitate the comparison, however, I will begin by examining the same passage as it appears in MS Arundel 230, fol. 44r (see also the illustration on the opposite page):

London, British Library, MS Arundel 230

Non abscondi m*isericor*diam tua*m et* ueritatem tuam a concilio multo · **Ps 39:11b**

Nient repuins la tue m*isericord*e et la tue ueritet ⁝ de mult conseile

Tu autem domine ne longe facias miserationes tuas a me ⁝ m*isericor*dia tua *et* ueritas tua semp*er* susceperunt me · **Ps 39:12**

Tu acertes sire nient luinz faces les miseraciuns de m*ei* ⁝ de la tue m*isericord*e e ta ueritet tutes ures receúrent m*ei* ·

Quoniam circundederunt me mala quorum non est numerus ⁝ comprehenderunt me iniquitates meę ⁝ *et* non potui ut uiderem · **Ps 39:13a**

Kar auirunent mei mals desquels nient *est* numere ⁝ cum p*ri*strent mei les moies iniq*ui*tez ⁝ et ne poi que io ueisse ⁝

Multiplicatę sunt sup*er* capillos capitis mei ⁝ *et* cor meum dereliquit me · **Ps 39:13b**

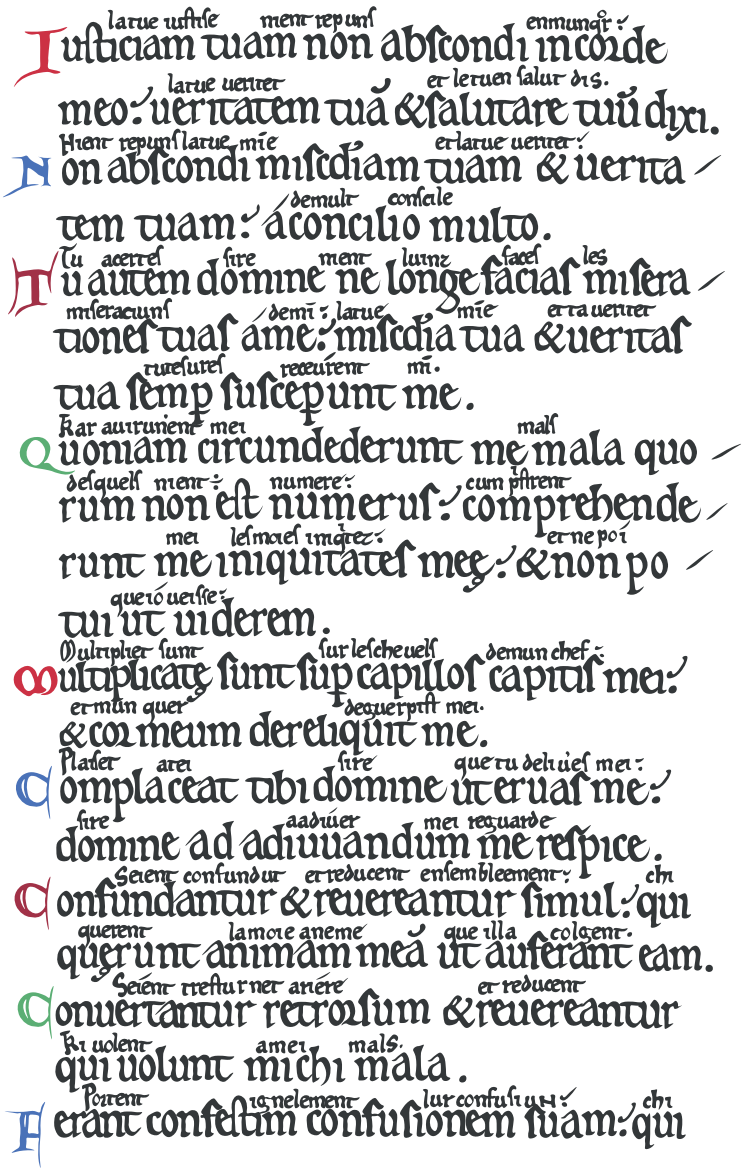
Multipliet sunt sur les cheuels de mun chef ⁝ et mun quer deguerpist mei ·

What may be inferred from the comparison between Arundel and Douce is that Ps 39:11b is almost identical in the two witnesses, differing only in a few spellings that distinguish the respective versions. In Ps 39:12, however, Douce reads *les tues miseratiuns*, whereas Arundel has *les miseraciuns*, omitting the possessive. Likewise, Douce's *la tue uerite* corresponds to Arundel's *ta ueritet*. In the following verse (Ps 39:13a), Douce's *nen est* appears as *nient est* in Arundel, while *numbre* corresponds to Arundel's *numere*. As for Ps 39:13b, the differences once again consist primarily of one or two orthographic variants, generally more elaborate in Douce. There can be little doubt that the two versions are related; moreover, Douce here preserves the highly literal syntax inherited from its interlinear-gloss exemplar.

In Douce and Arundel, the translation of Ps 39:13a strictly mirrors the underlying Latin syntax. Both translate the opening clauses with a highly literal, matching word order, tracking *Quoniam* as *Kar* and *circundederunt me mala* as *auirunérent* or *auirunent mei mals*. When addressing the abstract Latin phrase *quorum non est numerus*, both Arundel and Douce maintain a rigid, word-for-word conversion, with Douce rendering it as *des ques nen est númbre* and Arundel writing *desquels nient est numere*. This structural dependency continues through the end of the verse, where both manuscripts translate *et non potui ut uiderem* as a bare-bones subjunctive construction: *é ne pói que ié ueíssé* in Douce and *et ne poi que io ueisse* in Arundel, which is slightly different from the Morgan translation of the Commentary interlinear gloss.

The differences between Arundel and Douce are strictly minor, consisting of surface-level orthographic or dialectal variants rather than any intentional change in meaning. What is particularly striking is that the final phrase cited is also attested in Morgan, albeit with the addition of several words that make the expression more idiomatic and fluent. This strongly suggests that an Anglo-Norman translation served as its source.

Before advancing the argument, however, it is worth presenting a transcription of the Morgan text, alongside the corresponding passage in Durham. As will become apparent, a marginal note in Morgan is revealing:



Arundel Psalter interlinear gloss to Ps 39:11–Ps 39:16. London, British Library, MS Arundel 230, fol. 44r.

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New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, M338	Durham, Cathedral Library, MS A.II.11	
Non abscondi misericordiam tuam · *et* ueritatem tuam ⁝ a concilio multo ;	Non abscondi misericordiam tuam *et* ueritatem tuam · a concilio multo ·	**Ps 39:11b**
Je ne repos mie ta misericorde *et* ta uerite por grant concile ·		
Non abscondi misericordiam tua · *et cetera* · Volez oir misericordiam ? Venite benedictj · Volez ueritatem oir ? Jte maledicti · ceste preecha *christus* in concilio multo · en tot le mund *et* si apostle *et* si desciple · ante reges *et* presides deuant les rois *et* les princes · Si contempseris misericordiam · senties ueritatem · Se tu despis la misericorde ce dist seinz augustins tu sentiras la uerte ;	Volez oir misericordiam ⁝ Venite benedictj · uolez oir ueritatem ⁝ Jte maledicti ⁝ Ceste prechat *christus* in concilio multo · en tut le mund · e ses apostres / e ses disciples ⁝ [f. 115va] ante reges *et* presides · deuant les reis e les princes · Si contempseris misericordiam ⁝ sencies ueritatem · Si tu despises la misericorde ceo dist seint augustins ⁝ tu sentiras la uer\i/te ·	
Tu autem domine ne longe facias miserationes tuas a me ⁝ misericordia tua *et* ueritas tua semper susceperunt me ·	Tu autem domine ne longe facias miserationes tuas a me ⁝ misericordia tua *et* ueritas tua semper susceperunt me ·	**Ps 39:12**
Mes tu, sire, neslongnier tes pitiez · de moi · ta misericorde *et* ta uerité mont réceu toz iorz ·		
Tu autem domine ne longaueris · *et cetera* · Ci parole noster sire ihesus en la persone de ses malades membres de pecheors ki encore unt mestier de misericorde *et* dai_de ·	Ci parole nostre sire ihesus en la persone de ses malades membres · de pecchurs · ki uncore unt mestier de misericorde ⁝ e de aiude · Beals pere fait \il/ sil sunt	

Je ne repos mie ta
Non abscondi

misericorde ⁊ ta
misericordiam tuã.

uerite
& ueritatem

por grant con
tuam: a consilio

cile. & pes
multo; Tu au

tu sire nes
tem domine ne

longuier tes
longe facias mi

priez.
serationes tuas

demoi. ta misericor
ame: misericordia tua

de ⁊ ta ueritez mont
& ueritas tua sẽp

recen toz iorz.
susceperunt me.

Amont cheuelé sunt
Multiplicate sunt

seur les cheueuel de
sup capillos capi

mon chief. ⁊ mes
tis mei & cor meũ

cuers ma de guerpi.
dereliquit me;

Car auironne
Quoniã circunde

mont li mal dont
derunt me mala

quitez.
iniquitates mee

li gentils fruiz de larbre de uie dunt li angle se conroient
sion absconsi misericordiam tuam ⁊c. Volez oir misericordiam?
Venite benedicti. Volez ueritate oir? Ite maledicti. cestre
preecha xp̃c in concilio multo. en tot le mund ⁊ li apostle
⁊ li deciple. ante regel ⁊ prelidel deuant les rois ⁊ les p̃nces
Si contempseris misericordiam. sentiel ueritate. Se tu despis
la misericorde ce dist seinz augustins tu sentiras la uerite;
Tu autem dñe ne longaueris. ⁊c. Li parole n̄r sire ihc en
la plone de les maladel membrel de pecheors ki en corre
unt mestier de misericorde ⁊ dar de. Beals peire fait il. li li sunt
pecheor ne lor clo mie por ce tel oilz. misericordia ⁊ ũitas ⁊c.
De ta misericorde ⁊ de ta uerite ne le poent il contireir
Semp̃ susceperunt me. car ta misericorde recoit les pecheors.
ta uerite les alue les iustes. Illa merunt porta misericorde. il
te cremerunt porta iustice. Ge ai grant fiance de ta mi-
sericorde. Cum̃ circumdederunt me ⁊c. Li liez uostre glose
mal apele illes pechiez quorum non ẽ numerus. ki
porroit conter les pechiez ⁊ les lient ⁊ les atruj por quil
estoet cremoir al pudome. sicum il dist allurs. ab occultis
meis munda me. ⁊ ab alienis parce seruo tuo. li pdõme
crement por eals mettimes. il crement por les iustes. ki il
ne chient en pechie. il crement por les pecheors quil ne
demoerent trop en lor richise cõprehenderunt me ⁊c. Li pechi-
et ⁊ les felunies de surburent ⁊ oscurent loil de ratsun. li
que pecheor ne conoissent mie ne nentendent a deu. na
la siue conoissance ⁊ co ẽ dit ⁊ non potui ut viderem. car
sicum li fums. ú la pulre de surbe la ueu_e de loil. ensemẽt
li pechiet de surbent la ratsun ⁊ la ueu_e de lan_me. Multi
plicate sunt ⁊c. Sor les cauels co dist car li cumli aq̃lq;
paine les porroit um cunter. les cauels. quais li pechie
sunt tant subtil ⁊ menu que nuls nes porroit conter.
⁊ nia de tels kit resemblent uertuz que um pu ne
poet conoistre. sicum uaine gle ki lemble religun. ⁊
folie misericorde. ⁊ cruelte iustice. & cor meum dereli
quit me. si quege ne me sai conoistre. Seinz pieres
quida mult bien sen cuer auoir pl ⁊ recenut quant
il dist. Si oportuerit me mori tecum. non te negabo
co dist il a nr segnur. Sege deuoie auoec toi moerir
neste nus nombrel. entre prisl mont mes ini
quorum non est numer? comprehenderunt me
⁊ ne por faire q̃ le te uoille.
& non potui ut viderem.

Car auirone mont li mal dont nes el ⁊c

New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, M338

Beals peire fait il · sil sunt pecheor ne lor clo mie por ce tes oilz · Misericordia *et* ueritas *et* cetera · De ta misericorde *et* de ta uerite ne se poent il consireir Semper susceperunt me · car ta misericorde recoit les pecheors · ta ueritez salue les iustes · Jl tamerunt por ta misericorde · il te cremerunt por ta iustice · Ge ai grant fiance de ta misericorde ·

\Quoniam circundederunt me mala quorum non est numerus · comprehenderunt me iniquitates mee *et* non potui ut uiderem ·/

\Car avironne mont li mal dont nest nus nombres · entrepris mont mes iniquitez · *et* ne poi faire q*ue* ie te ueisse ·/

[Marginal note in the lower margin, partially cropped] Qar auirone molit li mal dont nest [n]*us* [nombre]s [-----p]*ris* [mont me]s [iniq]*ui*[tez] · *et* [ne poi] fere q*ue* ie te ueisse ·
Quoniam circum

Quoniam circumdederunt me · *et* cetera · lisiez uostre glose · mal apele il les pechiez quorum non e*st* numerus · ki porroit conteir les pechiez *et* les siens *et* les altruj por quil estoet cremoir al proudome · sicum il dist allurs · Ab occultis meis munda me · *et* ab alienis parce seruo tuo · Li prosdomme criement por eals meismes · il criement por les iustes · kil ne chient en pechie · il criement por les pecheors quil ne demorent trop en lor ric\h/oise comprehenderunt me *et* cetera · Li pechiet *et* les felunies desturbent et oscurent loil de raisun · si que pecheor ne conoissent mie ne nentendent a deu · na la sue conoissance · *et* co e*st* dit · *et* non potui ut uiderem · car sicum li funs · u la pulre desturbe la ueu_e del oil · ensement li pechiet desturbent la raisun · et la ueu_e del an_me ·

Multiplicate sunt super capillos capitis mei · *et* cor meum dereliquit me ;

Monteplie sunt seur les cheuues de mon chief · *et* mes cuers ma deguerpi ·

Multiplicate sunt *et* cetera · Sor les cauels co dist · car sicum si a q*ue*lq*ue* paine les porroit um cunter · les cauels · Mais li pechie sunt tant subtil · *et* menu que nuls nes porroit conter · *et* sin ia_ de tels ki resemblent uertuz que um prou_ ne poet conoistre · sicum uaine glorie ki semble religiun · et folie misericorde · et crueltet iustice · *et* cor meum dereliquit me · si que geo ne me sai conoistre · Seinz pieres quida mult bien sen cuer auoir pris et retenut quant il dist · Si oportuerit me mori tecum · non te negabo co dist il a noster segnur · Se ge deuoie auoec toi morir [fol. 167v] ne te noieroie ge mie · mais ses cors le guerpi · quant il dist · non noui hominem · mult quident ~~mult~~ bien lor cuors auoir pris et loiez quant il uunt a conuersiun · cui li cuors escape toz · car il sunt puis u altersi maluais · u poiur quil ne furent encois ·

Durham, Cathedral Library, MS A.II.11

peccheur ⁝ ne lur cloez mie pur ceo tes oilz · Misericordia *et* ueritas *et* cetera · De ta misericorde · e de ta uerite ⁝ ne se poent il consirer · Semper susceperunt me · kar ta misericorede ⁝ receit les peccheurs · ta uerite ⁝ saluet les iustes · Jl te amerunt pur ta misericorde · il te criendrunt pur ta iustise · Jo ai grant mester de ta misericorde ·

Quoniam circundederunt me mala quorum non est numerus ⁝ comprehenderunt me iniquitates mee · *et* non potui ut uiderem · **Ps 39:13a**

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Lisez nostre glose · mala ⁝ apele il les pecchez · quorum non est numerus · ki purreit cunter les pecchez · e les soens e les altrui ? pur ki estoet cremeir al prudume ? sicum il dist aillurs · Ab occultis meis munda me · *et* ab alieni\s/ parce seruo tuo · Li prudume criement pur els meimes · Jl criement pur les iustes ⁝ kil ne chéént en peche · il criement pur les peccheurs ⁝ quil ne demorent trop en lur nequices · Comprehenderunt me *et* cetera · Li pecche e les felunies desturbent e obscurissent loil de reisun ⁝ si ke li peccheur ne se conuissent · ne entendent a deu ⁝ ne ala sue conuissance · e ceo est ke dist · Et non potui ut uiderem · kar sicum la fumeie v la puldre desturbent la ueoe del oil ⁝ ensement li pecche desturbent le raisun e la ueoe del alme ·

Multiplicati sunt super capillos capitis mei ⁝ *et* cor meum dereliquit me · **Ps 39:13b**

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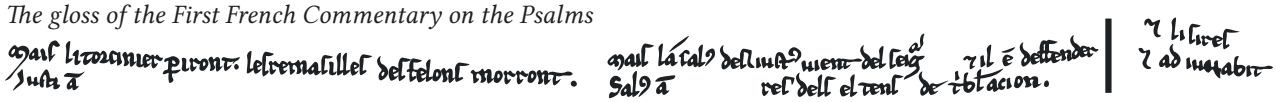
Sur [fol. 115vb] les cheuoilz ceo dist · Kar sicum si aquelq*ue* peine les purreit hum cunter les cheuoilz · mais li peche sunt tant sutil e menu ⁝ ke nuls nes purreit cunter · e sin iad de ceals ki resemblent uertu ⁝ ke hom ne pot conuistre · sicum ueine gloire ⁝ ki resemblet religiun · et fole misericorde · et cruele iustise · Cor meum dereliquit me ⁝ si ke ieo ne me sai conuistre · seint peres quidat mult bien sun queor aueir pris et retenu ⁝ quant il dist · Si oportuerit me mori tecum non te negabo · ceo dist il a nostre seignur · Si ieo deueie auoec tei murir ⁝ ne te neireie ieo mie · mes sis queors le guerpit quant il dist · Non noui hominem · E mulz quident mult bien lur queor\s/ aueir pris et leissez quant uunt a conuersiun ⁝ ki li queors eschapet tut · Kar il sunt poi · V altresi malueis V peur ⁝ kil enceis ne furent ·

In contrast to Douce and Arundel, the translation gloss preserved in the Morgan manuscript departs, as one would expect, from this literal baseline and displays a systematic syntactic reworking aimed at improving contextual intelligibility. At several points, Morgan abandons the archaic literal phrasing found in Douce and Arundel in favour of more natural formulations (see, for instance, *dont*). It likewise regularizes the negative expression *nen est/nient est* into the smoother and more idiomatic *nest nus*, while replacing the Latinism *numere* with the more conventional *nombres*. Particularly significant, however, is the fact that these readings appear to have been present in Morgan's antigraph. The traces of a marginal gloss visible in the lower portion of the folio strongly suggest that such revisions were not introduced by the Morgan scribe himself, but were already inherited from the model he was copying. If this interpretation is correct, Gregory's hypothesis that two scribes independently reworked the gloss cannot be sustained.

Morgan's divergence is even more pronounced in the final clauses of Ps 39:13a, where the translator introduces stylistic expansions to heighten clarity. Where Douce

Commentary glosses of Ps 39:11b–Ps 39:13 in New York, The Morgan Museum & Library, MS M338, entire fol. 167r.

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▲ *The three notes in the lower margin of fol. 155v-156r in New York, The Morgan Museum & Library, MS M338.*
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and Arundel strictly match *comprehenderunt* me with the direct verbs *cumpristrent mei*, Morgan completely reorganizes the phrase into a smoother vernacular structure: *entrepris mont mes iniquitez*.

Finally, instead of settling for the word-for-word rendering of *et non potui ut uiderem* offered by the sister variants of Douce and Arundel, Morgan significantly expands the action to read *et ne poi faire que ie te ueisse*. Once again, this reading cannot be attributed to the intervention of the Morgan scribe, but rather reflects the form already present in his antigraph, as demonstrated by the gloss preserved in the lower margin, which reads: *et ne poi fere que ie te ueisse*. By explicitly injecting the active verb *faire* and introducing the (divine) object pronoun *te*, Morgan effectively reshapes the literal Latin baseline into a clear statement that aligns perfectly with the interpretive needs of the Commentary. The ensuing exegesis explains that sin and wickedness disturb and darken the eye of reason (*Li pecche e les felunies desturbent e obscurissent loil de reisun*), such that sinners can neither know nor understand God (*si ke li peccheur ne se conuissent ne entendent a deu ne ala sue conoissance*). By recasting the neutral Latin verb "to see" in direct spiritual relation to a divine "You," the Morgan interlinear gloss operates not as an independent translational layer, but as Commentary-driven reworking shaped by a pastoral concern with spiritual blindness and theological cognition. The commentator explains that sins blind the soul just as smoke or dust disrupts physical sight (*car sicum li funs u la pulre desturbe la ueue del oil ensement li pechiet desturbent la raisun e la ueue del anme*), rendering the sinner incapable of knowing or understanding God (*si que pecheor ne conoissent mie ne nentendent a deu na la sue conoissance*).

Yet the most intriguing feature requiring discussion is undoubtedly the spelling *Qar* in the first line of the lower marginal note. As noted above, this annotation in the lower margin of fol. 167r provides crucial evidence for reconstructing the appearance of the antigraph. On the one hand, the form *Qar* recalls the numerous spellings *Quar* found in the first two folios of the Douce version. On the other hand, the relevant passage on fol. 45v, where Douce transmits this translation of Ps 39:13a, reads *Kar* rather than *Qar*. This discrepancy suggests that the spelling preserved in the marginal note may reflect a different stage of transmission than that represented by the extant Douce witness, but not that of Douce's immediate antigraph, which may already have generalised, as has already been demonstrated, a form such as *Ker* (*vide supra*), which is also attested in the Maidstone fragments.

Further evidence of spelling variation in the antigraph of the Morgan interlinear gloss is provided by the form *fere* in place of *faire* within the same note. However, the key question remains: what exactly does this note represent? Is it a direct copy of the antigraph? And why, in this instance, is the Latin text reduced to only two heavily abbreviated words?

To address these questions, it is necessary to consider a more substantial set of notes copied in the lower margin of fol. 155v–156r. At first sight, these annotations also concern the interlinear gloss proper. The passage to which they refer (Ps 36:38–Ps 36:39) is tightly compressed within the page layout: whereas the preceding folios leave a blank space of two lines, sufficient for the interlinear gloss to be written above the main Latin verse, fol. 155v offers only a single blank line for the gloss. In this instance, therefore, the layout is significantly constrained. The marginal note reads as follows:

[Note 1 in the lower margin of fol. 155v] Mais li torcinier p*e*iront · les remasilles des felons morront ·
Justi a*utem*

[Note 1 in the lower margin of fol. 155v] Mais la sal*us* desluist*us* uient del seig*nur et* il e*st* deffender/res dels el tens de t*rib*ulacion ·
Sal*us* a*utem*

[Note in the lower margin of fol. 156r] *et* li sires
et adiuuabit

The tightly compressed passage to which these notes refer reads as follows:

Iniusti autem disperibunt simul reliquie impiorum interibunt — **Ps 36:38**

Mais il torcenier perirunt les remasilles des felons morrunt ·

Salus autem iustorum a domino · et protector eorum in tempore tribulacionis · — **Ps 36:39**

Mais la saluz des iustes · uient del seignor · *et* il e*st* deffenderres deaus ⁝ el tens de tribulation

Et ad iuuabit eos dominus *et* — **Ps 36:40a**

Mais li sires lor aidera

To determine the relationship between the Morgan interlinear gloss and the marginal notes, it is necessary to examine the differences that separate the two layers. One of the most striking concerns the translation of the conjunction *et*. In Ps 36:40a, the marginal note reads *et li sires*, rendering it literally. The interlinear gloss, however, adopts a different strategy, replacing this with *mais li sires*. Could this *mais* be influenced by its appearance in Ps 36:38 and Ps 36:39, where it serves to translate *autem*? At present, this seems the most convincing explanation, even if other possibilities remain open.

A second category of differences involves the correction of scribal errors. In Ps 36:39, the marginal note contains the corrupted form *desluistus*, which the interlinear gloss regularizes as *des iustes*. This situation parallels the correction of *molit* to *mont* in the transition from the marginal note to the interlinear gloss of Ps 39:13a on fol. 167r, discussed above. Such cases suggest that the interlinear gloss represents a more carefully revised textual state.

The last difference concern dialectal issues. In Ps 36:38, for example, the marginal gloss reads *li* before *torcinier*, whereas the interlinear gloss has *il* before *torcenier*. Likewise, the marginal *dels* becomes *deaus* in the interlinear version. This change may be linked to a broader pattern of spelling revision visible throughout the passage: *periront* becomes *perirunt*, while *morront* becomes *morrunt*. Taken together, these forms suggest that the interlinear gloss has undergone a certain degree of regularisation that makes

it appear more Anglo-Norman, whereas the marginal notes retain features that are closer to continental usage. This is especially significant given that the Morgan manuscript is usually regarded as the product of a workshop located somewhere between Vermandois and Soissons, conventionally dated to 1180–1190 (cf. Avril 1987; Stirnemann 1993, p. 248–249), though I will argue elsewhere for a date closer to 1200. This raises an intriguing question. If the marginal notes are linguistically more consistent with the region in which the manuscript was produced, why does the interlinear gloss exhibit more insular features and appear more closely aligned with the Anglo-Norman origins of the Psalm translation itself? This apparent contradiction may well be one of the difficulties that puzzled Gregory and ultimately led him to posit that the gloss was the work of two different scribes operating according to distinct principles.

The reason why the Latin text in the marginal notes on fol. 155v and 167r is reduced to only two words is that it could have been supplied from virtually any Latin source. The essential element to be preserved and transmitted in the Morgan manuscript was the vernacular translation itself. This observation further supports the hypothesis that the marginal notes predate the interlinear gloss and served as an intermediary stage in its development.

Additional evidence comes from other marginal notes, which function as corrections of omissions and appear to have been written at roughly the same time as those preserved in the lower margins. On fol. 116v, a note in the lower margin contains a passage from the exegesis that was subsequently copied a second time into the left-hand margin. This suggests that the lower-margin annotations were never intended to remain visible in the finished manuscript. Rather, they appear to have been temporary working notes that were meant to be removed when the folio was trimmed, and whose survival is therefore accidental. How many other lower-margin notes belonged to the manuscript's initial state can only be conjectured.

A similar situation may have existed on fol. 153r, where an insertion supplying omitted exegetical text appears in the left-hand margin without any corresponding note surviving in the lower margin. It is possible that such a note once existed but was lost when the page was cut. One may also cite fol. 175v, where another addition from the lower margin (*nerent en ton saint mont et en tes tabernacles*) appears to reproduce the wording of the interlinear gloss. In this case, however, the passage does not seem to have been omitted from the main text and inserted subsequently, which suggests a more complex relationship between the lower-margin annotations and the interlinear layer.

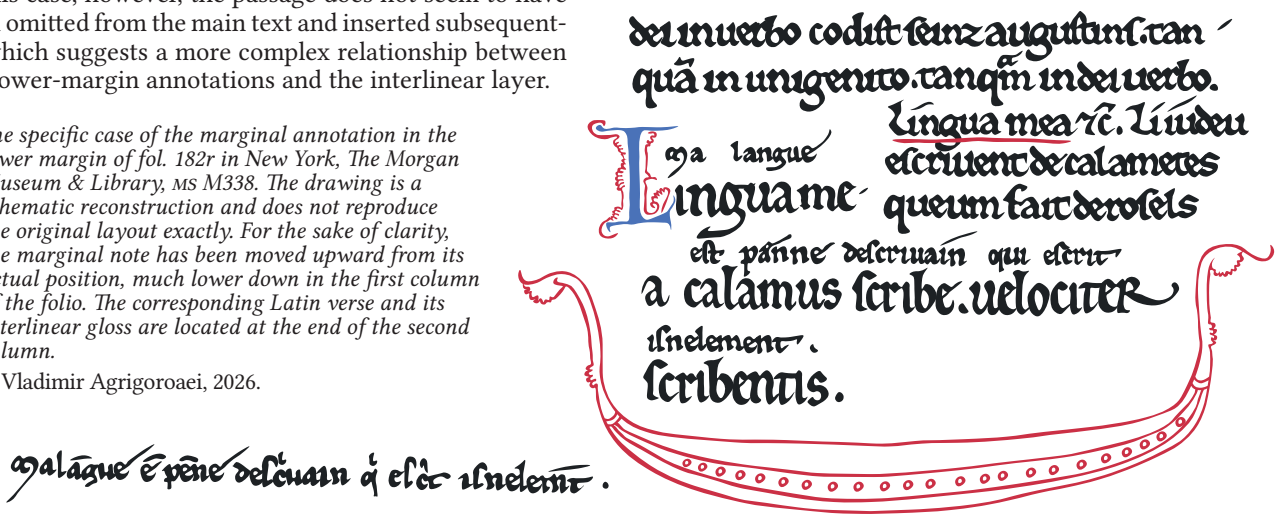
Taken together, these examples indicate that the lower-margin notes formed part of a working apparatus used during the production of the manuscript. Rather than constituting a secondary commentary added after the fact, they appear to preserve an intermediate stage in the process by which the vernacular material was revised, corrected, and incorporated into the interlinear gloss.

We also know that the Gallicanum verses that appear to have been omitted and transcribed below the main text (such as the addition of Ps 39:13a on fol. 167r) were not in fact missed by the scribes. Rather, the Latin verses were never intended to be copied at that stage; space was left for them, and the scribe misjudged the amount required.

As a matter of fact, the first conclusion that can be drawn on empirical grounds is that the marginal notes precede the interlinear gloss translations. The Latin verses are inserted in marginal position not only on fol. 167r (Ps 39:13a), but already as early as fol. 6r (Ps 2:12). As for fol. 182r, another lower-margin note appears to transmit the same text as the interlinear gloss (*Ma langue est penne descriuain qui escrit isnelement*), in identical form. In this case, the scribe of the interlinear gloss subsequently corrects his initial spelling *panne* to *penne*, thereby aligning it with the form found in the marginal note.

What emerges from this evidence is that the source underlying the marginal notes was itself an interlinear gloss related to the traditions represented by Douce and Arundel, even if this relationship is not immediately apparent. At this point, Arundel reads *La moie langue calamines a escriueins ignelement escriuanz*, while Douce has *La meie langue chalemeals descriuang ignelment escriuant*. Both the Morgan interlinear gloss and the corresponding marginal note share the innovations *penne* and *qui escrit*, departing from the formulations preserved in Douce and Arundel.

These shared readings are significant for two reasons. First, they demonstrate that the Morgan interlinear gloss was copied from a source in which a text closely to the Douce–Arundel tradition had already undergone revision. The retention of forms such as *isnelement*, found both in the Morgan gloss and in the marginal note, confirms the dependence of both layers upon the same modified source. Secondly, the agreement between the marginal note and the interlinear gloss indicates that they belong to a single translational enterprise rather than to two distinct projects. The evidence undermines the hypothesis that the Morgan manuscript preserves the work of two different



The specific case of the marginal annotation in the lower margin of fol. 182r in New York, The Morgan Museum & Library, MS M338. The drawing is a schematic reconstruction and does not reproduce the original layout exactly. For the sake of clarity, the marginal note has been moved upward from its actual position, much lower down in the first column of the folio. The corresponding Latin verse and its interlinear gloss are located at the end of the second column.

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translators operating according to separate principles. Instead, both layers appear to derive from successive stages in the transmission and refinement of the same vernacular glossing tradition.

That the marginal notes predate the interlinear gloss translations does not necessarily imply that they served as their direct source. The examples of fol. 167r and 182r rather suggest that the scribes often misjudged the amount of space required for the insertion of the Gallicanum verses and their accompanying glosses. It should therefore come as no surprise that the addition in the lower margin of fol. 167r is immediately followed, on fol. 167v, by a compression of the text of Ps. 39:14–16. Such attempts to fit an unexpectedly large amount of material into a restricted space occur throughout the manuscript. Comparable cases may be observed on fol. 77r (Ps 20:13b– Ps 20: 14), fol. 156r (Ps 36:40b–Ps 37:2), fol. 158r–159r (Ps 37:11–Ps 39: 19a), fol. 160v (Ps. 38:2), fol. 171r (Ps 40:8), fol. 174v–175r (Ps 41:10b– Ps 41:12), fol. 175v (Ps 42:2), fol. 177r–178v (Ps 43:2b–Ps 43:13a), fol. 179r–180v (Ps 43:14–Ps 43:25), fol. 191v–196r (Ps 47:2–Ps 48:18), and fol. 201r–204r (Ps 50:4–Ps 50:21).

The situation on fol. 175r is particularly instructive, since the compression of the Latin text resulted in a misalignment between the Gallicanum column and the corresponding exegetical column. The case of fol. 177r–178v is even more revealing. There, an eye-skip in the Latin text led to the omission of a line (the now acephalous Ps 43:4, encircled and crossed out at the end of fol. 177r). The omitted passage had subsequently to be recopied at the beginning of fol. 177v, further reducing the available space and forcing the remaining Gallicanum text into an even more compressed layout.

The opposite phenomenon may also be observed. In a number of places, the scribes left more space than was actually required for the later insertion of the Gallicanum verses. As a result, the text had to be artificially stretched and spaced out in order to occupy the reserved area. Examples of this practice can be found on fol. 13r (Ps 5: 7b–Ps 5:8), fol. 24v (end of Ps 7:18), fol. 30v (Ps 9:16a), fol. 65r (end of Ps 17:51), fol. 68v–73v (Ps 18:13–Ps 19:10), fol. 79v–81r (Ps 21:10b–Ps 21:16a), fol. 87r (end of Ps 21:32), fol. 119r (end of Ps 30:19a), fol. 119v (end of Ps 30:20), fol. 129v (end of Ps 32:22), fol. 156v (Ps 37:4), fol. 163v (Ps 38: 13b), fol. 180v (end of Ps 43:25), fol. 181v (Ps 44:2), fol. 183r (Ps 44:4), fol. 185v (Ps 44:9), fol. 189v–190r (Ps 45:11b–Ps 45:12), and fol. 200r–v (Ps 49:23–Ps 50:3). Taken together, these examples demonstrate that the layout of the manuscript was governed by continual adjustments in the estimation of available space. The lower-margin notes are best understood within this broader context of production practices rather than as straightforward sources for the interlinear gloss.

The evidence therefore makes it likely that the dialectal discrepancies between the marginal notes and the interlinear gloss did not originate in separate sources or methods, but emerged during a stage of oral dictation, as part of the manuscript's correction and revision process. The interlinear gloss would thus appear closer to the Douce–Arundel group, insofar as it was transcribed from an actual manuscript source rather than produced through oral dictation. This in turn would suggest that the Morgan interlinear gloss is not of continental origin, but rather insular in provenance, a point that will require further discussion below.

Before turning to this issue, one final point remains to be addressed: the chronology of the transcription process is still not fully clear. We can only observe that many of the insertions are associated with experimentation in page layout. At various points, the scribes adopt different arrangements, replacing the usual enclosing disposition of the gloss around the Gallicanum verses with a double-column format, particularly in contexts involving multiple historiated initials. In other cases, such as the upper portion of fol. 186v, space was deliberately reserved for the later insertion of exegesis, which resulted in lines extending more widely into the outer margins. The production of the manuscript was therefore not strictly linear. However, there is one other case that may allow us to understand this process more clearly.

Very early in the Morgan manuscript, in the lower margin of fol. 22v, another note is inserted containing the French translation of Ps 7:15–Ps 7:16a, which later reappears on fol. 23v as part of an interlinear gloss added to supplement a scribal eye-skip. No major difference can be detected between the wording of the marginal note and that of the subsequent interlinear gloss. This episode occurs, however, close to the end of the third quire (the quire signature is visible in the lower margin of fol. 24v), suggesting that the blank space left on fol. 23r and most of fol. 23v was deliberately reserved as a form of provision for the completion of missing material.

The interlinear gloss on fol. 23v reads:

Esteuos il enfante torcenerie · il concut dolor · *et* enfanta felonie ·

Le lac ouri *et* lenfoi · *et*

It is written above the Gallicanum verses:

Ecce parturit *in*iusticiam concepit dolorem · *et* peperit iniquitatem · **Ps 7:15**

Lacum aperuit *et* effodit eu*m et* **Ps 7:16**

By contrast, the marginal note transcribed at the bottom of fol. 22v can be reconstructed as follows:

esteu*us* il enł\f/ante torcenerie · il *con*cut dolor · [*et*] [en]f[anta] f[e]lonie · *Et* l[e] l[ac] [ouri *et* lenfoi · *et* c]h[ai en] l[a] f[o]ss[e q*ue* i]l f[i]st [·]

This corresponds to the full translation of Ps 7:15–Ps 7: 16a rather than only the initial portion of verse 16. In other words, at the time the marginal note on fol. 22v was written, the continuation of Ps 7:16b (*et incidit in foueam quam fecit*) had not yet been copied onto fol. 24r.

This brings us to the final example on fol. 184v, where the interlinear gloss appears to be merged with the vernacular exegesis. I will first transcribe the text as it appears in Morgan, then reproduce a portion of the exegesis, and provide the Durham and Paris variants for comparison (MS A.II.11, fol. 128rb; MS fr. 13316, fol. 53r-v), although they contain no corresponding translation in this section.

▼ *Note in the lower margin of fol. 22v in New York, The Morgan Museum & Library, MS M338.*

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Virge te ad illam. illã autem a te fledere ñ
uelis. quia non potes. Co eſt que la uolentez
deu eſt droite. mais la ñre eſt curue ſi nos
couient ñre uolentez drecier á la ſue. nuent
á la ſue comparer a pres lanſ. nen uent iuſ
a chief. laſ la ſue. fai la ſue. Virga regni tui.
Virga poeſco que il enbat. il en manace. direc-
tionis. car il ne fait ſe droit non. Dilexiſti
iuſticiam. rc. Oez grant miſedé de deu. Tu ai-
mes fait il iuſtice. rtu hez iniquité. Ne diſt
oze mie iniquũ. tu heiz le felun. mais ini-
quite. la felunnie. Co ſunt doul ẹ̃les les fel
á la felunie. Iune eſt oze de nature. lautre
de culpe. Iune aime de deuſ. laltre heit. Jl ai-
me el felun la nature quil fiſt car el ẽ bone.
mais il heit la felenie dunt il eſt fel. car ele
eſt male. Amuſ fiſt il ad iudeũ ad quod ueniſti?
fai co que tu as quis. amis. Ge aim toi. mais
tu heiz moi. Notez reſeruez co que il diſt.
odiſti iniquitatẽ. tu heiz felenie. Non uis
ut puniat. tu puni. Ne uoeſ tu mie que
deuſ te dampne. dampne toi meſme. Preue
ni illum. haſte toi einz quil uienge. Poeſco
targe il. quil uoeit que tu ueinges deuant.
amender eſtoet les pechiez. ú de toi. ú de
lui. Tu poez amender ſoef. par confeſſiun
par penitence. il amendera durement par
la grieue ſentence. Virga directionis. ele eſt
en ſa main. En tuel quil te manace. rtu le te
tier. Non enim miſeria illi poteſt auferre
iuſticiam. nec iuſticia miſeriam. Miſerie
ne li poet tolir ſa iuſtice. ne ſa iuſtice ne li
poet tolir ſa miſere. Si aime lun que tu
cries mes laltre. Propterea unxit te deus deus tuus.
Ou. rez les oreilles. apparelliez les cuers. laſiez
enz coler. icel mes ueillel. Jl diſt que deus ẽ deu.
rſi ne eſt que uns deus. Qui poteſt capere capiat
Coment ira co? Vienge nt auant li iudeu. q

de drece-
regni
ment
tui;
tua ſa mee

Dilexiſti
juſtice rtu

iuſticiã 7
tuas hai felũ-

odiſti iniq̃
nie oraiſõ ihũ ẽ
hi eſt uoirs ds. 7
uoirs hom. poe
co que tu as
quitatem
amee iuſtice rta
heiſ iniq̃te poeco
ta oi ds. tel peine

Propterea
q̃ ẽ tel ds ſi lunc
lumantre il ta
oſt de oleo de leece
unxit te
co eſt de la grace
de ſeint eſperit
deuant tel ypai
deus ds
noſ co ẽ pluſ q̃
tote gent. car
tuus: oleo
li altre lour ẽ
par pars
leticie pre
ril lour
conſortibz
tote
tuis;

ceſt laltre meſme uſent
rli ſent alli comme noſ.
uiengent. dient noſ ceſt
uers. Jl ne croient mie
in ihm xpm dominũ
Or noſ dient dunques
qui eſt deuſ que deuſ eſt.
uoirement il noſ diſt
que co eſt xpe deus. ú il
nen ſaurunt que dire
en li ua eſt uers. O deuſ
co ẽ ó tu xpe ki es deuſ
rhomo. deuſ pater unxit
te. deuſ tel pere l ta oint
oleo leticie. de la grace
de ſeint eſperit. pconſoz
tibz tuis. Si cum tu es
ſpecioſus forma p filiis
hominum. enſement
euſ tu la grace deu p filiu
s hominum. qui ſunt
conſortel tui in huma-
nitate. Pre conſortibz
deuant tes altres. Qua
duuliones ſ gr̃arum ſ ẽ
Deus de part tes graces
li les done a calcun ſa
part ſolunc ſa miſere.
Quis in homine xpo
ihũ. furent totes les
graces. qua in eo habi-
tat plenitudo corpalit ẽ
diuinitatis. En lui eſto
it la plentez duuinita-
tis. car il eſtoit pfect
deuſ. pfectus homo. Co
clus enſunt li iudeu.
car xpe ẽ a climate dex.

Fusion of vernacular exegesis with the interlinear gloss in New York, The Morgan Museum & Library, MS M338, entire fol. 184v.
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	New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, M338	Durham, Cathedral Library, MS A.II.11	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 13316
Ps 44:8	Dilexistj iusticia*m* *et* odisti iniquitatem p*r*opterea unxit te deus d*eus* tuus ⁝ oleo leticie pre consortib*us* tuis ;	Dilexisti iusticiam *et* odisti iniquitatem ⁝ p*r*opt*er*ea unxit te d*eus* d*eus* tuus oleo leticie pre consortib*us* tuis ·	_ _ _
	tu as amee justice et tu as hai felunnie o tu d*eus* ihesu *christe* ki es uoirs d*eus* et uoirs hom · **por co que tu as amee iustice et tu heis iniquite por ceo ta oi deus** · tes peire\s/ Q*ui* e*st* tes d*eus* sulunc lumanite · **il ta oint de oleo de leece** co est de la grace de seint esperit **deuant tes compainos** co e*st* plus q*ue* tote gent . car li altre loure*n*t par pars *et* il lout tote	_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _	_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _
	Dilexistj iusticiam *et* cetera · Oez grant mis*ericor*de de deu · Tu aimes fait il iustice · *et* tu heiz iniquite · Ne dist ore mie iniquu*m* · tu heiz le felun · mais iniquite · la felunnie · Co sunt dous c\h/oses le fel *et* la felunie · lune est o\u/re de nature · lautre de culpe · Lune aime dex ~~deus~~ · laltre heit · Jl aime el felun la nature quil fist · car el e*st* bone · mais il heit la felenie dunt il est fel · car ele est male · Amis fist il ad iud~~eu~~\am/ ad quod uenistj ? fai co que tu as quis · amis · Ge aim toi · mais tu heiz moi · Notez *et* escriueiz co que il dist · odisti iniquitate*m* · tu heiz felenie · Non uis ut puniat · tu puni · Ne uoels tu mie que deus te dampne · dampne toi meisme · Preueni illum · Haste toi einz quil uienge · Por co targe il · quil uoelt que tu ueinges deuant · amender estoet les pechiez · u de toi · u de lui . Tu poes\z/ amender soef · par confessiun par penitence · il amendera durement par la grieue sentence ·	Oez g*ra*nt misericorde de deu · Tu aimes fait il iustise ⁝ e tu hez iniquite · ne dist ore mie · iniqu*m* · tu héez le felun ⁝ mes iniquitate*m* · la felunnie · lun est oure de nat*ur*e ⁝ laltre de culpe · lun aimet d*eus* · laltre heit · il aimet al felun la nat*ur*e kil fist · kar ele est bone · mes il heit la felunie dunt il *est* felun · kar ele *est* male · Amis dist il ad iudam · ad q*uo*d uenisti ? Fai ceo ke tu as quis amis · ieo aim tei ⁝ mes tu heis mei · Notez e cremez ceo quil dist · odisti iniq*ui*tatem · Tu heis felunie · Sil le heit ⁝ ele ne poet garir · kele ne seit dampneie · kar il aimet iustise · e ceo est iustise ⁝ dampner et destruire felunie · Non uis ut puniat ⁝ tu puni · Ne uols tu mie que d*eus* te dampnet ⁝ dampne tei meimes · p*r*eueni illu*m* . haste tei einz kil uienget · pur co target ⁝ quil uolt ke tu uienges deuant · amender estuet le pecche · V de tei v de lui . tu le poes amender suef ⁝ par confessiun par penitence · Jl amendent durement ⁝ par la grieue sentence ·	[D]ilexist[i] i*us*[titiam] *et* c*et*era Oez g*ra*nt misericorde de deu · Tu aimes fait il iustise · e tu heis iniq*ui*te · ne dist ore mie iniquu*m* · tu hez le felon · mais iniquitatem le felenie · Co sunt dous choses li fel e le felenie · Lune est oure de nature ⁝ laltre de culpe · Lune aime deu · laltre heit · Jl aime el felun le nature quil fist · car elest bone · mais il heit le felonie · dunt il est fel car elest male · Amis dist il ad iudam ad q*uo*d uenisti · fai co q*ue* tu as quis amis · Jo aiem toi mais tu heis moi · Notez e creez co kil dist · Odisti i[niquitatem] Tu heiz felenie · Non [fol. 53v] uis ut puniat ⁝ tu puni · Ne uolz tu mie q*ue* dex te dampne ⁝ dampne toi meisme · p*r*eueni illum · haste toi enz quil uienge · p*ur* co targe il q*ui*l uolt q*ue* tu uie*n*ges deuant · Amender estuet le pechie u de toi u de luj · Tu le poes amender soef · p*ar* co*n*fessiun p*ar* penitence · Jl lamendera durem*en*t p*ar* le g*ri*ef sentence ·

Certain sections of the interlinear gloss can be isolated as remnants of a genuine translation: *tu as amee justice et tu as hai felunnie* [---] *por co que tu as amee iustice et tu heis iniquite por ceo ta oi deus* [---] *il ta oint de oleo de leece* [---] *deuant tes compainos* [---]. These sections mirror the version transmitted in Douce, which reads: *Tu amas iustise e hais felunie pur ice oinst tei deus li tuens deus de olie de ledece deuant tes cumpainuns*. The reading of Arundel is likewise very similar: *Tu a\i/mas iustise e hais felunie pur ice uinst tei deus li tuens deus de olie deleece deuant tes cupainuns*.

The agreement between these witnesses suggests that the Morgan interlinear gloss on Ps 44:8 and the versions preserved in Arundel and Douce belong to a closely related textual tradition, despite the highly adaptive character of the Morgan text. The passages identified above as remnants of a genuine translation reproduce a number of lexical and syntactic features characteristic of the readings found in Douce and Arundel, leaving little doubt as to their close affinity with the versions represented by these manuscripts. The question, however, remains how this affinity is to be understood.

A similar link can be found between the so-called translation remnants and the exegesis that follows them. The latter seems to quote them directly, shifting the tense slightly from the past (*tu as amee*) to the present (*Tu aimes*), which could be a standard feature when a preacher brings a scriptural text into the present moment for an audience. Another noteworthy feature of the interlinear gloss is its provision of a double translation of the opening clause, employing both *felunnie* and *iniquite*, whereas the Douce and Arundel versions attest only *felunnie*. The juxtaposition of these translation choices creates a synonymic binomial that also recurs in the exegetical section of the Commentary on Ps 44:8.

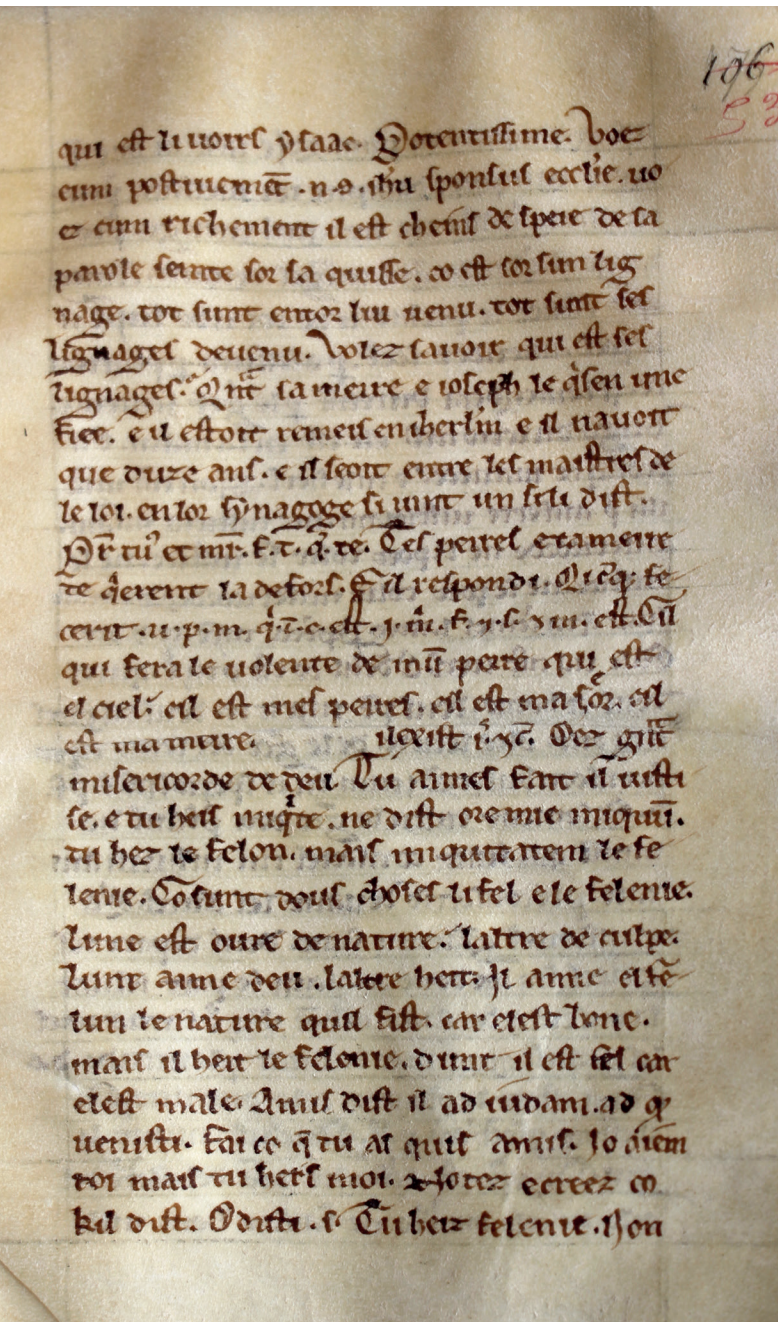
However, the most noteworthy aspect is the incorporation of a Latin phrase into the Morgan interlinear gloss in a manner characteristic of the macaronic idiom in which the Commentary's exegesis is composed (cf. *de oleo*). Indeed, the exegetical section of the Commentary consistently breaks down the Gallicanum verses phrase by phrase and word by word, a procedure which frequently results in the insertion of Latin elements, sometimes accompanied by translation, into the fabric of the exegesis proper. The text here transmitted as an interlinear gloss must originally have constituted the point of departure for the exegesis of Ps 44:8, subsequently finding its way into the interlinear apparatus by a secondary and presumably accidental process of incorporation.

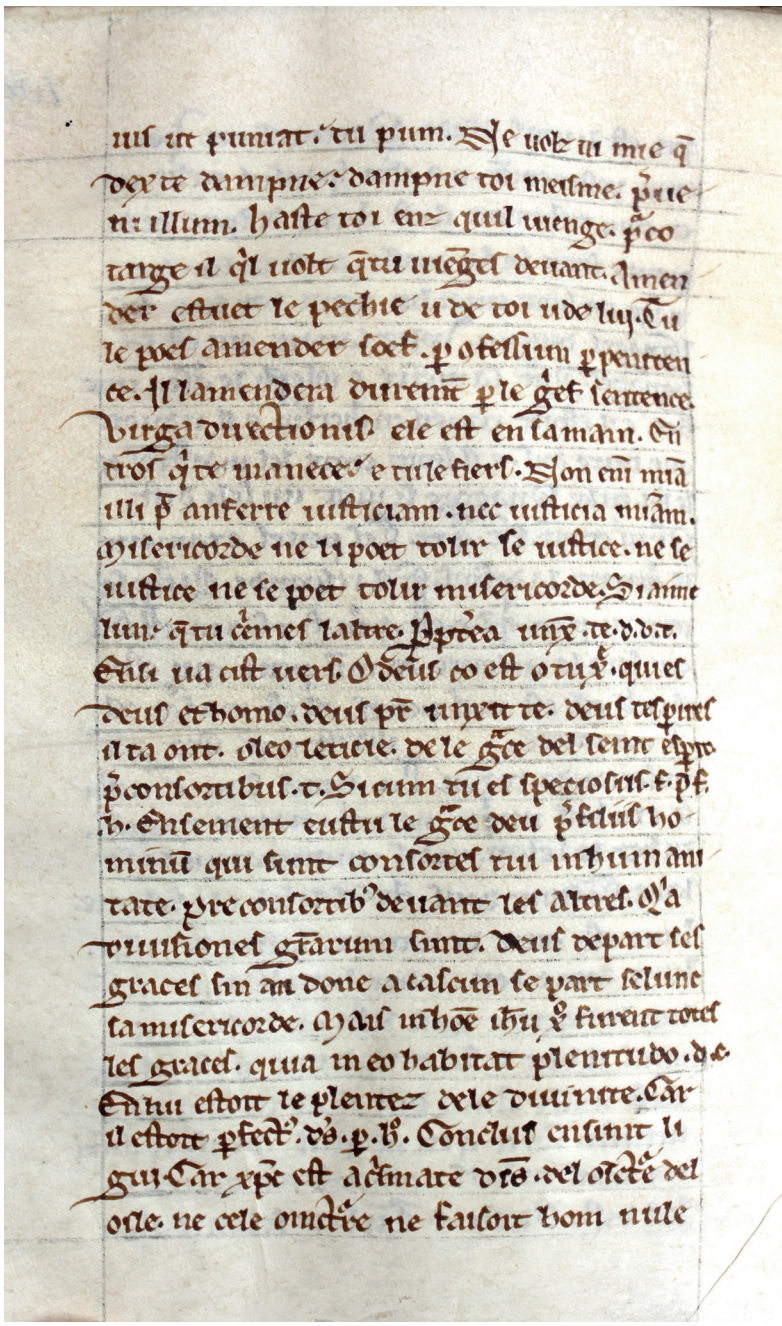
The absence of this section from both the Durham and Paris copies—the latter, which preserves only snippets of the first instalment of the Commentary yet, in this instance,

transmits a portion of particular relevance—indicates that the phenomenon is not confined to the Morgan witness, but rather characterises the wider manuscript tradition. On one occasion, Durham, offers a slightly divergent formulation; however, Morgan agrees with Paris not only in the sequential ordering of the argument, but also in the abbreviated pericope with which the exegesis opens. This suggests that the problem must already have arisen in the common source underlying all these versions, the most plausible explanation being that the layout of this antigraph ultimately gave rise to this phenomenon.

There is good reason to suppose that the antigraph in question is in fact identical with the autograph of the first instalment. For, while it might be argued that Morgan reflects the influence of Anglo-Norman translations or glosses, perhaps transmitted via an insular copy of the Commentary (such as Hereford), no such possibility applies in the case of Paris, which is continental.

In this particular manuscript, the singular feminine article is frequently spelled *le*, a Picard feature, which also appears in the possessive adjectives (*se* for *sa*, *me* for *ma*). The form *cals* for *ceals* ("those") further points to eastern French usage. The scribe also tends to write *-al-* in contexts where *-au-* would be expected, and he alternates indiscriminately between *que* and *qui*, with inconsistent abbreviation practices affecting both the relative pronoun and the conjunction. The form *fix* for *fils/filz* ("son") points more specifically to a north-eastern scripta, alongside several related features. Anglo-Norman features are less frequent than has sometimes been assumed in the secondary lit-





Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MSS fr. 13315–13316. The present folios (MS fr. 13316, fol. 53r–v) contain excerpts of the gloss on Ps 44:8.

Photo: Vladimir Agrigoroaei, 2025.

With the kind permission of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

erature. Zink 1982, p. 49, posited an Anglo-Norman origin for "the series" (i.e., the entire Paris manuscript, which begins with the French version of the Sermons of Maurice of Sully), largely on the basis of the numerous English manuscripts transmitting the Old French Commentary on the Psalms. His interpretation nevertheless predates the edition of Gregory 1990.

Although the Morgan manuscript used by Gregory as basis of his edition of the Commentary exhibits some of these features as well, they occur there to a lesser extent, which could suggest that the antigraph of the Paris manuscript stood closer to the autograph of the Commentary.

However, the gradual and increasingly systematic introduction of the same linguistic habits in the Old French sermons of bishop Maurice of Sully (the first vernacular text in the Paris manuscript) indicates that the scribe progressively developed his preferred spellings over the course of copying. This is further supported by the presence of forms such as *seinte glise* ("holy Church"), which are shared across all vernacular texts in the manuscript and are also attested in other witnesses of the Old French Commentary on the Psalms. It therefore seems more plausible that the scribe had consolidated his spellings habits by the time he copied the Commentary excerpts. This hypothesis should, however, be treated with caution, since dialectal features and scriptae must not be conflated. In any case, the Commentary snippets appear closer to a continental model than to the source underlying the Anglo-Norman manuscripts of Durham or Hereford.

At this point, the situation has become sufficiently complex that the only way forward is to recapitulate the conclusions reached thus far. A contrast thus emerges between the different textual strata preserved in Morgan. The marginal notes display a more distinctly continental linguistic profile, perhaps because they were dictated, or transmitted independently of the antigraph. The interlinear gloss, by contrast, preserves more pronounced Anglo-Norman features, which may indicate a more direct dependence on the antigraph. As for the exegetical text, it presents a different picture again. Its language is predominantly continental, with main features pointing towards a Walloon scripta, and it contains no clear Anglo-Normanisms. This makes it unlikely that the writer himself wrote in an Anglo-Norman milieu. Rather, the evidence suggests that the author of the Commentary made use of an Anglo-Norman gloss or vernacular prose translation of the Psalms, traces of which survive in the interlinear tradition, while the exegetical text itself remained fundamentally continental in character.

The situation is nevertheless more dynamic than such a schematic reconstruction might suggest, and it would be mistaken to regard the marginal notes of Morgan as uniformly continental in character. Since these annotations were themselves influenced by the same interlinear gloss preserved in the antigraph, they occasionally retain features inherited from that source. This may account, for example, for the spelling *Qar* in the annotation on Ps 39:13 (fol. 167r), a form that closely resembles certain spelling variants attested in Douce. Such instances indicate that the linguistic profile of the marginal notes was shaped not only by the scribe's own usage but also by the textual materials on which he drew. This picture is further complicated by the presence of scribal errors such as *desluistus*, which likewise points to dependence on a written model. Such a form is difficult to account for as the result of oral transmission, and instead suggests direct engagement with a written model, in which graphical misinterpretation or mechanical copying played a role.

This accounts for the structural and lexical modifications observed in the Hereford-Morgan-Durham group. These texts are not independent translations from the Latin, but rather stylistic reworkings (diorthoses) of a pre-existing French version belonging to the Arundel-Douce branch of the tradition. The textual evidence indicates that the model underlying the interlinear gloss was closer to MS Douce 320 than to MS Arundel 230. In a number of passages where Arundel preserves corrupted, syntactically disordered, or incomplete readings, Douce offers a fluent text whose wording and sequence correspond closely to those adopted by Hereford, Morgan, and Durham. The source of the interlinear gloss therefore appears to have been either a literal gloss closely related to the Douce tradition or, conceivably, the very translation represented by Douce, subsequently reshaped into interlinear form. Moreover, many of the divergences separating Hereford, Morgan, and Durham from Arundel and Douce are secondary and can be explained as contextual adjustments prompted by the vernacular exegesis immediately following the biblical pericope in the Commentary.

This also helps explain the complex linguistic situation encountered in the Hereford manuscript. Anglo-Norman features occur both in the interlinear gloss and in the exegetical text, yet they do not overlap, because they belong to two distinct historical strata. The former derive from the Anglo-Norman gloss or translation that appears to have been used during the composition of the Commentary in a continental, probably Walloon, milieu; the latter result from the subsequent transmission of the text in England, where copies of the work underwent a degree of linguistic adaptation by insular scribes.

This situation is illustrated by the rendering of the Latin verb *stetit* in Ps 1:1, which appears as *stut* in the Morgan interlinear gloss, as *estut* in both the Hereford gloss and Morgan's initial occurrence in the exegetical section, and as *estoit* in the Hereford exegesis, whereas Douce reads *stout*. This distribution of variants suggests that Morgan stands closer to the autograph of the Commentary (presumably one that already integrated the interlinear gloss based on Douce) than does the Hereford version.

In light of these considerations, the only remaining step is to examine another passage from the Morgan copy of the Commentary in order to test the preceding conclusions. As the Morgan Museum & Library in New York, despite repeated attempts to obtain reproduction rights and high-quality colour photographs, has declined our requests and agreed to provide only a digital colour image of fol. 196v, the present analysis will therefore focus on the passage spanning Ps 48:19 to Ps 49:1 on this folio (see the illustration on the facing page).

MS M.338. Simon, of Tournai, 12th cent. Commentary on Psalms 1-50., fol. 196v. Tournai, Belgium, ca. 1200. Credit line: The Morgan Library & Museum. MS M.338. Purchased by J. Pierpont Morgan (1837-1913), 1908.

Photo credit: The Morgan Library & Museum, New York.

The caption is taken from the owner's metadata and does not reflect the present author's interpretation.

bien. mais quant il iert morz. é il aura cel biens pdurz é nuls
alurez ne uer dune ne sera mie benoiz. É porq; est co. Confi
tebitur tibi cum bene feceris ei. Jl ne seruu mie deu. por la ri
choise pmanable. ne il nasembla mie ses tresors el ciel. la
u il nes poust mie pdre. mais cel biens quist. cel demanda
deu. ces troua. Jl en est asez de ceals ki en deu croient mult
bien. tant cum bien uuelent lor uolentez. equant ele lor
faut. si faut lor religuns. Cum il guaainnent benoiz
soit deus. cum il unt aduersite. uoire uoil. eque ualt
cel aleurs amesle. cist seruises deu. Vient mielz ne men
uuent il. Dolenz tu deuenroies penser edure. É moi que
chalt se io ai auersite en cest siecle. si io per co que nuls
ne poet tenir. io retendrai co que nuls ne poet pdre. io amas
serai allurs que entre les larruns. Jnfatuibit usq; impio
genues ⁊c. Vi á alure uoie. il ne poet aleir na destre. na sene
stre. si cum uns pains dist. Ducum hinc quo nos uira
pacta uocat. la aluns nos diei. u laule nos maine. que
nō amaine. que nos ei auuns menee. Teil furent si parent
tels est il. de pure espine pure forbine. Vsq; mecuum. Jl
est ore endormiz en lapsperite. Mais il iert durement el
ueillez. a tenebris somnioz. excipient tenebre tormen
torum. Oel tenebres qui ora. ki ore li plaisent. qui a ses
oilz clos ne uolt reguardeir ne conoistre creatorem suū.
uerra il es tenebres del tormenz u il naura talent de
someillier. É co ē q̄ dist fi uidebit lum̄. solem iustucie xpm.
ne uerra ilia;

S deoz domin⁹ ⁊c. Cist ysreles dist. En la fin as
filz choze. psalme asaph. Asaph co est en la
tin conuocatio assemblee. el seruis deu.
Si reparole lyphetel as filz choze a tote
lassemblee communement. qui sunt fil
del cauf de celuj ki en caluarie nos mostra sa grant amor
quil morut por nos. iustes por pecheors. Cil meismes faut
ki la morut cum poures hom. sachiez fait il que co fu
deus deoz. deus des deus. Deus merci. u est co dunques ke
sainte eglise croit. e gehist quil nen est que uns sols deus.
demandez seint iohan leuuangeliste. Quotquot autē
receperunt eum. dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri

… Li hom tant cum il fu en honor ne serra di. il est conreprouiez as tels iumenz

Homo cum in honore esset non intellexit comparatus est iumen
⁊ a est est il faiz semblanz.
tis insipientibz ⁊ similis factus est illis.

en saute sera
muta ipsius
benoite. il te
benedicetur.
regehira tant sole
confitebitur
ment aum tu li feras
tibi cum benedi
bien.
ceris ei.
Jl enterra desq;
ynfatuibit usq;
es lignages de ses
inprogenies
ancessors
patrum suorū.
⁊ desq; en la fin
⁊ usq; meter
de tot ne uerra
num non uide
il lumiere. …
bit lumen. J.
deus
eus
del
deo
deus
ru
li iure il a parle
dominus locu
⁊ si aapelee
tus est. ⁊ uoca
la terre
uit terram;

	New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, M338	Durham, Cathedral Library, MS A.II.11
Ps 48:19	Quia anima ei*us* [fol. 196v] in uita ipsius benedicetur ⁝ confitebitur tibi cum benefeceris ei ·	Quia anima ei*us* in uita ipsius benedicetur ⁝ confitebit*ur* t*ibi* cu*m* benefeceris ei ·
	Car lame de lui [fol. 196v] en sa uie sera beneoite · il te regehira tant solement cum tu li feras bien ·	_
	Quia anima ei*us et cetera* . En sa uie aura s_amme beneicun · co e*st* sa uolente · mais apres sa uie · ora il la dure maleicun · Jte maledicti · Ne laudaueris homine*m* in uita sua ne proisier mie lome entros quil uit co dist salemons · Dici\t/q*ue* beatus ante obitum nemo supremaq*ue* tempora debet · co dist uns paiens · unques ne loer nuluj deuant sa mort · la trouera il la bonourte sil a uoir le\a/ doit · Quia anima ei*us et cetera* · Tant cum il uit · si li estera [fol. 196v] bien · mais quant il iert morz · é il aura ces bienz p*er*duz é nulz altres trouez dunc ne sera mie ben\e/oiz · É porq*ue* est co ? Confitebitur tibi cum bene feceris ei · Jl ne serui mie deu · por la richoise p*ar*manable · ne il nasembla mie ses tresors el ciel · la ú il nes pøust mie p*er*dre · mais ces biens quist · ces demanda deu · ces troua . Jl en est asez de ceals ki en deu croient mult bien · tant cum bien uient lor uolentez · et quant ele lor faut · si faut lor religiuns · Cum il guááinnent beneoiz soit deus · cum il unt aduersite · uoire uoir · et que ualt cil aleirs a messe · cist seruises deu ? Nient mielz ne men uient il · Dolenz tu deueroies penseir et dire · É moi que chalt se jo ái auersite en cest siecle · si io pert co que nuls ne poet tenir · io retenrai co que nuls ne poet p*er*dre · io amasserai all\e/urs que entre les larruns ·	En sa uie auerat sa alme beneicun · ceo *est* sa uolente · mes apres sa uie ⁝ orrat il la dure maleicun · Jte maledicti · Ne laudaueris homine*m* in uita sua · ne preissez mie lume tant cu*m* il uit . ceo dist salemun · [fol. 136vb] Dici_q*ue* beatus ⁝ ante obitu*m* nemo supp*re*maq*ue* tempora debet · ceo dist uns paiens · Vnkes napelez nul bonurus deuant sa mort · la trouuerat il la benurte ⁝ sil la deit aueir · Quia a*n*ima ei*us* · *et cetera* · Tant cu*m* il uit · si li esterrat bien · mes q*ua*nt il ert mort e il auerat ces biens p*er*duz e nuls altres truuez ⁝ du*n*c ne serrat il mie beneiz · e p*ur* quei *est* ceo ? Confitebit*ur t*ibi cu*m* benefeceris ei · Jl ne seruit mie deu ⁝ p*ur* la richeise p*ar*manable · ne il nassemblat mie ses tresors al ciel ⁝ la V il nes peust mie p*er*dre · mes ces biens kil quist · ces demande\a/t deu · ces truuat ⁝ il en i ad assez de cels ki en deu creient mult bien ⁝ tant cum uient lur uolente · e q*ua*nt ele lur faut ⁝ si faut lur religiuns · cu*m* il guainent ⁝ beneit seit deus · cu*m* il unt aduersite ⁝ Veire ueire ⁝ e ke ualt cist aler a messe cist seruise deu ? Nient mieuz ne me uient il · Dolent tu deuereies penser e dire · E me ke chaut si ieo ai aduersite en cest siecle ? si ieo perg ceo ke nuls ne poet tenir ? ieo retendrai ceo ke nuls ne poet p*er*dre · ieo amasserai ailliurs ke entre les larruns ·
Ps 48:20	Jntroibit usq*ue* in progenies patrum suoru*m* ⁝ *et* usq*ue* in eternum non uidebit lumen ·	Introibit usq*ue* in p*ro*genies patru*m* suo*rum* ⁝ *et* usq*ue* in et*er*num n*on* uidebit lumen ·
	Jl enterra desq*ue* es lignages de ses ancessors *et* desq*ue* en la fin de tot ne uerra il lumiere ·	_
	Introibit usq*ue* in progenies *et cetera* · Ni á altre uoie · il ne poet aleir na destre · na senestre · sicum uns pai\e/ns dist · Ducim*ur*_hinc quo nos uita p*er*acta uocat · la aluns nos dici ú le\a/ uie nos maine · ~~que no\s/ amaine\s/ ·~~ que nos ci auuns meneie · Teil furent si parent tels est il · de pute espine pute fordine · Vsq*ue* in et*er*num · Jl est ore endormiz en sa p*ro*sperite · Mais il iert durement esueilliez · a tenebris somnio*rum* · excipient tenebre tormentorum · Des tenebres quil or a · ki ore li plaisent · quil á ses oilz clos · ne uolt reguardeir ne conoistre creatorem suu*m* · uenra il es tenebres des tormenz ú il naura talent de someillier · Et co e*st* q*ue* dist n*on* uidebit lume*n* · solem iusticie *christ*um ne uerra il ia ;	Ni ad altre ueie · Jl ne poet aler a destre ne a senestre · Si cu*m* uns p*ru*dom dist · Ducim*ur* hinc quo nos uita p*er*acta uocat · La alum n*us* dici ⁝ V la uie n*us* meinet · ke n*us* ci auum meneie · Tel furent si parent ⁝ tels est il · de pute spine usq*ue* in et*er*num *et cetera* · Jl est ore endormiz en sa p*ro*sperite ⁝ mes il ert durement esueilliet · Augustinus · A tenebris sompnio*rum* ⁝ excipient tenebre tormento*rum* · Des tenebres kil ore a · ke ore li plaisent · kil ad ses oilz clos · ne uolt reguarder ne conuistre creatorem suu*m* · il uendrat as tenebres des turmenz v il nauerat talent de sumeillier · Ceo est ke dist · Non uidebit lume*n* · solem iusticie *christ*um ne uerra il ia ;
Ps 48:21	Homo cum in honore esset non intellexit comparatus est iumentis insipientib*us et* similis factus est illis ·	Et h*o*mo cu*m* in honore ·
	Li hom tant cum il fu en honor ne sentendi · il est contreproisiez as fols iumenz *et* a els est il faiz semblanz ·	Ceo *est* dit ·
Ps 49:1	Deus deoru*m* dominus locutus est ⁝ *et* uocauit terram ;	Deus deorum d*omin*us locutus est ⁝ *et* uocauit t*er*ram ·
	deus des deus li sire il a parle *et* si áápelee la terre	_
	D*eus* deo*rum* domin*us et cetera* · Cist tyteles dist · En la fin as fils chore · psalme asaph · Asaph co est en latin conuocatio assembleie el seruis\e/ deu · Si reparole li p*ro*phetes as filz chore átote lassembleie communement · qui sunt fil del calf de celuj ki en caluarie nos mostra si grant amor quil morut por nos · iustes por pecheors · Cil meismes ~~fait~~ ki la morut cum poures hom · sachiez fait il que có fu deus deo*rum* · deus des deus · Deus merci · ú est co dunques ke sainte \e/glise croit · é gehist quil nen est que uns sols deus . demandeiz seint iohan \l/euuange*l*iste · Quotquot aute*m* receperunt eum ⁝ dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri [fol. 197r] his qui credunt in nomine ei*us* · A ceals có dist ki n*ost*er segnor ih*es*u receurent · dona il poeste quil fu_ssent fil de celuj · q*ui* filz deu · e*st* · il · e*st* · dex · J*hesus christus* il est filius dei · é nos su*m*mes si freire ·	Cist titles dit in finem en la fin al fiz chore psalm*us* asaph · ceo est en la[fol. 137ra]tin conuocatio · assembleie · e signefiet seinteglise ki est assembleie al seruise deu · Si reparolet li p*ro*phetes as fiz chore · a tute lassemblie co*m*munemen*t* · ki sunt fiz del chalf · de celui ki en caluarie nus mustrat si g*ra*nt amur · kil murut p*ur* n*us* · iustes p*ur* peccheurs · Cel meimes fait il ki la murut cum poures hom · Sachez ke ceo fud deus d*eorum* · deu des deus · Deu merci v est ceo dunc ke seinteglise creit e geist · kil nest ke uns suls deus . e cument ert il deu des deus · sil nest ke un sul deu ? Demandez seint iohan eu*ang*eliste · Quot q*uot* aute*m* recep*er*unt eu*m* ⁝ dedit eis potestate*m* filios d*ei* fieri hiis qui cred*un*t in no*mine* ei*us* · A ces ki n*ost*re seignur recurent ⁝ dunat il poeste kil fussent fiz deu · ki fiz deu est ⁝ il *est* deus · J*hesus christus est* filius d*ei* ⁝ é nus sumes si frere ·

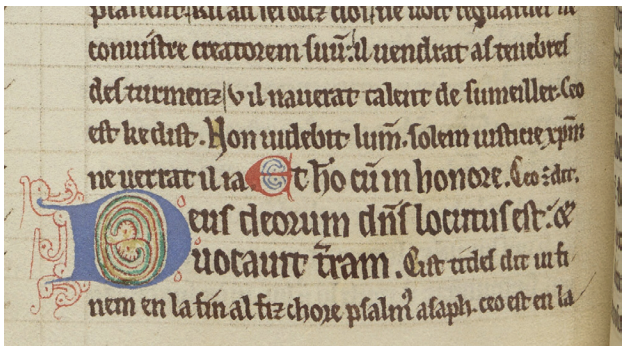
If we apply the analytical framework developed in the preceding pages, the most immediate conclusion is that, throughout most of the selected passage, the Morgan interlinear gloss depends closely on a text belonging to the Douce version, particularly in Ps 48:19, Ps 48:20, and Ps 49:1. The interlinear gloss preserves the distinctive lexical choices, idiosyncratic prepositional constructions, and vernacular idiom characteristic of the Douce prose version, while adapting them through changes in word order or the elimination of redundancies required by the interlinear format. In Ps 48:20, Morgan and Douce even share the highly specific rendering *desque es* for the Latin *usque ad*. The divergences between the two texts are best interpreted as localised revisions rather than evidence of a fresh translation. Thus, Douce's *lignedes* is replaced by Morgan's *lignages*, while *peres*, translating Latin *patrum*, becomes *ancessors*. Likewise, the phrase *en parmanabletet*, used to render *in aeternum*, is reformulated in Morgan as *en la fin de tot*.

It remains possible that, in cases such as Ps 49:1, the agreements between Morgan and Douce could also be attributable to shared translational automatisms rather than direct textual dependence. The situation in Ps 48:21 is nevertheless of a different order. The readings found there cannot be explained through dependence on the Douce tradition and instead indicate the intervention of an independent translation from the Latin text.

It is at this point that the close correspondence between the two versions breaks down. The divergence cannot be explained by ordinary scribal errors or by the kinds of minor adjustments typically associated with the adaptation of a prose translation into an interlinear gloss. One may well argue that *tant cum il fu en honor* was remodelled on *cum il en honur fust*, or that *ne sentendi il* ultimately derives from *nel entendiet*. Likewise, the replacement of Douce's literal calque *nunsauanz* may be understood as an attempt to clarify the sense of the Latin *insipientibus*, resulting in the more transparent rendering *fols*. When we reach the translation of *comparatus est*, however, such explanations cease to be persuasive. The Morgan reading cannot be dismissed as a mere simplification, modernisation, or stylistic adjustment of the kind frequently encountered elsewhere in the interlinear gloss. On the contrary, it represents a complex translational choice that presupposes an independent engagement with the Latin text.

The first instalment of the Commentary again employs the verb *contreproisier* at the end of the exegesis on Ps 18:11 (Gregory 1990, vol. 1, p. 225: *Mais qui les voirs deliz avroit que cist prametent, il savroit bien que nule cose ne pot a els estre contreproisee*). This is not a banal comparison, but a term expressing evaluation through equivalence or balance, namely the weighing of one entity against another in terms of relative value. It should further be noted that the verb is relatively rare; *DEAFél* records only three additional occurrences, all in Arthurian texts of the first half of the thirteenth century.

This translation cannot be explained as the result of exegetical influence. Unlike many other passages, this verse of the Gallicanum is not followed by an exegetical discussion that might have prompted a contextual reinterpretation of the pericope. More striking still is the fact that the same lacuna characterises the first Durham manuscript, where only the stub of a pericope survives. The problem therefore extends beyond the Morgan witness and points to a more important issue in the transmission of the text



▲ *Pericope stub of Ps 48:21 in Durham, Cathedral Library, A.II.11, fol. 136vb (close-up).*
Source: https://iiif.durham.ac.uk/.
With the kind permission of the Durham Cathedral Library.

and the Morgan scribe did not have any interlinear gloss in the antigraph for this verse.

But the text of the Commentary reveals more than is immediately apparent, and this is not limited to the Morgan gloss alone. A further striking feature in both the Morgan and Durham exegetical sections is the occurrence of the abstract nouns *beneicun* and *maleicun*, the spelling of which appears to be modelled on their extended use in Douce. This recurrence again supports the hypothesis that the author of the Commentary drew on a version of the Douce text.

Other noteworthy features include the Durham reading *seinteglise* and the fact that the Morgan scribes introduce an \e/ before *glise*, thereby correcting the form. This again recalls the observations made above concerning the Paris manuscript, as does the reading *ceals* in Morgan. Ultimately, however, the most compelling evidence lies in the fact that the Morgan scribes twice erase and correct the feminine singular article *le* to *la*. This phenomenon, already observed in the Paris manuscript, may be connected to the original continental transmission of the text.

Many other issues remain to be explored, such as the differentiated reference to a *paien* or a *prudom*, which can only be properly assessed once the probable Latin source has been identified; likewise, the Durham mention of saint Augustine, absent from Morgan, or the truncated thorn proverb in Durham. Some of these phenomena are certainly related to the transformation of *le* into *la*, and possibly to other, as yet unidentified, developments. However, it is not possible to pursue these questions in any depth at present, since the Morgan manuscript exhibits numerous erasures and corrections that cannot be analysed on the basis of a greyscale facsimile.

My final conclusion is that Morgan likely represents a copy of the original text as transmitted on the continent, and that the Anglo-Norman features observable in it are the result of influence from the Douce translation, as read and used by the author. Hereford and Durham, by contrast, appear to reflect subsequent Anglo-Normanisation of the text after its transmission into England.

However, although the interlinear gloss appears to have been produced exclusively for the initial instalment of the Commentary (Ps 1–50), the question remains of certain marginal gloss translations that were subsequently copied into a manuscript of Oxford containing a copy of the second instalment. This issue requires separate consideration before any overarching conclusions can be securely formulated.

uerent deus lur angles li lur dist. ql
enalast baldement car ille prendereñ. Or me mostre dist il un signe. fai q̃ cist uedrel seco empluz. & uno laire sent seche entur. Eo en si auunt. Or me fai un altre. Or sent laire empluë. & li uedrel tut sech. Ecco rauunt. La parent entendit il q̃ aureo bon cel ostel p̃ aler sur madian. Laire signifie le mund. le uedrel signifie la gent del iudeus q̃ maneient entur ierlm & en ierlm qui ẽ en mileu del siecle si cũ li uedrel q̃ gist en mileu del aire. Hyrẽ sire descendit en els q̃n ũbum caro factũ ẽ & habitauit in nobis. La est laist la mere dunt il nasqui. la est ist il sel apostles. E par lui meisme e par ses apostles arosee il de la rosee del saint euuangelie cele gent. Non sum missus nisi ad oues q̃ perdidit dom̃s isrl. Ieo ne sui uenu si a cele gent nun. cist sunt li uedrel. uno li altre sunt laire seche. In una gentil ne abiterai. Halez mie en la uoie des parens. ne lur preeger uos mie. laire margne seche. Apres fu laire empluie. q̃n̄ nr̃e sire dist. Euntes in mundũ uniũsũ p̃dicate euangliñ omni creature Or en uai la ploie en laire. & li uedrel remist tut sech. car la grace del saint euangelie qui a uent a porte as iudeus p̃ els enseignir. cele passe tote ad gentes. & il remistrent sech sanz humor del saint espirit. & senz fruit de bone oures. Eo sicut stillicidia stillant sup terrã. Sur laire chairent stillicidia les gutes. la ploie del saint euangliẽ. q̃n̄ li iudeu remaseñ sech en lur entur. & la nue egli se. del parent receu la fei dñi nr̃i ihu xp̃i. Orieñ in diebꝰ ei⁹ iustitia: & habundantia pacis donec auferatur luna. Orieñ in d. ei⁹ u. les iors xp̃i q̃n̄ il uenra dune nasti iustitia. mien la iustice de la lei dirai. de nr̃e p̃dente. o clim̃ p ocib. q̃ nest mie iustice mais uengance. Liurra en̄i occidit. la lettre de la lei. qui la uoldreit seure la ne serreit salf. Mais ceo ẽ iustice q̃ a iudeꝰ. Si eluneit un mine̅ cuus. cheuallũ. Si seruit. ponũ da illi. Si il en ust a faim. dune li a mangier. Si a sei. dune li a beuure. Ceo iustitia dñi. Ceste nasqui in tempore xp̃i. ceste a porte il. ceste preegiet il. Ceo ẽ q̃ dist. Eo habundantia pacis. Diligite inimicos uros. Amez uos enmis. Beneficite hiis q̃ oderunt uos Faciet bien a cels q̃ uos haiereñ. Ceo ẽ giez pais. Ceste durera tut iors dones auferatur luna. del quel pais ert a saint eglise ꝗle nurra mie uariant. or sus. or sus. car ore a el pres. or adiustez. mais tut iors atent ferme pais. & ne suffrez la mals male faire ne demorer entre ne de mul eaduersitez. La tue lettre dist donec auferatur luna. Ceo ẽ del que saint eglise q̃ ẽ signifie par la lune del quel ert el halcee ad uitam eternã. Et dñabit̃ a mari usq; ad mare & a flumine

Et il aurad seignurie de l'une mer del qua l'altre. & dun flum del quel termes de tut le siecle.

SIX MARGINAL NOTES IN MS LAUD. MISC. 91: A PARTICULAR AND UNRELATED CASE (VA)

Stewart Gregory argued that, in contrast to the first instalment, the subsequent parts of the Commentary were not originally conceived with an interlinear translation. While the exposition itself often incorporated a loose rendering of the Gallicanum in order to sustain its interpretative flow, systematic or formal translations were both rare and inconsistently attested across the manuscript tradition. His evidence was nevertheless confined to a few isolated cases: a translation appeared on selected folios of the second manuscript of Durham (A.II.12), and marginal renderings were added in certain folios in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud. misc. 91. For Gregory, the highly fragmentary and uneven distribution of these traces indicated that interlinear translations were not part of the original form of the last three instalments. Rather, they were to be understood as secondary, ad hoc interventions introduced independently by individual scribes.

In the following, I will focus exclusively on the minor interventions found in MS Laud. misc. 91. The discussion provides a summary of research that I have treated in greater detail in a forthcoming study.

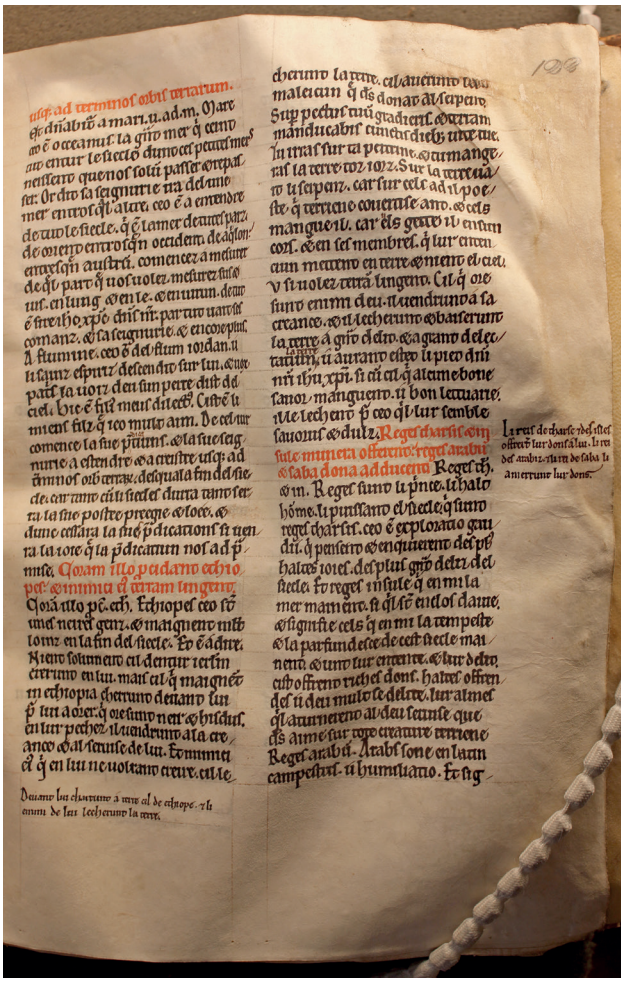
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud. misc. 91, fol. 121v, 122r, and 122v. The marginal gloss translations of Ps 71:8, Ps 71:9, Ps 71:10, and Ps 71:12.

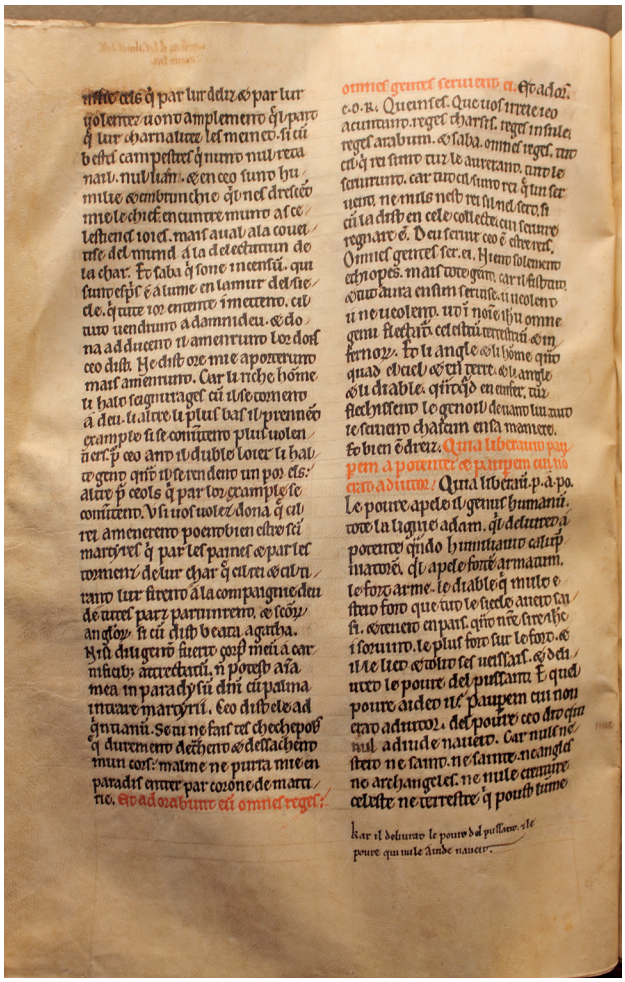
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei, 2024.

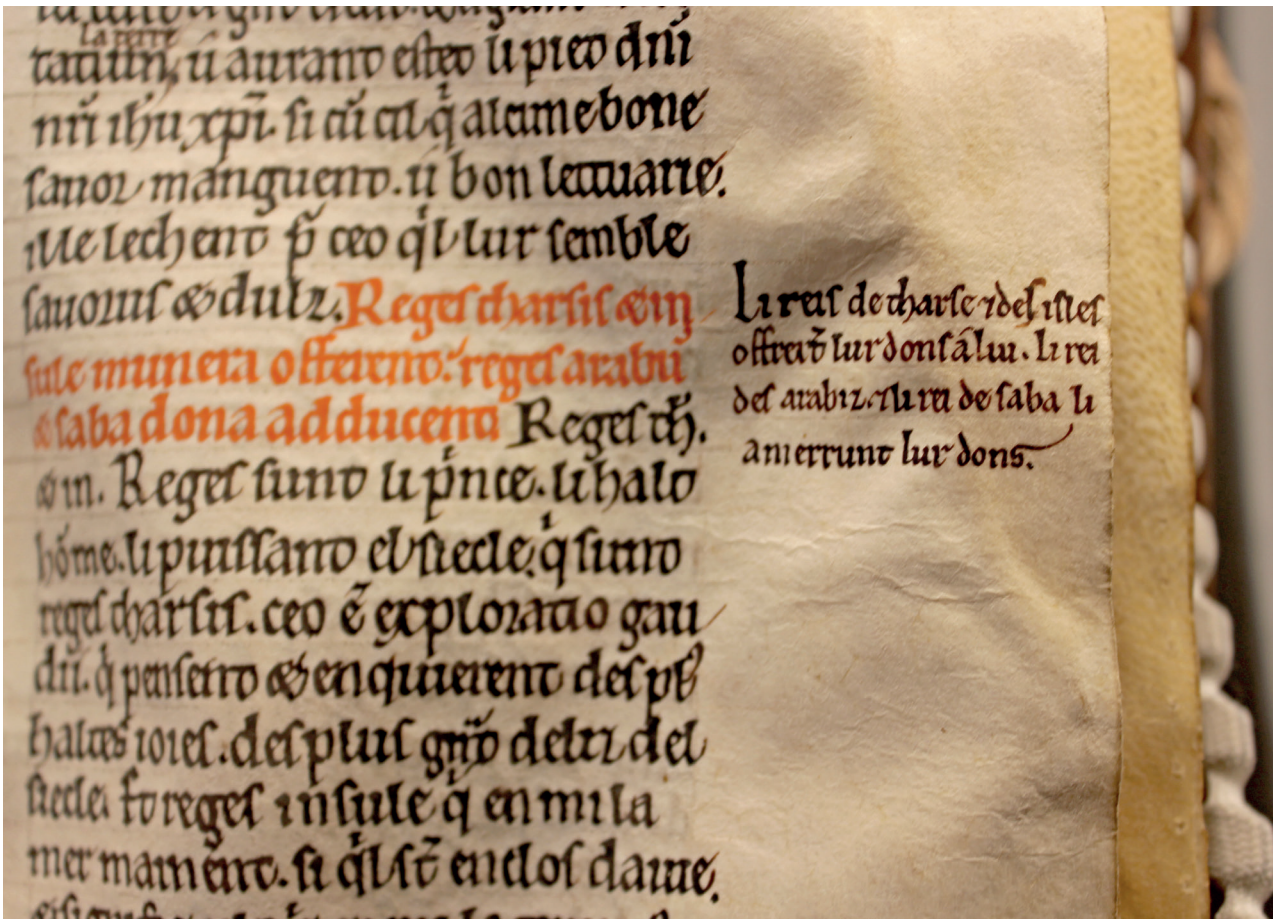
Courtesy of the Imaging Services of The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Creative Commons licence CC-BY-NC 4.0.

The marginal translation glosses preserved in this manuscript offer vital insight into the transmission and insular adaptation of the First French Commentary on the Psalms. Dating from approximately 1170, this witness contains the second instalment of the commentary, specifically spanning the exegesis of Ps 68 to Ps 100. The glosses themselves comprise an isolated series of six biblical verses added to the margins of fol. 121v–123r. Paleographical evidence suggests these additions were executed by a corrector rather than the original scribe, as part of a distinct phase of revision. This same corrector was responsible for other structural changes throughout the volume, including textual emendations on fol. 119v and the transcription of catchwords at the end of each quire, signaling a deliberate effort to clarify and standardize the volume.

While earlier scholarship occasionally sought to link these vernacular fragments to established Anglo-Norman traditions, textual analysis establishes their independence. The marginal additions share no direct lineage with the version that we read in MS Douce 320). Instead, the source of these marginal translations is the commentary text they accompany. Lexical choices within the glosses mirror the adjacent exegesis rather than independent psalter traditions. For instance, in the translation of Ps 71:8, the marginal scribe employs the phrase *del une mer desqua laltre* and renders the Latin *orbis terrarum* as *siecle*. This directly mirrors the internal paraphrase of the commentary, contrasting sharply with the Oxford Psalter's literal







calque, *cércle des térres*. Similarly, the rendering of Ps 71:12 uses the phrase *qui nule áiude naueit*, which serves as a verbatim reflection of the commentary's language preserved across all other sister witnesses.

The localised mechanics of this translation point to an autonomous, highly contextual scribal practice. A telling piece of internal evidence is the total omission of Ps 71:11 from the marginal sequence. This accidental omission reveals that the corrector was not copy-pasting a pre-existing, continuous translation, but was instead generating or extracting the vernacular verses line-by-line. Where divergence occurs from the primary text of MS Laud. misc. 91, it often signals the influence of the antigraph used during the revision. For example, the spelling *amerrunt* in the marginal gloss for Ps 71:10 varies from the main body of the Laud text but matches parallel readings found in the London and Durham copies of the Commentary, indicating the corrector had access to broader textual variants within the family tree. Furthermore, distinctive word choices, such as translating *inops* as *busuignus* in Ps 71:13 rather than the Douce choice of *suffraitús*, underline a deliberate departure from word-for-word translation in favor of contextual interpretation rooted in the surrounding exegesis.

This phenomenon is, in itself, closely comparable to the reworking of the Douce text into the interlinear version preserved in Hereford and Morgan. It should nevertheless be borne in mind that rewriting undertaken in the name of clarity (that is, diorthosis) often entails a degree of modernisation. It is therefore unsurprising that the same rewriting procedure appears to operate in Laud, a copy

▲ *Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud. misc. 91, fol. 122rb. Close-up of the marginal gloss translation of Ps 71:10.*

▶ *Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud. misc. 91, fol. 123r. The marginal gloss translations of Ps 71:13 and Ps 71:14.*

Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei, 2024.

▶▶ *Close-up of fol. 42r, two erasures and corrections of the word* oures. *Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320.*

Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023.

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of the second instalment, as in the other two witnesses, which transmit the first instalment.

On a broader level, the presence of marginal glosses in Laud. misc. 91 illustrates the naturalisation of continental texts within the Anglo-Norman realm during the late twelfth century. The First French Commentary on the Psalms is of continental origin, written in a Walloon scripta, yet its surviving textual tradition is mostly insular. When this text arrived across the Channel, English clercs likely felt a natural impulse to bring it into conformity with local habits. While continental readers were accustomed to the primary text's layout, insular ecclesiastics possessed a rich, distinct tradition of maintaining bilingual, interlinear, or marginal translations alongside Latin scriptural authorities. The creation of this secondary paratext from the commentary's own internal French paraphrases was essentially an exercise in cultural appropriation. It served a practical, pedagogical function within insular circles, transforming an imported exegetical work into a familiar, scannable study aid that conformed beautifully to the academic expectations of the Anglo-Norman world.

auer aide ne gere de la poeſte del
diable ne mais que ſolus ſi ho. Ipſe
cũ ceo dift u angleſ q̃ numeg le
mustro a nr̃e dame. ꝛpſe ſaluũ faciet
pop'm ſuũ a peccatiſ eoꝝ. Il ſalue
ra ſun people de ſes pechez. Ipſe q̃
non aliuſ. Il æ nul altre. Ero á ceo q̃
alcunſ pouſt demander. ſi u diableſ
teneet la gent ſi eſ teneet p̃ ſes pechez.
Et ſi ihſc eſ deliuret. ſi eſ almeſ
ceo paruſt qñ̃ ſi p̃ eſſ muruſt. Si
eſ almeſ dune eſ almeſ pecheurſ.
dune u plot q̃ſ furent pecheurſ. Ihe
fiſt. fait ſi. quia Parcet pauperi &
mopi. & animaſ pauperum ſaluaſ
faciet. Parcet p. ſi eſ parmi le po
ure. q̃ bien porreit dampner par
iuſtice. ſi eſ parmiet par miſericorde.
ſi u pardone ſes pechez. Inopi. q̃ ñ
habeit opeſ. q̃ mieuſ na dauer. mieuſ
daruде. mieuſ de confort. q̃ ſeuſt en
ſun cuer. & gehiſt en ſa buche q̃ſ na
nul bien. nule force. nule ualur de
ſa meiſme. ne en ſa meiſme. mais tut
de deu. & tut en deu. Et animaſ pau
pum. q̃ conuiſſeuſt ſoꝝ poueрte. qui
ceo penſeuſt ceſte force q̃ ieo ai. ceſt
mieuſ de mei. ceſte beauтez. ceſte poe
ſtez. ceſt or. ceſt argent. ne men remа
indra mieuſ. tut na. tut eſt a tuꝝ.
Si deuſ me ſalt poiſ q̃ reamur nel
puiſ ſi tant mun cũ celui planta q̃ſ le
me donat dune neſt il mieuſ. Ero ſi
ieo ne ſui nobonſ ne beauſ. ne forz.
ne poeſtifſ. ne riche de mei. dune ne
ſai ieo dunt ieo fuiſſe conſeil. car ieo
ſui ſi diez poureſ. eſ almeſ q̃ſ ſi ſeieo
norriſſeuſt á poureſ ſaluaſ faciet. Ceſt
uerſ parlement mult aſ bonſ conſeil.
& aſ bonеſ conſeilеſ q̃ſ leur richeſſeſ
auoit laſſeeſ p̃ eſtre en ceſte manere
poureſ. Et uſuraſ & iniquitates re
dimet animaſ eoꝝ. & honorabile
nomen eoꝝ coram illo. Et uſu. ꝛc.
Li pechez ſunt leſ deteeſ dunt noſ
diſem. dimitte nob. d. n. ceo ẽ. par
done noſ noz pechez. Leſ uſureſ
de ceſ deteeſ ſunt leſ peineſ d'enfer.
q̃ dublent. kar ceo q̃ hom peche
en ceſt ſiecle en ſolement le conſ: heõ
le compeare en la terre & en cors & en
la me. Et ceo reſt uſure q̃ le delit
de ceſt ſiecle finent toſt. li turmenz
del altre durent ſens fin. Et iniqui
tate. Iniquitaſ ceo ẽ li pechez. Leſ uſu
reſ q̃ deſoz creſſent. ceo ſunt leſ pe
ineſ q̃ apreſ uienent. De ceſ uſureſ
é de ceſte iniquite rachateeit d'ſ
leſ almeſ de ſes poureſ p̃ceo ſangui
niſſun. par le rachat de ſun p̃ ci
uſſanz q̃ſ dunet p̃ eſſ. Et hono
rabile nom̃ eoꝝ coram illo. Comeõ
q̃ſ ſeuent uil & en deſpit aſ amiſ
de ceſt ſiecle. ceo ſachiez q̃ mult
ſunt en grñ honur & en grant
halteſce deuant deu tut al q̃uert
ment portent le num de criſtian.
Et uiuet & dabit̃ ei de auro ara
bie. & adorabunt de ipſo ſemp to
ta die benedicent ei. Et uiuet. &
dab. e. de a. rab. ceſte pphetie poet
bien eſtre dite ad litteram in ſalo
mõe. ſi cũ noſ auem al tute. Car
noſ auem en leuangelie q̃ſ regi
na auſtri la reigne de cele parte
del ſiecle q̃ ad num auſter. Et uiſt

parolent paſ o

nc lur ourer: e

ret de lur manſ

t ler ourer del

neex li fire: ka

e e mſ defendé

n: e de la mere

t defendere eſt

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