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The Manufactory of Old French Psalters

PART 1

The Genetic Stratigraphy Documented by the Erasures of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320

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RÉSUMÉ: Afin d'avancer dans la compréhension des relations intertextuelles entre les psautiers français médiévaux, il était essentiel de revenir à une source fondamentale telle que le Psautier d'Oxford (manuscrit d'Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 320). Ainsi, l'une des finalités du présent article est de jeter les bases d'une étude des altérations textuelles (représentées par de très nombreuses érasures) qui rendent compte du procédé rédactionnel et approfondissent la logique intrinsèque de ce manuscrit. L'étude étant de grande envergure, elle est segmentée en plusieurs publications. Dans cette première étape, après une introduction qui analyse les rapports du manuscrit Douce 320 avec d'autres codices de sa famille (e.g., Londres, British Library, Arundel ms 230), les auteurs discutent les érasures liés à la fluctuation de voyelles et diphtongues dans l'orthographe de certains mots. L'analyse du traitement des dentales finales occupe ensuite des sections concernant certaines formes verbales du mode indicatif, subjonctif et participe. Elle se complète par des approfondissements concernant le cas du -e- interconsonantique dans des formes futures et le choix entre -r- et double -rr- dans le futur du verbe *estre*. Encore, les érasures et/ou corrections liés aux dentales ont permis d'aborder la question de la déclinaison, non seulement dans le cas des participes, mais également dans le cas de plusieurs substantifs et adjectifs. L'étude porte ensuite sur des études de cas : l'effacement d'un -n final dans *enfer(n)*, *iur(n)* et *car(n)* ; les hésitations du scribe liés à l'orthographe de la conjonction *car* ; le fréquent remplacement du *q* en *c* dans le mot *quer/cuer* ; le choix parfois hésitant entre les conjonctions *mais* et *acertes* ; ou bien les différents choix pour traduire le suffixe latin -tio. Une parenthèse ouverte sur certains ajouts et/ou corrections suggère la possibilité que le manuscrit Douce 320 pourrait ne pas être une traduction autographe du Psautier de St. Albans (ms Hildesheim, Dombibliothek, St Godehard 1) ; et que le scribe se serait plutôt servi d'une source latine avec une glose vernaculaire interlinéaire. Cette piste semble également confirmée par l'emploi du tiret bas, que le scribe utilise pour compenser des probables fautes de transcription. Mais elle est surtout soutenue dans la section où les auteurs s'arrêtent sur quelques « longues érasures », à savoir des unités de transcription dont l'émendation paraît liée à la structure et à l'interconnexion textuelle d'une source présentant à la fois latin et glose interlinéaire. En conclusion de cette partie, après avoir présenté, à titre comparatif, des exemples tirés du Psautier de Winchester et du Psautier d'Arundel, les auteurs proposent la reconstruction d'un segment textuel qui pourrait se rapprocher de la source du manuscrit Douce 320. L'article se termine par une comparaison avec les précédents vieil-anglais et une transcription des fragments de Maidstone, Centre d'histoire et bibliothèque de Kent, Fa/Z1 (fragment Faversham 1). La continuation de la publication est prévue pour le prochain numéro *Museikon*.

MOTS-CLÉS: paléographie; critique textuelle; traductologie; Psaumes; linguistique.

REZUMAT: Pentru a înțelege mai bine relațiile intertextuale dintre psaltirile franceze medievale, întoarcerea la o sursă fundamentală precum Psaltirea de la Oxford (manuscrisul Oxford, Biblioteca Bodleiană, Douce 320) este esențială. Astfel, unul dintre scopurile acestui articol este cel de a pune bazele unui studiu al modificărilor de natură textuală reprezentate de numeroase ștersături care reflectă procesul de redactare și spun povestea acestui manuscris. Deoarece studiul este de amploare, a fost necesară segmentarea lui în mai multe publicații. În această primă etapă, după o introducere care analizează relațiile manuscrisului Douce 320 cu alte manuscrise din fami-

◀ *Close-up of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320, f. 39r.* Photo: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023.

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lia sa (de exemplu, Londra, British Library, Arundel ms 230), autorii discută ștersăturile legate de fluctuația vocalelor și diftongilor în ortografia anumitor cuvinte. Analiza tratamentului dentalelor finale ocupă apoi secțiuni referitoare la anumite forme verbale ale modurilor indicativ, conjunctiv și participiu. Acestea sunt completate de studii privind ștergerea unui *-e-* interconsonantic în formele de viitor și oscilarea între *-r-* și dublu *-rr-* în formele de viitor ale verbului *estre*. În cele ce urmează, ștersăturile și/sau corecturile legate de dentale permit de asemenea să fie abordată problema declinării, nu numai în cazul participiilor, ci și a mai multor substantive și adjective. Cercetarea se concentrează apoi pe studii de caz: ștergerea unui *-n* final în *infer(n)*, *iur(n)* și *car(n)*; ezitățile scribului legate de ortografia conjuncției *car*; înlocuirea frecventă a lui *q* cu *c* în cuvântul *quer/cuer*; ezitarea între folosirea conjuncției *mais* sau a conjuncției *acertes*; precum și multiplele opțiuni de a traduce sufixul latin *-tio*. O paranteză deschisă cu privire la anumite adăugiri și/sau corecturi sugerează posibilitatea ca manuscrisul Douce 320 să nu fie o traducere autografă a Psaltirii St Albans (păstrată la Hildesheim, Dombibliothek, St Godehard 1). Scribul ar fi folosit mai degrabă o sursă latină cu o glosă vernaculară interliniară. Această deducție pare să fie confirmată și de utilizarea unei liniuțe de unire, pe care copistul o folosește pentru a compensa erori probabile de transcriere. Ipoteza aceasta este susținută mai ales de cercetarea asupra câtorva „ștersături lungi”. Ele par a privi unități de transcriere a căror modificare este legată de structura și interconectarea textuală cu o sursă care prezintă atât un text latin, cât și o glosă interliniară. În încheierea acestei părți, după ce au prezentat, spre comparație, exemple preluate din Psaltirea Winchester și Psaltirea Arundel, autorii propun reconstituirea unui segment de text care ar putea fi mai aproape de sursa manuscrisului Douce 320. Articolul se încheie cu o comparație cu precedentele în limba engleză veche și cu o transcriere a fragmentelor de la Maidstone, Centrul și Biblioteca de Istorie Kent, Fa/Z1 (fragmentul Faversham 1). Continuarea cercetării este prevăzută pentru următorul număr al revistei *Museikon*.

CUVINTE-CHEIE: paleografie; critică de text; traductologie; Psalmi; lingvistică.

FOREWORD (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: 126–142). In other words, when a sacred text went through a 'di-orthosis' 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 paper intend to examine in studying the filiation between the earliest Old French Psalters, with special attention to the particular case of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms 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 Anglo-Norman dialect are related; some of them are not. It is hard to explain their filiation, since no proper analysis of the manner in which the text evolved has been made. 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. It is an old idea, allegedly superseded by new research, but—as the current experimental paper will show—it is not an idea to be dismissed. The most interesting candidate for a source has always been the Arundel Psalter (London, British Library, Arundel ms 230, 12th century), given its strong textual links with the other texts (*vide infra*). Others argued that the prototype of the translation was the only monolingual psalter of the lot—Oxford Psalter (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms 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, neverthe-

less, 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 Douce ms 320, a manuscript 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: 1–34 (cf. the reviews of Meyer 1888: 122–124, Suchier 1884: 416–429); Förster 1914; etc.

Currently there is no way of knowing if the Psalm section of Douce ms 320 was the very first codex of its group, but it is one of the oldest manuscripts preserved today. Arundel ms 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 paper or in future instalments.

Douce ms 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 in a single volume with an Old French translation of the Rule of Saint Benedict, dated to the first half of the 13th century. This is why old bibliographical references refer to it as the 'Psalter of Montebourg'. The

► *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms 320, f. 37r.*

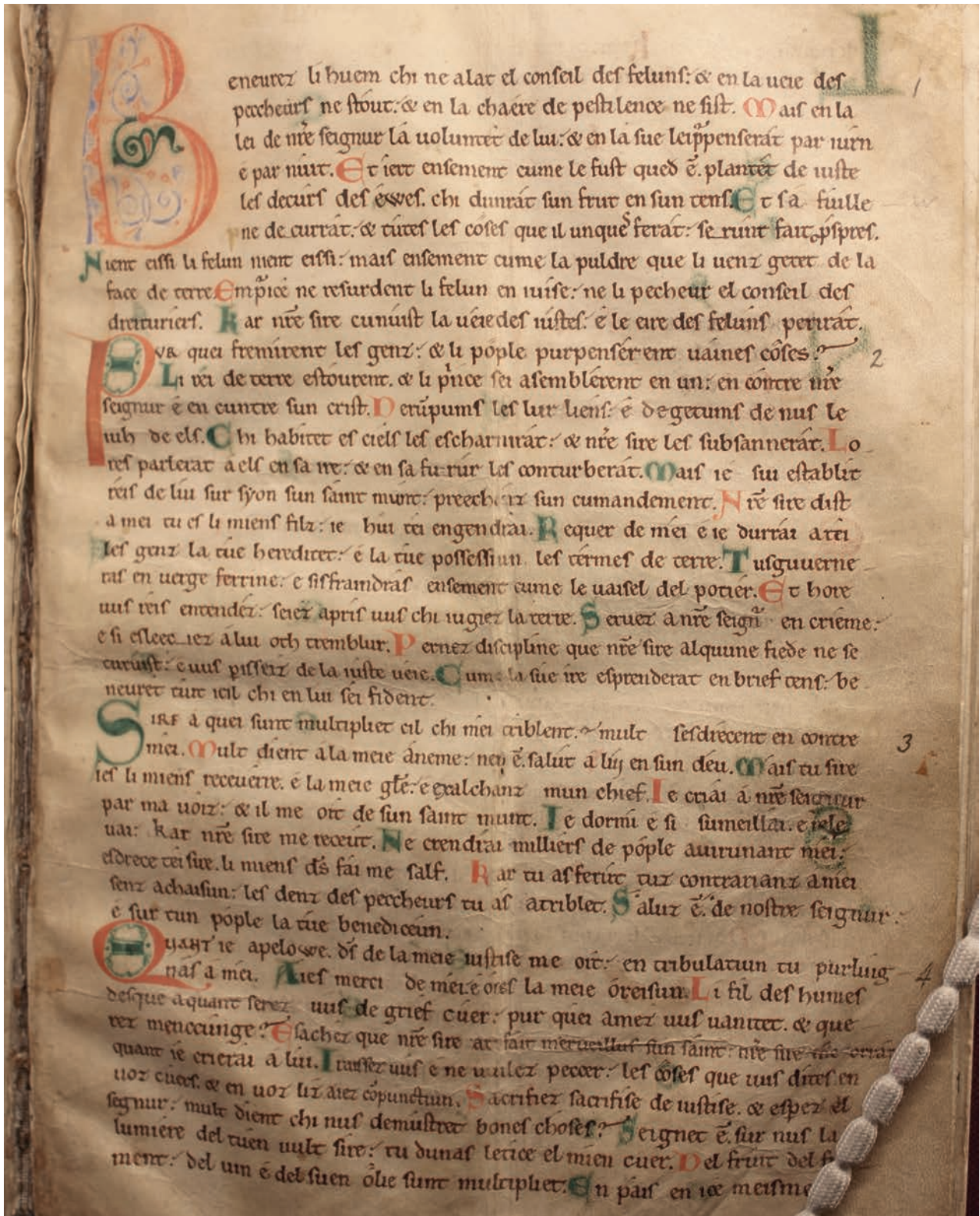
Photo: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023.

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manuscript's folios are approximately 29 x 20 cm, the text is 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 Douce manuscript contains the translation of the 150 Psalms based on Gallicanum, followed by the 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 Douce MS 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 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



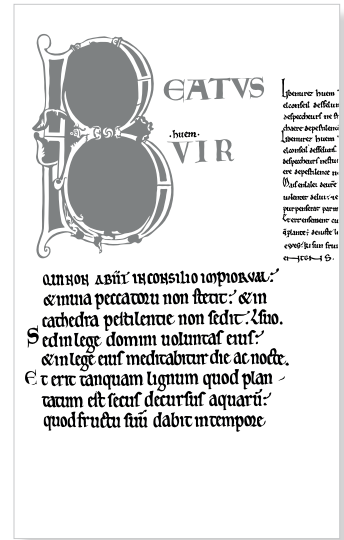
- ▶ Two folios from the St Albans Psalter (Hildesheim, Dombibliothek, St Godehard 1): the prologue of the Song of St Alexis, a seminal text at the beginning of Old French literature (p. 57), and the Canticle of Isaiah at the end of the Psalter (p. 372).

Source <https://www.albani-psalter.de/>.



- ▶ Drawing of the marginal transcription (without the modern text) in London, Bodleian Library, Arundel ms 230, f. 9r.

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Douce ms 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 distinct 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 Saint Alexis* was produced separately, in a different devotional context, before being included in the final structure of that Latin psalter (e.g., Gnädinger 1972, 24–28; cf. Matthew 2008; Gerry 2009: 600; Gerry 2013, 81; for the recluse and her links with the St Albans Psalter, see also 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 greatly influenced the onset of Anglo-Norman translations (or French literature in general). This led to speculations about the uses of Douce ms 320, especially in connection with Christina of Markyate.

The key argument of Short, Careri, Ruby 2010 is an oral observation made by R. Thompson. He noticed that the hand of scribe B from the St Albans Psalter, dated 1130–1160, closely resembles that of the copyist who transcribed the French translation of the Psalms in Douce ms 320. It was from this palaeographic observation that the three scholars set out to search other common points between the two codices. According to them, St Albans Psalter's Gallicanum would preserve a Latin text with contaminations from Romanum. By comparing specific *lectiones* from it with the translation from Douce ms 320, they argued that the translation from the latter could be based on the Latin Gallicanum of the former. There are no mentions, however, of why the features identified in

St Albans Psalter are specific to this manuscript and not to any other psalters of the same area or timeframe. The relevance of the comparison rests entirely on palaeographic arguments.

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, Douce ms 320 renders a term which is erased in St Albans Psalter (found in Romanum). Short, Careri, Ruby 2010: 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., Douce ms 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: 40). This conclusion sets the stage for a reconstruction of the social and cultural context in which Douce ms 320 would have been produced.

Arundel ms 320 is not the chief interest of their paper, nor of the edition of Douce ms 230 by Short 2015. However, this manuscript represents the most interesting 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 manuscript tra-

dition. Arundel dates to the middle of the 12th century (cf. Careri, Ruby, Short 2011: 68; for previous editions of Arundel ms 230, see Beyer 1887 and Beyer 1888). Arundel's French gloss, in small letters, occupies the interline of a Gallicanum in large characters (f. 7r–161v). In most cases, this vernacular interlinear gloss seems to be subservient to the Douce ms 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 Arundel ms 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, 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: 69).

Indeed, nobody can deny that such conclusions can be drawn, but the matter is complex. The Arundel manuscript 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 f. 7r–8v was transcribed by a modern hand, without trace of erasure (cf. Rector 2010: note 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: xvi, who sees it as more recent). Instead, we will briefly concentrate on a matter already analysed in Agrigoroaei 2016, 44–46 (cf. Rector 2010, for a different interpretation). Well before the beginning of the medieval gloss, starting at the end of f. 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 (f. 7r), the margin of which is now cropped. The gloss was possibly transcribed at a time when the quires had not yet been bound together, 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 and not an interlinear one. Here is the transcription of the text in the margins to the right:

*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 ensemment cu[...]
que plante est ; deiuste l[...]
ewes ; ki sun fru[...]
en tens.*

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

Beneurez lí huem chi ne alat el conseil des feluns ; et en la ueie des pecheurs ne stóut ; et en la chaére de pestilence ne sist .

Mais en la lei de nostre seigneur lá uoluntét de lui ; et en la

sue lei purpenserát par iúrn é par núit .

Et iert ensemment cume le fust queð est . plantét de iuste les decurs des éwes . chi dunrát sun frut en sun tens .

This eye-skip gives the impression that Arundel ms 230 is based on a previous text. That text was adapted, but it cannot be the text of Douce ms 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 lí huem* in Douce ms 320.

This does not mean that Arundel ms 230 is not related to Douce ms 320. The different readings can be due to the emendations of scribes. As a result, Short, Careri, Ruby 2010: 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 Cotton ms Nero C iv and Arundel ms 230 of the British Library. Therefore, another hypothesis must be taken into account: that Arundel 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. Douce ms 320 can be a reworking of a primary version, not necessarily that of Arundel ms 230. This hypothesis was first formulated (albeit only in part) by Herman 1954: 75, who followed in the footsteps of Franzén 1939 (cf. Nordahl 1972, who followed Herman 1954). It was certainly a possibility for Beyer 1887: 517, and it is not completely excluded by Pignatelli 2015, 35, note 1 (cf. Pignatelli 2009; Pignatelli, Lavrentiev 2013).

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 Arundel ms 230 (based on its respect for the Latin source), or its 'inferiority' in comparison to the fluidity of the vernacular text in Douce ms 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 current analysis is conducted on the erasures of Douce ms 320, as a continuation of ideas already presented in Agrigoroaei 2016: 26–29, and in other articles by the same author. A research mission of the two authors (Chapel and Agrigoroaei) at the Bodleian Library in July 2023 allowed them to note down all indisputable erasures in the Psalm section of the manuscript, leading to subsequent classifications suggesting that the conclusions reached by Sneddon 1978, though neglected by many scholars, could 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 the following pages, to acknowledge its value, especially since it is the only study that focused on the erasures of Douce ms 320.

We chose to ignore (for safety reasons) the segments of the folio where porosity could be due not only to erasures, but also to the fact that the second part of the manuscript circulated independently for a certain time, being folded twice (see the photo on the facing page). The words or passages quoted from Douce ms 320 are presented in semi-diplomatic transcription (with abbreviations expanded silently). The *punctus* is transcribed as a full stop preceded by a non-breaking space. The *punctus elevatus* is transcribed as a semicolon preceded by a non-breaking space. The rare uses of *punctus interrogativus* are transcribed as question marks preceded by non-breaking spaces. The colour red marks the extent of the erasures (either entire words and phrases; or just letters in a given word); and essential graphemes or endings, for better identification. Accents are transcribed as they appear in the manuscript. In many situations where the accent was placed above a consonant or close to one, the comparison with similar instances in the remaining part of the Psalm translation suggests that it should be placed on a nearby vowel. In the rare and ambiguous situation of intervocalic consonants carrying accents, our temporary choice is to present the accent above said consonant, as it appears in the manuscript.

The selection criteria for the list of “selected scribal corrections” published by Short 2015: 147–149 are unclear, as the list does not include examples from many categories of erasures that our own research considers of utmost importance. The list is very selective, to the point that it provides an incomplete picture of the reality in the manuscript. Preference seems to be given to certain categories, and the bulk of the corpus of extensive erasures is not taken into account. In several instances, the editor considered that only one or several letters were erased in examples where erasures cover entire words. Since these divergences between the picture painted by Short 2015 and the reality found by us cannot be evidenced via a simple compilation of a table or list of erasures in the manuscript, and since the facts relevant to the case need to be substantiated thoroughly, we present and illustrate our own interpretation in a manner which might often seem redundant. This redundancy is a guarantee against data manipulation. It provides readers with direct access to an extensive segment of our raw data, enabling them to verify whether or not interpretations are correct, and allows them to form their own clarifications. For the same reasons, every now and then our inventory will provide lists of spellings of certain words in the remainder of the Psalm translation, spellings that are not written on erasures, but which are essential for a statistical approach to the idiosyncrasies of the scribe, to be presented in the second instalment of this paper. In certain sections, these lists of a comparative nature can be used to study the scribe’s particular patterns and conventions that help him differentiate between homograph verbal forms or other ambiguous situations. No in-depth linguistic analysis is provided at this stage of the analysis. A thorough linguistic study will be included in the second instalment of this paper, at the end of the analysis of the erasures of Douce ms 320. The study of the erasures is accompanied by photos that testify to the validity of the reconstructions, to provide a stable basis for a general evolution chart of the scribe’s idiosyncrasies that will be presented at the end. As a result, research can be presented only in stages, thus the choice for a long publication, in several instalments. The authors thank the Imaging Services of the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, for the permission to illustrate their research with an extensive number of images.

The first instalment of this paper deals only with some

aspects of the extensive analysis, chief among which are: (1) the scribe’s inconsistency in spelling vowels and his use of digraphs; (2) the issue of final dentals erased and/or corrected in verbal and nominal forms, linked to the related problem of (3) *enfer(n)*, *iur(n)*, and *car(n)*; (4) the spelling of *kar / quar / ker*; (5) the transformation of *quer* into *cuer*; (6) the complex relationship between *mais* and *acertes*; (7) a series of hesitant renderings of Latin *-tio*; (8) odd additions and corrections suggesting that the Douce scribe was copying from (and adapting) a source; (9) the use of certain low dashes, pointing in the same direction; and (10) the issue of extensive erasures that seem to correspond to copy units made up of interlinear glosses based on the Latin lines of a source. To this, (11) a comparison with the filiation of Old English psalters was added, since it can explain the complex relationship of Arundel, Douce, and other manuscripts. Finally, (12) a transcription of the Maidstone fragments was also added, since it will be used for translational analyses in the next instalments of the paper.

Speaking of these instalments, the next one will be finalised at the end of 2024, to be published in this same journal. It will analyse erasures (with or without correction on top of them) that concern other phonetical issues, issues related to conjugation, to the declension of nouns and adjectives, or determinative articles. A large survey will concern the scribe’s treatment of personal pronouns, possessive adjectives, and pronouns, as well as demonstrative adjectives and pronouns. Several other categories will be explored as well: adverbs (e.g., *ne*) and prepositions (e.g. *a*, *de*, *en*) followed by a noun, an article or a pronoun, and our analysis will reach the issue of prefixes, thus entering the lexical realm proper. Many terms (especially nouns and adverbs) have been corrected or replaced by the scribe during his revision process (e.g., body parts or musical instruments). Last but not least, there are syntagmatic units that need to be taken into account; other low dashes, made for different reasons; the blank spaces left by the scribe before, after, and in between words (that he filled in later); other categories of extensive erasures, also made for different reasons; and the issue of accentuation (cf. Careri, Lacanale 2015: 43). Only then can the links between Douce ms 320 and Arundel ms 230 be determined. The double folding of the Psalm section of the Douce manuscript is another topic worth investigating, as it can be related to the physical circulation of this vernacular copy of the Psalms, perhaps even to the fact that many bilingual psalters of the 12th century seem to be based on it.

We do not yet discuss the comparison of the Orne fragments with the Douce ms 320 tradition (see e.g., Le Hir 1961; cf. the edition and study of Samaran 1929 for the hypothesis that Orne and Douce are unrelated); nor the conjecture that the Old French gloss of Eadwine Psalter could be a rewriting of Douce ms 320 (cf. Förster 1914: 12–14; for the contrary, see Agrigoroaei 2023; for an edition of the text of the Eadwine Psalter, see Markey 1989). They should be discussed as separate issues. Analysis into the translation or adaptation techniques of other psalters, either related (e.g., Maidstone fragments) or unrelated (e.g., Orne fragments or Eadwine Psalter) will contribute to a better picture of the evolution of Anglo-Norman psalters.

► *Drawing of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms 320, f. 37v (erasures marked in yellow in this drawing).*

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Beneurez li huem chi ne alat el conseil des feluns: & en la ueie des pecheurs ne stour: & en la chaere de pestilence ne list. **M**ais en la lei de nre seigneur la uolunté de lui: & en la sue leippenferat par uin é par nunt. **E**t iert ensemblement cume le fust qued é planté de iuste les decurs des esves. chi duntat sun fruit en sun tens. **E**t sa feuille ne de currat: & tutes les cotes que il unque ferat: se runt fait pspres.

Nient essi li felun nient essi: mais ensemblement cume la puldre que li uent getet de la face de terre. **E**m pice ne resurdent li felun en uise: ne li pecheur el conseil des drecuriers. **K**ar nre sire cunuit la ueie des iustes: & le cure des feluns perirat.

Dus quei fremirent les gentz: & li pople pur penserent uaines cotes? **L**i rei de terre estourent: & li pnce se assemblerent en un: en contre nre seigneur é en cuntre sun crist. **D**erupunt les lux liens: é de getunt de nus le uib de els. **C**hi habitet es ciels les escharurat: & nre sire les subannerat. **L**o res parlerat á els en sa ire: & en sa furur les conturberat. **M**ais ie sui establit reis de lui sur syon sun saint mount: preechaz sun cumandement. **N**re sire dist á mei tu es li mient filz: ie hui tei engendrai. **R**equer de mei é ie durrai á tei les gentz la tue heredité: é la tue possessiun. les termes de terre. **T**u sguerne ras en uerge ferrine: é si sframdras ensemblement cume le uaisel del potier. **E**t hore uul reis entendez: seiez apris uul chi uigiez la terre. **S**eruez á nre seign en crieme: é si esleez á lui och tremblur. **P**enez discipline que nre sire alquune fiede ne se curiust: é uul pisseiz de la iuste ueie. **C**ume la sue ire esprenderat en brief tens: beneurez tuit icil chi en lui se fident.

Sir á quei sunt multipliet cil chi mei triblent: mult feldirent en contre mei. **M**ult dient á la meie aneme: ne é salut á lui en sun deu. **M**ais tu sire les li mient receuere: é la meie gte: é exalchant mun chief. **I**e criai á nre seigneur par ma uoiz: & il me oit de sun saint mount. **I**e dormi é si suneilla: é de uai. **K**ar nre sire me receut. **N**e crendra nulliers de pople aurunant mei: é drece tei sire. li mient ds fai me: salt. **K**ar tu as ferit tuz contramanz á mei senz achaisun: les dent des pecheurs tu as atriblet. **S**aluz é: de nostre seigneur: é sur un pople la tue benediceun.

Quasi ie apelosse. ds de la meie iustise me oit: en tribulaciun tu purling nas á mei. **M**es merci de mei: é oit la meie oreisun. **L**i fil des humes desque a quant seret uul é grief cuer: pur quei amet uul uanitec: & que rez menceunge? **E**schet que nre sire ar fait merueillus sun saint: nre sire me ordra: quant ie criera á lui. **T**assez uul é ne uulez peccer: les cotes que uul dites en uoz cuers: & en uoz liz aiez copunctiun. **S**acrifiez sacrifice de iustise: & esper el seigneur: mult dient chi nul demultré bonet choses? **S**eignet é: sur nul la lumiere del tuen uult sire: tu dunas letice el mien cuer. **D**el fruit del frument: del uin é del sien olie sunt multipliet. **E**n pais en ice meisme:

VOWEL SPELLINGS AND DIGRAPHS (AC)

While analysing the erasures of Douce ms 320, I came across 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, 50–79, where the replacement of **u** by **o** was already noted, as well as the alteration of certain digraphs. Short 2015, 13–22, also analyses certain variations. Both studies, however, do not present a comprehensive list of examples.

Verbs

aovrir: u > o

f. 44r, line 24, *aourirent*; f. 45r, line 31, *aóurãnz*; f. 45v, line 14, *aóurí*; f. 47v, line 22, *aóuerrái*; f. 48v, line 6, *aóuerrás*.

aurer: u > o; ou > o

f. 41r, line 23, *aórérent*; f. 42r, line 24, *ór*; f. 42r, line 38, *aorez*; f. 70r, line 16, *ao_rerúms*. 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, *commút*; f. 54v, line 37, *comm_úrent*; f. 55r, line 24, *comm_úrent*; f. 55v, line 7, *comm_úrent*.

conceivre: u > o

f. 48r, line 35, *conceút*.

confermer: u > o

f. 48v, line 3, *conferme*.

conuistre: u > o; ou > u

f. 48r, line 33, *conúis*; f. 49r, line 17, *coneúz*; f. 49v, line 1, *conúis*; f. 53v, line 24, *con_úrent* (probably based on an initial spelling *conourent* with the erasure of **o**; not confirmed by an example in AND).

conturber: u > o

f. 49r, line 4 + line 6, *conturbéz* (with evident traces of the correction, see photo); f. 49v, line 10–11, *conturbéz*.

corucer: ? > u

f. 60r, line 5, *curucéz*. The word is entirely rewritten on top of an erasure, except for the first letter. The variant *curúce* without erasure occurs on f. 37v, line 38.

coveiter: u > o

f. 47r, line 14, *couéiterá_*.

coverer (2): u > o

f. 42r, line 9, *courít*, with evident marks of the previous **u** changed into **o**.

covrir: u > o

f. 46v, line 32, *co_urít*; f. 52r, line 18, *co_urít*. Cf. f. 50r, line 31, where the scribe wrote *cu_uérz* entirely on top of an erasure, without changing **u** into **o**.

devorer: u > o

f. 39r, line 10, *deuórent*; f. 44r, line 29, *deuorerúms*; f. 48v, line 29, *deuórent*.

doner (1): o > u

f. 50r, line 24, *dúne*.

envucher: u > o

f. 39r, line 11, *enuocherent*.

escumunier: u > o

f. 49r, line 35, *escommuniówent*

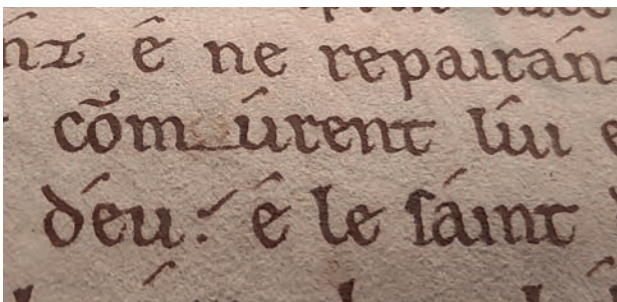
esprover: u > o

f. 46v, line 28, *esprouánt*

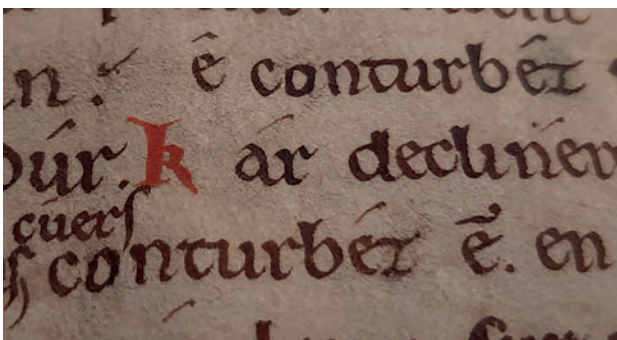
fuir (2): u > o

f. 49v, line 13, *foírent*

f. 54v,
line 37



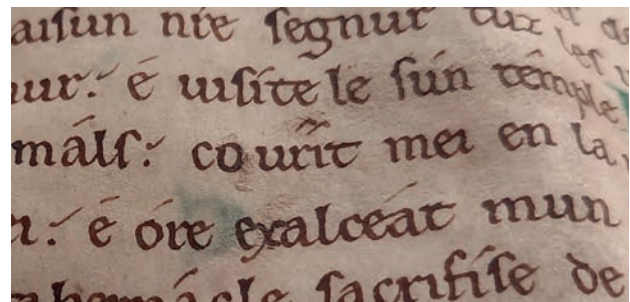
f. 49r,
line 4



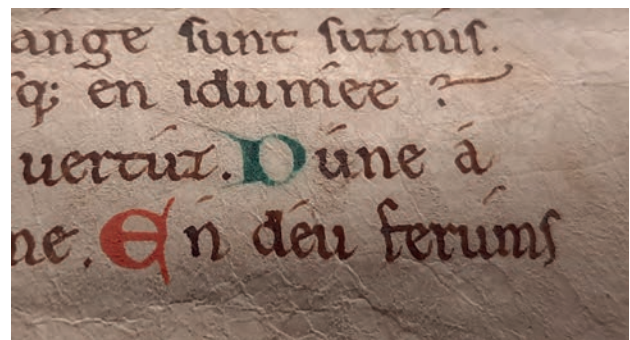
f. 49r,
line 6



f. 42r,
line 9



f. 50r,
line 24



oblier: **u > o**

f. 46r, line 37, *óbliás*; f. 46v, line 33, *obliámes*

ovrer (1): **u > o**; **oe > o**

f. 37v, line 6, *óeurent* (< *ouurent?*); f. 39r, line 16, *ouřet* (< *uuret?*); f. 42r, line 26, *ó_uránz* (< *uuranz?*); f. 44v, line 8, *óeurént* (< *ueurent?*); f. 46v, line 12, *ó_uřas* (< *uuras?*); f. 49v, line 38, *ó_urént* (< *oeurent?*); f. 50v, line 29, *ó_uránz* (< *oeuranz*, with evident trace of the initial **e**); f. 51v, line 40, *ó_urét* (< *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**

f. 52r, line 2, *prouét*.

renoveler: **u > o**

f. 48v, line 1, *renouéle*.

reprover (1): **u > o**

f. 43v, line 4, *repró_uet* and *repro_uet*; f. 52r, line 20, *reproúanz*.

tesmoigner: **u > o**

f. 48r, line 10, *testimonierái*.

voler (2): **u > o**

f. 44r, line 32-33 (twice), *uólent*; f. 46r, line 2, *uólent*.

Nouns

corone (1): **u > o**

f. 51r, line 13, *corúne*.

coverment: **ue > u**

f. 50r, line 31, *cu_uřement*.

dolur: **u > o**

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

Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023.

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f. 45r, line 36, *dolúr*.

fontaine: **u > o**

f. 44v, line 5, *fontáine*; f. 51v, line 37, *fontéines*. See f. 46r, line 24, where the variant *fontáine* is written on top of an extensive erasure; and f. 73v, line 19, where the word *fontáines* is written with no erasures.

home: **u > o**

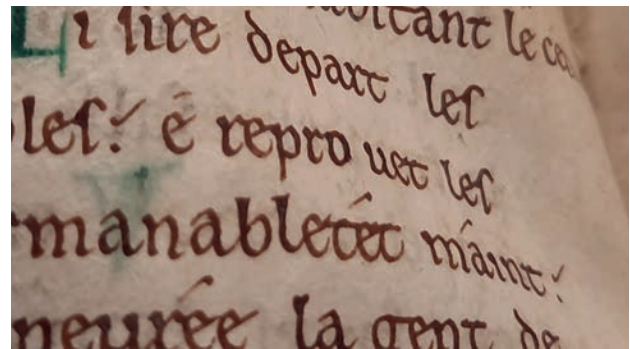
f. 56r, line 19, (*l*)*óme*; f. 56r, line 20, (*d*)*óme*.

honur: **u > o**

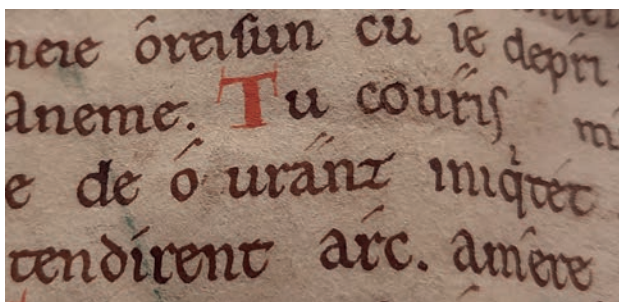
f. 42r, line 37, *honur*. AND does not register the specific spelling *hunur*.

leun (2): **i > e**; **u > o**

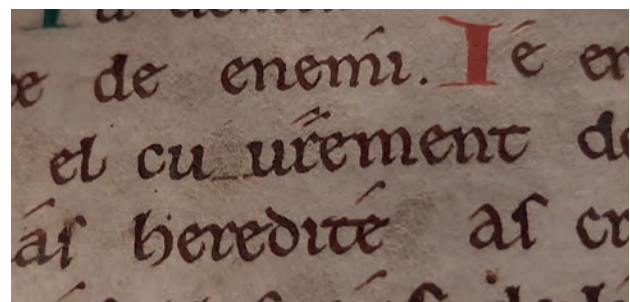
The scribe hesitates between two spellings: f. 37v, line 28, *leúns*; f. 44r, line 21, *leúns*; and f. 49v, line 10, *leóns*. The spelling *leúns* is written without any trace of erasure on f. 49v, line 26; and f. 73v, line 31. However, the spelling *león(s)* is also found in passages where no trace of erasure can be noted, such as on f. 39v, line 8; f. 39v, line 9; f. 41r, line 3; and f. 62r, line 12. Therefore, the scribe makes two types of corrections. When he writes *leuns* / *leúns* on f. 37v and f. 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



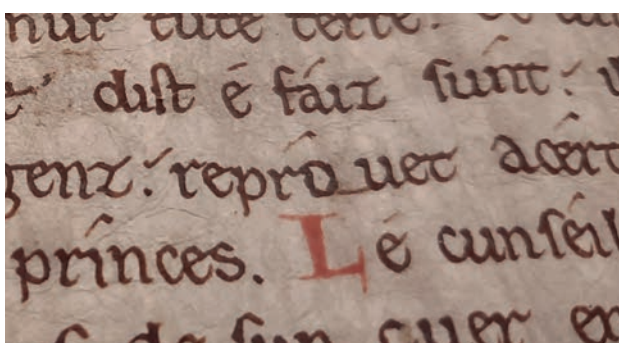
f. 43v,
line 4 (2)



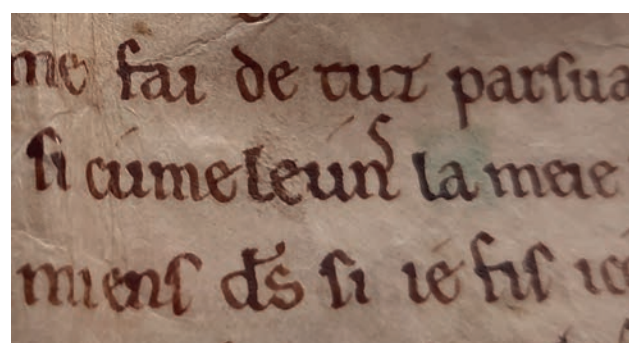
f. 50v,
line 29



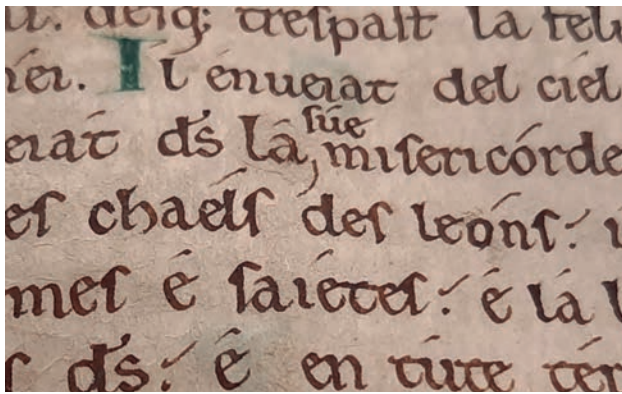
f. 50r,
line 31



f. 43v,
line 4 (1)



f. 37v,
line 28

f. 49v,
line 10

leóns, 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*

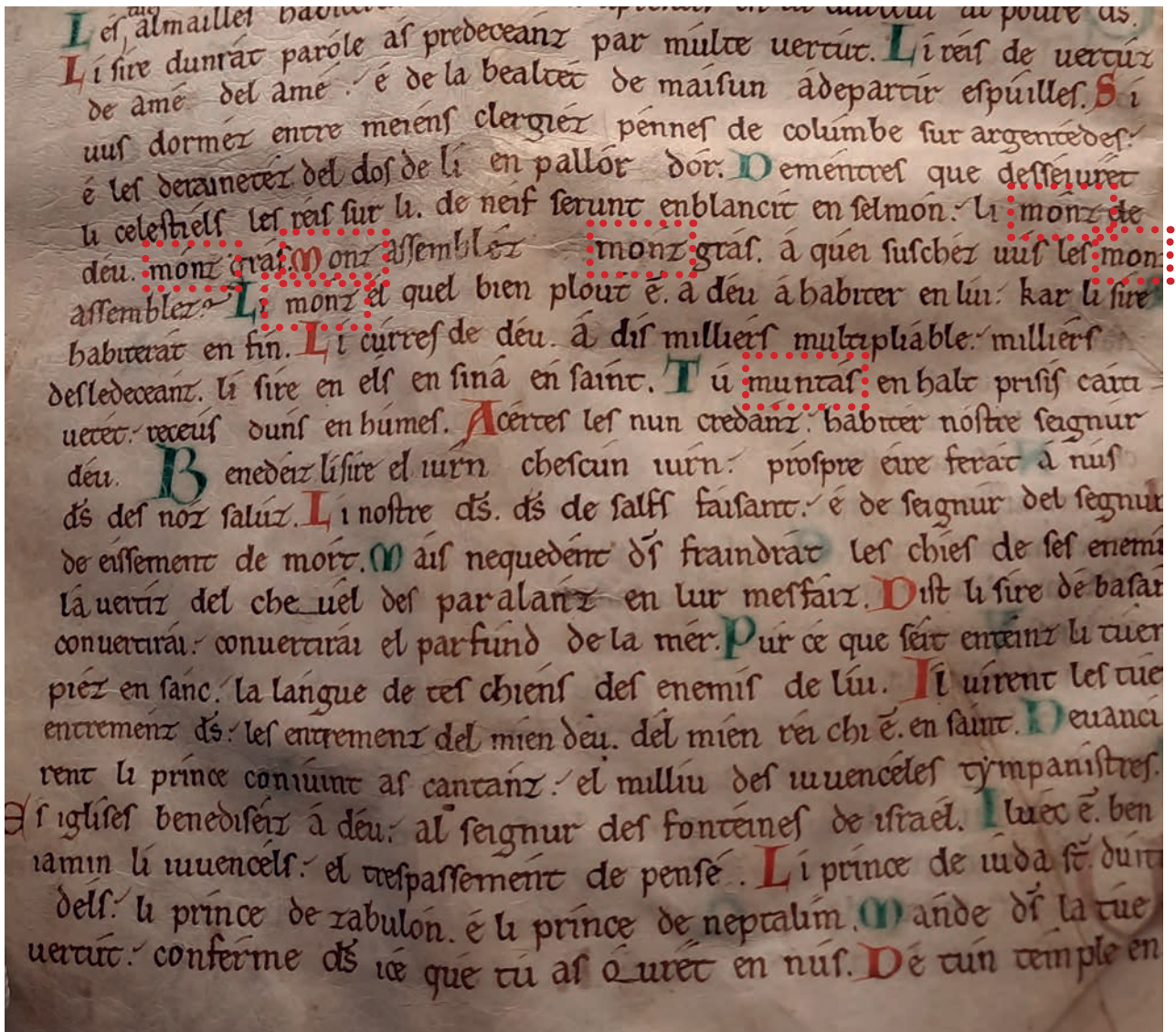
◀ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms 320.

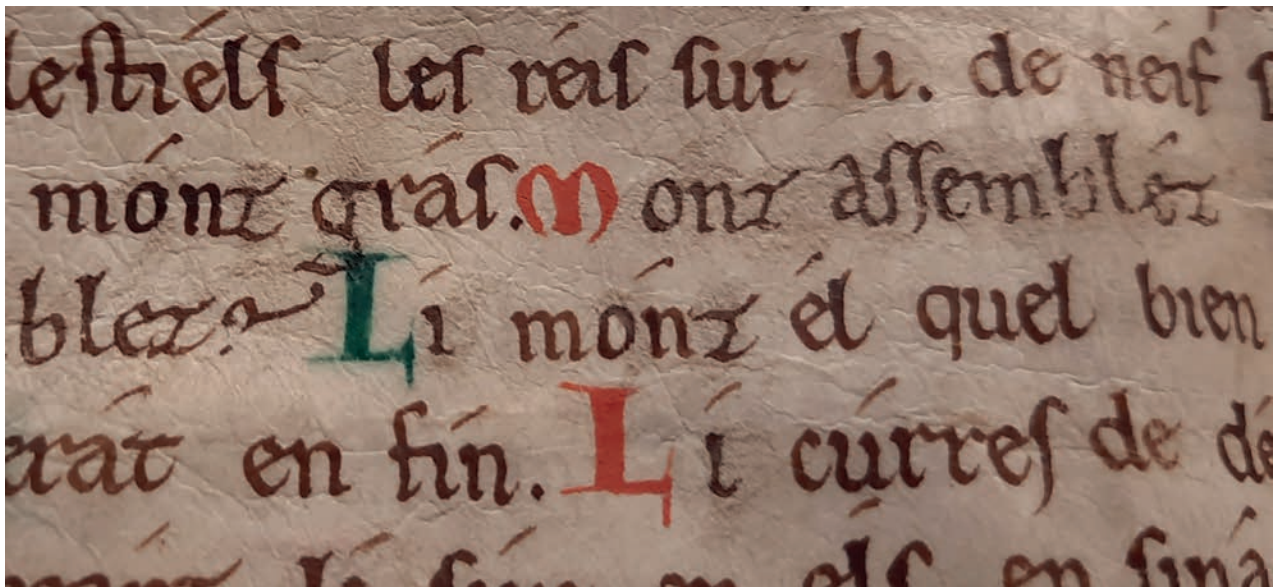
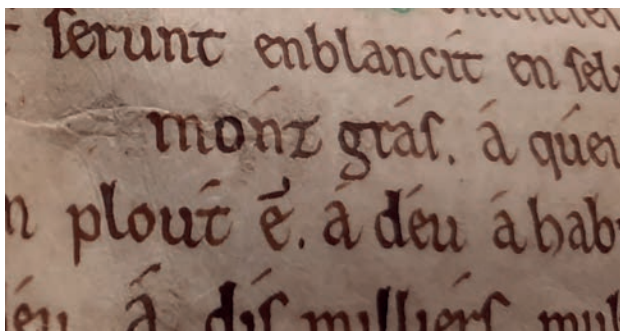
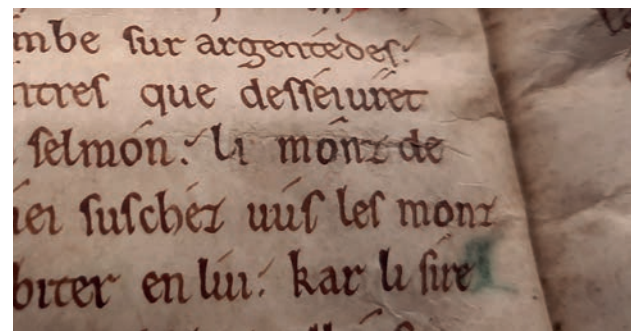
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023.

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f. 46r, line 33, *mónt*; f. 47v, line 5, *mónt* (twice); f. 47v, line 14, *mónz*; f. 51r, line 6, *mónz*; f. 51v, line 23, *mónz*; f. 51v, line 24, *mónz* (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: f. 51v, line 24; and f. 56v, line 24, where *monz* is written on top of an extensive erasure.

Mont / Monz can 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: f. 46v, line 7; f. 47r, line 26; f. f. 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 f. 37 and f. 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,

f. 51v,
line 24
line 25

f. 51v,
line 24f. 51v,
line 25f. 51v,
line 24f. 51v,
line 23

line 24

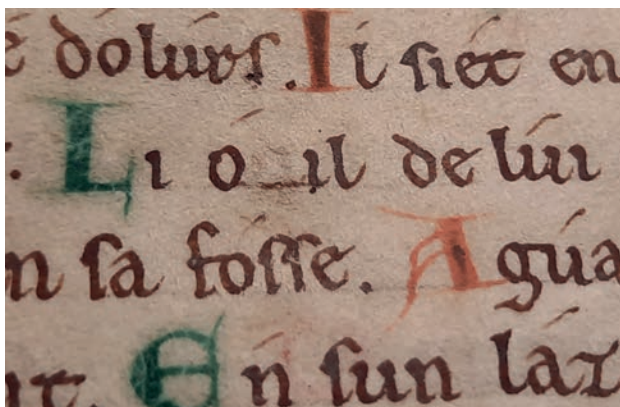
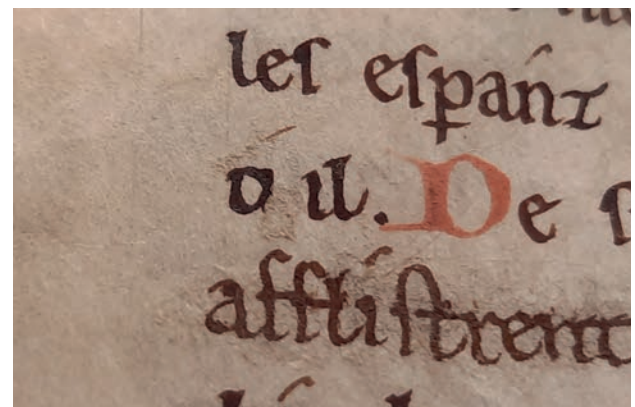
without any trace of *u* becoming *o*. In the following list, I provide an example for each spelling in the text (the list is therefore not exhaustive): f. 39v, line 23 + line 25 (*muntát*); f. 41r, line 37 (*munterát*); f. 47r, line 39 (*muntá*); f. 51v, line 27 (*muntás*); f. 54r, line 6 (*múnte*); f. 54r, line 24 (*muntérent*); f. 61v, line 36 (*múntent*); f. 63r, line 6 (*muntánz*); f. 64r, line 1 (*múntent*); f. 70r, line 12 (*munterái*); f. 74r, lines 10-11 (*surmuntéz*); f. 74v, line 24 (*munterás*). The same situation concerns the noun *muntemement*: f. 56v, line 35 (*munteménz*); f. 61v, line 31 (*muntemént*); and the noun *munteour*: f. 74r, line 23 (*muntedúr*).

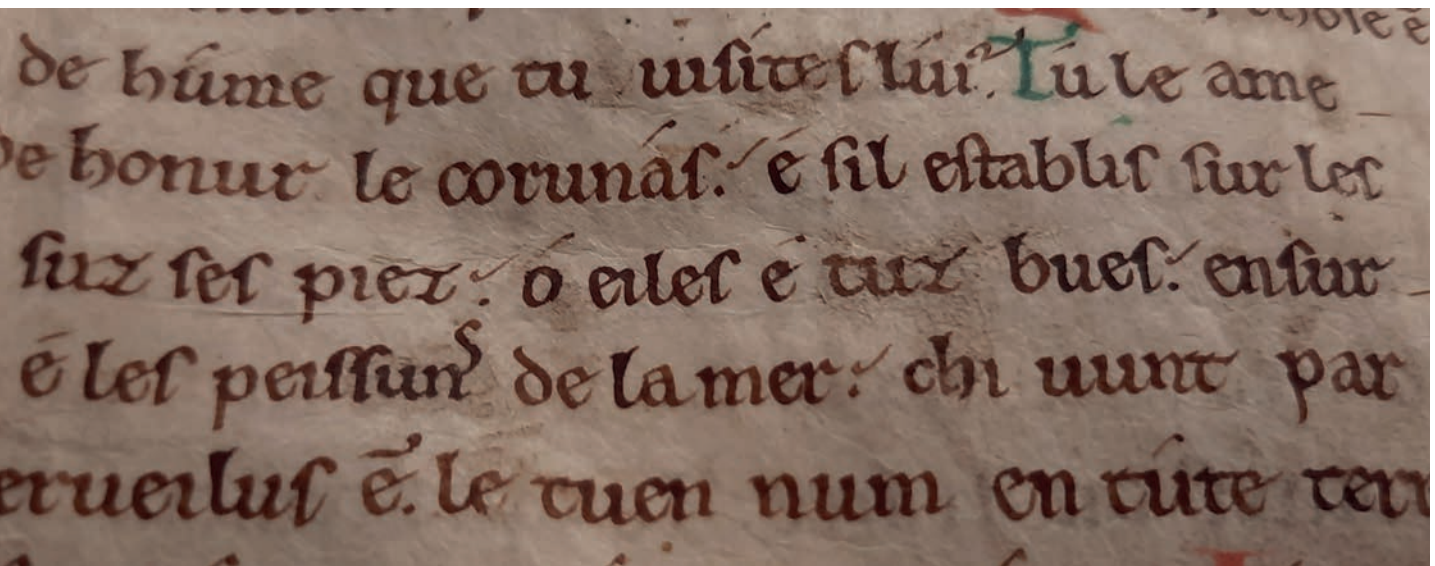
oil (1): *ou* > *o*; *u* > *o*

The word *oil* has undergone two different types of eras-

asures. The first type is on f. 38v, line 3, *ó_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. f. 38v, line 36, *ó_ilz*; f. 39r, line 9, *ó_ilz*; f. 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 f. 39v, line 7, *óilz*.

The spelling *óil* / *óilz* (with or without accent) occurs for the first time on f. 37v, line 6 + line 23, where there is no trace of erasure. Examples of variation can be found on f. 38v and f. 39r-v. In the remaining part of the text, the spelling is stable. Examples of variation are

f. 38v,
line 3f. 39v,
line 5

f. 38r,
line 11

found on f. 39r, line 38; f. 40r, line 2, line 4 + line 40 ; f. 41v, line 21 + line 31, etc. ; f. 60v, line 37, etc.

ombre (2): **o > u**

f. 49v, line 7, *úmbre*.

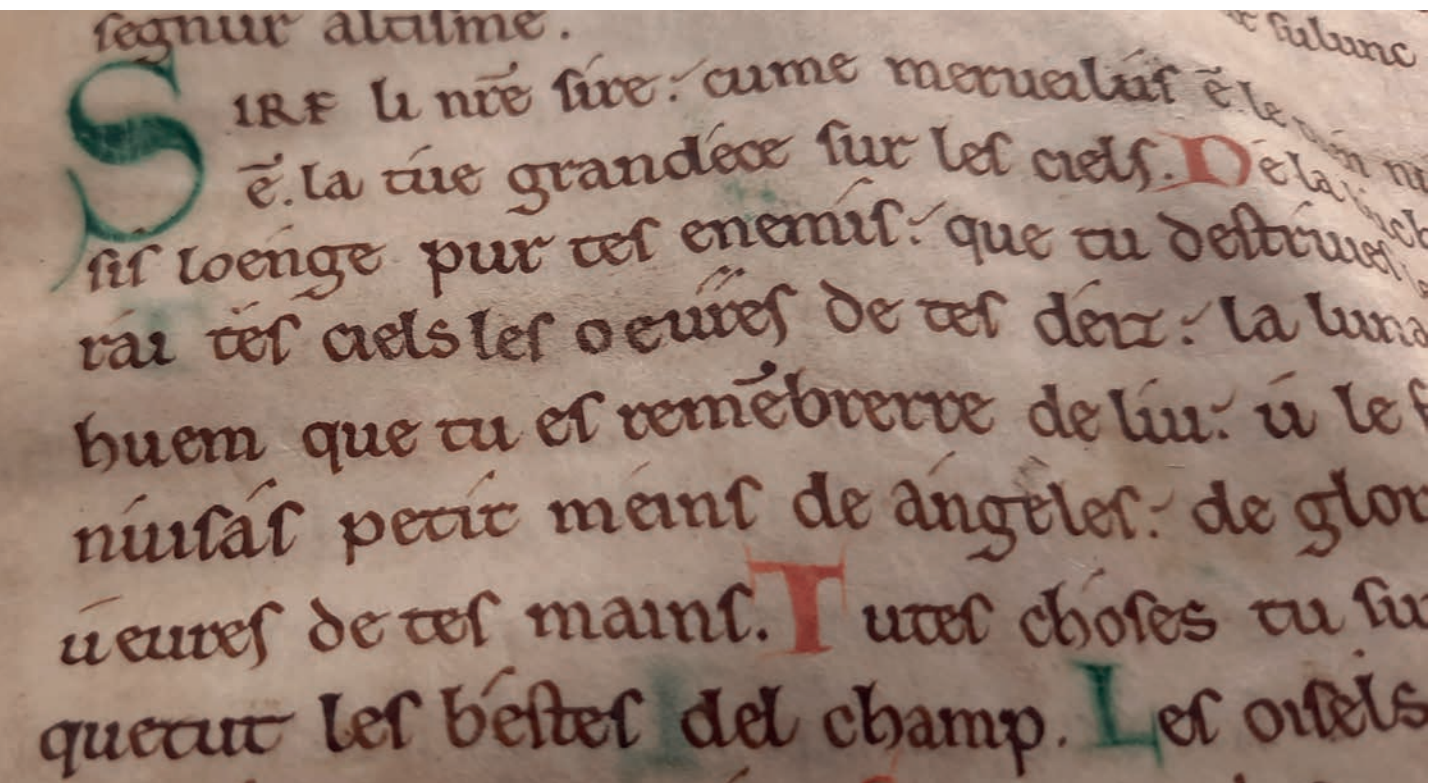
oeille: **u > o**

f. 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.

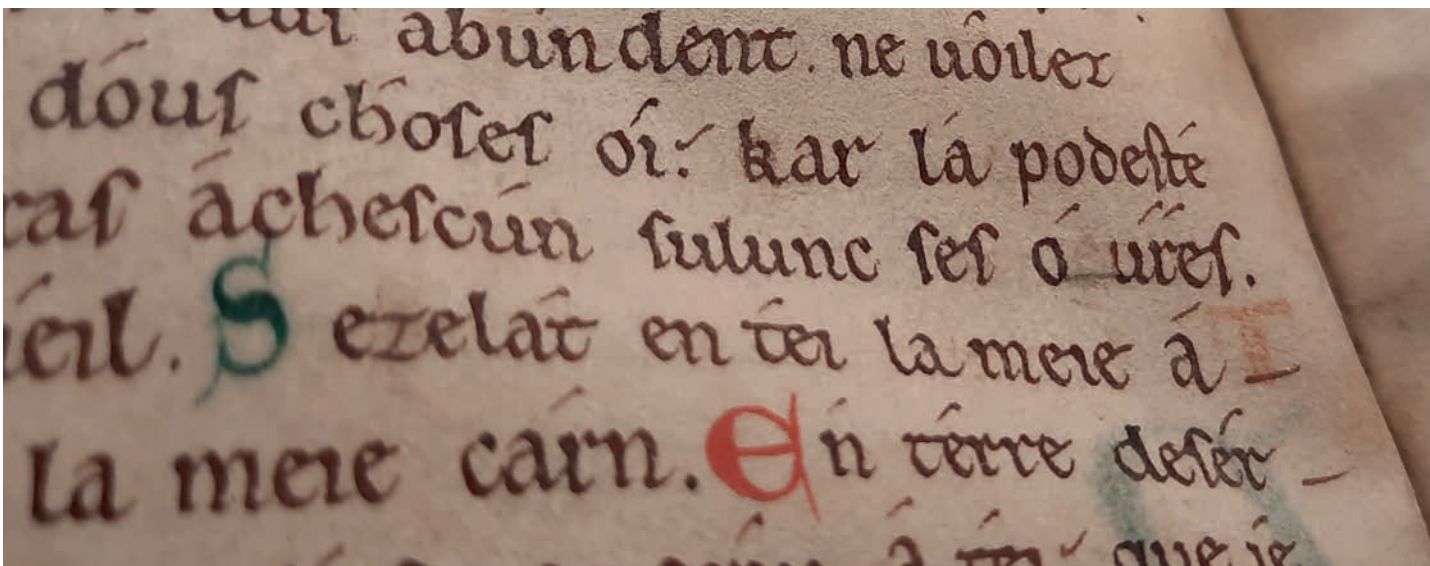
ovre (1): **ue > oe; u > o; oe > o**

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

thought in as a **v**," which is quite plausible. On f. 39r, line 40, there is *óures*; f. 40r, line 30, *óures*; and f. 42r, line 27 + 28 + 29 (twice), *ouřes*. In these cases, the change is **u > o**. On f. 43r, line 38, *oéures*; and f. 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 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: f. 46v, line 11, (*L*)*ó_uřes*; f. 46v, line 40, *ó_uřes*; f. 47r, line 31, *ó_uřes* (with clear traces of an **e** still evident on the parchment); f. 50v, line 12, *o_uřes* (again traces of a previous **e** on the parchment); f. 50v, line 37, *ó_uřes* (once again traces of a previous **e**); f. 51r, line 18, *ó_uřes* (there are traces

f. 38r,
line 8

f. 50v,
line 12



too, but not as evident as the previous ones); f. 51r, line 21, *ó_uřes*.

reproce: *u > o*; *ou > o*

f. 52r, line 18, *repróce*; f. 52r, line 20, *repró_ces*; f. 52r, line 21, *repró_ce*.

seignur: *u > o*

f. 37v, line 37, *segnór*. The spelling *segnor* / *segnór*, without any trace of erasure, is found several times in the remaining part of the text, starting on f. 59v, line 40, and up to the very end. The parallel spelling *segnur* / *segnúr*, without erasure, can be found from the beginning of the text (f. 37r, line 37) until the end (f. 75r, line 20).

The noun (or its verbal counterpart) is found in extensive erasures: f. 37r, line 3, *seignur*; f. 37r, line 12, *seignur*;

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

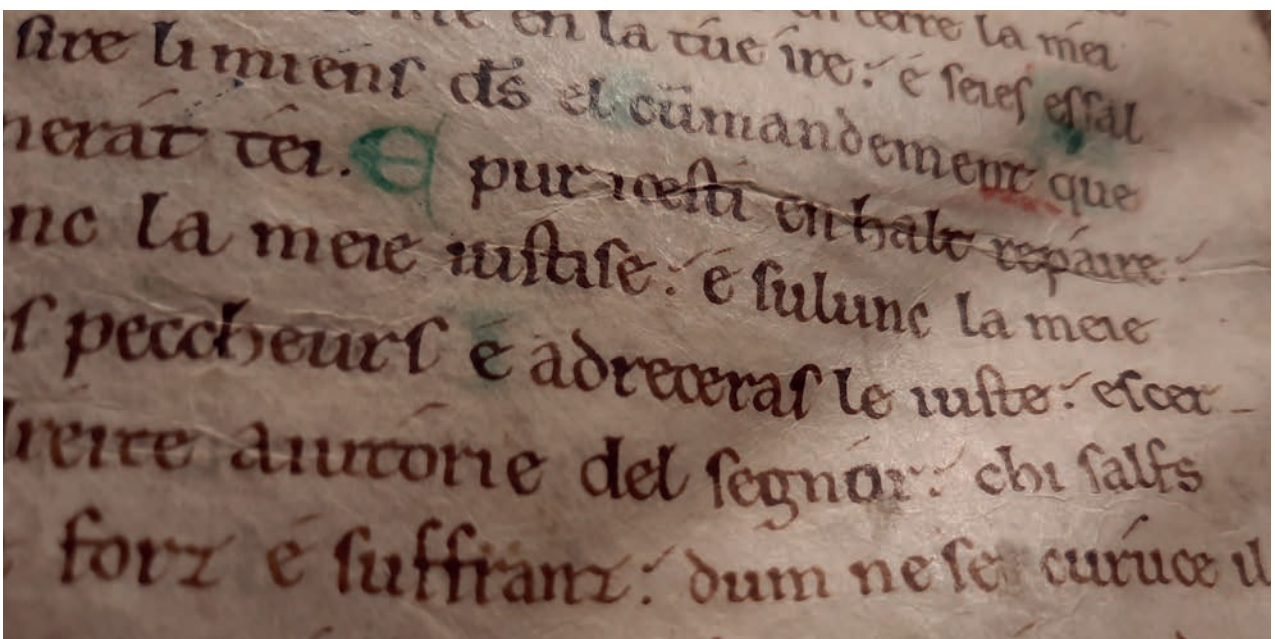
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023.

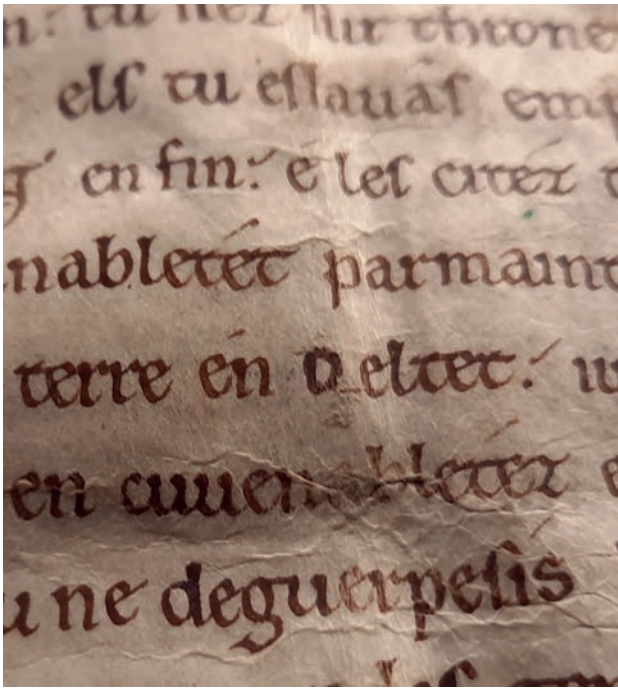
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f. 37r, line 19, *seignur* (with an abbreviated *ur* superscript); f. 37r, line 25, *seignur*; f. 38r, line 37, *seignur* d (this case involves a much longer erasure); f. 38r, line 39, *seignurerát* (written over a two-lines long erasure); f. 40v, line 5, *seignurerúnt* (written over a three-lines long erasure); f. 41r, line 22, *seignurerát* (extensive erasure); f. 44v, line 35, *seignur* (again extensive erasure). In these instances, it is not clear if the initial 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 below).

This noun and its verbal counterpart are written *seignur* without erasure on f. 37r, line 29; f. 44r, line 5, line 6 + line 9; f. 44v, line 12 + line 13 + line 14 + line 16 + line 32; f. 45r, line 7; f. 45v, line 21 + line 25 (twice); f. 47r, line 31; f. 47v, line 10 + line 35 (*seignurerunt*); f. 49r, line 27; f. 49v, line 2; f. 50r, line 7-8 (*seignurerát*); f. 50v, line 38; f. 51r, line 23 (*seignúret*); f. 51v, line 28 + line 30 (twice) + line 37; f. 52r, line 5; f. 52v, line 34; f. 53r, line 12 (*seignurerá*); f. 53v, line 16 + line 39;

f. 37v,
line 37



f. 38r,
line 21

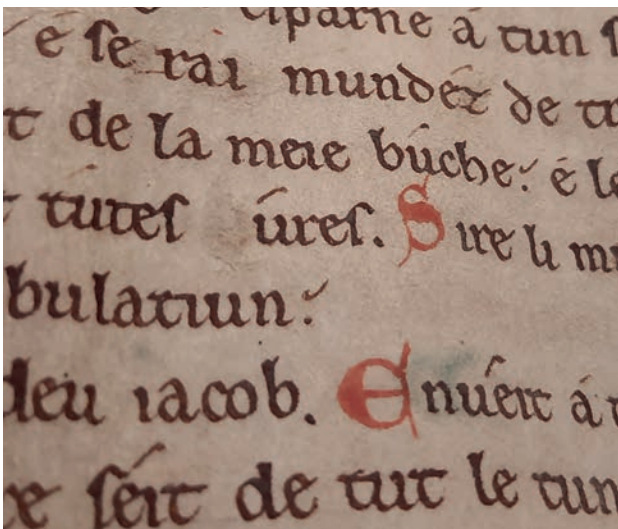
f. 54r, line 14 + line 29 + line 32; f. 54v, line 3 + line 20; f. 56r, line 38; and f. 56v, line 30. The spellings *seignur* and *segnur* are dominant in the first part of the text. Starting with f. 59, the spelling with an *o* becomes prevalent. See also the first erasure (f. 37v), where the scribe had corrected the former spelling into *segnor*.

uelté: *u > o*

f. 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; f. 51v, line 1-2, *oelté*.

vou (1): *u > o*

f. 48r, line 18, *uóz*; f. 49v, line 3, *uót*. In its first occurrence (f. 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 f. 50r, line 36, where *uóz* is written over an extensive erasure; see also the spellings that show no trace of hesitation in f. 51r, line 30; f. 65v, line 40; and in f. 66r, line 4.

f. 40v,
line 7

ure (1): *u > o*; *ou > u*

f. 44r, line 32, *óres*; f. 45r, line 36, *óres*; f. 45v, line 36, *óres*; f. 48r, line 12, *óres*; f. 48r, line 33, *óres*. The change *u > o* is systematic in all the occurrences. However, two other examples show that the digraph was likely pronounced differently. On f. 40v, line 7, there is *úres*. 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 f. 41v, line 21-22: *úres*. 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.

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: f. 42r, line 4-5, *encúntre*, with the probable alteration *o > u*; f. 43v, line 40, on top of an extensive erasure, where the scribe wrote *cóntre*; and f. 59v, lines 23-24, where he wrote *encóntre*, 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: f. 39r, line 27, *mult*; f. 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: f. 56v, line 28, *sóls*; f. 57r, line 32, *sóls*.

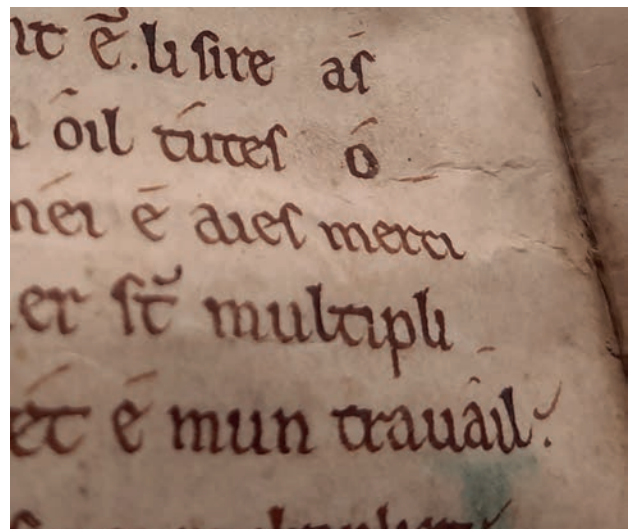
uitante: *u > o*

f. 58v, line 31, *óitante*.

◀▶ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms 320.

Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023.

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f. 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: 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: 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:

aiuerá, f. 58r, line 21, with traces of an erased *-t*.

apelerá, f. 58r, line 27.

(*n*)*aposerá*, f. 58r, line 23. The spelling (*n*)*aposerá* without erasure occurs on f. 54r, line 39

(*n*)*aprismerá*, f. 59r, line 10 + line 13 (twice). The spelling *aprismerát* can be noted on f. 50v, line 34. All occurrences show traces of an erased final *-t*.

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

confermerá, f. 58r, line 22.

couéiterá, f. 47r, line 14.

damnerá, f. 45r, line 7.

degeterá, f. 54r, line 39 (traces of a possible final *-t*).

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

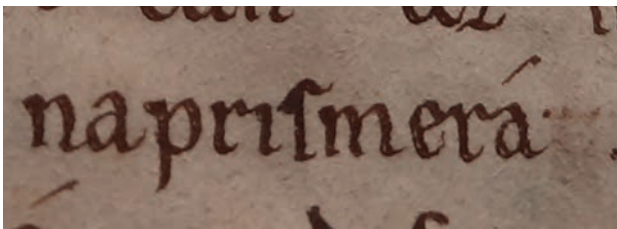
demurerá, f. 59r, line 3, with clear traces of *-t* under the erasure. The spelling *demurerát* can be found on f. 41v, line 20; f. 42v, line 13.

dirá, f. 59r, line 3, with clear traces of an erased *-t*. *Dirá* without signs of erasure appears on f. 63v, line 11.

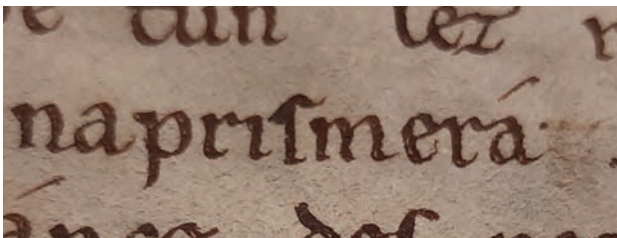
dunrá, f. 56v, line 37 (traces of an erased *-t*); f. 57r, line 3 (also traces of an erased final *-t*). The spelling with *-t* is found on f. 37r, line 5; f. 39r, line 13; f. 44v, line 34; f. 48v, line 32; f. 49r, line 8 + line 28; f. 51v, 19; f. 52r, line 6 + line 8; f. 57r, line 19 + line 20. At the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

enumberrá, f. 59r, line 6, with traces of an erased *-t*.

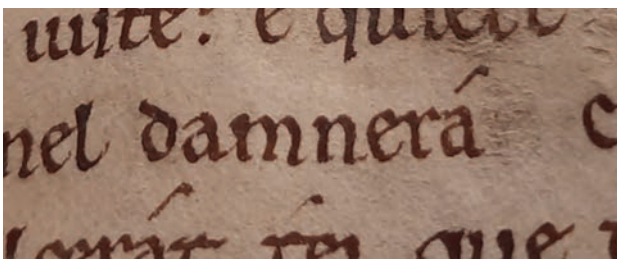
f. 59r,
line 10



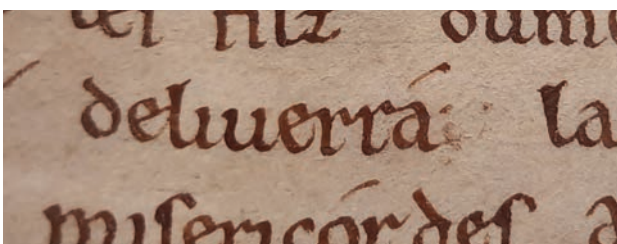
f. 59r,
line 13



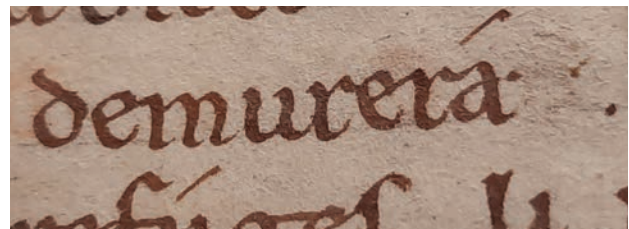
f. 45r,
line 7



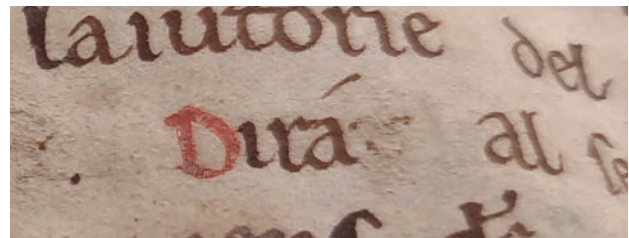
f. 58v,
line 13



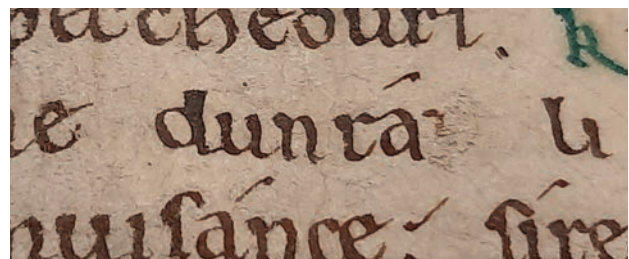
f. 59r,
line 3



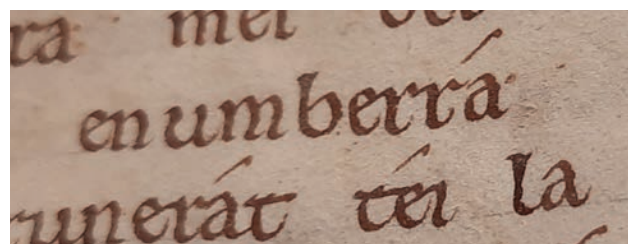
f. 59r,
line 3

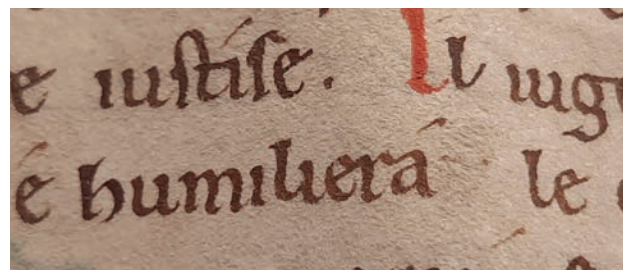
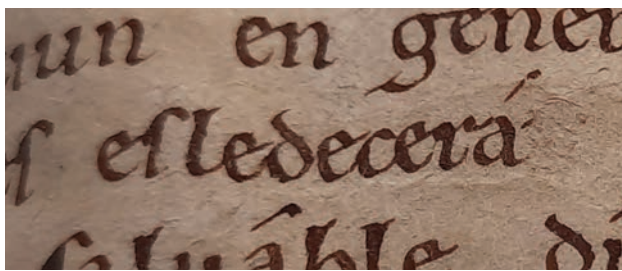
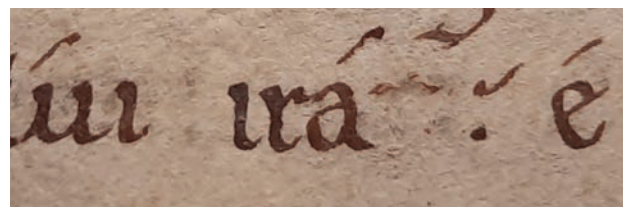
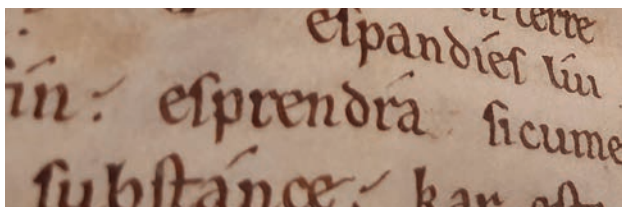
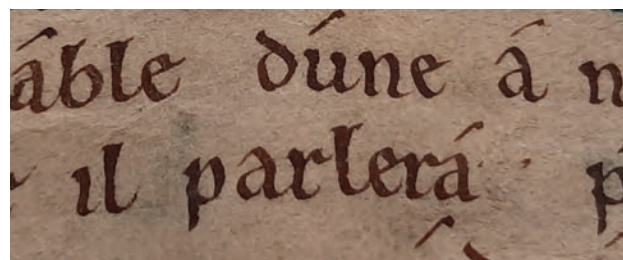
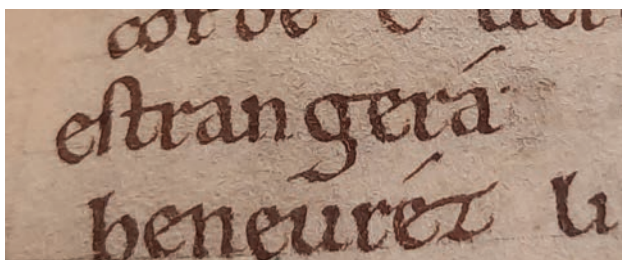
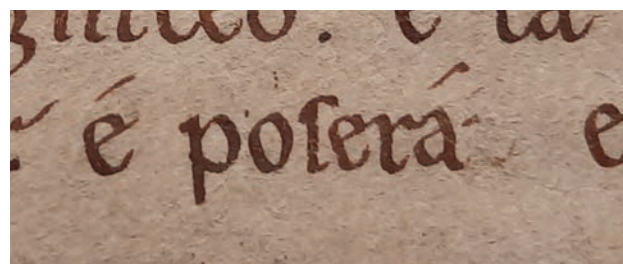
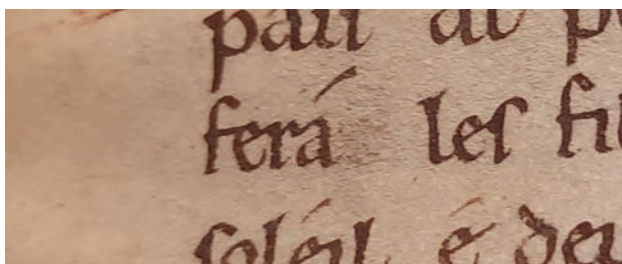


f. 57r,
line 3



f. 59r,
line 6



f. 57r,
line 12f. 53r,
line 9f. 58v,
line 10f. 57r,
line 20f. 57r,
line 4f. 57r,
line 14f. 53r,
line 9f. 57r,
line 20

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

esprendra, f. 58v, line 10, with traces of a final *-t*.

estrangerá, f. 57r, line 4, with traces of an erased *-t*.

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

flurirá, f. 59r, line 36, with traces of an erased *-t*. The spelling *flurirad* is found on f. 74v, line 40; as well as *florirad* on f. 70r, line 28. *Flurirá* without traces of erasure appears on f. 61v, line 16.

humiliera, f. 53r, line 9, with traces of a probable final *-t*. There is *humilierat* on f. 49r, line 23.

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

obliera, f. 54v, line 1, with clear traces of an erased *-t*.

orrá, f. 59r, line 35. The spelling with final *-t* occurs on f. 37r, line 34; f. 49r, line 22; f. 51r, line 35. *Orrá* without erasure occurs on f. 59v, line 15.

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

parmaiderá, f. 53r, line 9.

perdra, f. 55r, line 22 (traces of a probable final *-t*).

posera, f. 57r, line 20, with traces of an erased *-t*.

profiterá, f. 58r, line 22.

recunterá, f. 57v, line 9, with traces of a final *-t*.

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

reprouerá, f. 53v, line 30.

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

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

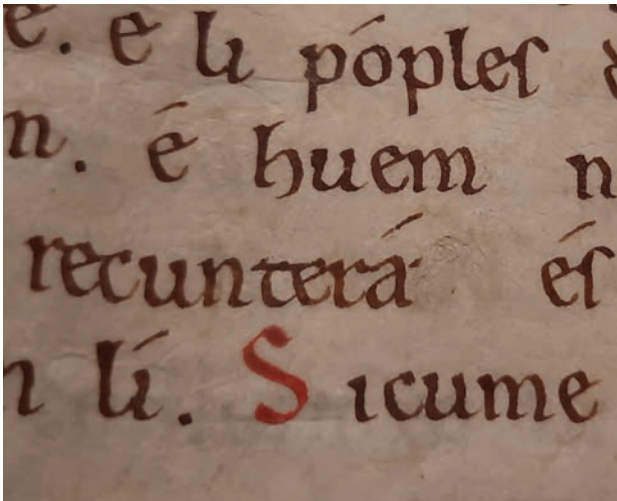
uiuera, f. 53r, line 20; f. 58v, line 13, with traces of an erased final *-t*. One finds an occurrence with final *-t* on fol. 47v, line 27.

Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320.
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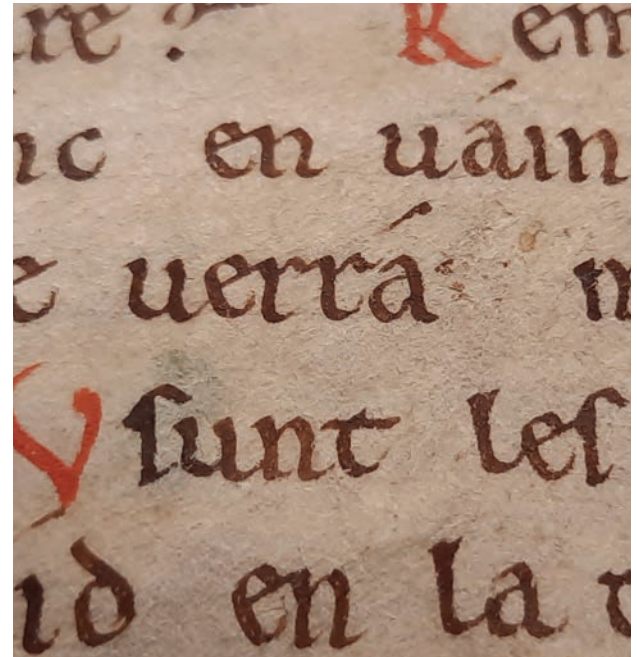
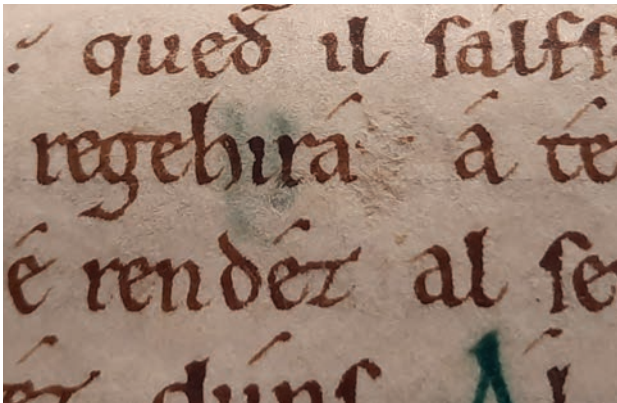
Two more erasures could be linked to the issue of dentals in future tenses, but there is not enough data to support this conclusion. For instance, *contresterá*, f. 54r, line 25, the three final letters of which are written on top of an erasure. There is also *decirerá*, f. 54r, line 40, entirely written 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 f. 53–59 (Short 2015: 20; cf. 6–7). However, this alleged willingness to intervene starts well before f. 53. Traces of erasures are found as early as f. 45 and f. 47. See also Sneddon 1972: 69.

f. 57v,
line 9

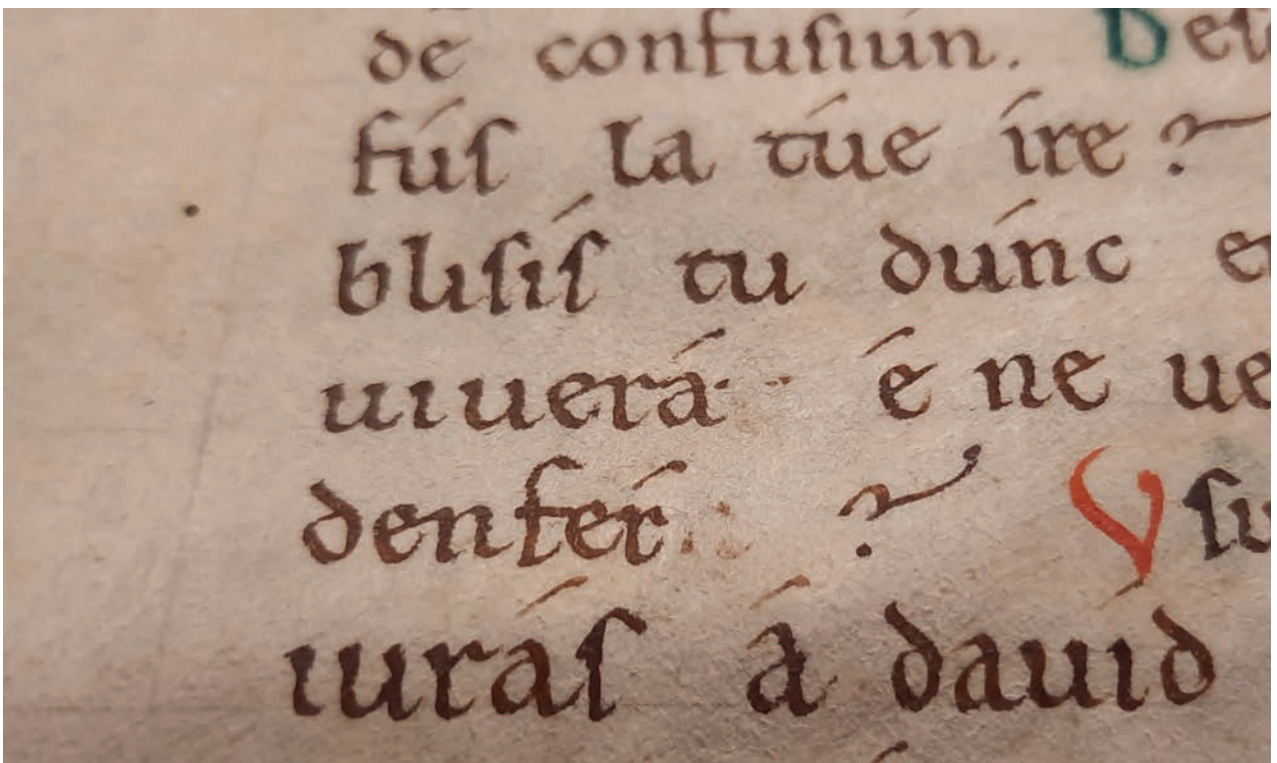


f. 54r,
line 28



f. 58v,
line 13

f. 58v,
line 13



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_rá, f. 53r, line 10. See also f. 38r, line 3, and f. 47v, line 39, for an occurrence with final ~~-t~~, but no vowel: *descend_rät*. The same can be noted in *naïst_rá* on f. 53r, line 11.

This erasure of an interconsonantal ~~-e-~~ can also be seen in other cases:

criend_runt, f. 45v, line 24; *crend_runt*, f. 48v, line 18; *crend_rái* f. 49r, line 33; *criend_runt* f. 50v, line 31. Nevertheless, the vowel drop does not occur in *crienderái* (f. 41r, line 30; f. 47v, line 23); *crenderái* (f. 42r, line 1; f. 49r, line 34; f. 49v, line 2); *crenderát* (f. 42r, line 5); and *crienderúms* (47r, line 24). I also noted the particular situation of *cr_end_rúnt* on f. 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 ms 320 text.

descend_rät, f. 38r, line 3.

exard_rát, f. 48r, line 7 (there seems to be a trace here of an erased ~~-e-~~).

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

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

receu_rái, f. 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: *receuerái* (f. 48r, line 12; f. 65v, line 39).

naïst_rúnt, f. 54v, line 23. For the spelling *naïsterunt*, see f. 59r, line 28.

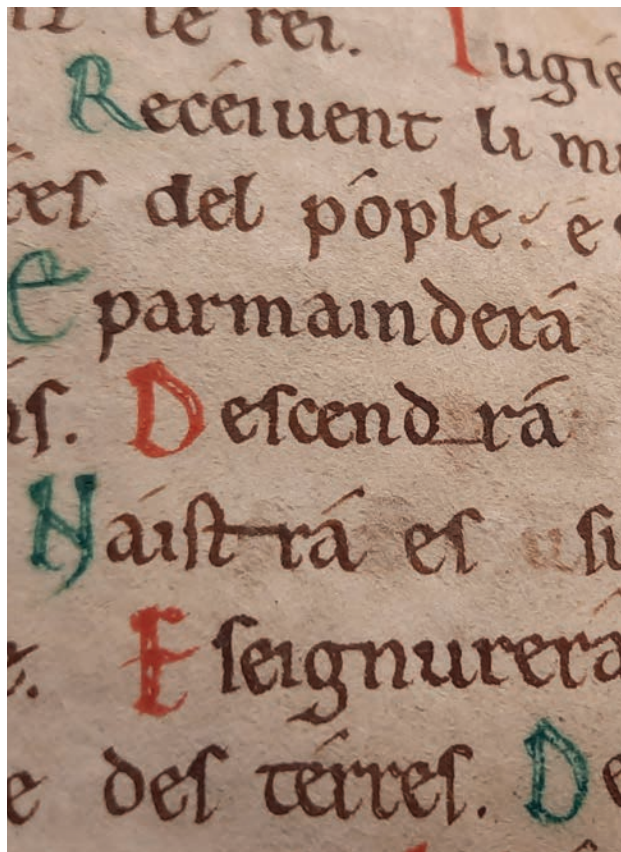
prend_rát, f. 47v, line 39.

rend_rái, f. 51r, line 30.

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). In an initial phase, before the erasures and corrections, most of which are condensed approximately between f. 45 and f. 54, the scribe often transcribed and maintained interconsonantal ~~-e-~~. Only later he took the decision to eliminate it. (cf. Pope 1952: §1173, 1290; Sneddon 1972: 68, 97–98; Short 2015: 30–31).

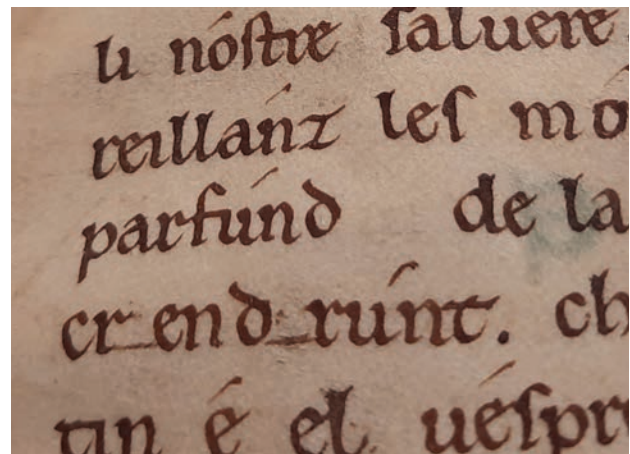
In his treatment of future tenses, the scribe made other modifications as well, some of them linked to vocalic processes influencing the development of future tenses (cf. Pope 1952: § 966–979): *esio_rrái*, f. 42v, line 30, where he erased a probable *i*, that we find in *sesioirúnt* (f. 37v, line 14, 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_rát* (f. 38r, line 3); *criend_rúnt* (f. 45v, line 24); *crend_runt* (f. 48v, line 18); and *exard_rát* (f. 48r, line 7). The case of *receu_rái* (f. 54r, line 8) is not that certain. Perhaps it is

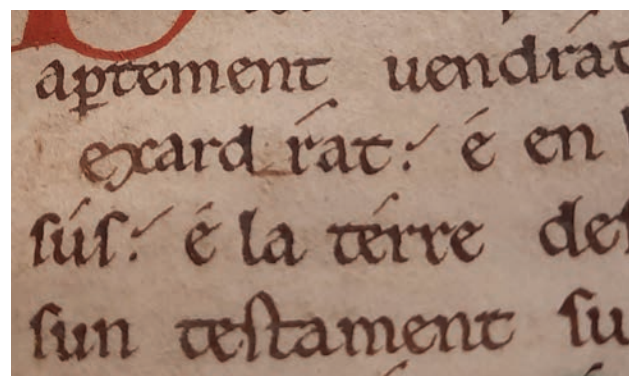


f. 53r,
line 10

f. 53r,
line 11



f. 51r,
line 8



f. 48r,
line 7

f. 38r,
line 3

...sante torceunerie: c
...la fosse que il fist
...e descend rat. **I**e
...lisme.

f. 54r,
line 8

...tute iurn. **N**e ob
...urent munte t
...f. e apelerums
...ie receu rai te
...i habitent en
...ne uoies fel

f. 45v,
line 24

...ult e criend rus
...um del seignur espe
...es. **M**ultes fesis
...ns nen e. chi sem

f. 57v,
line 39

...la glorie oey. **N**e
...enfern cu il rece
...e cume multiplie
...prend rat tutes

f. 48v,
line 18

...rue. **P**ur ice ds destruirat
...de tabernacle: e la tue ra
...uste e cren d runt: e sur lu
...fat deu sun auuedur. **M**a
...mielz ualut en sa uanitet

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

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* (f. 47v, line 39), again uncertain.

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: *será* f. 45r, line 7; f. 47r, line 24 (*ser_rá_*); f. 53r, line 20+22; f. 53r, line 27; f. 55v, line 28 (clear traces of an erased *-t*); f. 56r, line 31 + line 38; f. 56v, line 9, (traces of an erased *-t*) + line 37; f. 57v, line 37 (twice); f. 58r, line 2 + line 17 + line 25; f. 59r, line 32 (clear traces of an erased *-t*) + line 36.

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

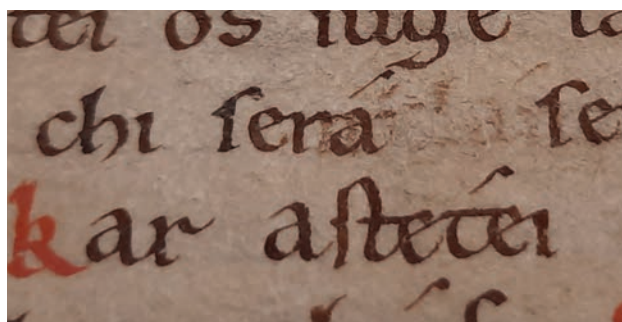
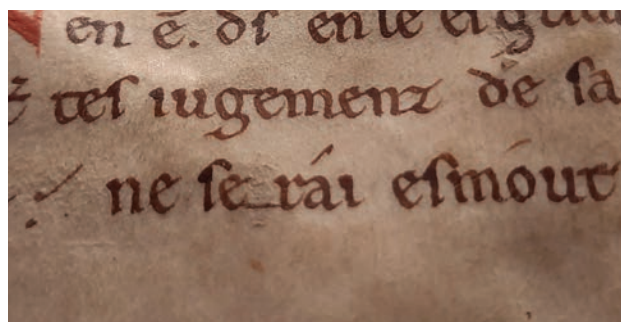
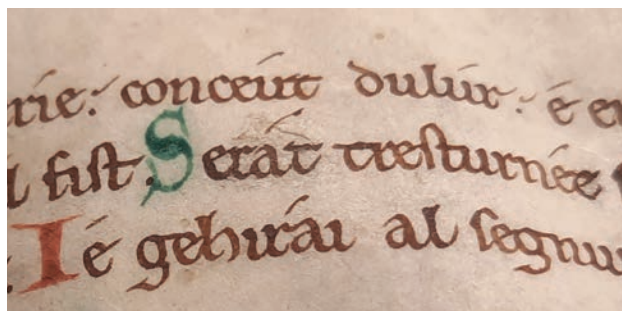
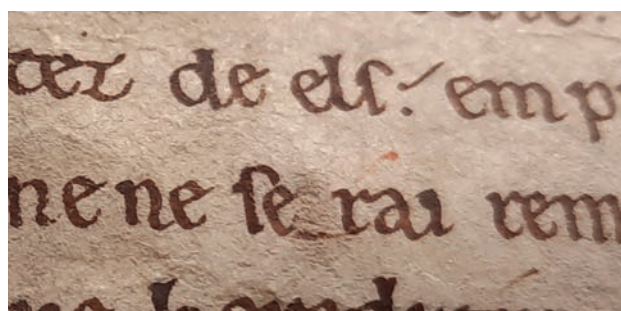
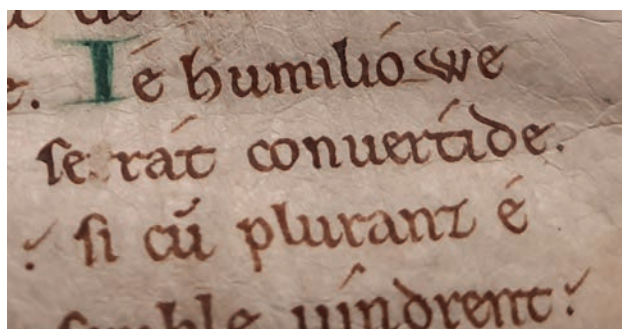
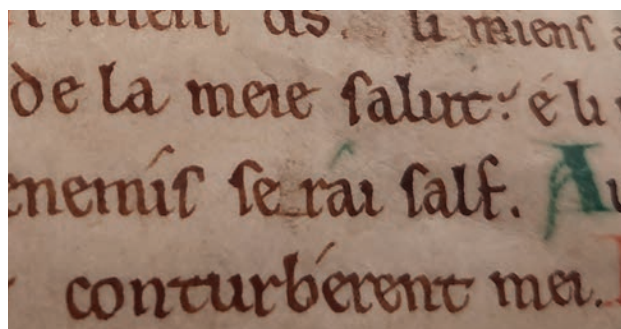
Se_rái: f. 38r, line 40; f. 38v, line 38 (here the scribe for-

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

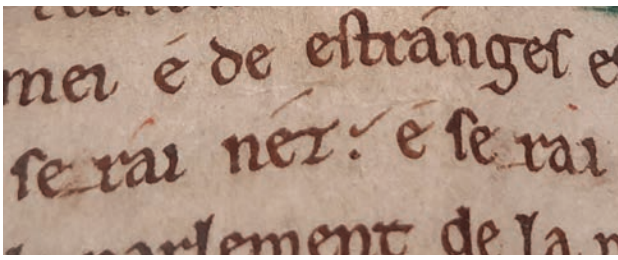
Se_rás: f. 38v, line 10; f. 40r, line 2 (twice, the first case on top of an extensive erasure and with a *s* in superscript); f. 40r, line 3 (twice); f. 44v, line 13.

Se_rúnt: f. 37r, line 6; f. 38r, line 16; f. 41r, line 19 + line 20; f. 41v, lines 8–9; f. 43v, line 22 + line 27; f. 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; f. 44v, line 36; f. 45r, line 2.

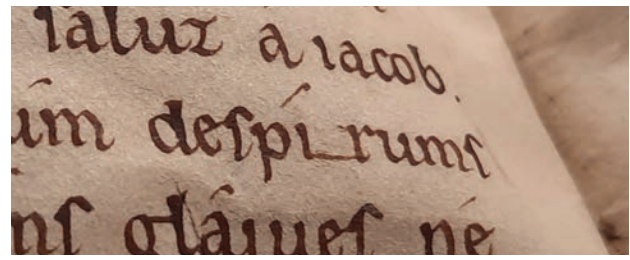
From the beginning of the text up to f. 47, the scribe has the tendency to correct such verbal forms by deleting an *-r-*. A few rare exceptions escaped his erasure campaign. Such is the case with *serrez* on f. 37v, line 39; *serrums* on f. 40v, line 12; *serrái* on f. 41v, line 33; and *serrát* on f. 42v, line 7. Instances where the scribe wrote a single *-r-* from the start occur from f. 45 onwards: *serúnt* on f. 45r, line 1 + line 5, f. 47r, line 17 (on top of an extensive erasure) + line 18 + line 19 + line 25; *serái* on f. 45v, line 20 (on top of an extensive erasure), but also on f. 46r, line 32, and

f. 56v,
line 9f. 38r,
line 40f. 38r,
line 2f. 39r,
line 25f. 44r,
line 15f. 39v,
line 17

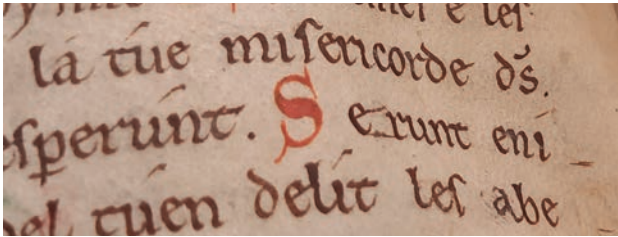
f. 40v,
line 5



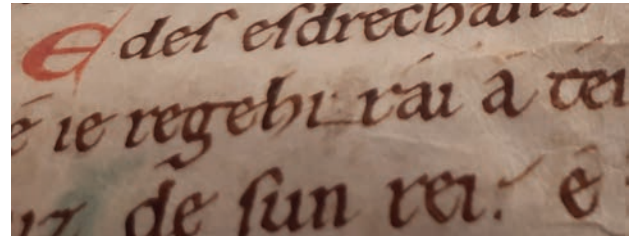
f. 46v,
line 17



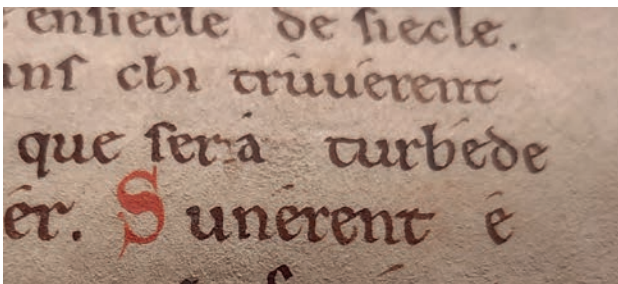
f. 44v,
line 3



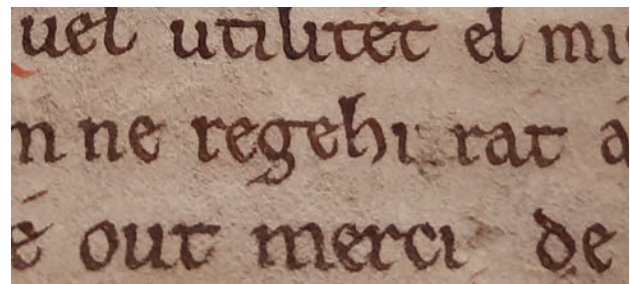
f. 40r,
line 27



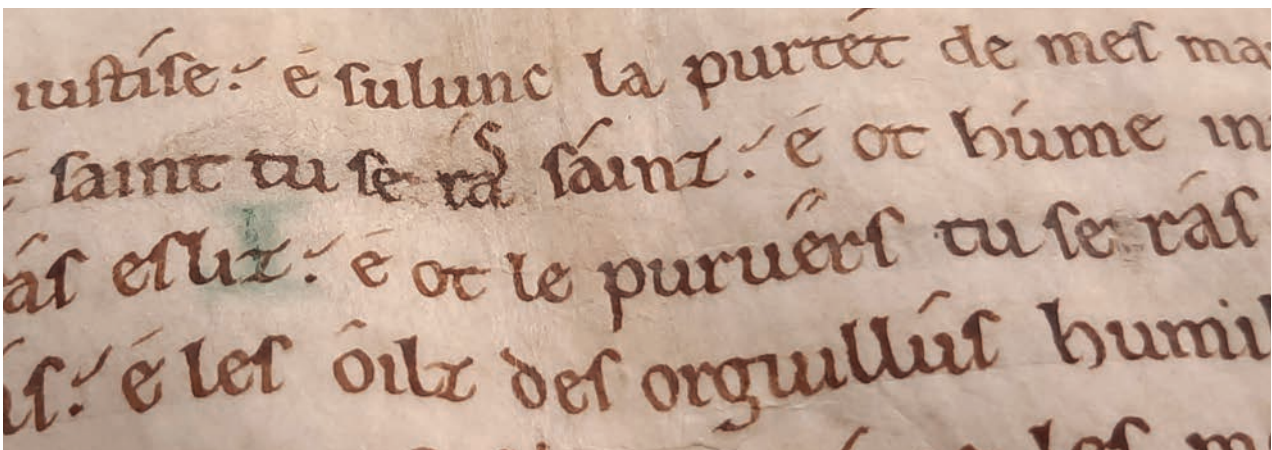
f. 47r,
line 24



f. 42v,
line 18



f. 40r,
line 2



f. 40r,
line 3

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

on f. 47r, line 34 (twice); *serúms* on f. 46v, line 20; *serát* on f. 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 f. 48 onwards, with the exception of *serréiz* on f. 69v, line 17, and *serrunt* on f. 70r, line 23.

The interesting case of f. 47r, line 24, *se_rá_*, 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 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: 64, cf. 68, 105; cf. Short 2015: 29-30). However, the transformation *-rr-* > *-r-* is also found in a future form of the verb *despire*: *despi_rums*, f. 46v, line 17; while a double *-rr-* form can be found a few folios afterwards, in *despirrás*, f. 48v, line 9. I must also mention the case of *regehi_rái* (f. 40r, line 27; f. 42v, line 21-22; f. 43r, line 24; f. 44r, line 21; f. 46r, line 30). This other verb is always written *regehirái* from the beginning to the end of the text, but has been erased only in the cases listed above; and in *regehi_rat* of f. 42v, line 18.

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: 98–101). Once again, my survey is illustrated by the most relevant photos that show actual traces of the erased consonant on the parchment:

*amá*_, f. 47r, line 39 (*amá* entirely on top of an erasure, space at the end of the word); f. 55v, line 17. Spellings with final *-d* on f. 38v, line 22; f. 68v, line 28. *Amá* on f. 64v, line 13; f. 68r, line 38.

*aportá*_, f. 55r, line 11.

*aprisamá*_, f. 57v, line 15. Spelling with final *-t* on f. 49r, line 26.

*debrisá*_, f. 54r, line 20. *Debrisá* on f. 63v, line 30; f. 64v, line 38 (*debrisá* entirely on top of an erasure)

*debutá*_, f. 55v, line 8-9 + line 16.

*deguerpí*_, f. 45r, line 26 (*deguerpí*). Perfect third person singular, rendering Latin perfect *dereliquit*. The same verbal form is written with a final *-t*, *deguerpít*, on f. 45v, line 39 (< *dereliquit*) ; f. 52v, line 28 (< *dereliquit*); f. 75r, line 31. However, *deguerpít* is also used to express the past participle *derelictus*: f. 38v, line 9 (< *derelictus*

est); f. 44v, line 38 (< *iustum derelictum*). an *i*-type weak perfect that loses its final *-t*.

*demená*_, f. 54v, line 33; f. 55r, line 39; f. 55v, line 8 + line 21. Spelling with final *-t* on f. 41r, line 28–29; f. 54v, line 36. *Demená* on f. 63r, line 8, f. 63v, line 19; f. 64r, line 5.

*demustrá*_, f. 54v, line 30. Spelling with final *-t* on f. 50r, line 3.

*desturná*_, f. 56r, line 28. Spelling with final *-t* on f. 38v, line 6; f. 41r, line 16; f. 51r, line 37.

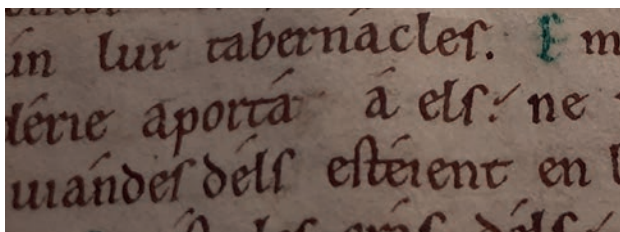
*diuisá*_, f. 55v, line 2.

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

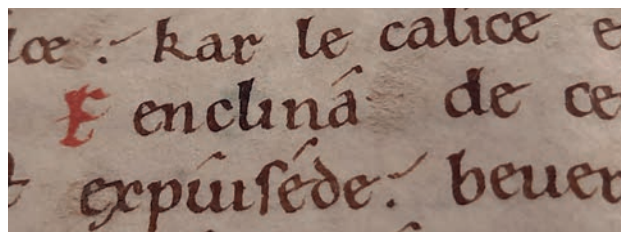
*edifiá*_, f. 55v, line 17. Spelling with final *-d* on f. 61r, line 23.

*encliná*_, f. 54r, line 15. Spelling with final *-t* on f. 39v, line 24. The form *encliná*, without any dental or erasure, occurs on f. 65v, line 27.

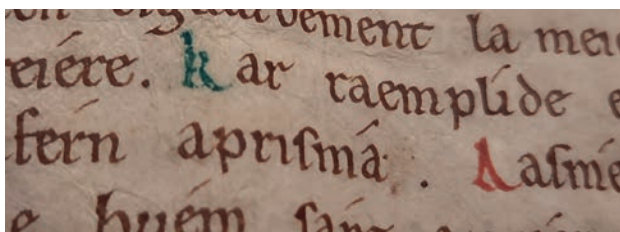
f. 55r,
line 11



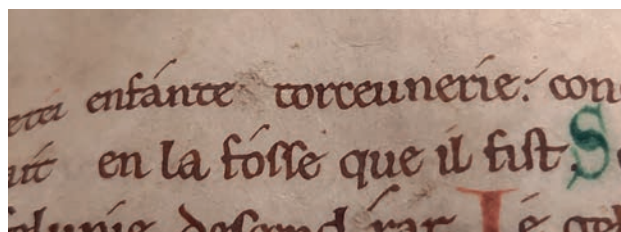
f. 54r,
line 15



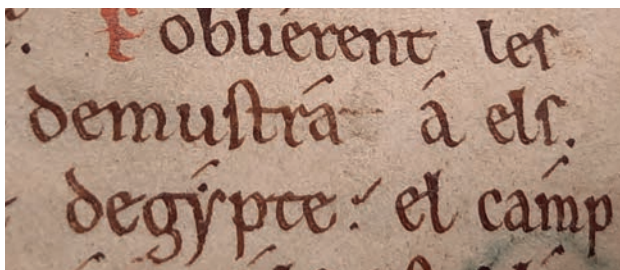
f. 57v,
line 15



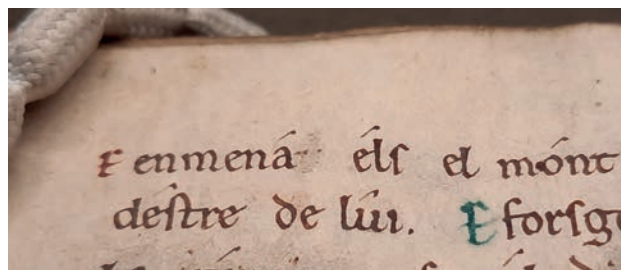
f. 38r,
line 1



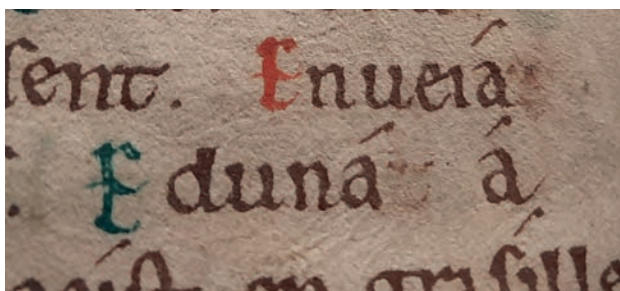
f. 54v,
line 30



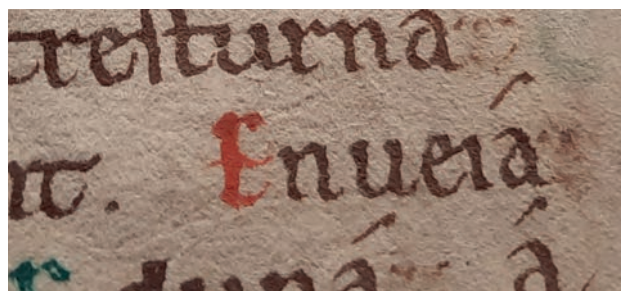
f. 55v,
line 1



f. 55r,
line 30



f. 55r,
line 29



*enfante*_, f. 38r, line 1, renders the Latin perfect tense *parturiit*. The same line has *enfantát* (f. 38r, line 1), used to render the Latin perfect tense *peperit*. At the end of the text, one notices the spelling with final *-d*: *enfantád* (f. 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*.

*enmená*_, f. 55v, line 1.

entendiét, f. 47v, line 32; f. 48r, line 2 (*entendre*). *Entendiét* 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*: f. 49v, line 27; f. 54r, lines 32–33; f. 56r, line 34. According to Sneddon 1972: 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: 99–100; Short 2015, 28–29.

*enueia*_, f. 55r, line 6 + line 29 + line 33. Spelling with final *-t* on f. 39v, line 29 + line 32. Spelling with final *-d*, *enueiád*, on f. 62v, line 18; f. 63v, line 34; f. 65r, line

11. *Enueiá* on f. 62v, line 9 + line 16; f. 63r, line 14.

*esguardá*_, f. 57r, line 19. Spelling with final *-t* on f. 39r, line 2–3. *Esguardá* on f. 61r, line 26 + line 27; f. 74v, line 19–20.

*exterminá*_, f. 56r, line 15.

*forsgetá*_, f. 55v, line 2.

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

*habitá*_, f. 55v, line 9.

*liurá*_, f. 55v, line 10. *Liurá* on f. 66r, line 27. Spelling with final *-d* on f. 55r, line 32.

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

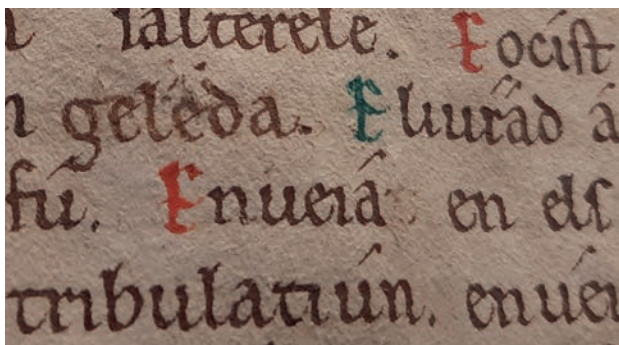
*maniá*_, f. 55r, line 6; f. 55v, line 12. Spelling with final *-d* on f. 62v, line 25 (twice). *Maniá* on f. 55r, line 30.

*mená*_, f. 55r, line 7 + line 39. Spelling with final *-d* on f. 75r, line 22.

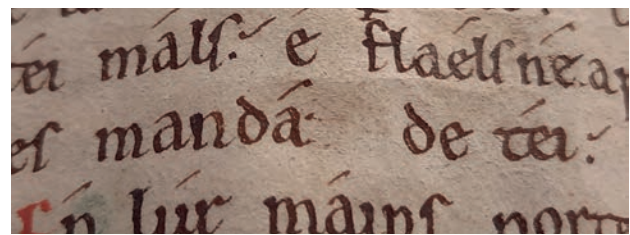
*muntá*_, f. 47r, line 39; f. 55r, line 3 + line 13. Spelling with final *-t* on f. 39, line 23 + line 25; f. 51v, line 9; f. 52r, line 5.

*ordená*_, f. 56v, line 36.

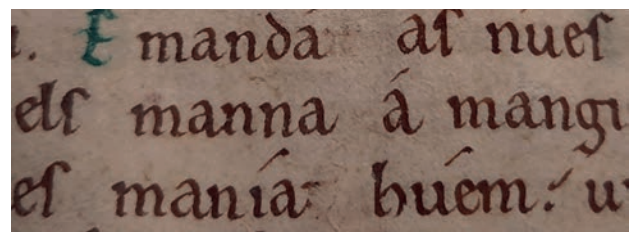
◀ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320.
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023.
Courtesy of the Imaging Services of The Bodleian Libraries,
University of Oxford. Creative Commons licence CC-BY-NC 4.0.



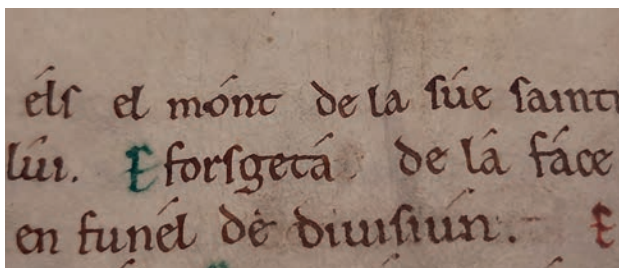
f. 55r,
line 33



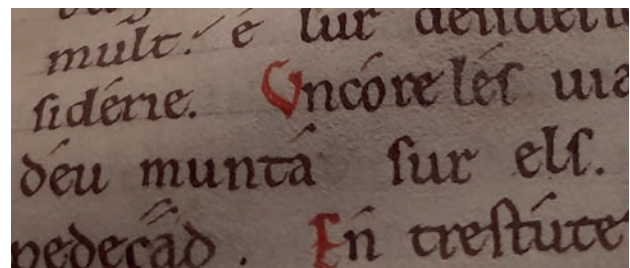
f. 59r,
line 14



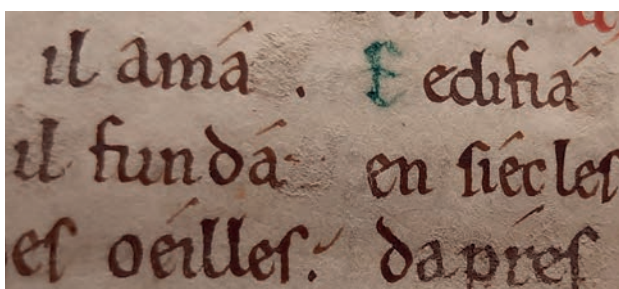
f. 55r,
line 6



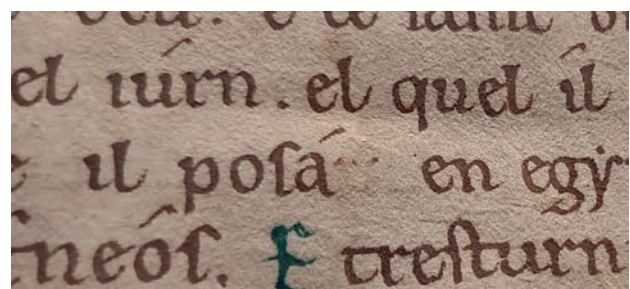
f. 55v,
line 2



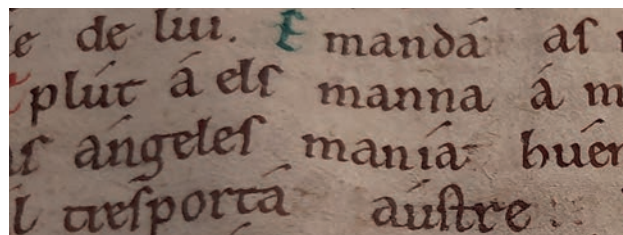
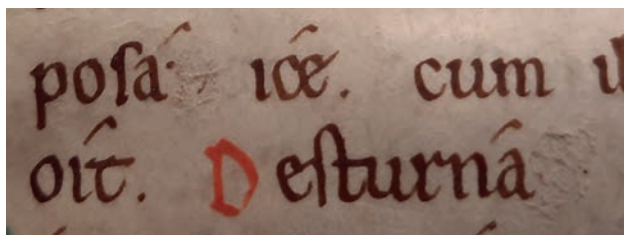
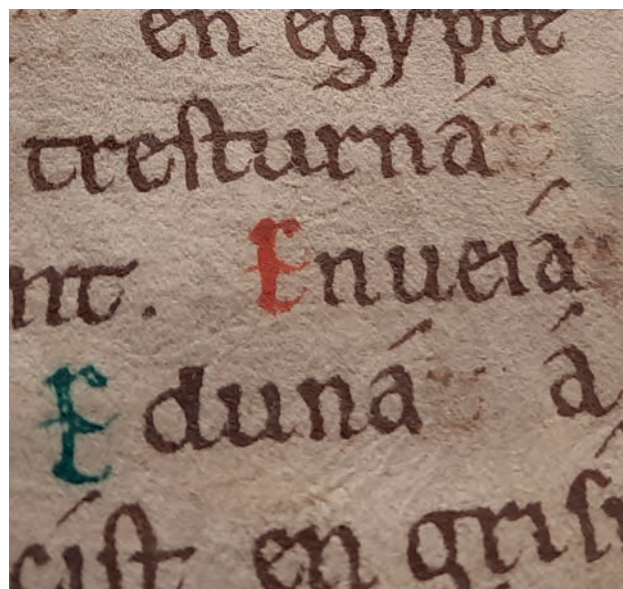
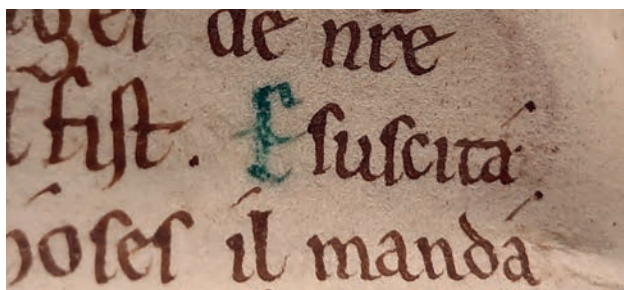
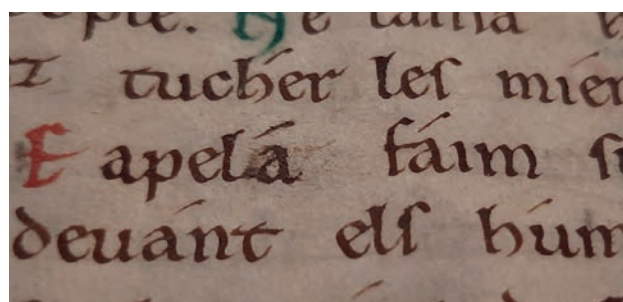
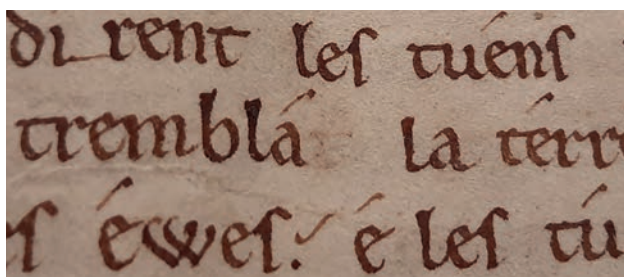
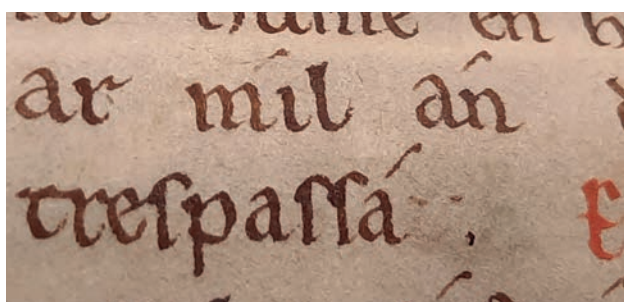
f. 55r,
line 13



f. 55v,
line 18



f. 55r,
line 27

f. 56r,
line 27f. 55r,
line 7f. 54v,
line 20f. 55r,
line 28f. 54v,
line 12f. 62v,
line 6f. 58v,
line 23

parmená, f. 54v, line 32.

plántá, f. 56r, line 17.

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

purluigná, f. 55r, line 2.

refusá, f. 54r, line 34.

repositá, f. 54r, line 26.

reproúá, f. 53v, line 39.

saúlá, f. 56r, line 40. Spelling with final *-d* on f. 62v, line 31.

suscitá, f. 54v, line 20.

tremblá, f. 54r, line 26; f. 54v, line 12. Spelling with final *-t* on f. 39v, line 22.

trespassá, f. 58v, line 23. Spelling with final *-d* on f. 69r, line 34; f. 74v, line 27. *Trespassá* on f. 62v, line 8.

tresportá, f. 55r, line 7.

tresturná, f. 55r, line 28. Spelling with final *-t* on f. 51r, line 22. Spelling with final *-d* on f. 65v, line 4. *Tresturná* on f. 62v, line 19.

One last, rather particular, case is *apela* on f. 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 folio 47, the survey showed that all the other instances are condensed between f. 53 and f. 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: 20; cf. Sneddon 1972: 99). Competitive forms in *-t* seem to be prevalent in the first part of the text, in our case up to f. 52. In contrast, *-d* endings or the absence of a final dental occurs mainly after f. 53-59. There are, naturally, a series of exceptions. The scribe already uses the spelling *mandá* on f. 54; *liurád* on f. 55; and *amád* on f. 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.

DENTALS IN OTHER VERBAL FORMS (AC)

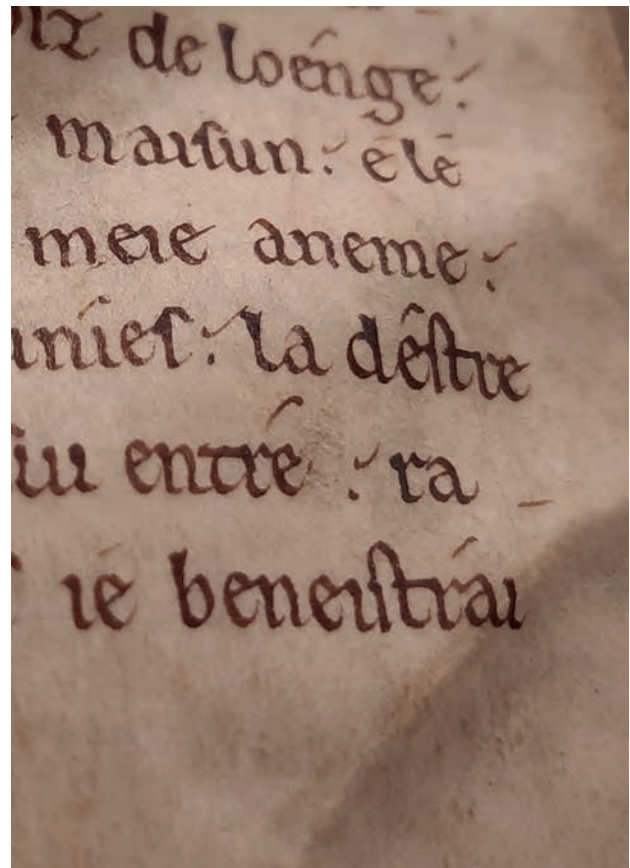
The inventory of erasures led to the identification of other situations connected to the fluctuation of final dentals in present and past tenses.

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

étre, f. 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: *ouřet* and *parólet*. On f. 41v, line 38, (*sui*) *entré* renders Latin *ingressus* (*sum*). In the remainder of the text, the spelling *étre* is written without erasures, and translates subjunctives on f. 53v, line 3 (rendering the first person singular of the present subjunctive *intrem*). See also the spelling *éntret* on f. 44v, line 26 (for the third person singular of the present subjunctive *intret*). And the spelling *éntred* on f. 55v, line 37 (for the present subjunctive third person singular *introeat*).

esguárde, f. 45r, line 5-6 (*esgarder*). 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*)*esguárde* (f. 59v, line 16; the Old French spelling *esguárde* translates the Latin imperative *aspice* on f. 56v, line 39, and f. 68r, line 28).

exálce, f. 54r, line 14, (*exalcer*). This is a present indicative third person singular, rendering Latin present indicative *exaltat*. The spelling *exalcét* is used as a past participle on f. 40r, line 24 (*seit exalcét* < *exaltetur*); f. 40v, line 30 (*seies exalcét* < *exaltare*); f. 44v, line 32 (*serunt exalcét* < *exaltati fuerint*); f. 49v, ligne 12 + ligne

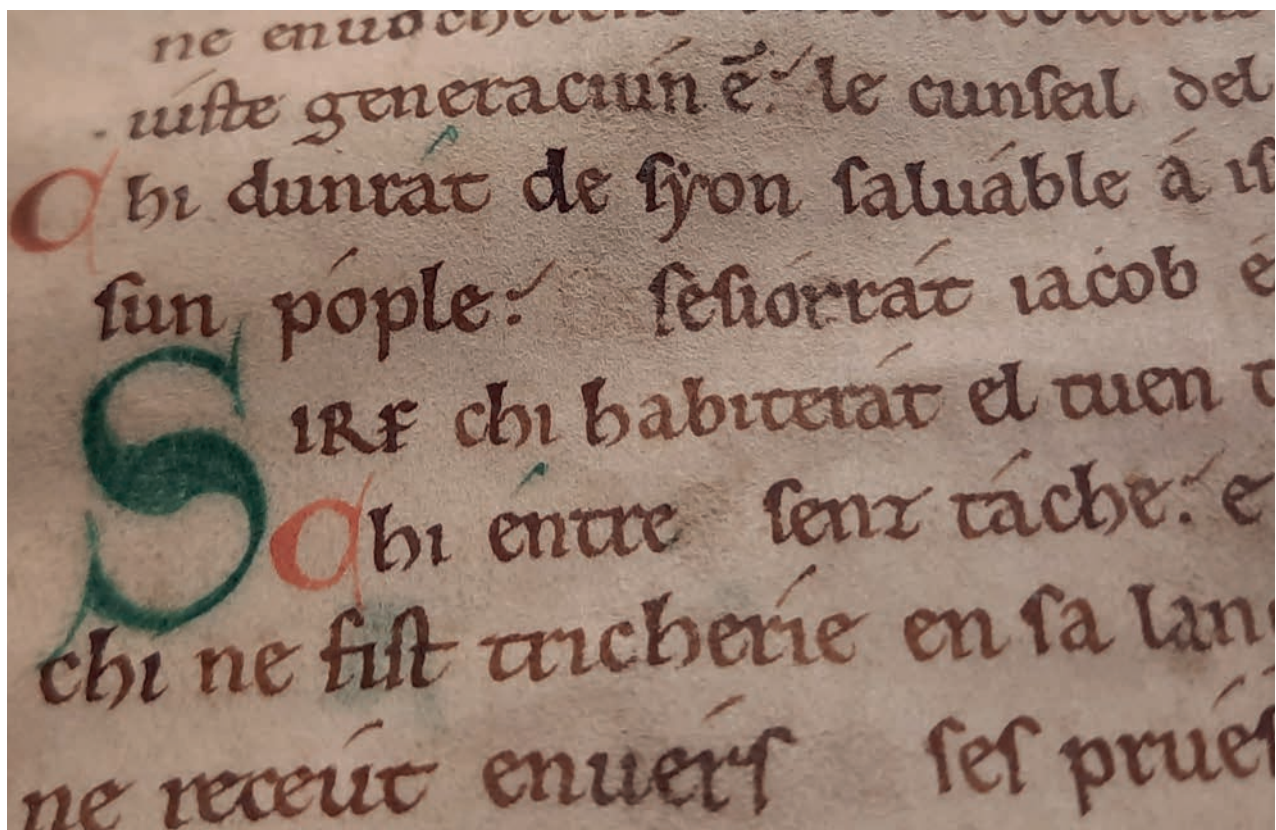


f. 41v,
line 38

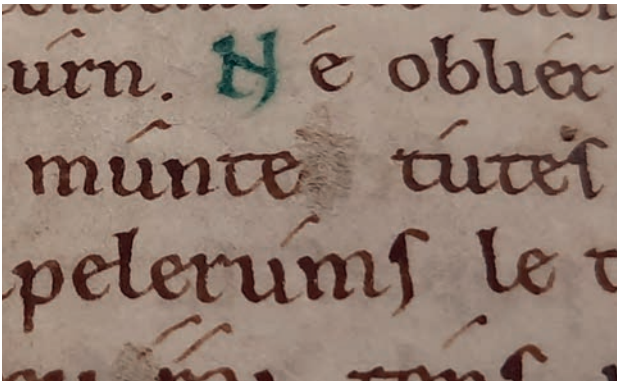
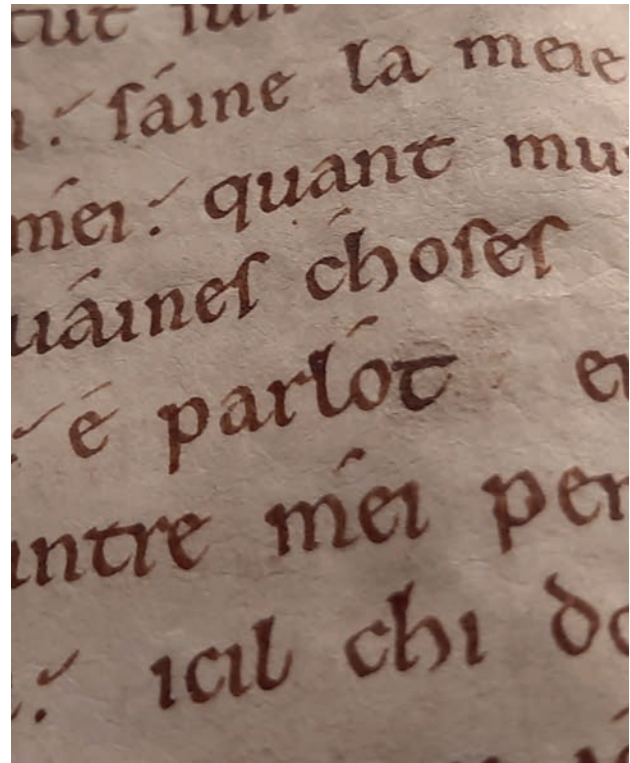
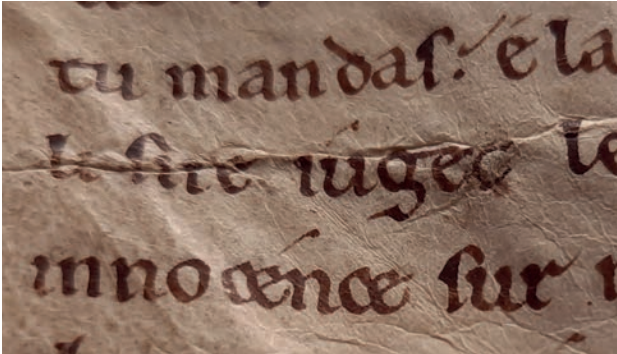
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f. 39r,
line 16

f. 54r,
line 6f. 37v,
line 35f. 46r,
line 14

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

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

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

munte, f. 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 f. 74v, line 40.

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

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

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masculine singular (*serat trúué < invenietur*).

This survey confirms the hypothesis of Sneddon 1972: 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: 68–69; Short 2015: 27.

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

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

iúget, f. 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.

parlót, f. 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 f. 60v, line 20 (*< loquebatur*). In the two instances of lines 13 and 14 of f. 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*.

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

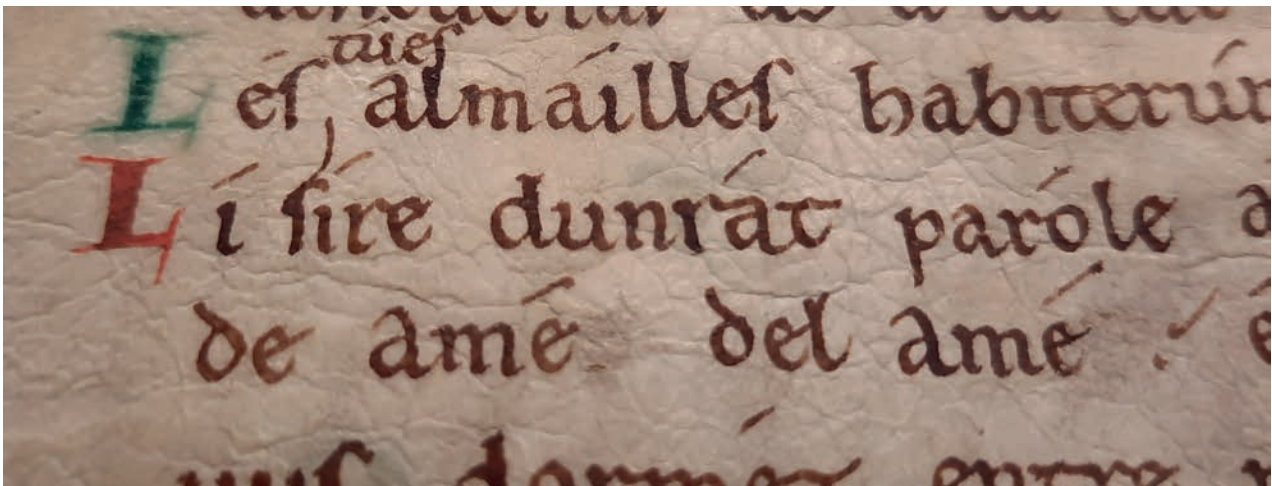
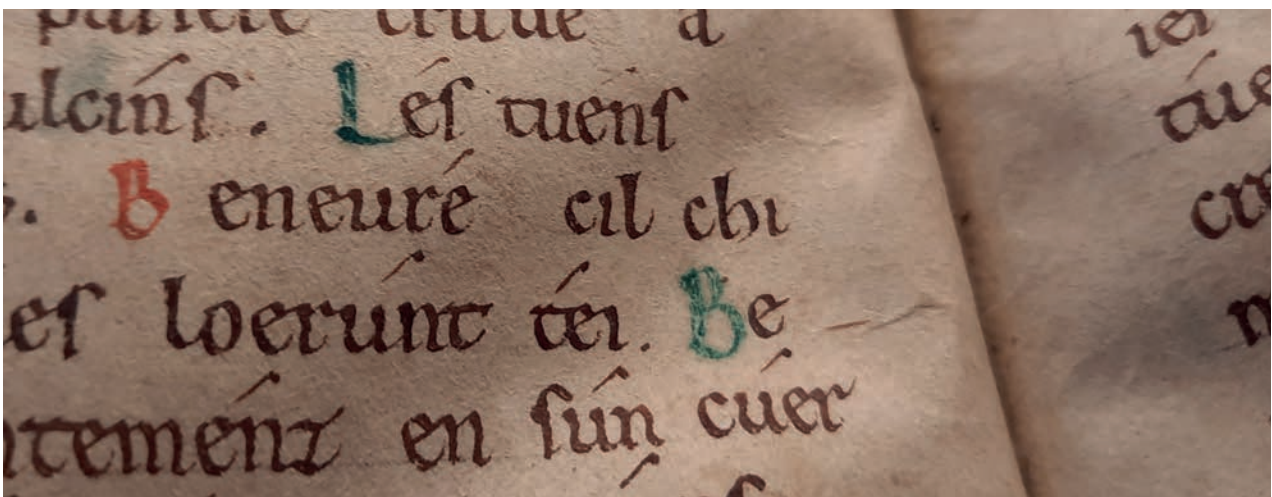
DENTALS IN PARTICIPLES (AC)

Sneddon 1972: 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 *exalcé(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 *entré*, *exalcét*, *exalcéd*, *exalcé*, or *truué* (*vide supra*). Cf. Pope 1952: §1049–§1057; Sneddon 1972: 101–102, 117–120.

amé, f. 51v, line 20 (twice). In the phrase *Lí réis de vertúz de amé del amé* [...], it translates Latin *Rex virtutum dilecti, dilecti* [...]. The past participle renders an oblique case in the singular. On f. 50r, line 18, there is *amét* (< *dilecti*, nominative plural), and the variant *amé* (< *dilecti*, again nominative plural) on f. 56v, line 29. The spelling *améz* occurs on f. 69v, line 17 (oblique plural) and on f. 75r, line 30 (nominative singular). The scribe could have erased two final *-t*.

beneuré, f. 46r, line 8 (*beneuré lé fácet* < *beatum faciat eum*, oblique case singular); f. 56v, line 33 (*beneuré cil*

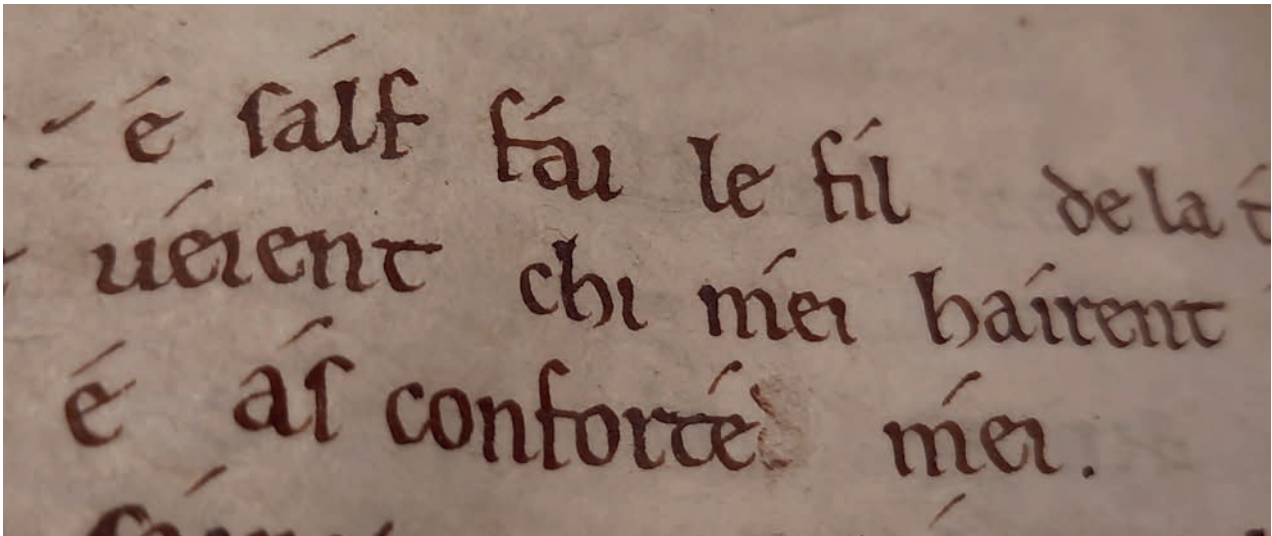
chi hábitent < *beati qui habitant*, nominative plural). The only spelling with a final dental seems to be *beneuré* on f. 37r, line 21–22 (< *beati*, nominative plural). The spelling *beneuré* is used on f. 72v, line 6 (< *beatum*, oblique case singular) + line 7 (< *beatus*, nominative singular). It is also used in the nominative plural for the rendering of Latin *beati*: f. 43r, line 18; f. 62v, line 39; f. 66v, line 1 + line 2; f. 69v, line 22. *Beneuréz* is always used when translating Latin nominative singular *beatus*: f. 37, line 1; f. 43r, line 19; f. 43v, line 25; f. 45v, line 25; f. 46r, line 7; f. 51r, line 2; f. 56v, line 34–35; f. 57r, line 5; f. 58r, line 14; f. 59v, line 18; f. 65r, line 15; f. 69v, line 19 + line 23; f. 71r, line 5 + line 6; f. 72v, line 36. Concerning its declension, the only exception occurs on f. 72v, line 7, where *beneuré* 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: 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 *beneuré* in the initial version of the text, thus following the declension; or he could have made a mistake by writing a final *-z*. *conforté*, f. 57v, line 3 (*ás conforté* < *consolatus es*, nominative singular). The scribe wished to omit a final *-d*. In

f. 51v,
line 20f. 56v,
line 33

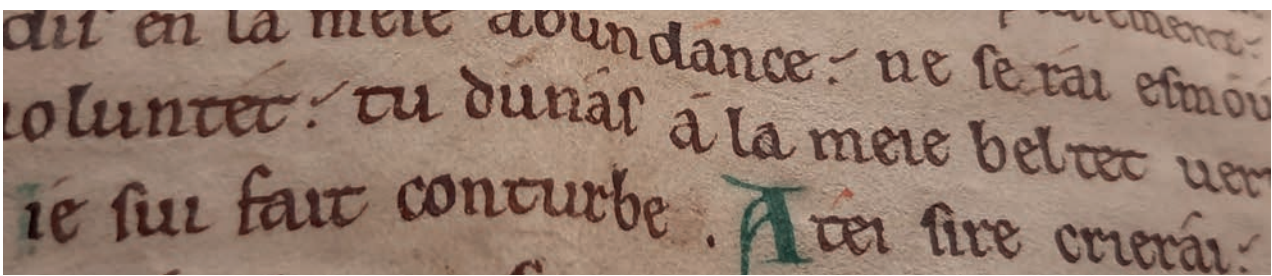
the French text, the past participle is linked to the auxiliary verb *avoir*. Therefore, as in modern French, past participles “do not agree in number or case with the subject” (Sneddon, 1972: 119). The spelling *confortét* (no-

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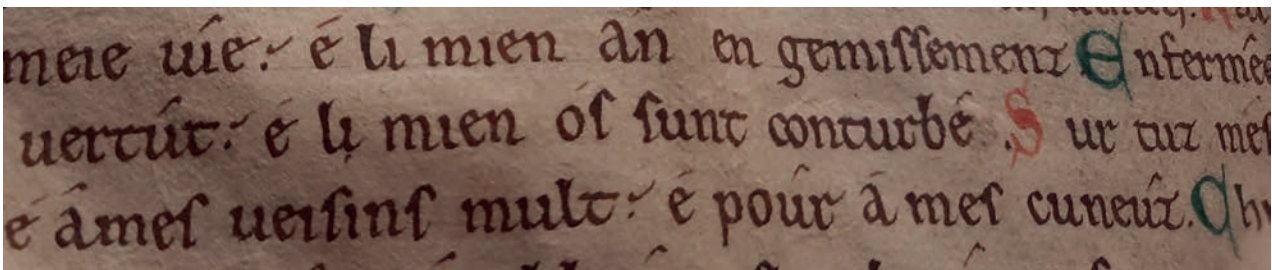
f. 57v,
line 3



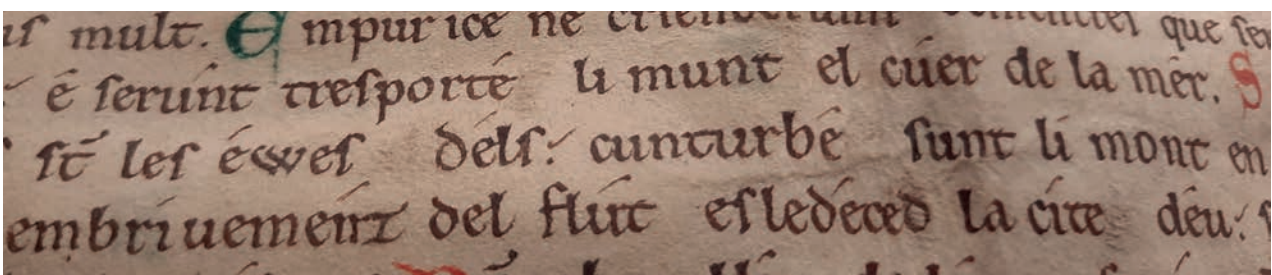
f. 42v,
line 16



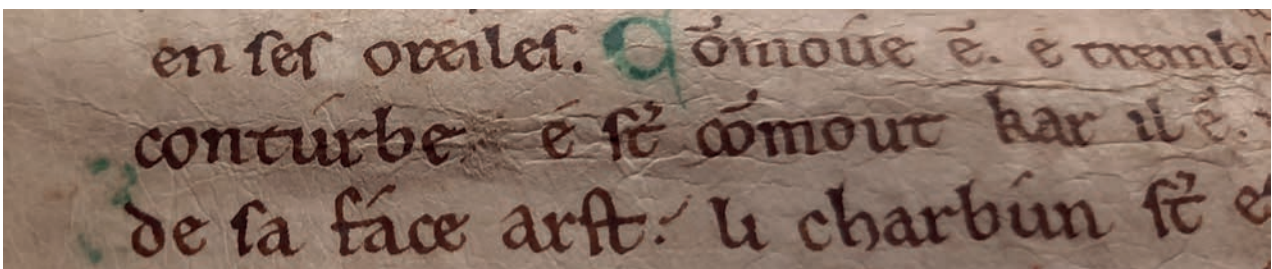
f. 42v,
line 36



f. 47r,
line 26



f. 39v,
line 23

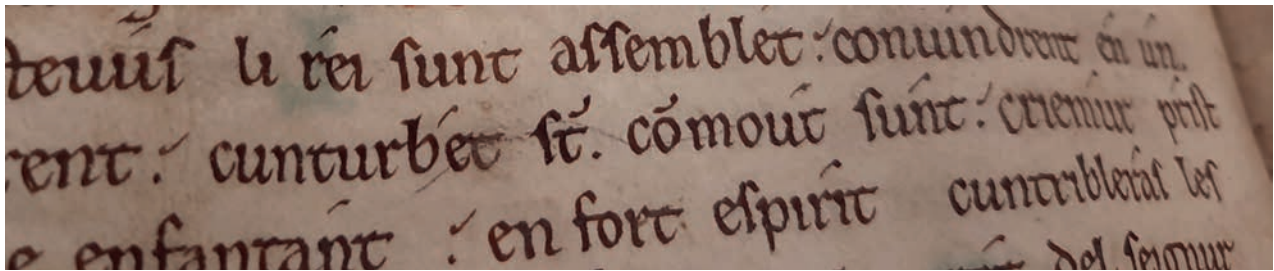


minative singular and plural) occurs on f. 38r, line 32 (*seit confortet < confortetur*); f. 39v, line 34 (*confortét sunt < confortati sunt*); f. 42r, line 20 (*séit confortet < confortetur*); f. 52r, line 14 (*confortét sunt < confortati sunt*). *Confortéd* (nominative plural) occurs on f. 69v, line 8 (*súmes confortéd < sumus consolati*) and on f. 72r, line 7 (*confortéd sunt < confortati sunt*).

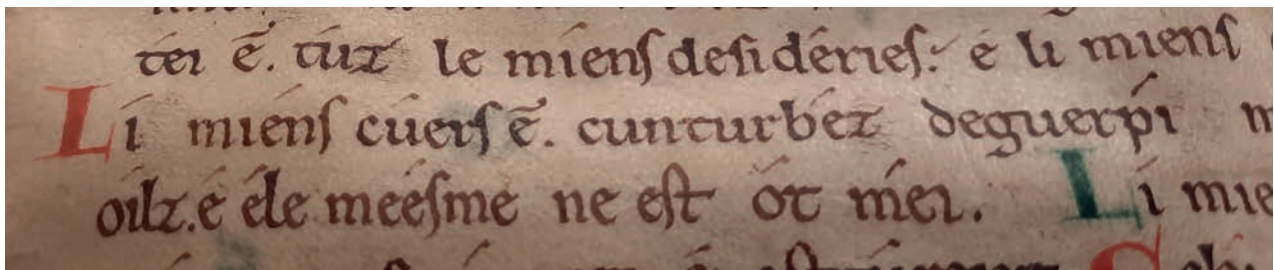
conturbe_, f. 42v, line 16, *sui fait conturbe_* (< *factus sum conturbatus*; nominative singular) + line 36, *sunt conturbé_* (< *conturbata sunt*; nominative plural; maybe a final *-t*); f. 47r, line 26, *cunturbé_ sunt* (< *conturbati sunt*, nominative plural; maybe an erased *-t*). In the case of f. 39v, line 23, *sunt contúrbe_* (< *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*: f. 47v, line 8, *cunturbét sunt* (< *conturbati sunt*, nominative plural). The same spelling, again for nominative plural, is correctly used

on f. 50v, line 36, *conturbét sunt* (< *conturbati sunt*). On other folios, the scribe used the variants *-éd/-é*: f. 56v, line 26, *seient conturbéd* (< *conturbentur*); f. 74v, line 2, *conturbé 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*: f. 45r, line 26, *est cunturbéz* (< *conturbatum est*) + line 11, *est cunturbéz* (< *conturbatur*); f. 45v, line 17, *est cunturbéz* (< *conturbatur*); f. 49r, line 6, *conturbéz est* (< *conturbatum est*); f. 49v, lines 10–11, *conturbéz* (< *conturbatus*). *Conturbéz*, without erasures, and always used as nominative singular, is found on f. 42v, line 33 (*conturbéz est < conturbatus est*); f. 49r, line 4 (*conturbéz súi < conturbatus sum*); f. 57v, line 31 (*sui conturbéz < conturbatus sum*); f. 64v, line 20 (*conturbéz est < conturbatum est*); f. 74v, line 37 (*conturbéz est*). Finally, two instances have past participles rewritten entirely on top of erasures: f. 37v, line 18, *sunt conturbét* (nominative plural < *conturbata sunt*) + line 19 *conturbéde est* (extensive erasure, feminine nominative singular < *turbata est*).

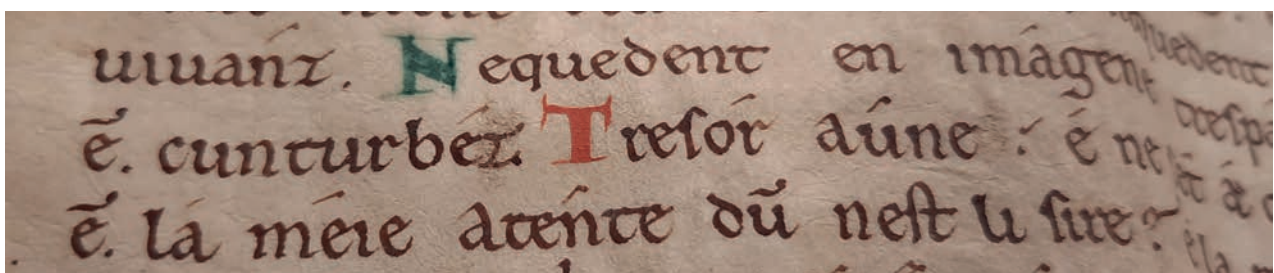
esleu_, f. 45r, line 9 (< *elevatum*, oblique singular). *Es-*



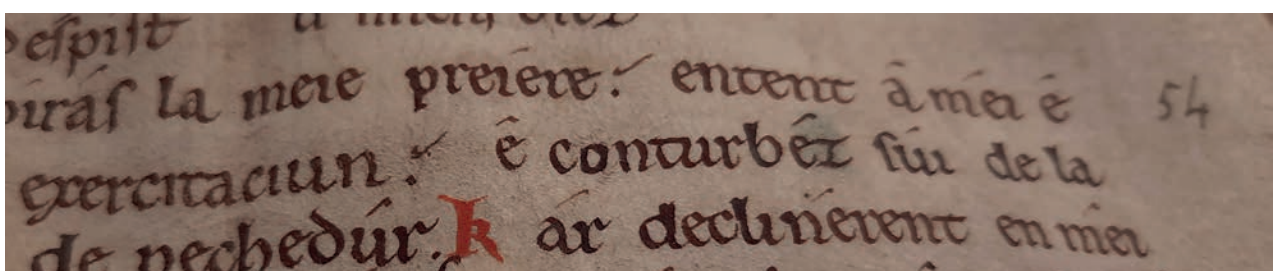
f. 47v,
line 8



f. 45r,
line 26



f. 45v,
line 11



f. 49r,
line 6

leuét occurs on f. 47v, line 3 (nominative plural); spelled *esleué* on f. 70r, line 5. The scribe could have erased a *-t* or a *-d*.

espanđu, f. 53r, line 29 (*espanđu sunt < effusi sunt*, nominative plural). There are traces of an erased final *-t*. *Espanđu* (*súi*), f. 41r, line 4 (*< effusus sum*, nominative singular). For the spelling *espanđu* (*ést*), see f. 55v, line 36 (*< effusus est*, nominative singular). Once again, this is an exception in the agreement of the past participle: *espanđu* (*súi*) on f. 41r, line 4, where one would expect a final *-z*.

guardé, f. 45r, line 2 (*serúnt guardé < conservabuntur*, nominative plural). The same nominative plural, without erasure, can be found on f. 66v, line 5 (*< custodiri*). The scribe probably omitted a final *-t*.

humilié, on f. 48r, line 39, is used for nominative plural (*< humiliata*). The variant with a final dental, *humiliet*, on f. 48v, line 8, is used for an oblique singular (*< humiliatum*). The spelling *humiliéd* is used in different ways: on f. 56r, line 37, it marks a past participle with the auxiliary verb *avoir* (*ousse < humiliassem*); on f. 63v, line 3 +

line 5 + line 31, it is a nominative plural (*humiliéd fúrent < humiliati sunt*; *humiliéd fúrent < humiliati sunt*; *fúrent humiliéd < humiliati sunt*). See also *humiliez*, f. 44r, line 17 (*estéie humiliez < humiliabar*); f. 45r, line 23-24 (*humiliéz súi < humiliatus sum*) and f. 45v, line 4 (*humiliéz súi < humiliatus*). The *-z* of *humiliéz*, nominative singular, is written on top of an erasure. Cf. *humiliéz* without any sign of erasure (nominative singular, *humiliéz sui < humiliatus sum*) on f. 57v, line 30; f. 65v, line 31 + line 36; and f. 63v, line 24 (nominative singular linked to a neuter noun, *cor: humiliéz est < humiliatum est*). Yet we find the variant *humilié* (nominative singular), on f. 67r, line 34 (*ie fússe humilié < humiliarer*) and f. 72r, line 6 (*humilié súi < humiliatus sum*), where the ending *-t* of singular nominative case does not occur.

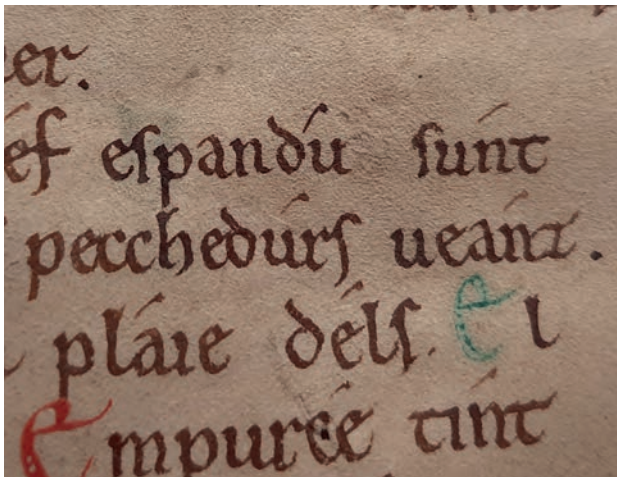
oscuré, f. 52r, line 36 (*seient oscuré < obscurentur*, nominative plural).

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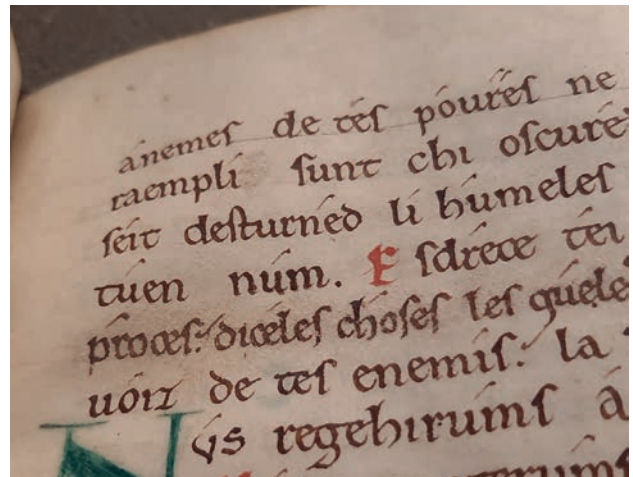
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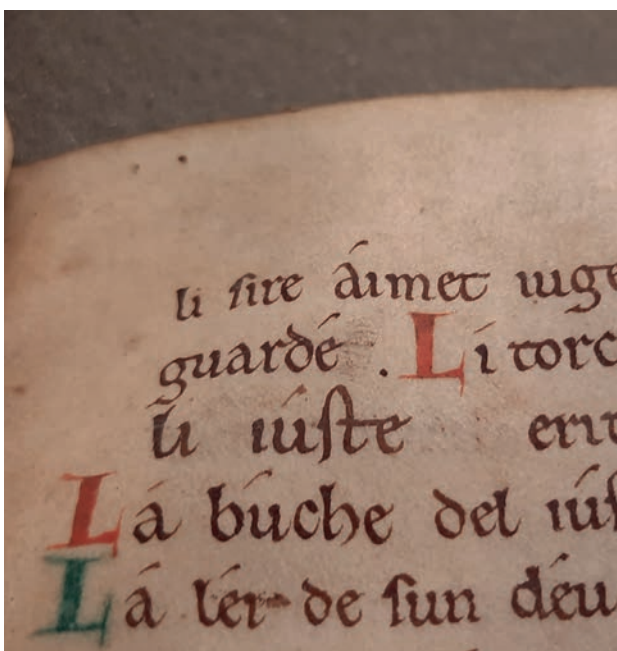
f. 53r,
line 29



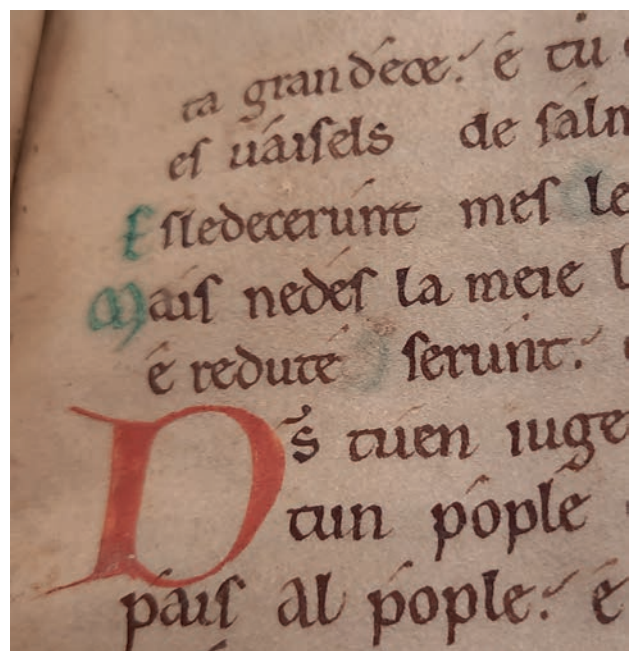
f. 54r,
line 2

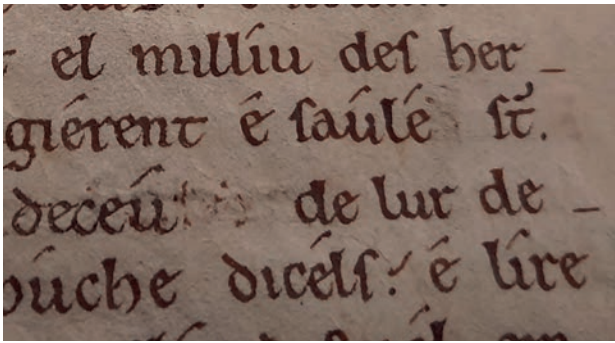
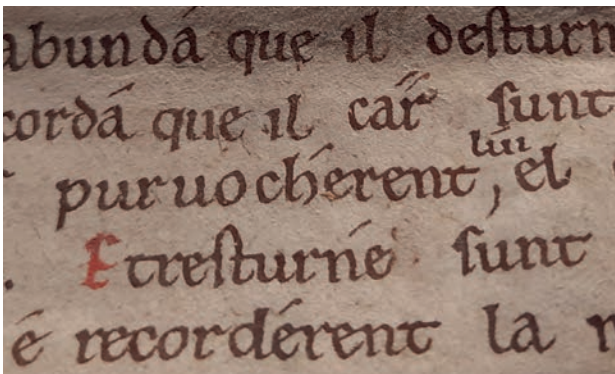
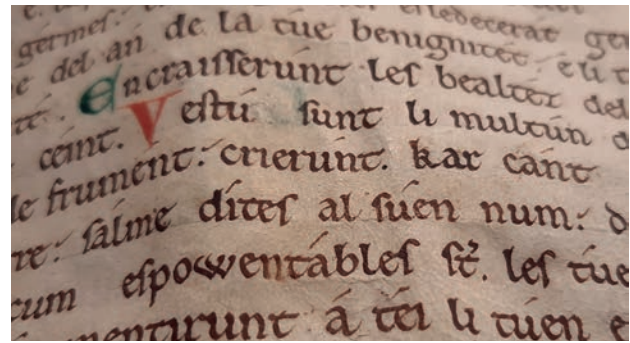
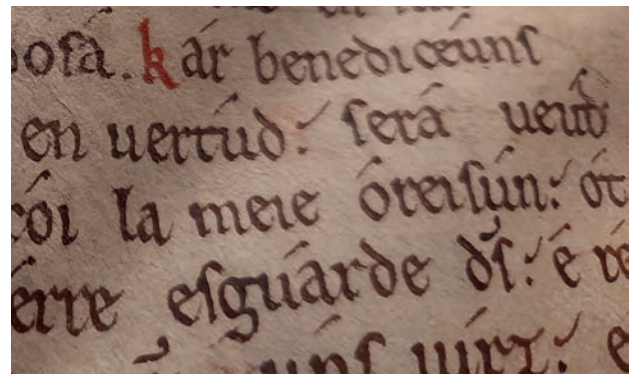


f. 45r,
line 2



f. 53r,
line 5



f. 55r,
line 10f. 55r,
line 25f. 51r,
line 15f. 56v,
line 37

ative 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 *oscuréd*, on f. 54r, line 2 (*oscuréd sunt* < *obscurati sunt*, nominative plural).

raemplí, f. 54r, line 2 (*raemplí sunt* < *repleti sunt*, nominative plural). This erasure still shows traces of an erased *-t*, according to the variants *raemplít* and *raemplí* used as nominative plural on f. 51r, line 3 (*serúms raemplít* < *replebimur*) + line 14, *serúnt raemplít* < *replebuntur*); f. 58v, line 36 (*raemplí súmes* < *repleti sumus*); f. 69r, line 29 (*súmes raemplí* < *repleti sumus*). The spelling *raemplíz*, for nominative singular, occurs on f. 51r, line 10 and f. 69v, line 8 (*raemplíz est* < *repletum est*).

reduté, f. 44r, line 2 (*seient reduté* < *revereantur*, nominative plural); f. 53r, line 5 (*reduté serúnt* < *reuerit fuerint*, nominative plural). In the first case, the term is a part of the following sentence: *Seient confundút é reduté*; *li queránt la meie áneme*. There is an erasure at the end of *reduté*, as well as another one at the end of *queránt* (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.

saulé, f. 55r, line 10 (*saulé 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 *saulé* (f. 55r, line 10 after erasure) and f. 62r, line 6 (*serúnt saulé* < *saturabuntur*); but he also spelled it *saúlet* on f. 41r, line 19 (*se_rúnt saúlet* < *saturabuntur*); f. 44v, line 31 (*se_runt saulé* < *saturabuntur*); f. 50r, line 10 (*serúnt saúlet* < *fuerint saturati*). Not to mention the spelling *saúled* (*sunt*) on f. 74r, line 12. And finally *saúlez sunt* on f. 39v, line 12

(< *saturati sunt*).

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

tresporté, f. 47r, line 25 (*serúnt tresporté* < *transferentur*, nominative plural). On f. 64v, line 4, the same past participle is written without erasures (*seient tresporté* < *transferantur*, nominative plural). In the first example, the erased letter could be *-t*.

tresturné, f. 55r, line 25 (*tresturné sunt* < *conversi sunt*, nominative plural). There are traces of an erased *-d*. For nominative plural, there is also the spelling *tresturnéd*: f. 55v, line 6 (*sunt tresturnéd* < *conversi sunt*); f. 61v, line 38 (*serúnt tresturnéd* < *convertentur*). The spelling *tresturné* occurs once on f. 69v, line 33 (*seient tresturné* < *convertantur*). The spelling with final *-t* is found on f. 46r, line 2 (*seient tresturnét* < *convertantur*); f. 49r, line 40 (*serúnt tresturnét* < *convertentur*).

vestú, f. 51r, line 15 (*vestú sunt* < *induti sunt*, nominative plural). There are evident traces of an erased final *-z*. For nominative plurals, the scribe used *uestút* on f. 44r, line 30 (*seient uestút* < *induantur*); *uestúd* on f. 70r, line 18 (*seient uestúd* < *induantur*), and *uestú* on f. 64v, line 27 (*seient uestú* < *induantur*). *Uestúz* is used on f. 44r, line 14, for nominative singular (*estéie uestúz* < *induebar*), but the scribe had to correct the last letter to *-z*. He also used the past participle with the auxiliary verb *avoir* on f. 59v, line 1 (twice, *ád uestúd* < *indutus est*).

Before concluding this section, one must mention a particular situation on f. 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.

OTHER MATTERS RELATED TO THE PAST PARTICIPLE DECLENSION (AC)

Other erasures concern the ending of past participles:

aemplíz, f. 39v, lines 11–12 (*aemplíz est* < *adimpletus est*, nominative singular). The only other masculine form is *aemplí* (*serúnt aemplí* < *implebuntur*, nominative plural) on f. 62r, line 21.

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

conristéz, f. 44r, line 17 (< *conristatus*, nominative singular). The *u* variant *cunristéz*, nominative singular, is used on f. 45r, line 22; f. 46r, line 37; f. 49r, line 4.

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

descuuért, f. 39v, line 31 (*descuuért 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.

enfichiéz, f. 52r, line 10 (*enfichiéz sui* < *infixus sum*, nominative singular).

entréz, f. 74v, line 10 (nominative singular).

esfacéd, f. 64v, line 8 (*seit esfacéd* < *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 (f. 64v, line 10), there is also the past participle *seit esfacé* < *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: 118).

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

fundéz, f. 47v, line 5 (*fundéz est* < *fundatur*, nominative singular).

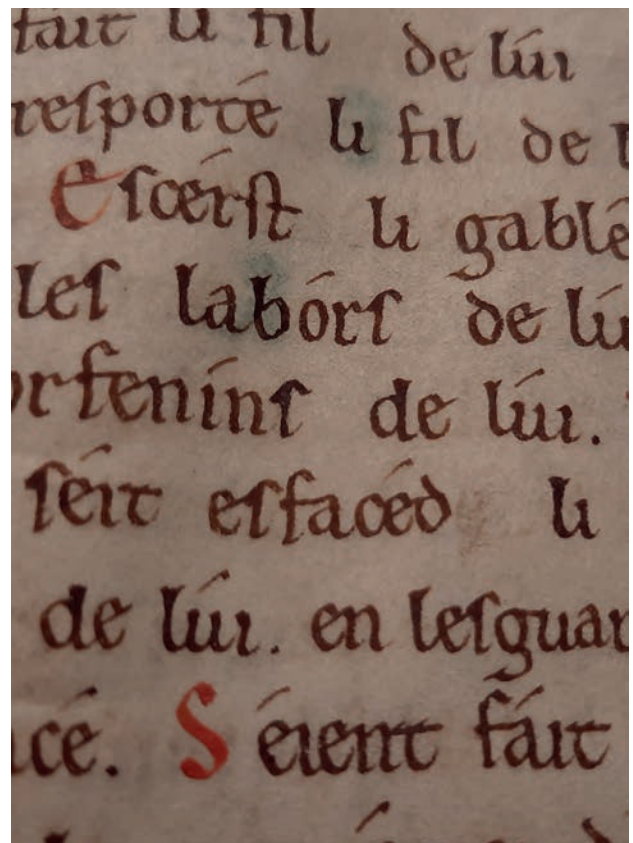
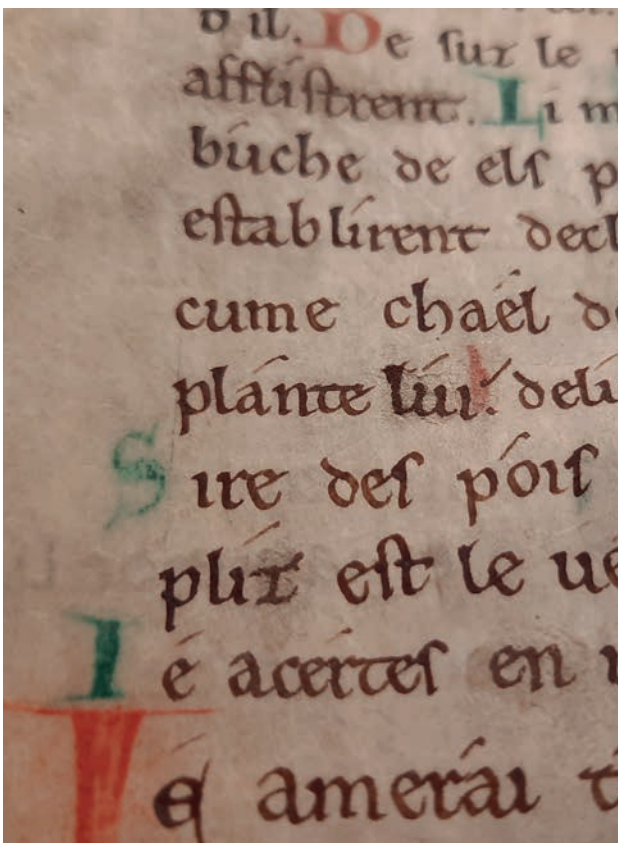
mundéz, f. 40v, line 5 (*serai mundéz* < *emundabor*, nominative singular).

raémplie, f. 53r, line 27 (*sera raémplie* < *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.

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

tresturnée, f. 38r, line 2 (*serat tresturnée* < *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).

f. 62r,
line 21



f. 64v,
line 8

MATTERS RELATED TO THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE (AC)

A series of other situations concern erasures related to present participles. Sneddon 1972: 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:

fuiánz, f. 49r, line 9, *ié _mesluignái fuiánz*
(*< 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 *ié*.

loánz, f. 39v, line 17, *loánz enuucherái le segnur*
(*< Laudans invocabo dominum*).

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

queránt, f. 44r, line 3, *li queránt la meie áneme*
(*< quaerentes animam meam*).

A nominative plural *-ant* is required here. On f. 46r, line 4, the same Latin present participle is written as *querant* (nominative plural) without any sign of erasure. On f. 38r, line 23; f. 41v, line 1; and f. 62r, line 33, the plural *queránz* 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 f. 44r, line 3, by initially writing *queránz*.

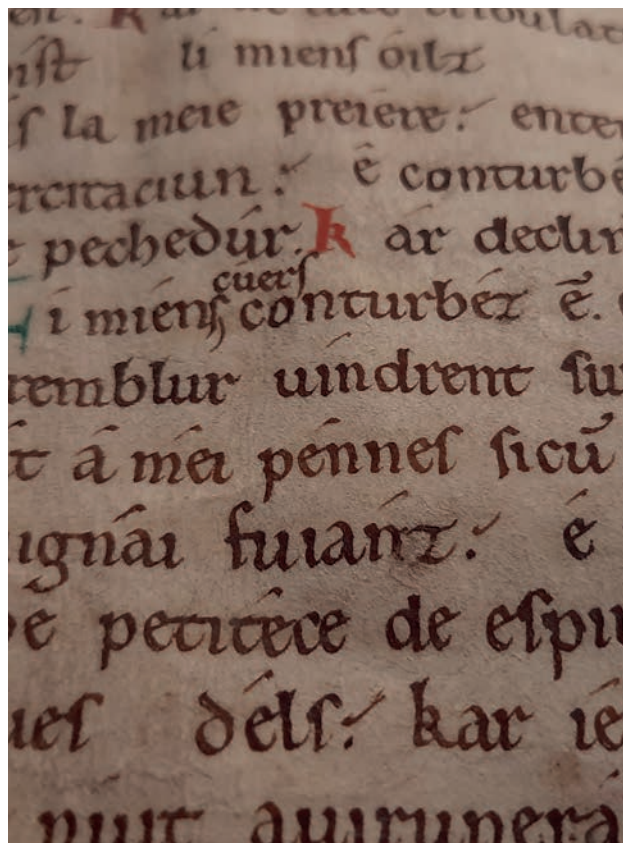
From 37r to 49v, *-anz* is mainly used to express present participles, nominative singular, or oblique plural. However, there are exceptions: on f. 42v, line 1, *Latin vox domini confringentis cedros* is rendered as *lá uóiz del segnur frainánz les cédrés*. The scribe could have chosen to agree the present participle to *vox*, thus justifying the *-anz* ending. Sneddon 1972: 117, argues that “in this case the participle may be influenced by the Latin spelling *confringentis*.” Again, on f. 44r, line 12, *esdreceánz* (on top of an extensive erasure and with the value of a noun) expresses a nominative plural. As for *defisánz* on f. 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: f. 43r, line 32, (*l*) *esperánt* (oblique singular); f. 43v, line 27, *enqueránt* (nominative plural); f. 44v, line 35, *maldísánt* (nominative plural). Finally, in two other cases, the declension is not correct: f. 46v, line 28, *esrouánt* (value of a noun, nominative singular) + line 29, *deparlánt* and *parsúant* (value of a noun, nominative singular).

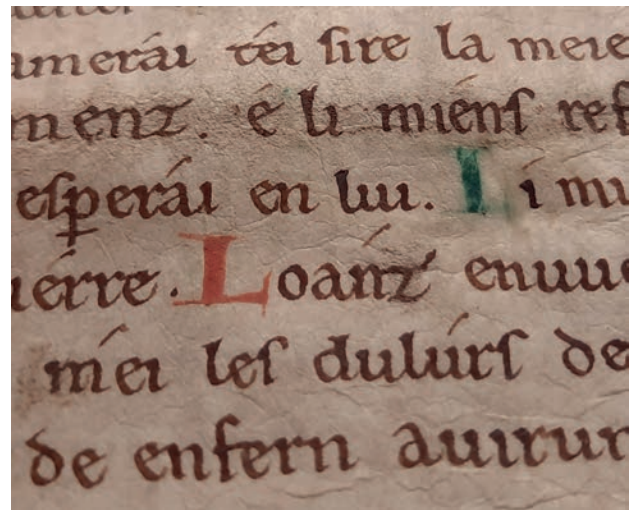
◆ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320.

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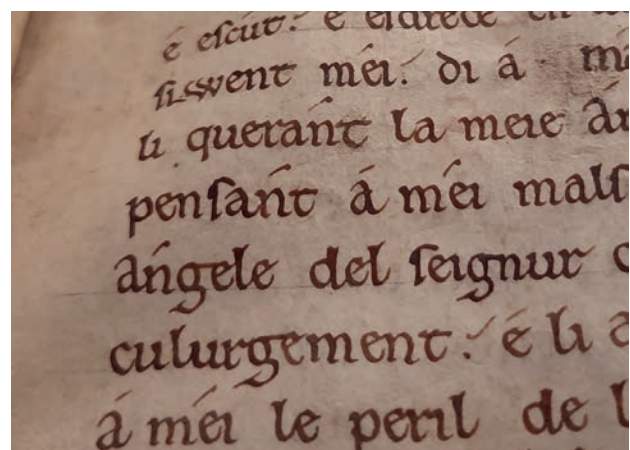
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f. 49r,
line 9



f. 39v,
line 17



f. 44r,
line 3

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 f. 40-41; f. 45-47; f. 50-51; f. 53; whereas those followed by a correction occur on f. 38-39; f. 41; f. 43; f. 44-45; f. 48; f. 51; f. 55; f. 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 *iniquité*; *pensé*). 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: 84-89; 115-117; Short 2015: 22-26; Meister 1877: 85-96.

Erasures not followed by corrections

All the following kinds of erasures concern feminine nouns. Sneddon 1972: 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 (*salú*), the scribe hesitated in the matter of the flexional *-z* for nominative singular (cf. Meister 1877: 86-87).

bealté, f. 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 *béltet*, on f. 40v, line 22; *bealtét* on f. 47r, line 4; f. 48r, line 5; f. 51v, line 20; *bealtéd*, on f. 55v, line 10; *bealté*, on f. 59v, line 1; f. 60r, line 13 (nominative singular); f. 61v, line 29. There is also *bealtéz*, on f. 51r, line 14 (nominative plural).

cíte, f. 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. *Cité* is both used for nominative and oblique singular on f. 43r, line 12 (extensive erasure); f. 47v, line 4 + line 6 + line 10 + line 11; f. 49r, line 12; f. 49v, line 39; f. 50r, line 9 + line 23; f. 53r, line 23. *Citéd* is used on f. 53v, line 7; f. 57v, line 6; f. 61r, line 3; f. 63v, line 19; f. 64r, line 12 + line 31; f. 69r, line 17. *Cité* on f. 63v, line 16; f.

69v, line 15 (oblique singular). *Citéz* is the spelling for nominative and oblique plural on f. 38r, line 19; f. 52v, line 7; f. 71v, line 3.

enfermeté, f. 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 *enfermetéz* of f. 39r, line 24, and f. 61v, line 2-3, is used for nominative and oblique plural.

erité, f. 45r, line 8 (traces of an erased *-t*). The spelling is always used for an oblique singular. *Eritét* occurs on f. 43v, line 7; f. 44v, line 29; f. 52v, line 7. *Eritéd* is found on f. 74v, line 7. The related term *heredité* shows signs of erasure on f. 47r, line 38-39; f. 50r, line 32. *Hereditét* spelled as such occurs from f. 37r up to f. 53v: f. 37r, line 17; f. 39r, line 26 + line 27 + line 28 (nominative singular); f. 42r, line 34; f. 51v, line 17. Spellings with a final *-d* start on f. 53v and are used until the end of the text: f. 53v, line 20; f. 55v, line 11 + line 20 + line 22; f. 56v, line 21; f. 59v, line 21; f. 62v, line 2; f. 63r, line 3; f. 65r, line 8 (*ereditéd*); f. 68r, line 5; f. 70v, line 10 (twice) + line 31 (twice); f. 75r, line 21. *Heredité* is found on f. 59v, line 12; f. 63v, line 1; f. 69v, line 18 (*eredité*, nominative singular).

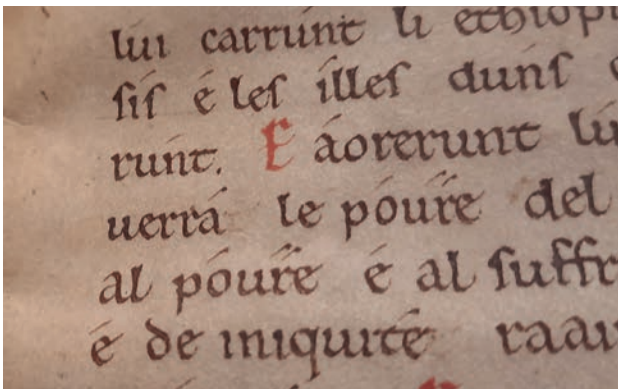
esté, f. 53v, line 38 (oblique singular). It is the only occurrence of this word in the text.

iniquité, f. 45r, line 37; f. 53r, line 19 (with evident traces of an erased *-t*). On f. 50v, line 29, there is *iniquité*. The word is always used here to express an oblique singular. On f. 50v, one can argue that the erased letter was *-z*. *Iniquité* is used for both the nominative and the oblique singular: f. 38r, line 1; f. 39v, line 18; 43r, line 6-7; f. 44r, line 38; f. 47v, line 23 (extensive erasure); f. 49r, line 11; f. 49v, line 34 + line 36. *Iniquitéd* on f. 58r, line 23, and f. 63v, line 31, is an oblique singular. *Iniquité*, nominative singular, but also oblique singular, is found on: f. 39r, line 39; f. 50v, line 9. The spelling *iniquitez* on f. 45r, line 19; f. 45v, line 13 + line 38; f. 50v, line 33; f. 61v, line 2, is used both for nominative and oblique plural.

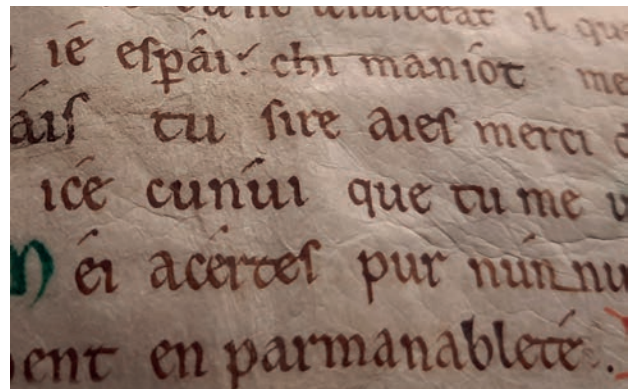
maiesté, f. 53r, line 26 + line 27 (oblique singular). Cf. f. 42r, line 39, *maiestét* (oblique singular).

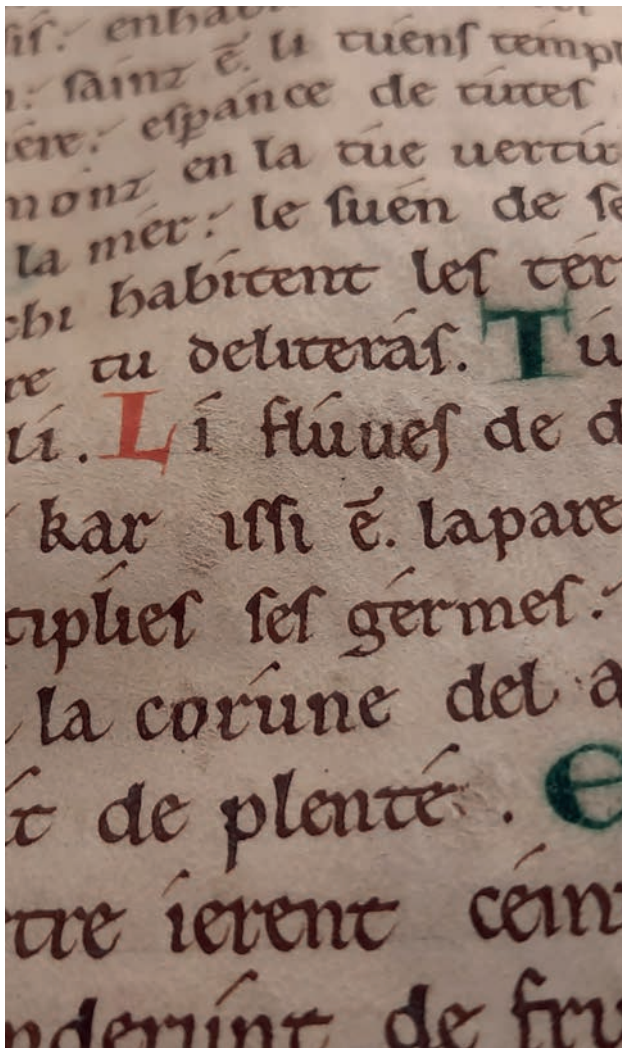
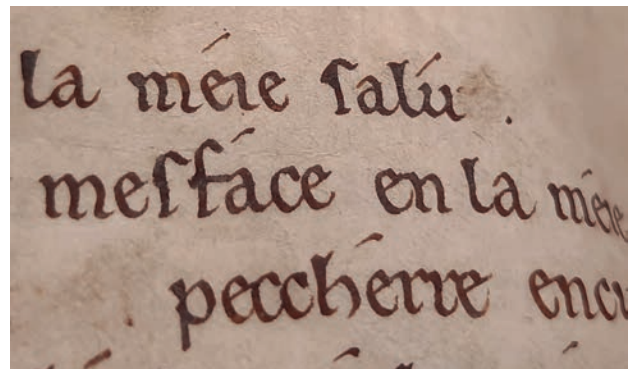
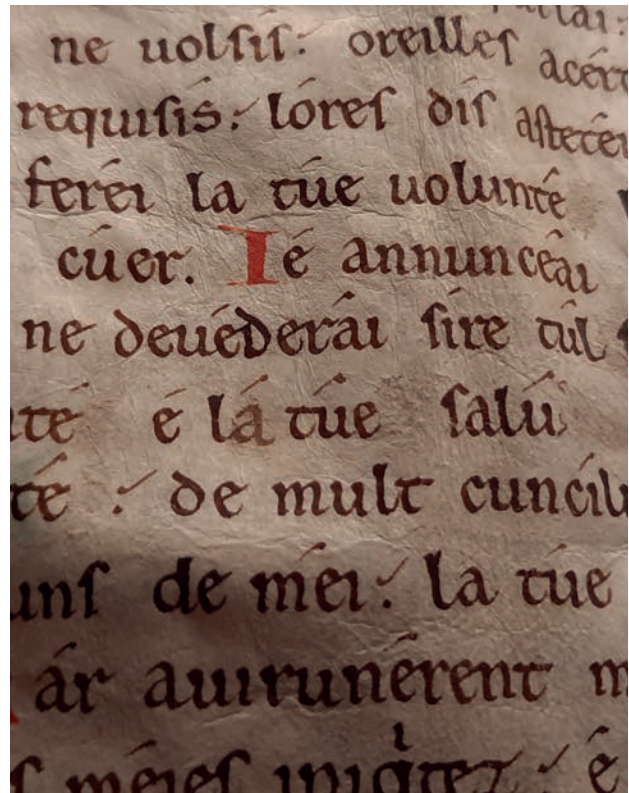
óelté (oblique singular), f. 45r, line 11 (with traces of an erased *-t*); f. 51v, lines 2-3. *Oeltét* (oblique singular): f. 38v, line 22; f. 51r, line 4. *Oeltéd* (nominative or oblique singular) occurs on f. 60r, line 19 + line 23; f. 60v, line 11; f. 65r, line 10; f. 67r, line 4; f. 67v, line 4; f. 68v, line

f. 53r,
line 19



f. 46r,
line 21



f. 60v,
line 8f. 45v,
line 1f. 45v,
line 34

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

2; f. 72r, line 24. *Oelté* without any sign of erasure is found on f. 68v, line 35 (nominative singular). There is also *oeltéz* on f. 39r, line 38 (oblique plural).

(*en*) *parmanableté* (oblique singular): f. 45r, line 1; f. 46r, line 21 (traces of an erased *-t*); f. 47r, line 22 (traces of an erased *-t*); f. 50r, line 34; f. 51r, line 23; f. 52v, line 16; f. 53r, line 27; f. 53v, line 14. *En parmanableté* is the formula transcribed by the scribe and not corrected from f. 37v, line 14, to f. 50v, line 7. He wrote *en parmanableté* from f. 54r, line 39, to f. 75v, lines 28-29 (with only one erased variant on f. 57r, line 35, *en parmanableté*). As for *en parmanableté*, without erasure, it occurs on f. 59r, line 30; f. 63r, line 31; f. 64v, line 37; f. 65r, line 11; 67v, line 21 + line 32; f. 68r, line 7.

pensé, f. 51v, line 38 (oblique singular). For other oblique singular uses of this term, the scribe wrote *pénse* on f. 43r, line 13; and *penséd* on f. 54r, line 37.

plenté, f. 51r, line 14 (oblique singular). *Plentét* on f. 41r, line 35; f. 44v, line 4; f. 48r, line 16; and *plentéd* on f. 58r, line 10; f. 60v, line 8, are used for nominative and oblique singular. Traces of an erased letter suggest the

initial transcription of a final *-t*. On f. 60r, line 20, the flexional form *plentéz* marks a nominative singular.

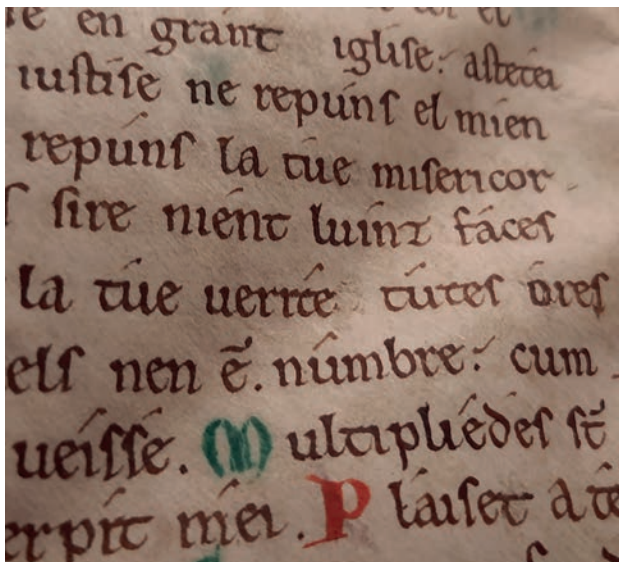
salú, f. 45v, line 1 + line 34; f. 50r, line 25. The example of f. 45 is a rather interesting one. On line 1, the scribe erased a final *-t*; on line 34, he clearly erased a final *-d*. The variant *salút* is used from f. 37r to f. 52v: f. 37r, line 24; f. 39v, line 16; f. 40r, line 12 + line 24; f. 40v, line 14 + line 18 + line 31-33; f. 42r, line 1; f. 43v, lines 11-12; 44r, line 2; f. 45r, line 13; f. 48v, line 5; f. 52r, line 25; 52v, line 2. From that point onwards, he uses the variant *salúd*: f. 53v à 74v: f. 53v, line 33; f. 57v, line 12; f. 58r, line 28; f. 64r, line 33; 68v, line 15; f. 71v, line 15; f. 72r, line 39; f. 72v, line 35; f. 73v, line 5 + line 18; f. 74r, line 24; f. 74v, line 31 + line 32. *Salú*, without any signs of a final consonant, occurs on f. 50r, line 37 (extensive erasure); f. 50v, line 4; f. 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 *salúz* variant with a flexional *-z* is used for an oblique plural on f. 40r, line 28; f. 46v, line 16; f. 51v, line 30. Flexional *-z* is also used on f.

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 f. 50.

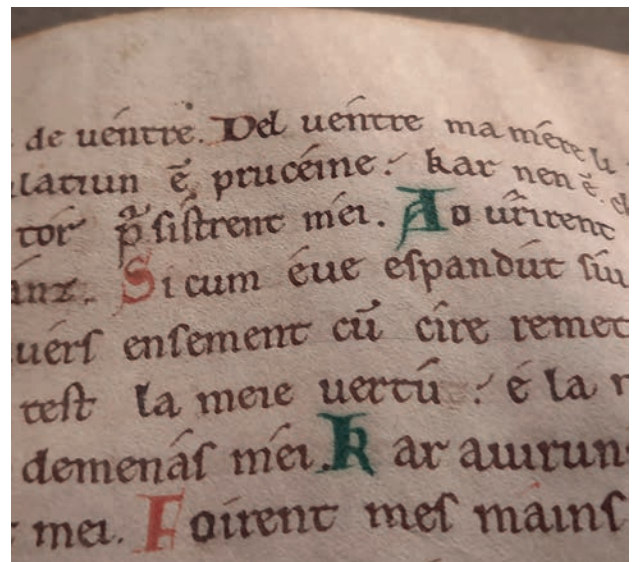
uerité (nominative or oblique singular), f. 45v, line 34 + line 35 + line 36 (traces of an erased *-t*); f. 50r, lines 34-35 (traces of an erased *-d*); f. 53r, line 2 (probable traces of an erased *-t*). *Uerité* without erasure is used from f. 37 to f. 49 (nominative or oblique singular): f. 37v, line 10; f. 39r, line 16; f. 41v, line 11 + line 17 + line 31; f. 42v, line 18 + line 29; f. 43r, line 15; f. 44r, line 40; f. 46v, line 6; f. 47r, line 5; f. 48r, line 36; f. 48v, line 39; f. 49v, line 9; f. 49v, line 18. The variant *uertét* occurs on f. 52r, line 24-25 (oblique singular). From f. 57 until the end of the text, the scribe wrote *ueritéd* (nominative or oblique singular): f. 57r, line 3 + line 17 + line 18 + line 33; f. 57v, line 25-26 + line 36 + line 38; f. 58r, line 1 + line 6 + line 13 + line 25 + line 37; f. 58v, line 15; f. 59r, line 7 + line 23; f. 60r, line 24; f. 60v, line 3 + line 30; f. 64r, line 24; f. 65r, line 9 + line 10; f. 65v, line 7; f. 66v, line 33; f. 67r, line 8; f. 67v, line 4 + line 17 + line 22; f. 68r, line 36 + line 40; f. 68v, line 11 + line 21; f. 70r, line 20; f. 71r, line 11; f. 72r, line 11; f. 72v, line 28 + line 38; f. 74r, line 1 + line 3. Cf. *Uerité* on f. 66r, line 8 (nominative

singular). *Ueritez* on f. 38v, line 23 (nominative plural). *uertu* (nominative or oblique singular): f. 40v, line 18 + line 30; f. 41r, line 6; f. 45r, line 26; f. 47r, line 23; f. 50r, line 26 (here the scribe probably erased *-d*); f. 50v, line 16 (traces of an erased *-t*); f. 51r, line 6 (clear traces of an erased *-t*) + line 23. On f. 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*. *Uertút* (nominative or oblique singular): f. 39v, line 14; f. 40r, line 9 + line 17; f. 42v, line 1 + line 7-8 + line 15 + line 36; f. 43r, line 40; f. 43v, line 10 + line 11 + line 12; f. 47v, line 16 + line 24; f. 48v, line 34; f. 50r, line 4; f. 51r, line 19; f. 51v, line 19 + line 40; f. 52r, line 6 + line 7 + line 8; f. 52v, line 26. *Uertúd* (nominative or oblique singular): f. 54v, line 7; f. 55r, line 8; f. 55v, line 10; f. 56v, line 37 (twice); f. 58r, line 8 + line 16; f. 61r, line 31; f. 61v, line 23; f. 64r, line 34; f. 65r, line 7; f. 66r, line 25; f. 69r, line 22; f. 70v, line 28-29; f. 71r, line 13; f. 71v, line 15; f. 72v, line 13; f. 73r, line 8; f. 73v, line 11. *Uertú* (oblique singular): f. 64v, line 34 + line 35; f. 66r, line 24. *Uertúz* (oblique plural): f. 40v, line 31 (extensive

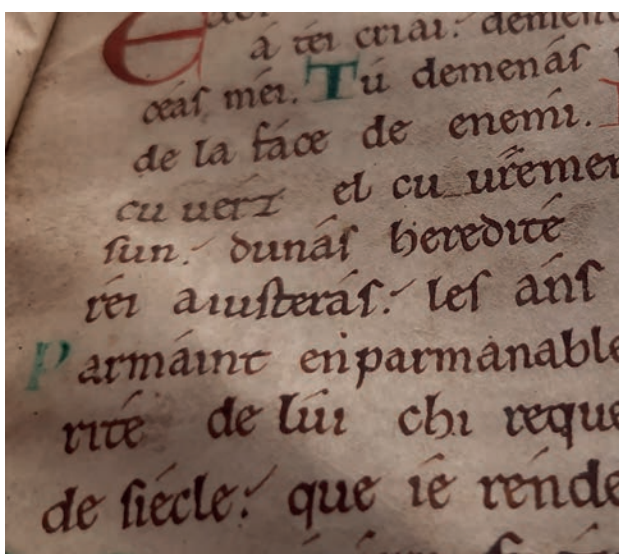
f. 45v,
line 36



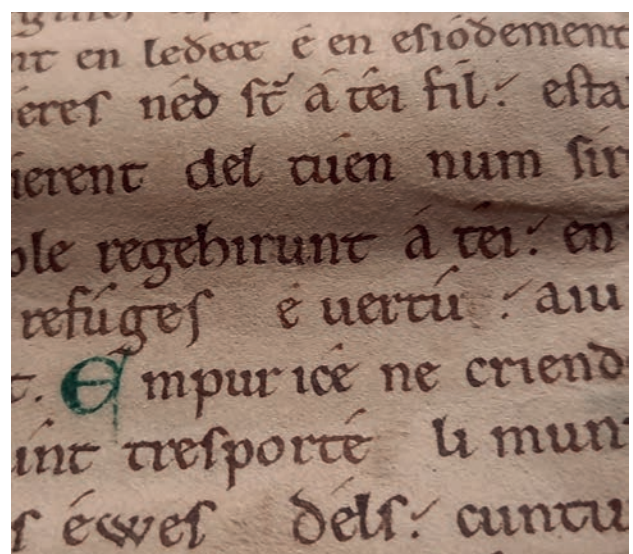
f. 41r,
line 6



f. 50r,
line 34



f. 47r,
line 23



erasure); f. 41v, line 5; f. 46v, line 21; f. 47r, line 30 + line 35; f. 47v, line 11; f. 49v, line 37; f. 50r, line 24; f. 51v, line 19; f. 52r, line 17; f. 54v, line 20; f. 56r, line 6 + line 9 + line 16 + line 21; f. 56v, line 29 + line 38; f. 57r, line 4; f. 58r, line 5; f. 61v, line 25; f. 64r, line 32; f. 73r, line 28; f. 73v, line 11.

uolunté (oblique singular), f. 45v, line 31. *Uoluntét* (nominative or oblique singular): f. 37r, line 3; f. 37v, line 16 (extensive erasure); f. 40v, line 19; f. 42r, line 8 + line 32; f. 42v, line 13 + line 15; f. 48v, line 9. *Uoluntéd* (oblique singular): f. 53v, line 11; f. 61v, line 25; f. 64r, line 6; f. 72r, line 22; f. 72v, line 28; f. 73r, line 14; f. 75v, line 12. *Uolunté* (oblique singular): f. 66v, line 5. *Uoluntéz* (oblique plural): f. 39r, line 24; f. 61v, line 7; f. 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: 86-87.

cuuenableté, f. 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 f. 38r point to an erased *-t*.

fört (adjective), f. 48r, line 7 (*fört tempeste* < nominative singular, feminine). Perhaps the scribe initially wrote a final *-z*. *Fort*: on f. 47v, line 3 (*fort déu* < nominative plural) + line 9 (*en fort esprit* < oblique singular). On f. 48v, line 36 (*li fort* < nominative plural).

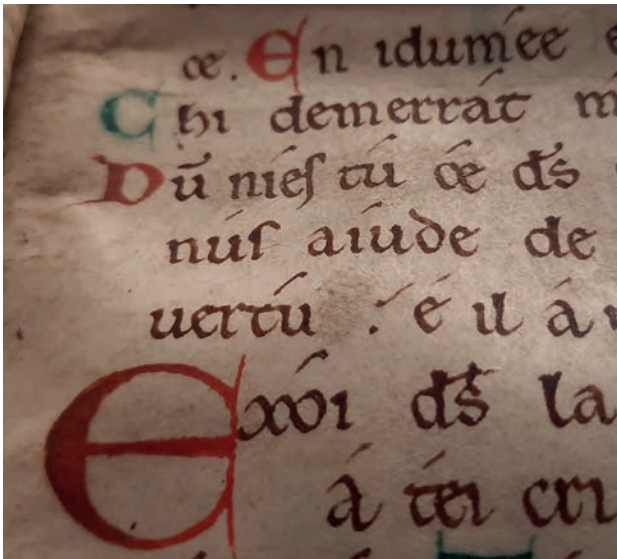
génz, f. 55v, line 2 (oblique plural; follows the feminine declension with flexional *-z* on plural). The scribe must have written a final dental, then erased it and replaced it with *-z*. *Génz* (oblique plural): f. 37r, line 17; f. 38r, line 18 + line 24; f. 38v, line 12; f. 40r, line 22; f. 41r, line 22 (twice) + line 22; f. 43v, line 4; f. 46v, line 12 + line 23 + line 26; f. 47r, line 34 + line 38; f. 47v, line 1; f. 49v, line 17 + line 38; f. 50r, line 1; f. 51r, line 24 + line 40; f. 51v, line 2; f. 52r, line 3; f. 53r, line 16 + line 25; f. 55v, line 29 + line 35 (twice); f. 56r, line 10; f. 56v, line

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

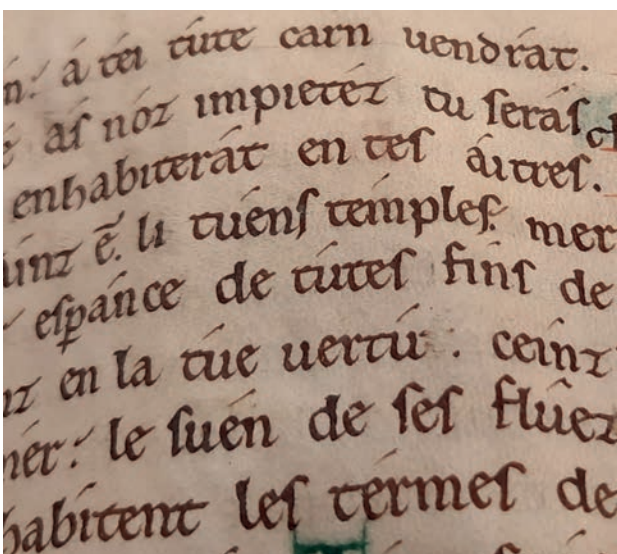
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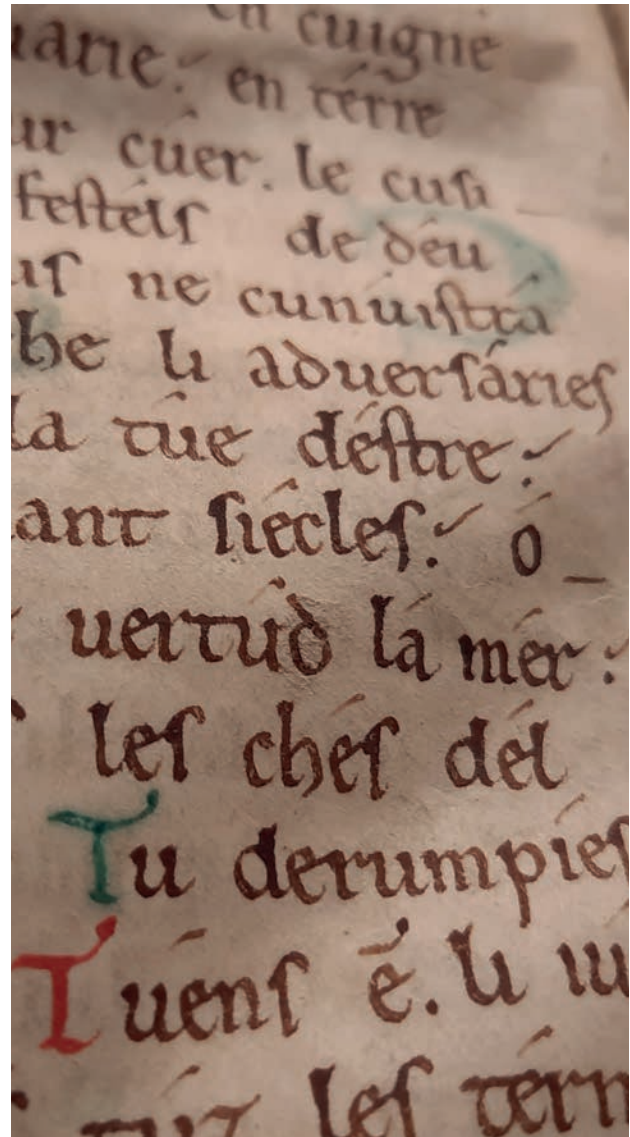
f. 50r,
line 26



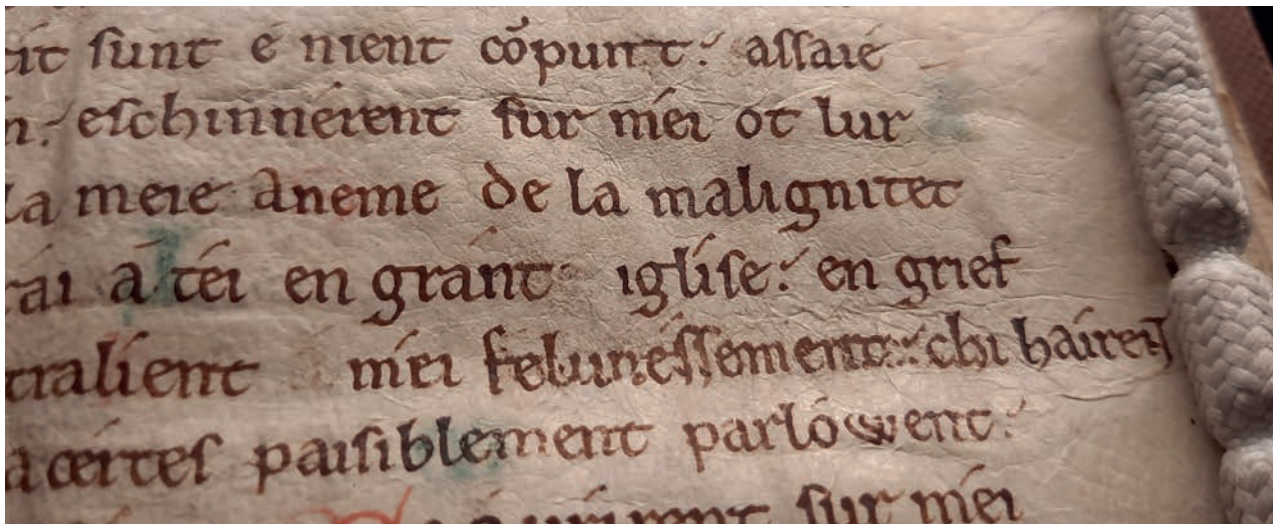
f. 51r,
line 6



f. 53v,
line 33



f. 44rv,
line 21



8; f. 58v, line 16; f. 59v, line 16; f. 60r, line 10 + line 13 + line 15 + line 18; f. 60v, line 2; f. 61r, line 22; f. 62r, line 31; f. 62v, line 34; f. 63r, line 27 + line 34; f. 63v, line 2 + line 9; f. 64r, line 23; f. 65r, line 8 + line 31; f. 65v, line 9; f. 69v, line 10; f. 70v, line 8 + line 13; f. 73v, line 7; f. 74v, line 20 + line 31; f. 75r, line 18. This spelling is also used for nominative plural: f. 37r, line 10; f. 38r, line 24 + line 30 + line 33 + line 34; f. 47r, line 29 + line 36; f. 47v, line 19; f. 51r, line 7; f. 51r, line 25; f. 51v, line 1; f. 55v, line 22; f. 57r, line 30; f. 63r, line 34; f. 65v, line 8; f. 66r, line 7 + line 18. *Gént* (nominative or oblique singular): f. 43v, line 6; f. 46v, line 3; f. 56v, line 13; f. 62v, line 3 (twice); f. 63r, line 2; f. 73r, line 26; f. 75v, line 1 + line 11.

gránt (feminine adjective, oblique singular), f. 41r, line 17; f. 44r, line 21; f. 45v, line 32. *Gránt*, without any signs of erasure, is used on f. 48r, line 30 as a feminine adjective on oblique singular. There is also the form *grande* (feminine, nominative singular): f. 40v, line 22; f. 43r, line 7; f. 62r, line 16; f. 64r, line 23; f. 71r, line 15. The use of this variant could explain certain erasures: on f. 44r, line 21, there are perhaps traces of an ending *-de*; and on f. 45v, the erasure also concerns two letters. Only the situation of f. 41r remains uncertain.

iugement, f. 39v, line 38-39 (oblique plural). *Iugément*, (nominative and oblique, both singular and plural): f. 38r, line 17 + line 20 + line 29; f. 39r, line 37-38; f. 41v, line 16; f. 43r, line 38; f. 44r, line 26; f. 44v, line 1 + line 16; f. 45r, line 1 + line 4; f. 53r, line 6 + line 7; f. 54r, line 26 + line 27; f. 56r, line 26; f. 58r, line 12; f. 59v, line 21-22; f. 60r, line 26; f. 60v, line 15 + line 15-16 + line 31; f. 61v, line 6; f. 62v, line 39; f. 65r, line 9 + line 21; f. 67r, line 3; f. 67v, line 4 + line 16; f. 68r, line 17 + line 29; f. 68v, line 9 + line 14 + line 16 + line 21 + line 38; f. 69r, line 20; f. 71v, line 22; f. 72r, line 11; f. 72v, line 39; f. 73v, line 8-9; f. 75v, line 29-30. *Iugeménz*, f. 68r, line 35 (nominative singular). *Iugeménz* (oblique plural or nominative plural): f. 38r, line 39; f. 40v, line 1; f. 47v, line 15; f. 58r, line 33; f. 60r, line 34; f. 62r, line 35-36 + line 37-38; f. 66v, line 8 + line 15 + 33; f. 67r, line 8 + line 18 + line 29; f. 67v, line 35 + line 40; f. 68r, line 2 + line 13 + line 16; f. 68v, line 25; f. 73r, line 25 + line 26; f. 75r, line 12. The word renders Latin neuter *iudicium*, but has an unstable and hesitant declension (cf. Sneddon 1972: 116).

iument, f. 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. *Iumentz* (nominative singular or oblique plural): f. 44v, line 2; f. 47v, line 32; 48r, line 2; f. 53v, line 9; f. 55r, line 33 + line 36; f. 62r, line 4; f. 64r, line 14; f. 73r, line 13.

núiz, f. 53v, line 37 (nominative singular). Perhaps the scribe wished to follow the declension, but as many others feminine terms, *núit/núiz* is subject to alterations of a flexional final *-z*. The spelling *núiz* (oblique plural) is also found on f. 37v, line 22; f. 70r, line 37. *Núit* (nominative or oblique singular): on f. 39r, line 29 + line 39; f. 40r, line 31 (twice); f. 40v, line 34; f. 43r, line 21; f. 46r, line 26 + line 35; f. 49r, line 12; f. 54r, line 34 + line 38 (extensive erasure); f. 54v, line 34; f. 57v, line 12; f. 58v, line 24; f. 59r, line 24; f. 62r, line 10; f. 62v, line 30; f. 67r, line 21 + line 28; f. 69r, line 13; f. 70r, line 2; f. 70v, line 25; f. 71r, line 31 + line 32.

mónz (nominative singular), f. 51v, line 23 + line 24 (twice) + line 25. *Monz* (extensive erasure): f. 51v, line 24 (nominative singular); f. 56v, line 24 (oblique plural). *Monz* (nominative singular or oblique plural, with one exception only): f. 47v, line 14; f. 51r, line 6; f. 53r, line 22; f. 53v, line 21; f. 54r, line 13 + line 22; f. 56r, line 12; f. 57v, line 4; f. 59v, line 37; f. 61v, line 35 + line 39; f. 62r, line 2 + line 26; f. 65v, line 2 (nominative plural); f. 69r, line 8; f. 72r, line 33; f. 73r, line 12 + line 34; f. 75v, line 3. *Munz* (oblique plural): f. 39v, line 22; f. 48r, line 14. *Mónt* (nominative plural or oblique singular, with two exceptions): f. 46r, line 33; f. 46v, line 7; f. 47r, line 26; f. 47v, line 5 (twice, once as nominative singular); f. 55v, line 1 (twice) + line 17; f. 58v, line 20; f. 60r, line 29; f. 60v, line 9 + line 23; f. 61v, line 37; f. 62r, line 9; f. 65r, line 40; f. 69r, line 40 (nominative singular); f. 69v, line 2; f. 70r, line 33; f. 74v, line 7 + line 15 + line 20 + line 21 + line 27. *Múnt* (nominative plural or oblique singular): f. 37r, line 26; f. 38v, line 15; f. 39r, line 15; f. 41r, line 37; f. 44v, line 1; f. 47r, line 25; f. 53r, line 7.

pechet, f. 43r, line 19 (nominative plural). It translates Latin neuter plural *peccata*. *Pechét* (oblique singular), f. 41v, line 18; f. 48r, line 32. *Pecchét* (oblique singular), f. 43r, line 19 + line 25; f. 45v, line 30. Cf. the spelling *pechiet*, nominative singular, on f. 38v, line 11; and

oblique singular on f. 45r, line 37; f. 48r, line 33. *Pecchéd*: f. 64v, line 2 (oblique singular) + line 10 (nominative singular). *Pechié*: f. 48r, line 35 (oblique plural). *Pechié*: f. 48r, line 40 (oblique plural); f. 49v, line 36 (nominative singular). *Pecchéz* (oblique plural): f. 45r, line 19; f. 55r, line 21; f. 55v, line 34; f. 57r, line 7; f. 58r, line 35; f. 61v, line 10; f. 71v, line 29-30.

reguárz, f. 53r, line 31 (nominative singular). Perhaps the scribe wrote a final *-t* initially, then corrected it into *-z*, to follow the declension.

sáinz, f. 51r, line 4; f. 60v, line 17 (nominative singular). In both cases there seem to be traces of an erased *-t* under the correction. *Sáinz* / *sáinz* (nominative singular or oblique plural): f. 38v, line 23; f. 39r, line 23; f. 40r, line 2; f. 43r, line 26 (extensive erasure); f. 45r, line 1; f. 48r, line 8 (extensive erasure); f. 48v, line 23; f. 52r, line 8; f. 53r, line 2 (on top of an erasure); f. 55v, line 24; f. 56v, line 12; f. 57r, line 15 + line 23; f. 57v, line 4; f. 58r, line 2 + line 3 + line 19; f. 60r, line 36; f. 60v, line 14 + line 23; f. 64v, line 36; f. 66r, line 2; f. 72v, line 23 + line 26; f. 73r, line 40; f. 73v, line 1 + line 9 + line 10 + line 23; f. 74r, line 7 + line 18; f. 74v, line 15. *Sáint* / *sáint* (nominative plural or oblique singular): f. 37r, line 15 + line 26 + line 34; f. 37v, line 8; f. 38v, line 18; f. 39r, line 15 + line 33; f. 39v, line 21; f. 40r, line 2 (extensive erasure); f. 40v, line 9 + line 14 + line 34; f. 41r, line 38; f. 42r, line 25 + line 38; f. 42v, line 12; f. 43r, line 15; f. 43v, line 16 (extensive erasure) + line 26; f. 46v, line 7; f. 47v, line 2 + line 4; f. 48v, line 2; f. 55v, line 23; f. 50r, line 19; f. 51v, line 12; f. 54v, line 5; f. 55r, line 25; f. 55v, line 18; f. 58r, line 18 + line 21 + line 38; f. 60r, line 17; f. 60v, line 1 + line 23; f. 61r, line 27 + line 40; f. 62r, line 32; f. 63r, line 15; f. 63v, line 10; f. 65r, line 12; f. 70r, line 18 + line 26; f. 71r, line 10 + line 11; f. 72v, line 18 + line 31; f. 73v, line 5; f. 74v, line 1.

túz, f. 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 *túit*, the usual form of nobimitive plural. *uanitéz*, f. 45v, line 9 (nominative singular). *Uanitéz* (oblique plural): f. 42v, line 29; f. 45r, line 30; f. 45v, line 26; f. 75r, line 40. *Uanité* (oblique singular): f. 37r, line 33; f. 41v, line 32; f. 48v, line 20. *Uanitéd* (oblique singular): f. 55r, line 15; f. 67r, line 1; f. 71v, line 3; f. 72r, line 32 + line 37; f. 72v, line 1. *Uanité*: f. 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 f. 53-59. In the first 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 f. 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 f. 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 f. 60, while the last erasure without correction is on f. 53. This suggests that the turning point in the transcription of dental endings occurs approximately on f. 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. However, our survey is yet incomplete and provisional. The second instalment of this paper, to be published next year, will present a comprehensive diagram of all the idiosyncrasies of the scribe. The diagram will provide the means to study in depth the scribe's method of translation (or adaptation), and the genetics of the text.

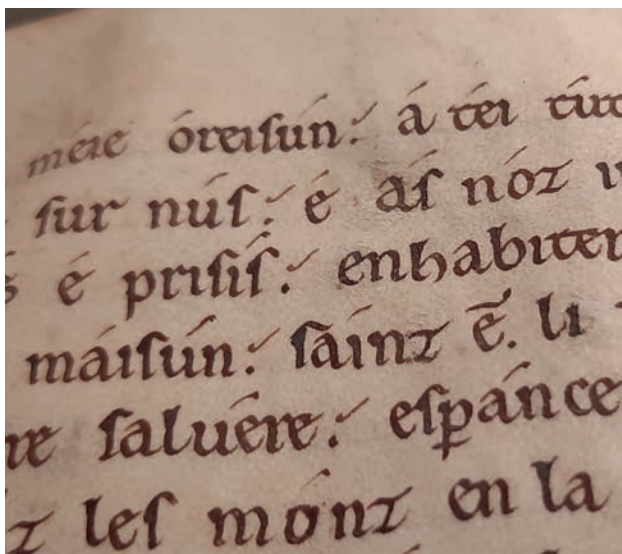
The Douce MS 320 scribe is not an unproficient speaker and writer of Old French. It is difficult (at least at this stage of our analysis) to postulate why certain translation choices were used in his initial transcription of the text. Certain erasures were clearly determined by the scribe's attempt at writing in a better language.

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

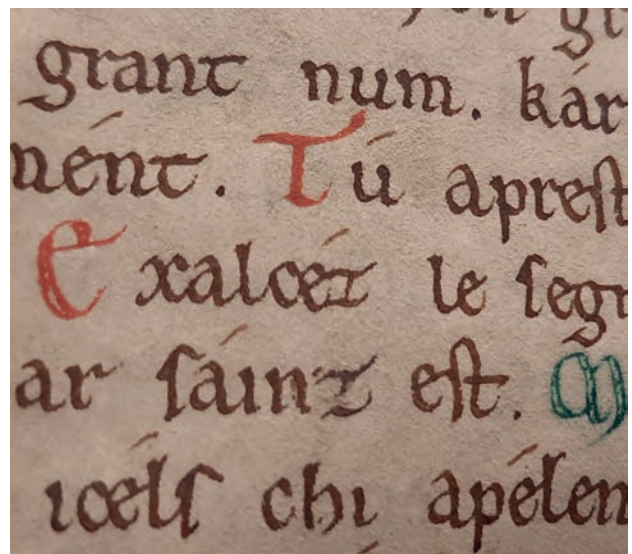
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f. 51r,
line 4



f. 60v,
line 17



*ENFER(N), IUR(N), AND CAR(N) (AC)**Enfern*

Three striking erasures concern the deletion of an *-n* in *enfer(n)* (oblique singular): f. 57r, line 37 (*enfer_*); f. 58v, line 14 (*enfer_*); f. 59v, line 25 (*enfer_*). One must note that, in oblique singular, the same term is written without any trace of erasure (and no final *-n*) from f. 71r to f. 75v: f. 71r, line 27; f. 71v, line 35; f. 73v, line 24; f. 75v, line 2. *Enfern* (oblique singular) is written with final *-n* and no erasure from the very beginning of the text until f. 65v: f. 37v, line 21; f. 38r, line 30; f. 39r, line 33; f. 39v, line 19; f. 42v, line 10; f. 43r, line 5; f. 47v, line 34 + line 35 + line 37; f. 49r, line 19; f. 57v, line 15; f. 65v, line 24 + line 28.

On f. 73v, line 39, the word has a flexional *-s*: *enfèrs* (nominative singular). On f. 74r, line 14 (*enfèrs*, 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*.

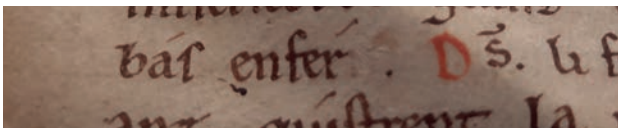
Concerning the ending *-n*, the scribe prefers this spelling at the beginning of his transcription process, but later decides to delete the final letter from f. 57r to f. 59v. This is, again, the turning point that I noticed in the spelling of final dentals. The choice of *-n* is consistent with the series of examples occurring from f. 37v to 65v, where the word is written with *-n*. However, the scribe later changed his mind and wrote it without *-n* from f. 62v to 75v. This accounts for an overlap in his spelling choices. The overlap coincides with the erasures and corrections that he made from f. 57r to f. 59v.

Iurn

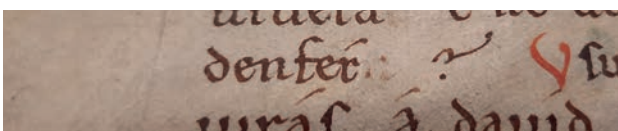
The deletion of final *-n* in the *iur(n)* follows a similar pattern. *Iur_* (oblique singular) occurs twice on f. 50r, line 36, as part of a formula, but the erasure concerns only the first word (*de iur_ en iurn*). In this particular situation, it is worth noting, on the one hand, that the sequence *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 f. 57r, line 25 + line 28 (traces of an erased final *-n*); f. 57v, line 12; f. 58r, line 15; f. 60r, line 10 (in the formula *de iur_ en iur_*; which is a variant of the one from f. 50r, line 36, but both words have no final *-n* here).

Enfer_ with final *-n* erased (+ visible traces):

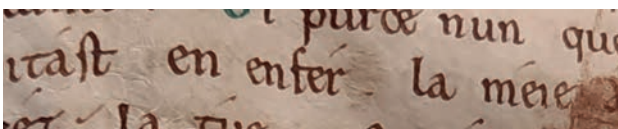
f. 57r,
line 35



f. 58v,
line 14



f. 59v,
line 25



Iúr, written without erasures and no final *-n* (nominative plural or oblique singular) occurs on f. 38v, line 35; f. 58v, line 28 + line 30; f. 59r, line 8; f. 61r, line 6 + line 7 + line 8 + line 13 + line 17; f. 64v, line 2 + line 35 + line 39; f. 66r, line 36; f. 67v, line 15 + line 30; f. 68v, line 25; f. 69r, line 12; f. 70v, line 24; f. 71r, line 4 + line 12 + line 39; f. 71v, line 9 + line 16; f. 72r, line 32; f. 72v, line 35; f. 73v, line 20; f. 74v, line 39. The spelling *iurn* (oblique singular or nominative plural) is found on f. 37r, line 3; f. 39v, line 34; f. 40r, line 31; f. 40v, line 8 + line 17 + line 33; f. 41v, line 11; f. 42r, line 9; f. 43r, line 21 (twice); f. 44r, line 34; f. 44v, line 38; f. 45r, line 22 + line 30; f. 46r, line 7 + line 26 (twice) + line 34; f. 46v, line 20 + line 27 + line 35; f. 47v, line 23; f. 48r, line 18; f. 48v, line 13; f. 49r, line 12 + line 21 + line 31 + line 32 + line 33 + line 35; f. 49v, line 1; f. 50r, line 12 + line 33 + line 36; f. 51v, line 29 (twice, the first one on top of an erasure, also part of a repetition: *el iurn chescún iurn*); f. 52v, line 25 + line 33; f. 53r, line 4 + line 21 + line 37; f. 53v, line 1; f. 54r, line 5 + line 28 + line 33; f. 54v, line 28 + line 33; f. 55r, line 26; f. 56r, line 25; f. 57v, line 23 + line 32; f. 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); f. 40r, line 31 (extensive erasure); f. 46v, line 12. The spelling *iurz* from f. 37v, line 39 to f. 75r, line 16, is used as oblique plural. In the following instances it is used as nominative singular: f. 44v, line 24; f. 53v, line 36; f. 56v, line 40; f. 58v, line 23; f. 61v, line 16; f. 66r, line 33; f. 71r, line 32; f. 75v, line 21.

The spelling in *-n*, except for *iúr* on f. 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 (f. 50r to 60r), where the scribe changes *iurn* to *iúr*. The example of *iurz* shows that the scribe followed the declension in this occurrence too.

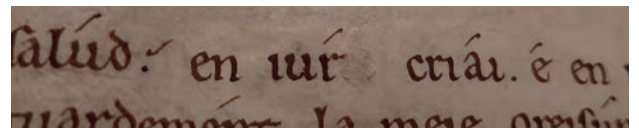
Carn

On f. 56v, line 31, the scribe erases *-n* in *cárn* (*cár_*, nominative singular). The spelling *cárn* is used both for nominative and oblique singular on f. 39r, line 32; f. 42r, line 32; f. 45r, line 18 + line 23; f. 49r, line 35; f. 50v, line 14; f. 51r, line 1; f. 53v, line 13; f. 61r, line 11; f. 64v, line 23 (*cárn*).

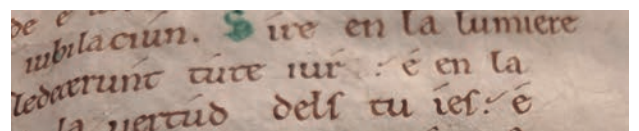
Cár (nominative and oblique singular) is found on f. 55r,

Iúr_ with final *-n* erased (+ visible traces):

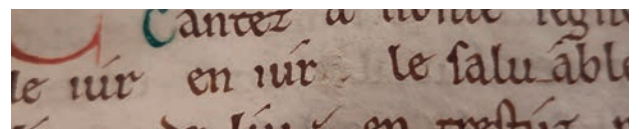
f. 57v,
line 12

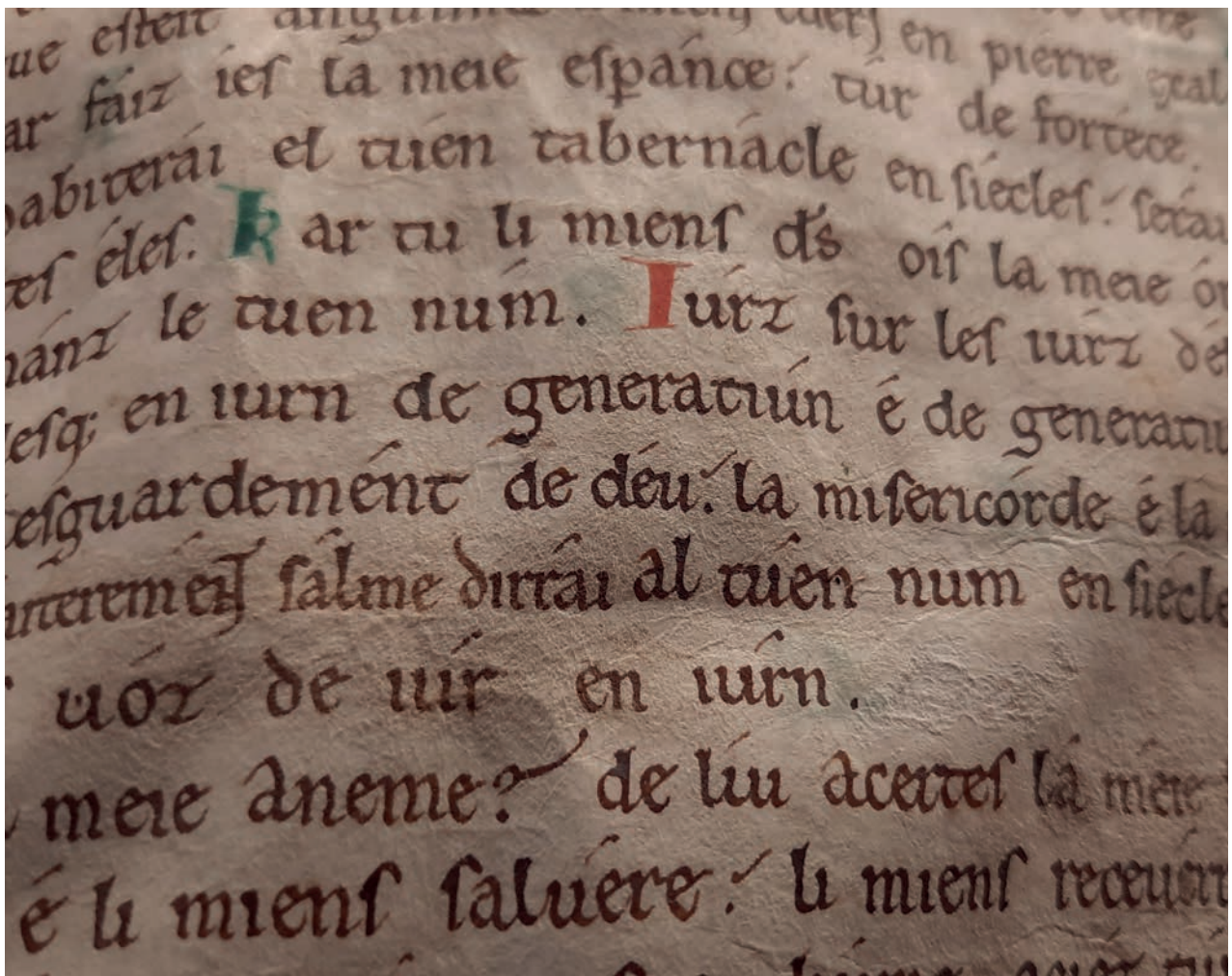


f. 58r,
line 15

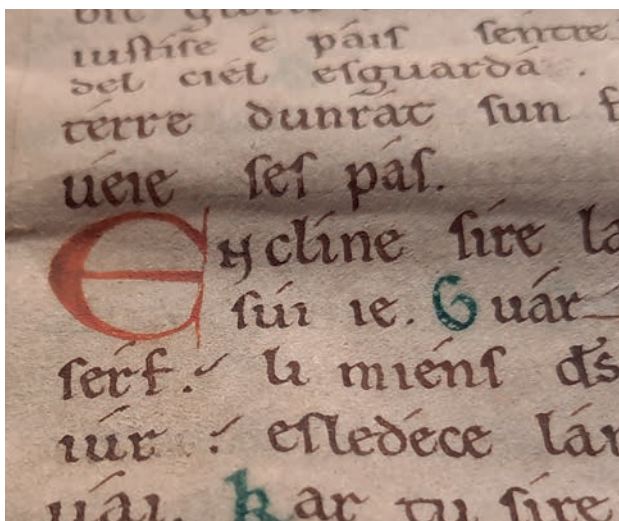


f. 60r,
line 10

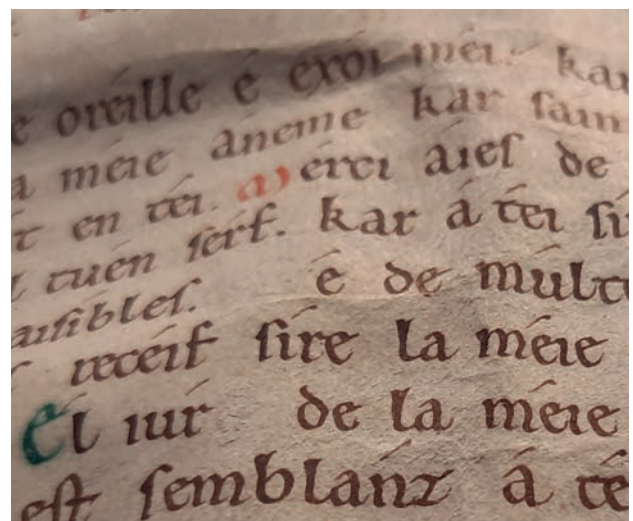




f. 50r,
line 36



f. 57r,
line 25



f. 57r,
line 28

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

line 23 (that is, on the folio before the erasure); f. 72v, line 31. On f. 42r, line 3, plural *carz* translates an oblique plural (just as in other cases after it). Yet on the next occurrence (f. 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 f. 55r, line 8. The last example of a plural can be found on f. 68r, line 15, where *carz* is not written on top of an erasure. However, on f. 55v, line 24, our scribe wrote the flexional *-z* on top of an erasure: *carz*.

This short discussion of *carz* 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 f. 40r). The word gradually stabilises as *kar* and does not change spellings in the remaining folios of the Douce ms 320.

Kar seems to be the choice of the scribe (written as such, without erasures) on f. 37r, line 28; f. 37v, line 10; f. 38r, line 40; f. 38v, line 22 + line 23 (twice); f. 39r, line 22; f. 39r, line 33; f. 39v, line 23; f. 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 (f. 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 Douce ms 320 (f. 37v, line 3 + line 4 + line 18 + line 20 + line 24; f. 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 f. 37r, line 9 + line 27 and on f. 37v, line 1. Furthermore, in the specific case of f. 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.

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* (f. 39r, line 11 + line 12; f. 39v, line 2 + line 34 + line 36 + line 37; f. 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.

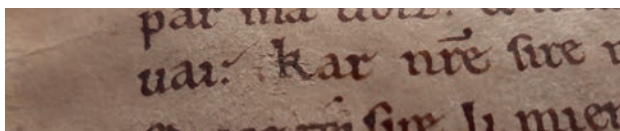
◆ *Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms 320.*
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023.
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Kar written on top of an erased *quar*:

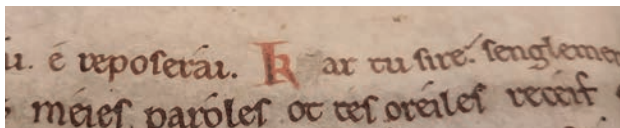
f. 37r,
line 9



f. 37r,
line 27

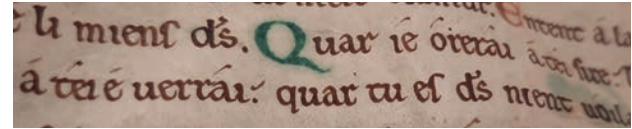


f. 37v,
line 1

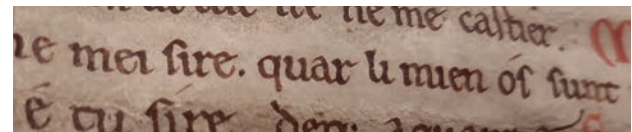


This *ker* spelling is used on three folios separated from a bilingual psalter, now at Maidstone, Kent History and Library Centre, Fa/Z1, dated mid-12th century, not long after Douce ms 320. The Maidstone scribe used only once the spelling *kar* (f. 3ra, Ps 68:17). All the other thirteen instances use *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

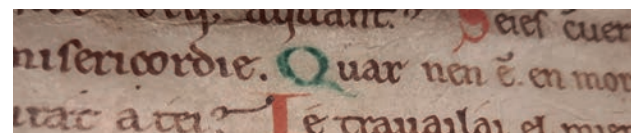
The use of *quar* on the first two folios (no erasures):



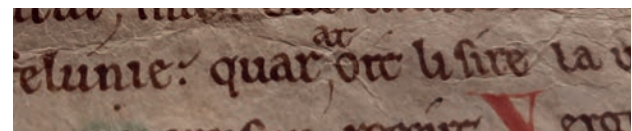
f. 37v,
lines 3–4



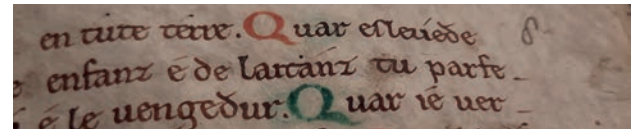
f. 37v,
line 18



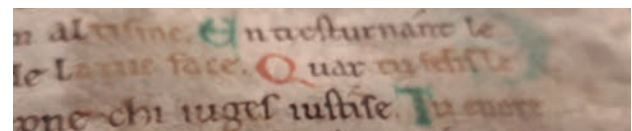
f. 37v,
line 20



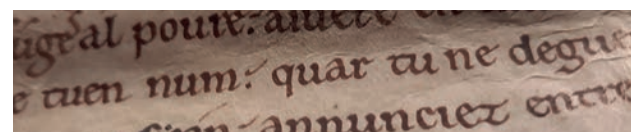
f. 37v,
line 24



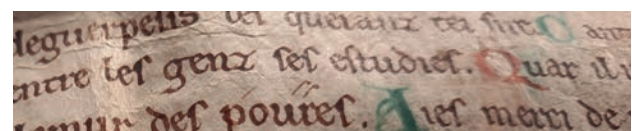
f. 38r,
lines 5–7



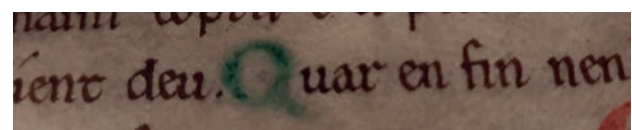
f. 38r,
line 16



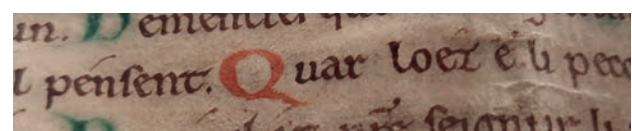
f. 38r,
line 23



f. 38r,
line 24



f. 38r,
line 31



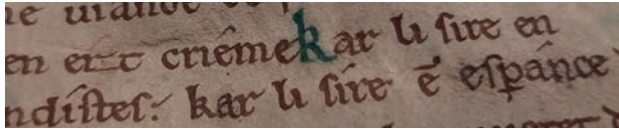
f. 38r,
line 36

kare, kaar, kaer, car, care, char, kor, and quore.

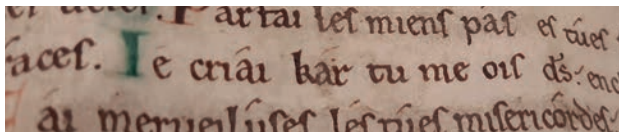
There are several other erasures on top of which the word *kar* was written on the first folios of Douce MS 320: f. 37v, line 13 (*icels kar il entarièrent tēi sire*) + line 15 (*chi aiment le tuén nūm ; kar tu beneisterās al iūste*); f. 38v, line 6 (*Kar il dist_ en sun cuer*) + line 17 (*Kār lesquels chōses tu parfesis il destrui-*); f. 39v, line 38 (*ne felunessement ne fis cōntre le mien deu. Kar tūit li sun iuge-*); f. 42v, line 34

Kar with *a* written on top of an erased *e* (*ker*):

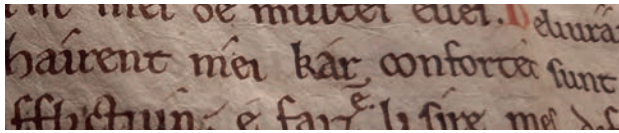
f. 39r,
lines 11–12



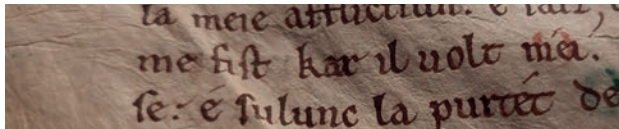
f. 39v,
line 2



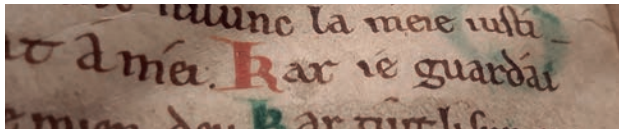
f. 39v,
line 34



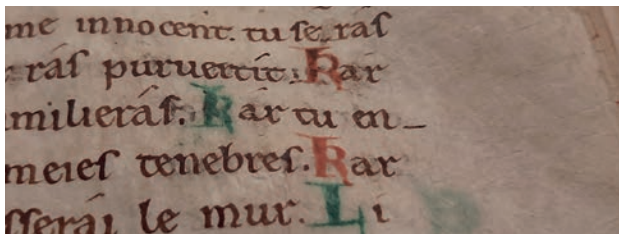
f. 39v,
lines 36



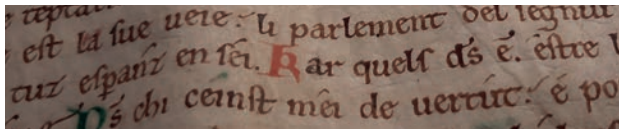
f. 39v,
line 37



f. 40r,
lines 3–5

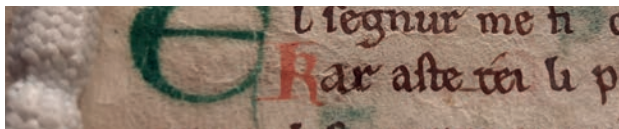


f. 40r,
line 8

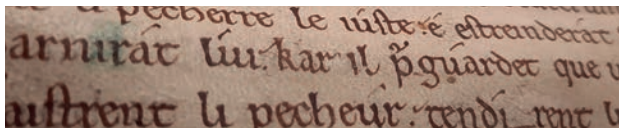


Kar with *-ar* written on top of *-er* (clumsy erasure?):

f. 38v,
lines 16



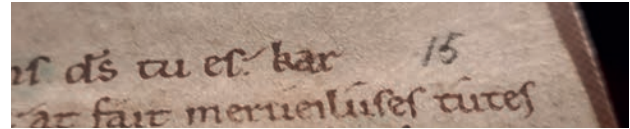
f. 44v,
lines 23



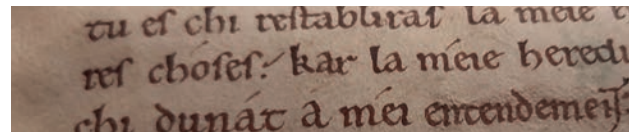
(*é li miéns uéntres. Kar defist en do-*); f. 43v, line 3 (*Kar il meésme*). However, all of them are part of longer re-writings and concern issues of phraseology. For the time being, one can only assume that the use of three consecutive spellings on f. 37r–40r (and reaching perhaps as far as f. 44v) bear witness to the scribe's initial wavering, before a spelling automatism falls into place. For further details, see the facsimiles of ff. 37r and 37v, where certain cases are treated in context (with reconstructions).

Unclear cases of *kar* (on top of an erased *ker*?):

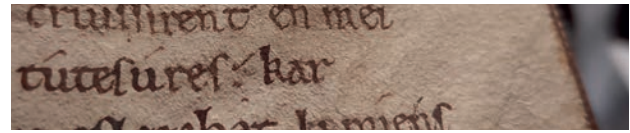
f. 39r,
line 22



f. 39r,
line 28

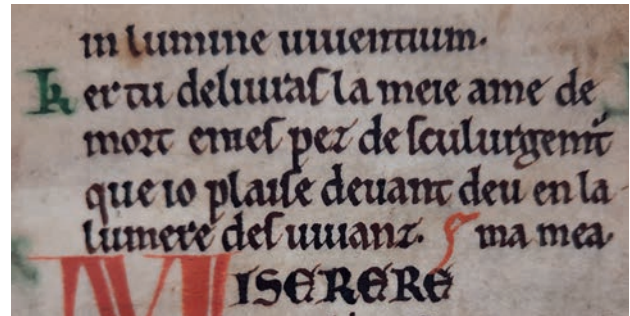


f. 39r,
line 30

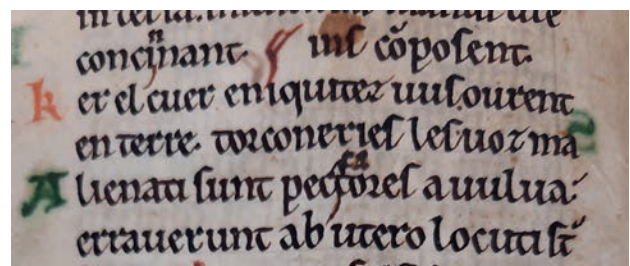


Close-ups of Maidstone, Kent History and Library Centre, Fa/Z1 (Faversham Fragment I). The spelling *ker* on f. 1rb, line 2 (Ps 55:13); f. 1vb, line 3 (Ps 57:3); f. 2rb, line 6 (Ps 58:18). Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei, 2023. Courtesy of Kent Archive Service, Kent County Council.

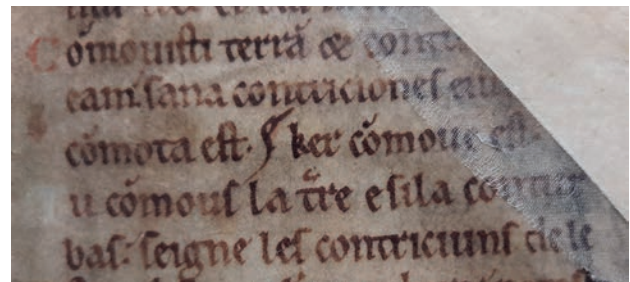
Kent,
f. 1rb,
line 2



Kent,
f. 1vb,
line 3



Kent,
f. 2rb,
line 6



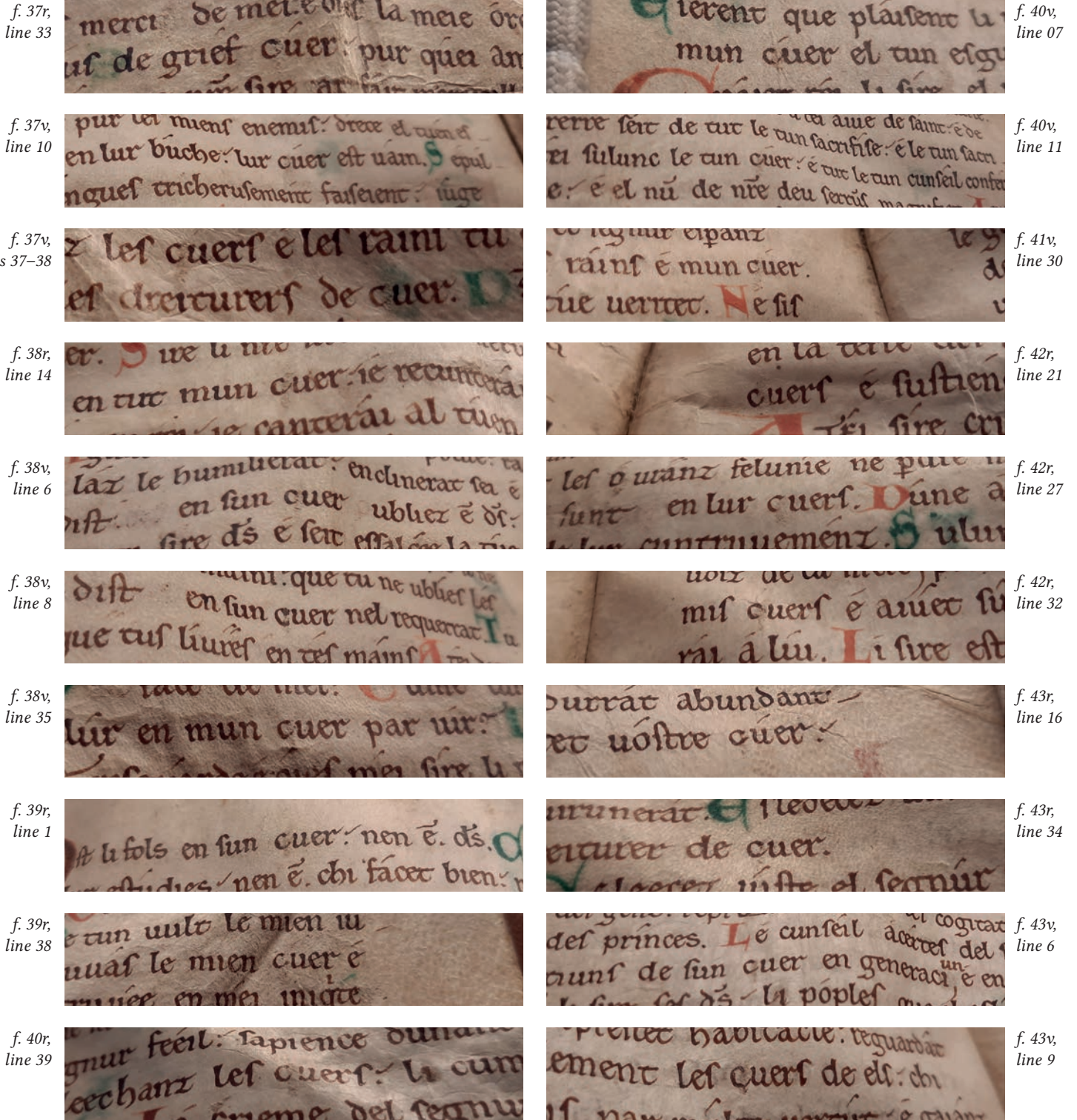
QUER > CUER (AC)

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 f. 43v: f. 37r, line 33; f. 37v, line 10 + line 37 + line 38; f. 38r, line 14; f. 38v, line 6 + line 8 + line 35; f. 39r, line 1 + line 16 + line 38; f. 40r, line 39; f. 40v, line 7 + line 11 + line 19; f. 41r, line 39; f. 41v, line 23 + line 30; f. 42r, line 5 + line 13 + line 21 + line 27 + line 32; f. 43r, line 16 + line 34; f. 43v, line 6 + line 9. This

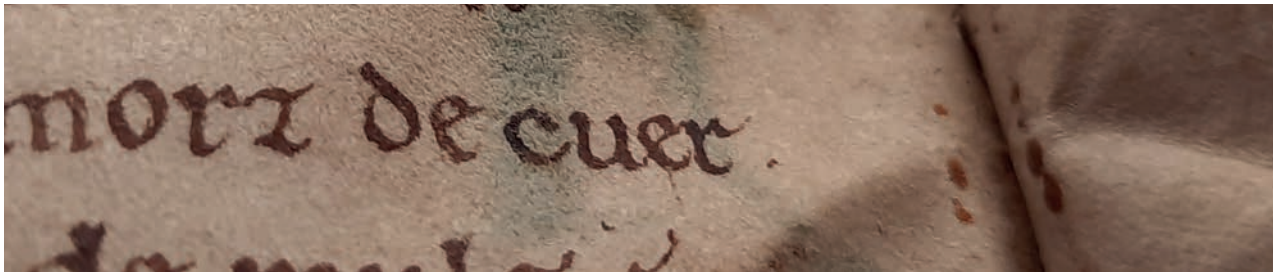
Quer becomes cuer (the initial letter is half erased):

variant change is also pointed out by Sneddon (1972: 18). The most evident situations are shown in the accompanying photos.

Other instances are not certain. There are, on the one hand, those which are part of longer erasures: *il dist en sun cuer* (f. 38r, line 40); *li miens cuers* (f. 39r, lines 31-32); *escalfá li miens cuers* (f. 45v, line 5); *anguissiéz li miens cuers* (f. 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 f. 37r, line 36 + line 38; f. 38v, line 13 +

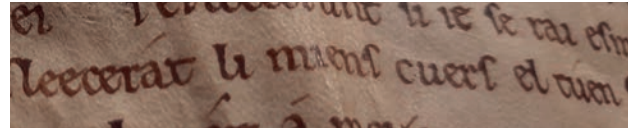
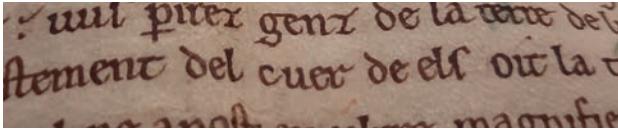


f. 42v,
line 38
(first
certain
spelling
cuer in
the text)



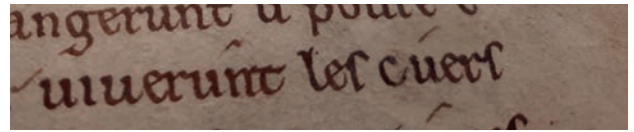
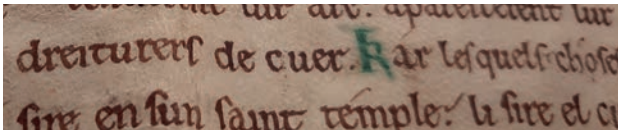
Cases of *cuer* in which the erasure is not certain:

f. 38v,
line 13
(porosity
due to
folding?)



f. 38v,
line 39
(porosity
due to
folding?)

f. 38v,
line 17
(incon-
clusive
case)

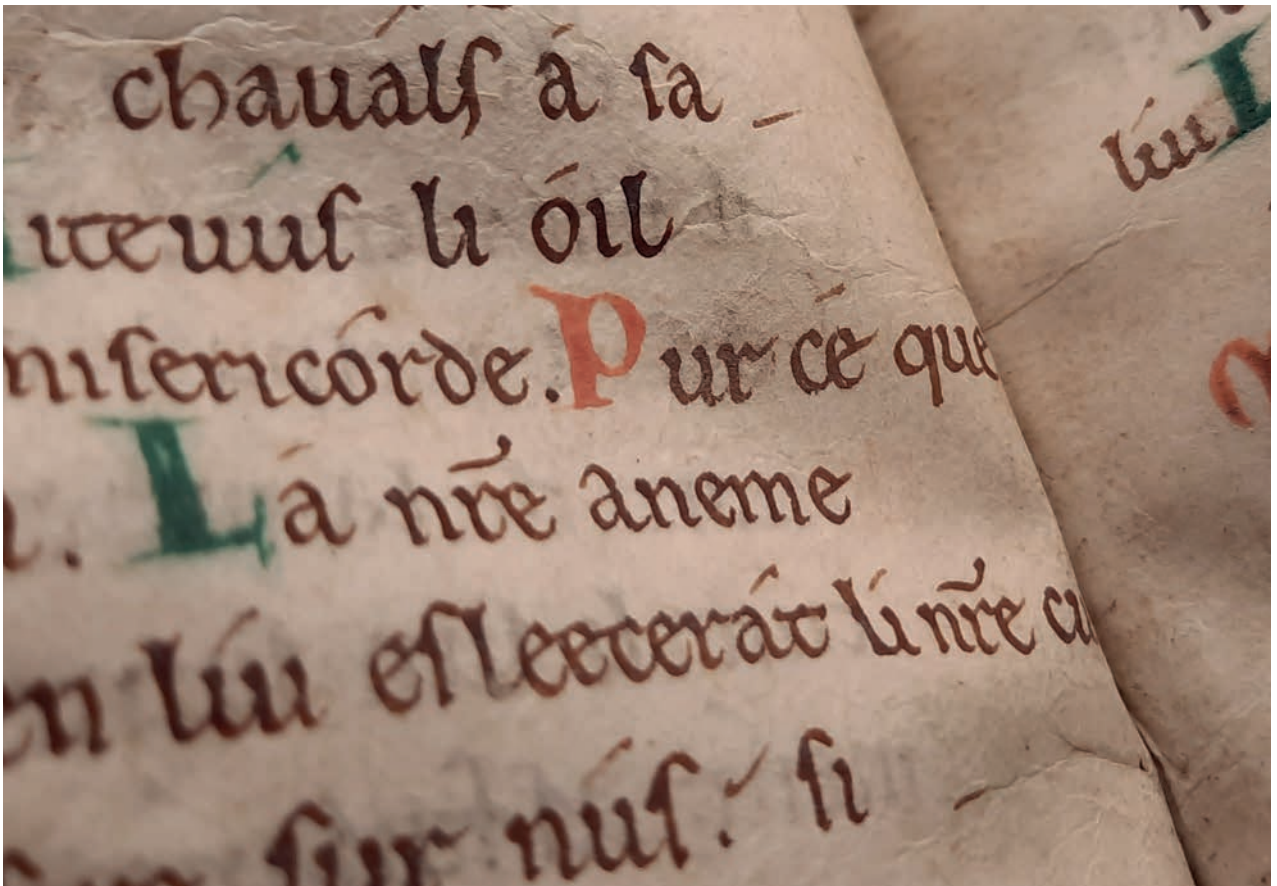


f. 41r,
line 19
(incon-
clusive
case)

◆ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320.
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023.
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); f. 41r, line 19; f. 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 f. 38v, line 39.

The first time the scribe wrote unequivocally *cuer*, with no sign of erasure, is on f. 42v. A second one, on f. 43v, line 15, has the sequence *lí nostre cuer* written in the margin of the folio. Since these words surpass 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.



f. 43v,
line 15

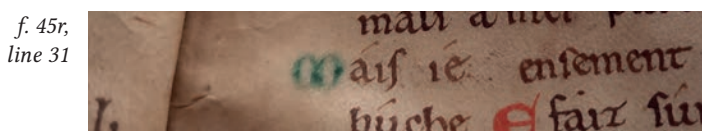
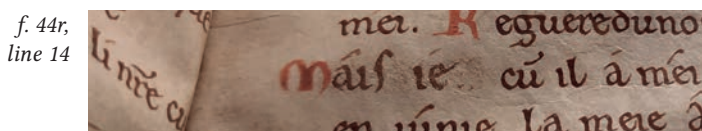
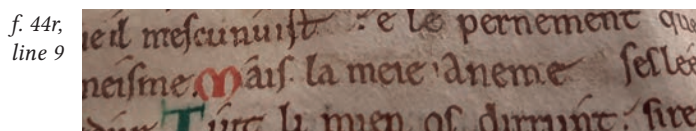
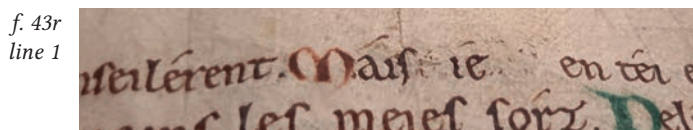
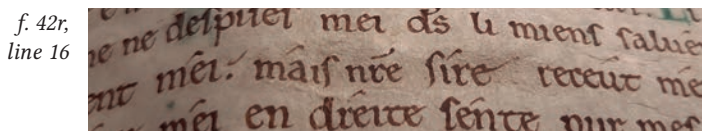
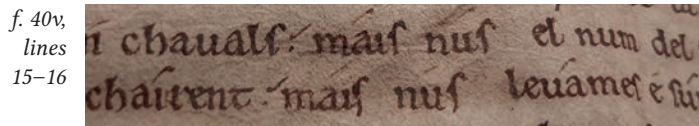
MAIS vs ACERTES (AC)

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 f. 40v, line 15: *mais nús* on top of an erasure in the sequence *mais nús el num del segnur de nostre déu apelerúms* (cf. Lat *nos autem in nomine domini dei nostri invocabimus*). The second time it appears in the line below: f. 40v, line 16, where *mais nús* was written on top of an erasure in the sequence *mais nús leuámes é súmes esdrecét* (cf. Lat *nos autem surreximus, et erecti sumus*). In both situations, *mais* is part of an extensive erasure. Other examples follow on f. 42r, line 16, where *mais nostre síre* was written on top of an erasure in the sequence *mais nostre síre receút méi* (cf. Lat *dominus autem assumpsit me*); but also f. 43r, line 1, in *Máis ié en téi esperái* (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 *Ié acertes el segnur esperai* (f. 42v, line 30). Moreover, at the end of the same psalm, Lat *Ego autem dixi in excessu mentis mee* is once again rendered as *Ié acértes dis el trespás de la méie pénése* (f. 43r, lines 12-13).

Another example of *mais* on top of an erasure is visible

- ◆ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms 320.
Photos: Vladimír Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023.
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Mais + subject possibly in place of subject + *acertes*:



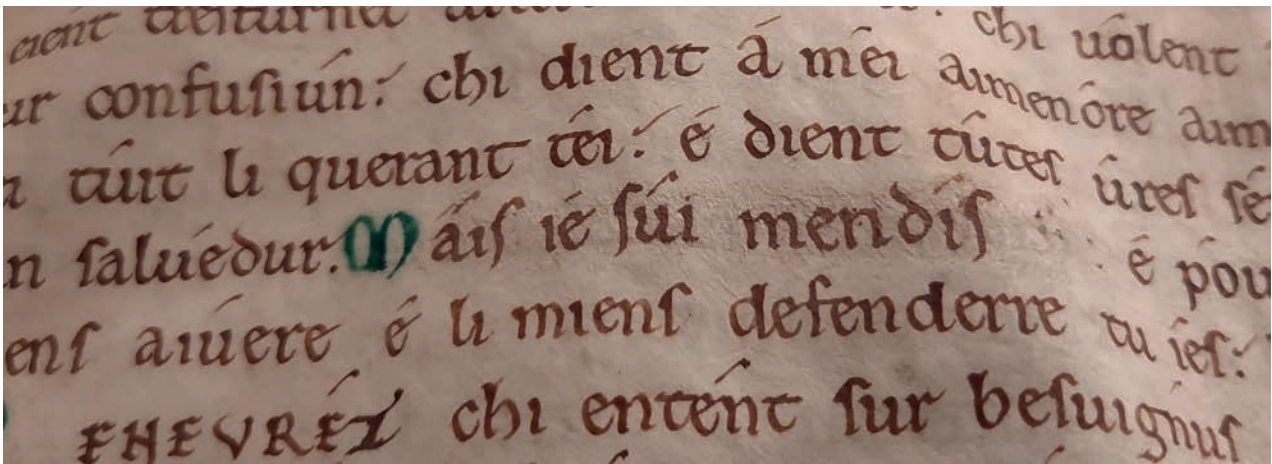
on f. 44r, line 9, where the longer sequence *Mais la meie aneme* was written on top of an erasure in the phrase *Máis. la meie aneme sesleécerat el seignur* (cf. Lat *Anima autem mea exsultabit in domino*). On the same folio, line 14, *mais ié* was written on top of an erasure in *Máis ié cum il á mei fússent moléste* (cf. Lat *Ego autem cum mihi molesti essent*). On f. 45r, line 31, the erasure occurs once again at the beginning of the line, just as in the previous example: *Máis ié ensement cum súrz nen oédie* (cf. Lat *Ego autem tamquam surdus non audiebam*). On f. 46r, line 5, the erasure is longer, a sign that the syntactic change affects not only the neighbouring words, but a larger group: *Máis ié súi mendís é póüre*. Here, in the space between *mendís* and *é*, 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*: f. 43r, line 32: *mais lesperánt* (cf. Lat *sperantem autem*); f. 43v, line 27: *mais li enqueránt* (cf. Lat *inquirentes autem*); f. 44v, line 19: *mais li sustenant* (cf. Lat *sustinentes autem*); a few lines further down, Lat *Man-sueti autem hereditabunt terram* is rendered as OFr *Lí suéf acertes eriterúnt la tэрre*; and Lat *Dominus autem irridebit eum* becomes OFr *Máis li síre escharnirá lúi*. Last but not least, there is also f. 44v, line 35 with *mais lí maldísánt* (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 f. 39r, line 19: *les cremanz acertes le segnur glorífie* (cf. Lat *timentes autem dominum glorificat*). The second one is on f. 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 *Máis les declinánz*, without any trace of erasure, which renders Lat *Declinantes autem in obligationes*. This suggests 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: f. 37r, line 14 (OFr *Mais ie sui establít réis de lúi sur syon*; cf. Lat *Ego autem constitutus sum rex ab eo super Sion*); f. 37r, lines 24-25 (OFr *Máis tu sire ies li miens receuérre*; cf. Lat *Tu autem domine susceptor meus es*); f. 37v, line 7 (OFr *mais ie en la multitude de la túe misericordie*; cf. Lat *Ego autem in multitudine misericordie tue*); f. 38v, line 39 (OFr *mais ie en la túe misericordie esperái*; cf. Lat *ego autem in misericordia tua speravi*); f. 45r, line 2-3 (OFr *Máis li iúste eriterunt lá tэрre*; cf. Lat *Iusti autem hereditabunt terram*); f. 45r, line 6 (OFr *Máis li sire ne deguérpírá*; cf. Lat *Dominus*

f. 46r;
line 5

autem non derelinquet); f. 46r, line 18 (OFr *Máis tu sire aies merci de méi*; cf. Lat *Tu autem domine miserere mei*); f. 48v, line 20–21 (OFr *Máis ie sicume olíue frúit portánt en la máisun déu*; cf. Lat *Ego autem sicut oliva fructifera in domo dei*); f. 49r, line 30 (OFr *máis ie espererái en téi sire*; cf. Lat *ego autem sperabo in te domine*); f. 50r, line 10 (OFr *Máis ie canterái la tée fortéce*; cf. Lat *Ego autem cantabo fortitudinem tuam*); f. 52v, line 31–32 (OFr *Máis ie tutes óres espererái*; cf. Lat *Ego autem semper sperabo*); f. 54r, line 17 (OFr *Máis ie annuncerái en siécle*; cf. Lat *Ego autem annuntiabo in seculum*); f. 55r, line 21 (OFr *Máis il est . merciábles*; cf. Lat *Ipsa autem est misericors*); f. 55v, line 40 (OFr *Máis nus li tuéns póples*; cf. Lat *Nos autem populus tuus*); f. 56v, line 7 (OFr *Máis uis sicume húmes murréz*; cf. Lat *Vos autem sicut homines moriemini*); f. 59r, line 30 (OFr *máis tu altísmes en parmanableté sire*; cf. Lat *tu autem altissimus in eternum domine*); f. 60r, line 13 (OFr *máis nóstre sire fist les ciéls*; cf. Lat *Dominus autem celos fecit*); f. 61r, line 18 (OFr *Máis tu sire en parmanableté parmáins*; cf. Lat *Tu autem domine in eternum permanes*); f. 61r, line 35 (OFr *máis tu parmáins*; cf. Lat *tu autem permanes*); f. 61r, line 36 (OFr *máis tú un meésme iés*; cf. Lat *tu autem idem ipse es*); f. 64v, line 27 (OFr *máis li tuéns sérs sesledecerá*; cf. Lat *servus autem tuus letabitur*); f. 66v, lines 25–26 (OFr *máis li tuéns sérs estéit trauaillé*; cf. Lat *servus autem tuus exercebatur*); f. 67r, lines 36–37 (OFr *máis ie en tut mun cuér escécherái*; cf. Lat *ego autem in toto corde meo scrutabor*); f. 67v, line 8 (OFr *máis ie serái trauailliez*; cf. Lat *ego autem exercebor*); f. 67v, line 19 (OFr *máis ie ne deguerpi les tuéns comandeménz*; cf. Lat *ego autem non dereliqui mandata tua*); f. 69v, line 13 (OFr *Máis uenánz uendrínt ót esledécémént*; cf. Lat *Venientes autem venient cum exultatione*).

Many other situations illustrate the formal / functional type of translation, in which the Latin word order was followed accordingly (subject + *acertes*): f. 39v, line 13 (OFr *Ié acértés en iustíse apparistrái _al tun esguardement*; cf. Lat *Ego autem in iustitia apparebo conspectui tuo*); f. 40v, line 34 (OFr *Tú acértés en saínt habíte*; cf. Lat *Tu autem in sancto habitas*); f. 40v, line 36 (OFr *Ié acértés súi uérm é nient húem*; cf. Lat *Ego autem sum vermis et non homo*); f. 41r, line 10 (OFr *Tu acértés sire ne esluignerás tá aiúe de méi*; cf. Lat *Tu autem domine ne elongaveris auxilium tuum a me*); f. 41v, line 38 (OFr *Ié acertes en la meie nuisance sui entré*; cf. Lat *Ego autem in innocentia mea ingressus sum*); f. 42v, line 14 (OFr *Ié acértés dis en la meie abundánce*; cf. Lat *Ego autem dixi in abundantia mea*); f. 44v, line 3 (OFr *Lí fil acertes des húmes*; cf. Lat *Filii autem*

hominum); f. 45r, line 12 (OFr *Lí torcenús acértés deperirúnt ensémbles*; cf. Lat *Iniusti autem disperibunt simul*); f. 45r, lines 37–38 (OFr *Lí mien enemí acértés uúent*; cf. Lat *Inimici autem mei vivunt*); f. 45v, line 35 (OFr *Tú acértés sire niént luínz fáces*; cf. Lat *Tu autem domine ne longe facias*); f. 46r, line 20 (OFr *Méi acértés pur nún _nuisance receús*; cf. Lat *Me autem propter innocentiam suscepisti*); f. 48r, line 19 (OFr *A pecchedúr acértés dist deus*; cf. Lat *Peccatori autem dixit deus*); f. 53v, line 32 (OFr *Deus acértés li nóstre réis deuant siécles*; cf. Lat *Deus autem rex noster ante secula*); f. 55r, line 19 (OFr *Lí _cuérs acértés dicels ne estéit dreiturérs ot lúí*; cf. Lat *cor autem eorum non erat rectum cum eo*); f. 64r, line 39 (OFr *ie acértés orówe*; cf. Lat *ego autem orabam*); f. 65v, line 8 (OFr *Lí nóstre deus acértés el ciéls*; cf. Lat *Deus autem noster in celo*); f. 65v, line 36 (OFr *ie acértés humiliéz súi mult*; cf. Lat *ego autem humiliatus sum nimis*); f. 71v, line 31–32 (OFr *ólie acértés de peccheúr ne encraissérá le mien chiéf*; cf. Lat *oleum autem peccatoris non impinguet caput meum*).

All these findings are consistent with the hypothesis that the scribe of Douce MS 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 f. 37r to 69v; he corrected sporadically *acertes* into *mais* from f. 40v to f. 46r; and he left *acertes* uncorrected from f. 40v to f. 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 O 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: 399; cf. Sneddon 1972: 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 Douce MS 320. In anticipation of the comparison that lies ahead, the alternating use of *mais* + noun / noun + *acertes* could be simply of a stylistic nature.

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 f. 52r, line 38, the term *(l)abitatiun* is written on top of an extensive erasure (*labitatiun déls de sérte*). *(H)abitatiún* is written without any trace of erasure on f. 41v, line 36; f. 54r, line 20; f. 57v, line 10. From f. 63 onwards, the word becomes *habitaciún(s)*, as on f. 63v, line 19; f. 64r, line 12; f. 64v, line 5; f. 73v, line 23.

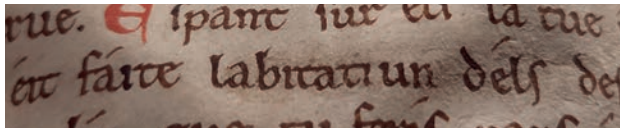
Similarly, on f. 37r, line 36, *compunctiun* is written on top of an extensive erasure, as part of a sequence *aiez compunctiun*, the letters of which are packed in the little available space (and with an abbreviation). Yet *compunctiún* is written without any trace of erasure on f. 50r, lines 16-17.

This also happens to *consummatiún* on f. 50r, line 7. Nevertheless, the letters of the word are not crammed in. *Consummatiún* is written as such, without erasures, on f. 50r, line 7, that is, on the exact same line. On f. 67v, line 29, there is also *consummaciún*.

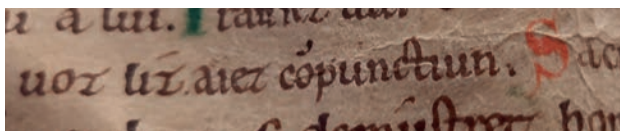
As for *contriciún*, it is written on top of an erasure on f. 39r, line 8. Given the size of the erasure, one could guess that the previous word must have been much longer, composed of many more letters. Yet again, *contriciúns* is writ-

Erasures with *-ciun* / *-tiun* suffixes:

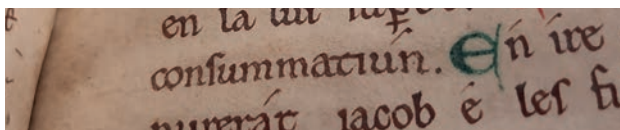
f. 52r,
line 38



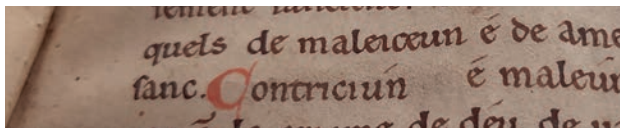
f. 37r,
line 36



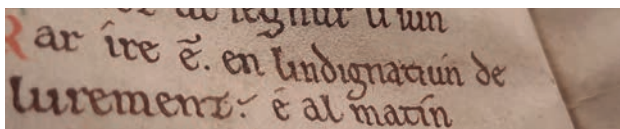
f. 50r
line 7



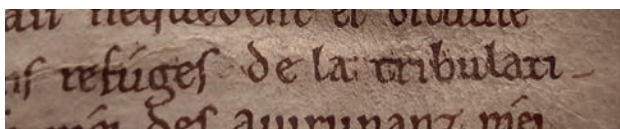
f. 39r,
line 8



f. 42v,
line 12



f. 43r,
line 27



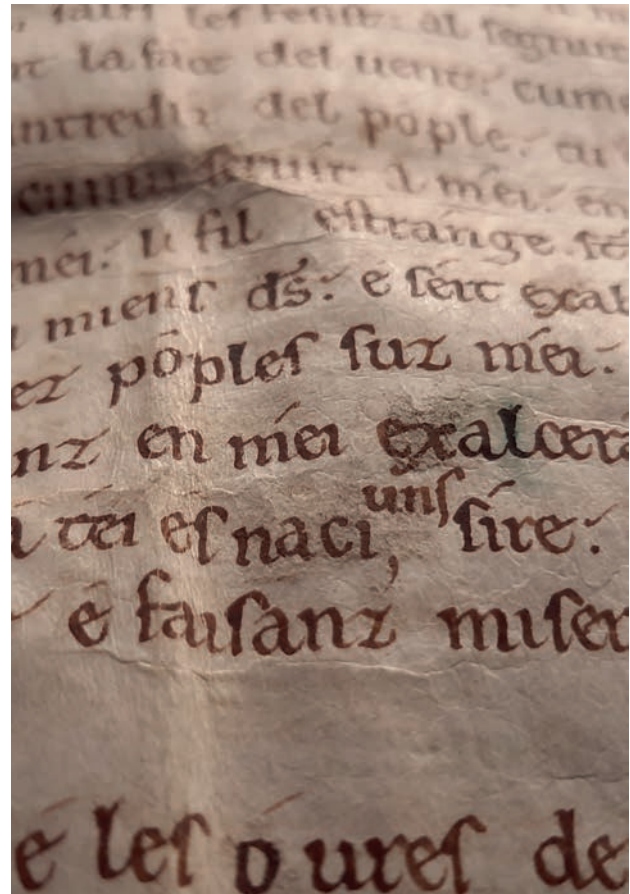
ten without erasure on f. 50r, line 15.

On f. 42v, line 12, *(l)indignatiún* is also transcribed on an extensive erasure as part of *en lindignatiun de lúi*. 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 f. 55r, line 34 (twice), and on f. 57r, line 9, one may read *indignatiún*, without any erasure; while on f. 61r, line 16, and f. 74v, line 24, the word is written as *indignaciún*.

Finally, *tribulatiun* is on an extensive erasure (*refúges de la tribulatiun*) on f. 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 f. 37r to f. 59r, the spelling *tribulatiún* appears on numerous occasions. On the other hand, we find *tribulaciún* on f. 64r, line 15 + line 33; f. 65v, line 29; f. 66r, line 13; f. 68v, line 1; f. 71r, line 17; f. 72r, line 1 + line 25; f. 74v, line 39.

Before proceeding to the analysis of these general situa-

The particular erasure of *nace?* (now *naciuns*):



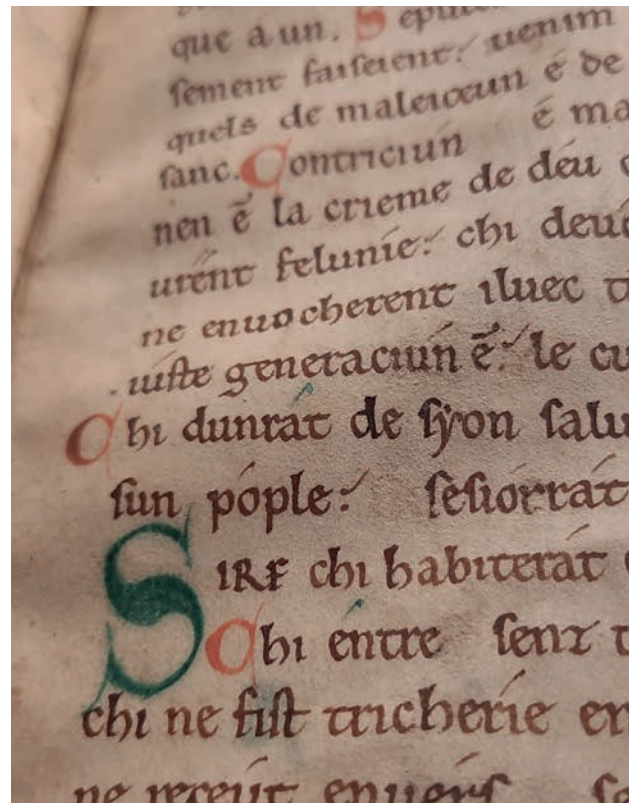
f. 40r,
line 27

tions, special attention must be given to two other words, the transcription of which made the scribe even more hesitant. On f. 40r, line 27, he wrote *naciuns* on top of an erasure. It is evident that the initial form of the word, before 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 *naciúns* appears again on f. 64v, line 39, but there is no erasure there.

By far, the most interesting treatment is that of the word *generaciun*. On f. 38r, line 40, *generaciun* is part of an extensive erasure (*en generaciun senz mal*). It appears again on f. 39r, line 12 (*generaciún est*). Smaller erasures occur on f. 41v, line 1 (*generaciuns*); f. 43v, line 6 (twice: *generaciun / generaciun*); f. 54v, line 26 (twice: *generaciuns / generaciún*), and f. 65r, line 17 (*generáciún*). 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*.

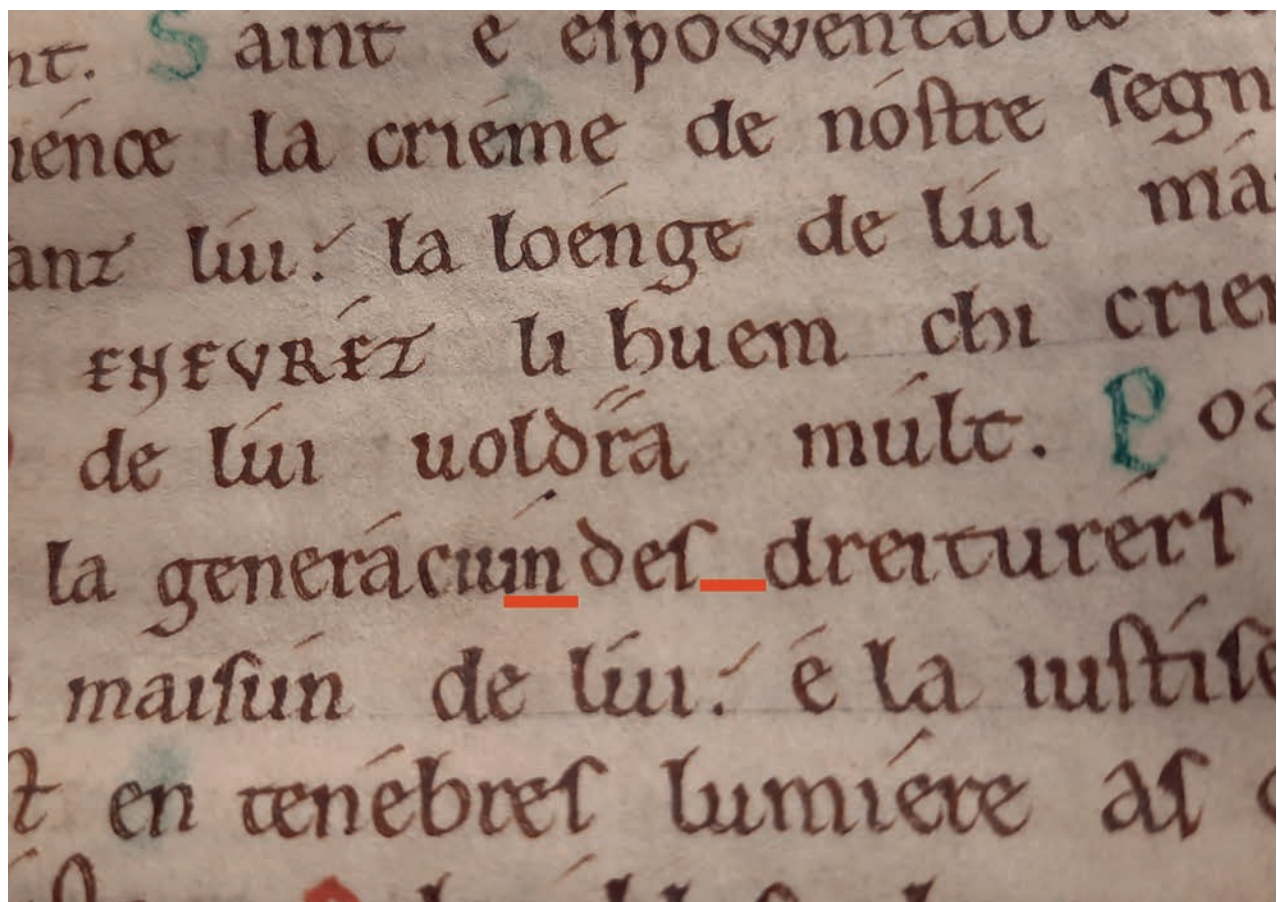
Four other cases (out of the eight already mentioned erasures) would equally be explained if the initial spelling of the word were *generace*. In the case of f. 39r, line 12,

The particular erasure of *generace?* (+ spacing):

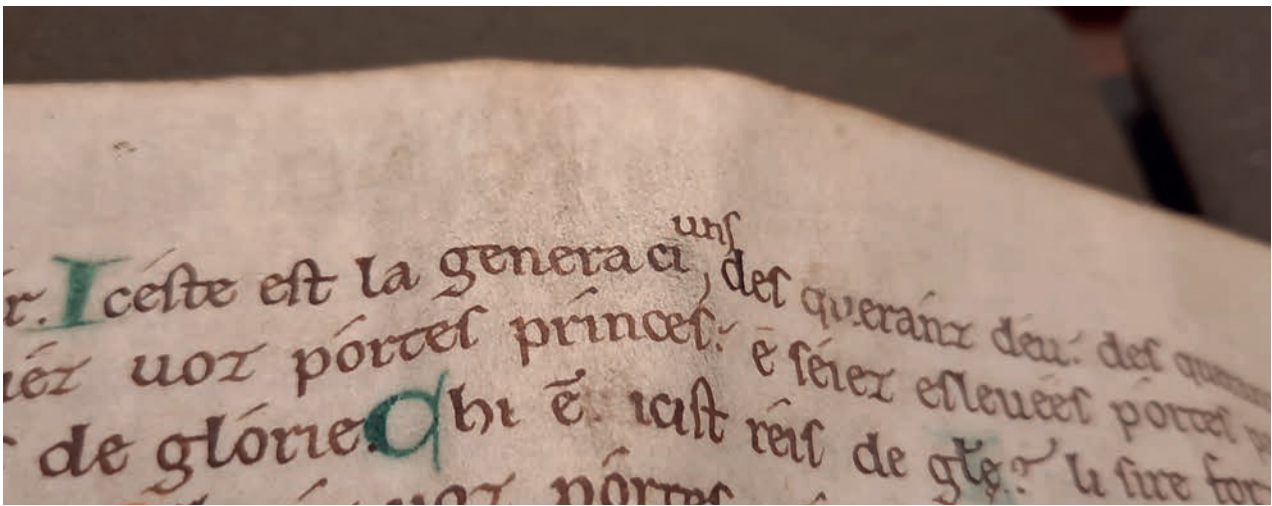
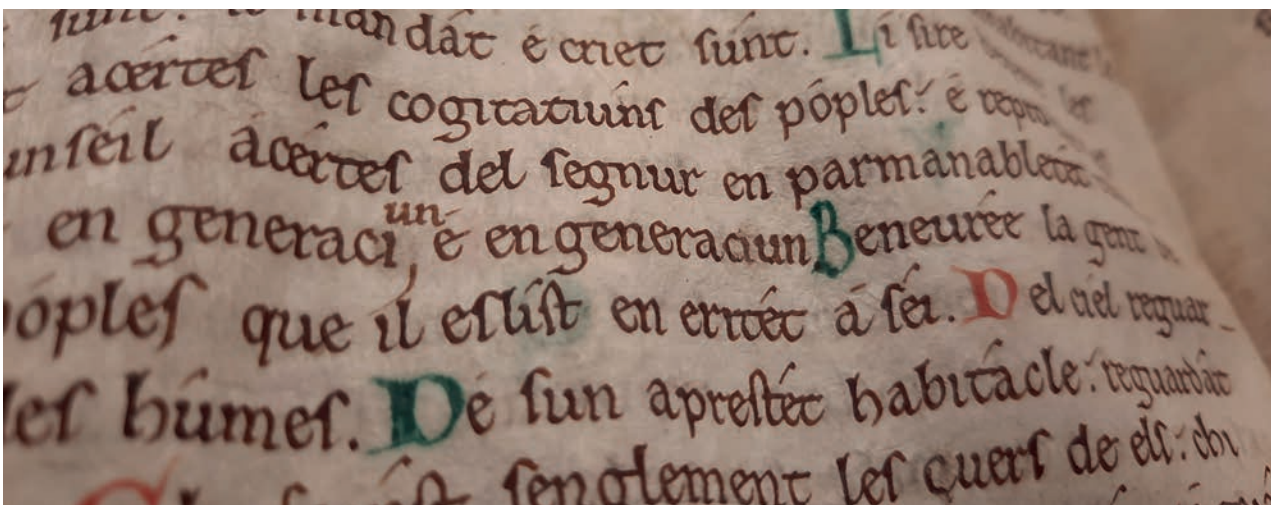


f. 39r,
line 12

Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320.
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023.
Courtesy of the Imaging Services of The Bodleian Libraries,
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f. 65r,
line 17

f. 41v
line 1f. 43v
line 6

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

-iun and the abbreviated *est* occupy the exact same space as an *-e est*, reconstructed as *generace est*, written in full. On f. 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 *generace*. Next, on f. 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 f. 41v, line 1, while the second one was dealt with as the one from f. 65r, line 17.

The remaining cases are ambiguous, with the entire word written on top of an erasure, such as in the cases occurring on f. 54v, line 26, where *generaciuns* and *generaciún* 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 gré et grace*, v. 6127–6128 in Gauthier d'Arras' *Eracle*, c.1154; ed. Raynaud de Lage 1976, 188–189). The word was probably created according to the same pattern as modern French words *préface* (< Lat *praefatio*) or *dédicace* (< 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

f. 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 f. 41v, line 1, and f. 43v, line 6 (first example).

The ending *-ace* could also explain an unattested form *indignace* rapidly corrected into *indignatiun* on f. 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 *contriciún* (more letters in the initial spelling) or *consummatiún* (more or less the same amount of letters). Since the scribe rendered *sanctificatio* as *saintificatiún/-ciún* on f. 55v, line 1, and f. 70r, line 18 + line 29, but also as *saintešemént* on f. 60r, line 14 + line 39, and f. 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 *tribulatiún*, written as such from f. 37r to f. 59r, and *tribulaciún* from f. 64r to f. 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 *compunctiún* and *contriciún*, on f. 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 (*indignatiún*, *tribulatiún*, *consummatiún*, *habitatiún*), one notes that the use of the **-t-** variant tends to occur before the turning point of f. 59. After this folio, the scribe starts favouring the spelling **-c-**. This is amply demonstrated by the inventory of spellings for *cogitatiún(s)*, a word written without any sign of erasure throughout the text. On f. 37v, line 12; f. 43v, line 4 + line 6; f. 45v, line 27; f. 49r, line 36; and f. 54r, lines 27-28 (twice), the word is written with **-t-**. After f. 59, the spelling changes into *cogitatiún(s)* with **-c-**: f. 59r, line 27; f. 59v, line 17; f. 68r, line 13; f. 71r, line 21; f. 71v, line 3; f. 72v, line 36; and f. 74r, line 10.

There are many more examples of words spelled with **-t-** in the first part of the manuscript and **-c-** after f. 59: *temptatiun* on f. 40r, line 6 / *temptaciún* on f. 60r, line 3; *fornicatiún* on f. 53v, line 15 / *forniaciún* on f. 63r, line 40; *miseratiuns* on f. 45v, line 36 / *miseraciúns* on f. 61v, line 4; as well as f. 67v, line 6; and f. 72v, line 17; *adinuentiúns* on f. 54v, line 5; f. 56r, line 35 / *adinuenciúns* on f. 73v, line 21; *saintificatiún* on f. 55v, line 1 / *sanctificaciún* on f. 70r, line 18 + line 29; *abominatiún* on f. 57v, line 21 / *abominaciúns* on f. 75r, line 33.

With few exceptions, words ending in **-tiun** occur often before f. 59: *significatiún* (f. 50r, line 17); *afflictiún* (f. 39v, line 35; f. 46v, line 32); *corruptiun* (f. 39r, line 34; f. 42v, lines 17-18); *refectiun* (f. 41r, line 28); *subsannatiún* (f. 44r, line 19; f. 46v, line 25; f. 55v, line 27); *oblatiun* (f. 45v, line 29; f. 48v, line 11); *fluctuatiún* (f. 49r, line 28); *congregatiún* (f. 50v, line 6; f. 52r, lines 1-2; f. 53v, line 19); *predicatiún* (f. 53v, line 17); *commotiuns* (f. 51r, line 26); *retributiún* (f. 40v, line 3); *conturbatiún* (f. 43r, line 10); *contradictiún* (f. 43r, line 11; f. 56r, line 8 + line 30; f. 63r, line 32); *uociferatiún* (f. 43r, line 37); *meditatiún* (f. 45v, line 5; f. 47v, line 21); *supplantatiún* (f. 46r, line 18); *propositiún* (f. 47v, line 23; f. 54v, line 17); *assumptiún* (f. 58r, line 18); *conso-*

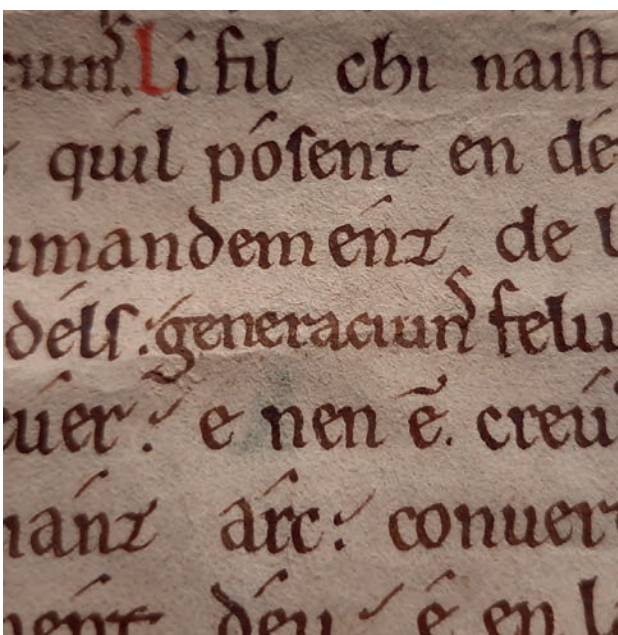
latiúns (f. 59v, line 27); *dilectiún* (f. 64r, line 40); *resurrectiún* (f. 71r, line 21); *imperfectiún* (f. 71r, line 38).

Similarly, **-ciun** is most frequent in the second part of the manuscript, from approximately f. 59 onwards: *peticiuns* (f. 40v, line 13; line 44v, line 14); *uituperaciun* (f. 42v, line 39); *exercitaciun* (f. 49r, line 4); *peregrinaciún* (f. 67r, line 20); *perdiciún* (f. 57v, line 26; f. 63v, line 35; f. 75v, line 21); *iubilaciún* (f. 58r, line 14); *preuaricaciúns* (f. 60v, line 35); *dominaciún* (f. 61v, line 27; f. 72v, line 22); *peticiún* (f. 63r, line 14); *congregaciún* (f. 63r, line 16; f. 65r, line 3); *iustificaciún(s)* (f. 66v, line 6 + line 9 + line 14 + line 17 + line 22 + line 26 + line 27 + line 30 (twice) + line 36; f. 67r, line 13 + line 20 + line 22 + line 29 + line 31 + line 36 + line 39; f. 67v, line 10 + lines 14-15 + line 26 + line 27; f. 68r, line 7 + line 12 + line 20 + line 33 + line 39; f. 68v, line 4 + line 15 + line 34); *commociún* (f. 69r, line 9); *redempciún* (f. 70r, line 3); *dormitaciún* (f. 70r, line 13); *deprecaciún* (f. 71v, line 15; f. 72r, line 6); *excusaciúns* (f. 71v, line 29); *saluaciún* (f. 74v, line 25).

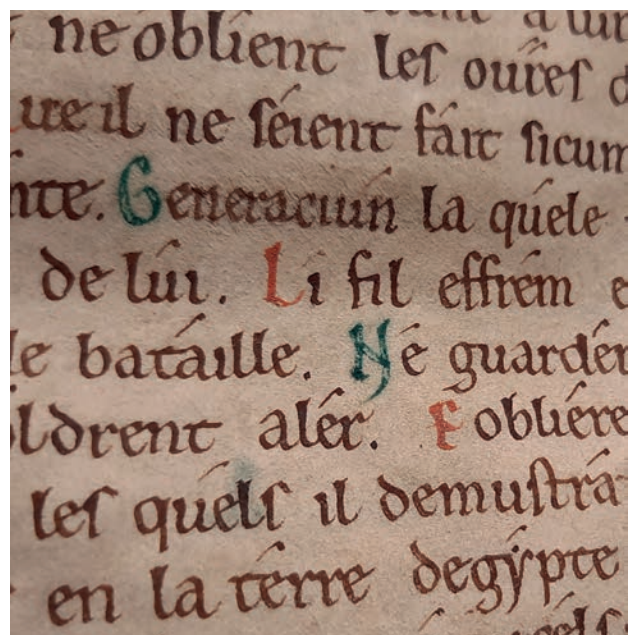
Still, there are other waverings in the text as well. On f. 41r, line 40, the scribe wrote *beneiceún* with a tiny erasure visible under **-ic-**; while on f. 40v, line 20 + line 23, and f. 44v, line 39, the same spelling *beneiceún* is written without erasure. Perhaps the erasure in the first case is related to a variant spelling such as *benediceún*, which occurs on f. 37r, line 30, and f. 56v, line 36. However, there is also *beneicún*, on f. 64v, line 13-14; f. 69v, line 36; f. 70r, line 34; f. 72v, line 26.

These additional variant endings are randomly encountered in other parts of the text: *maledictio* is rendered as *maleiceun* on f. 38v, line 1; and *maleicún* on f. 64v, line 13 + line 14. *Redemptio* is *raencéun* on f. 47v, line 26, but also *raencún* on f. 65r, line 11. Finally, *cantatio* becomes *canceún* on f. 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.

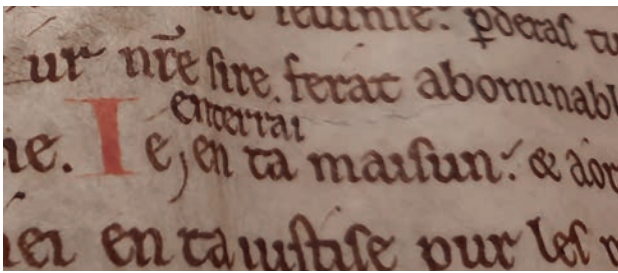
f. 54v
line 26 (1)



f. 54v
line 26 (2)



f. 37v
line 8

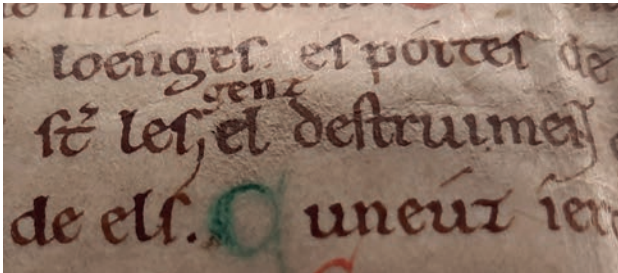


ODD ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS (VA)

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).

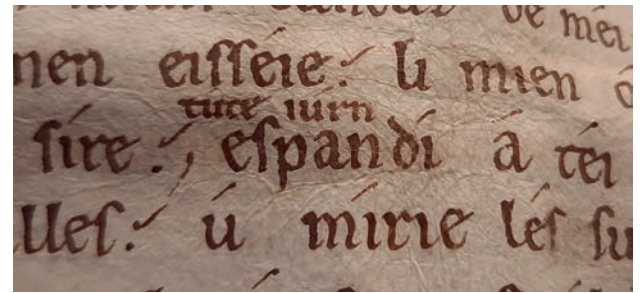
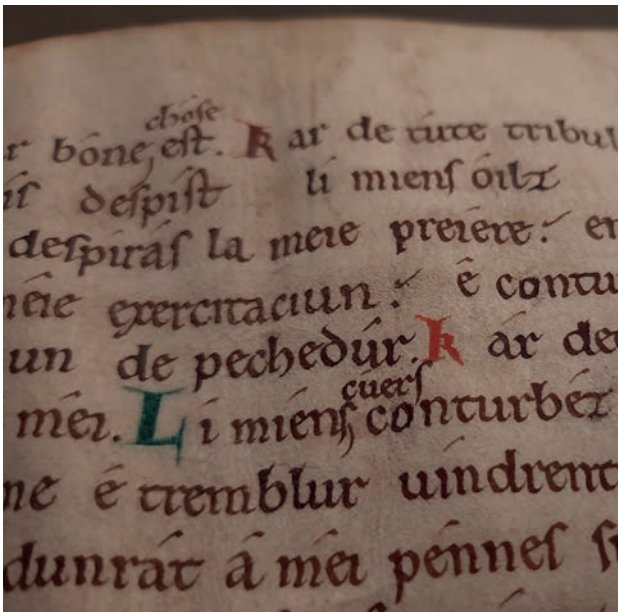
Certain errors, including longer ones, such as f. 57v, line 23 (*tute iurn* inserted in the sequence *Le criai á téi sire ; \ tute iurn/ expandi á téi les meies máins*), can be interpreted as errors of translation, given their inessential syntactical usage, and cannot be considered definite proof of a copy.

f. 38r
line 28



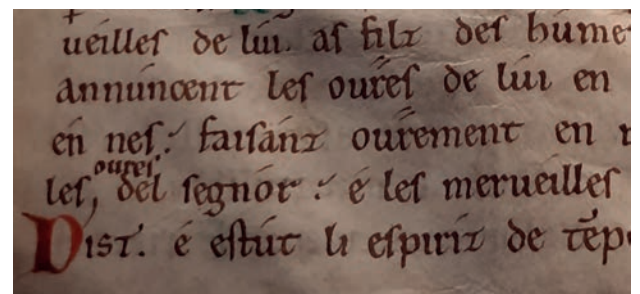
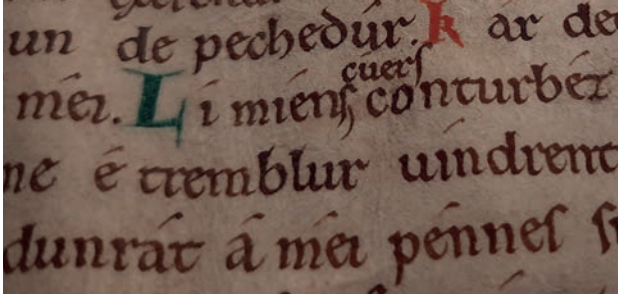
Insertions (some based, some not) on a antigraph:

f. 49r,
line 1



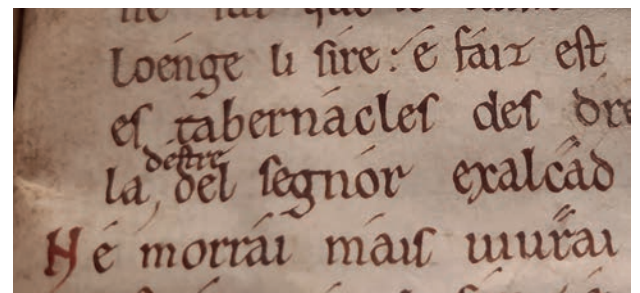
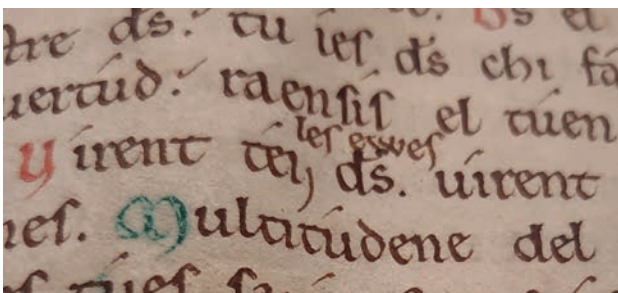
f. 57v,
line 23

f. 49r,
line 6



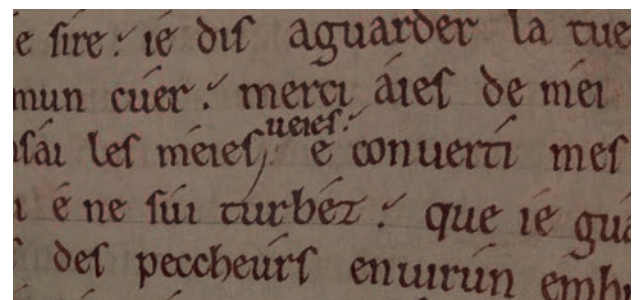
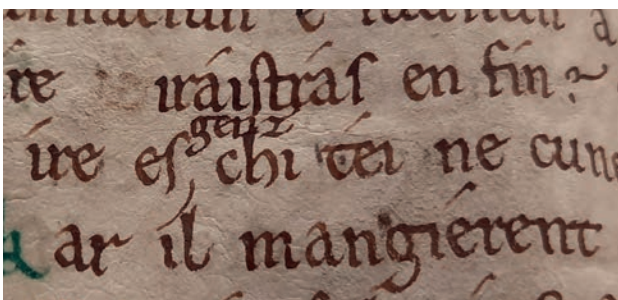
f. 63v,
line 39

f. 54v
line 8



f. 66r,
line 25

f. 55v
line 29



f. 67r,
line 25

This applies to absent nouns without equivalent in the Latin text, inserted later by the scribe in the interline, such as *chóse* on f. 49r, above line 1, in the sequence *kar bone \chóse/ 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 f. 54v, line 8, which was inserted in the sequence *uient tei \les ewes/ deus uírent téi les éwes*, 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 f. 55v, line 29, where *genz* was inserted in the sequence *éspant la tús íre es \genz/ chi téi ne cuneúrent* (cf. Gallicanum *Effunde iram tuam in gentes que te non nouerunt*; Ps 78:6).

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 f. 38r, line 28. Here,

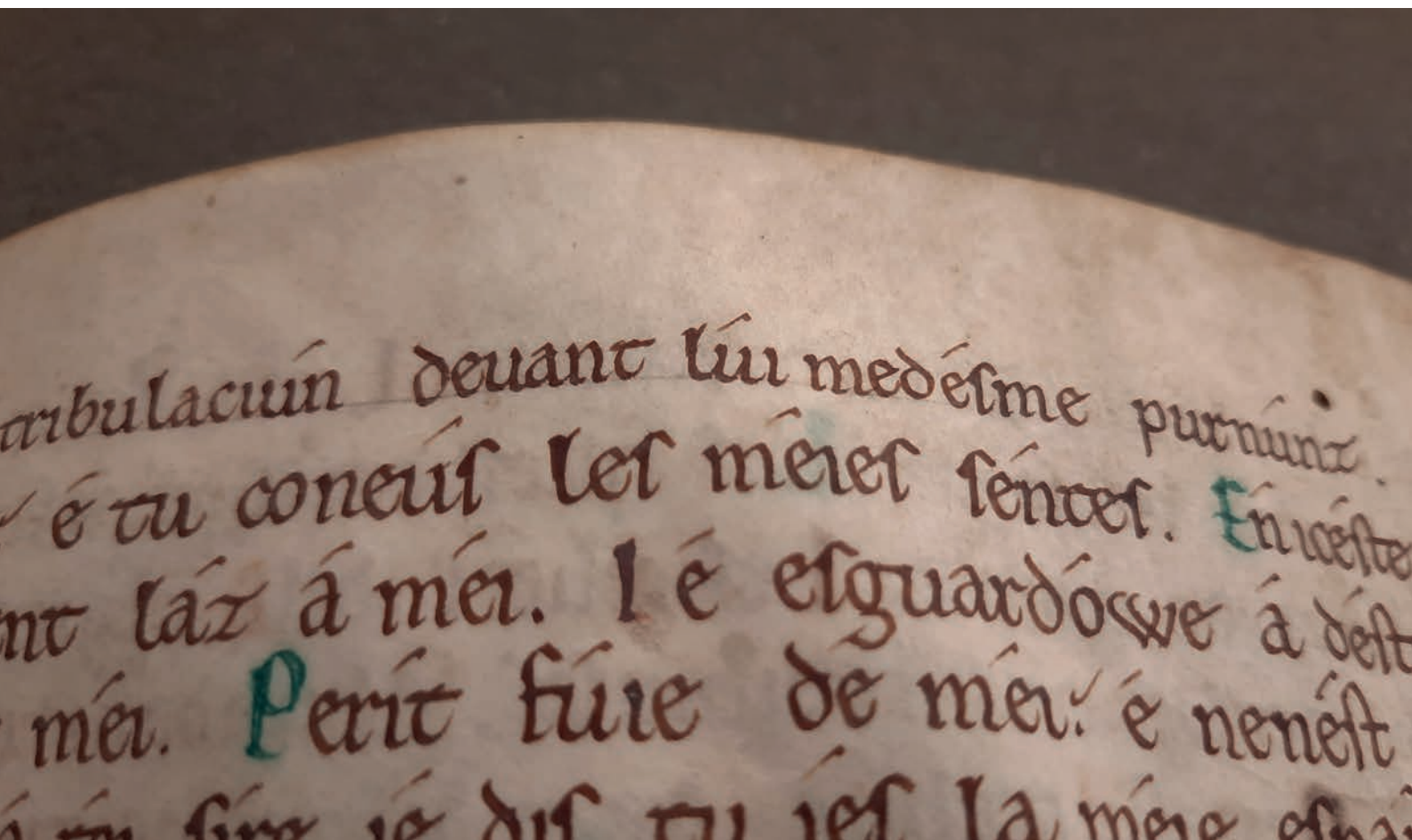
◆ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320.
Facing page: insertions based (or not) on a source text.
Below: **Le > Ie** on f. 72r, line 3.
Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023.
Courtesy of the Imaging Services of The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Creative Commons licence CC-BY-NC 4.0.

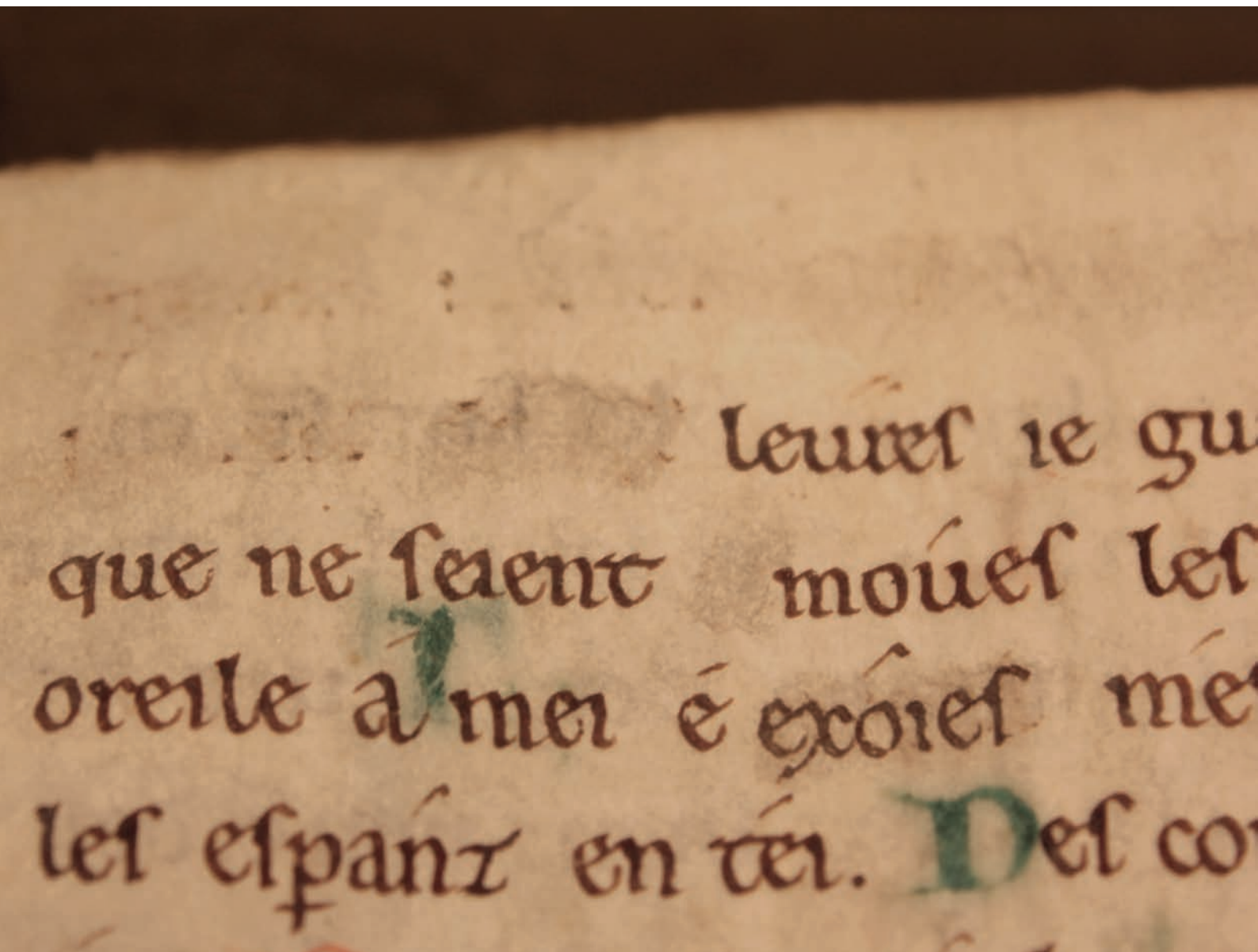
genz is the object of the verb. Missing it in an autograph translation would be nearly impossible.

The same occurs on f. 37v, line 8 (*enterrái* is inserted in the sequence *ie \enterrái/ en ta maisun*); f. 49r, line 6 (*cúers* inserted in the sequence *lí miéns \cúers/ conturbéz est*); f. 63v, line 39 (*oures* inserted in the sequence *les \oures/ del seignór*); f. 66r, line 25 (*déstre* inserted in the sequence *la \déstre/ del segnór exalcád méi*); f. 67r, line 25 (*ueies* inserted in the sequence *ie purpensái les méies_ \ueies/ e conuertí 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 f. 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.

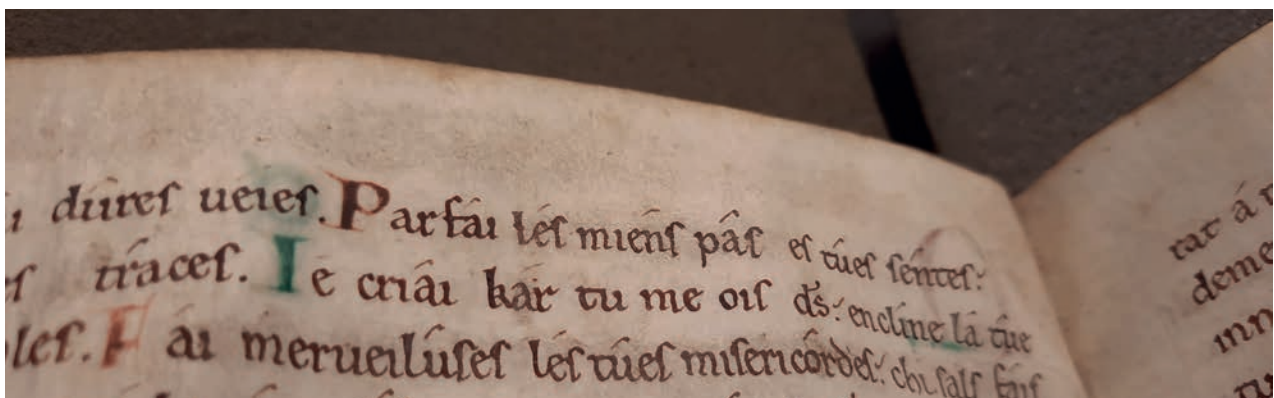




◆ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320, f. 39v.
 Above: Three erased words at the beginning of line 1 and the left part of the extensive erasure of line 0.
 Below: Extent of the erasure of line 0 to the right.
 Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023.
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A RATHER ODD ERASURE occurs at the beginning of f. 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



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 (f. 39r) is *pur les paroles de tes*, none of which fits as such in the sequence of three erased words of f. 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 f. 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 Arundel MS 230 (f. 18r), Cotton MS Nero C iv (f. 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.

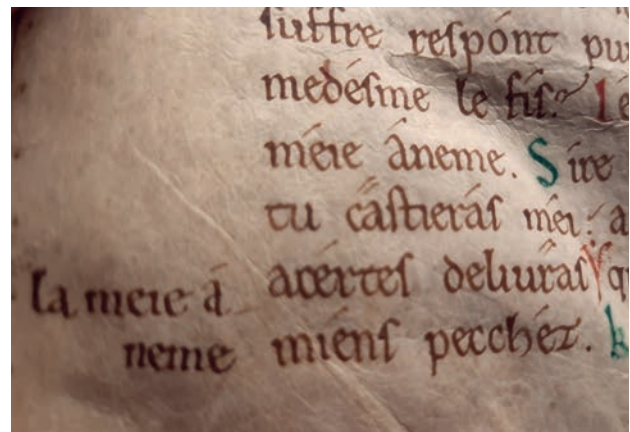
On f. 69v, another eye-skip made him miss the first half of an entire verse, which he later transcribed above the first line, as another line 0.

ANOTHER SITUATION OCCURS ON f. 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.

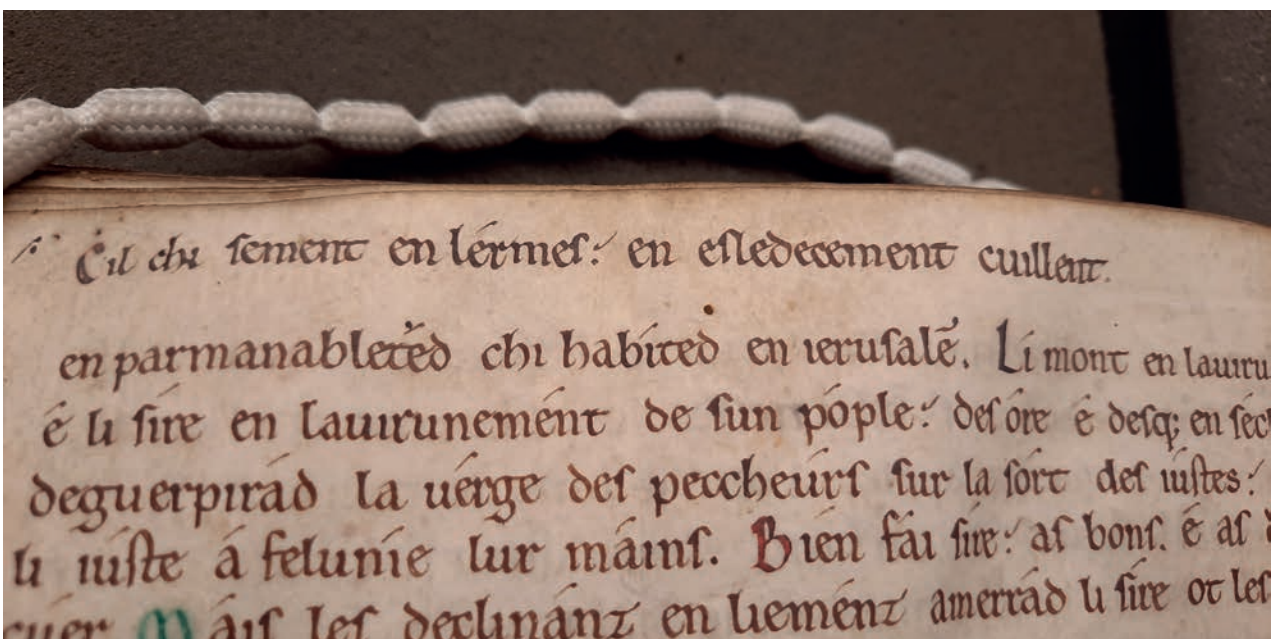
▼ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320.

Photo: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023.

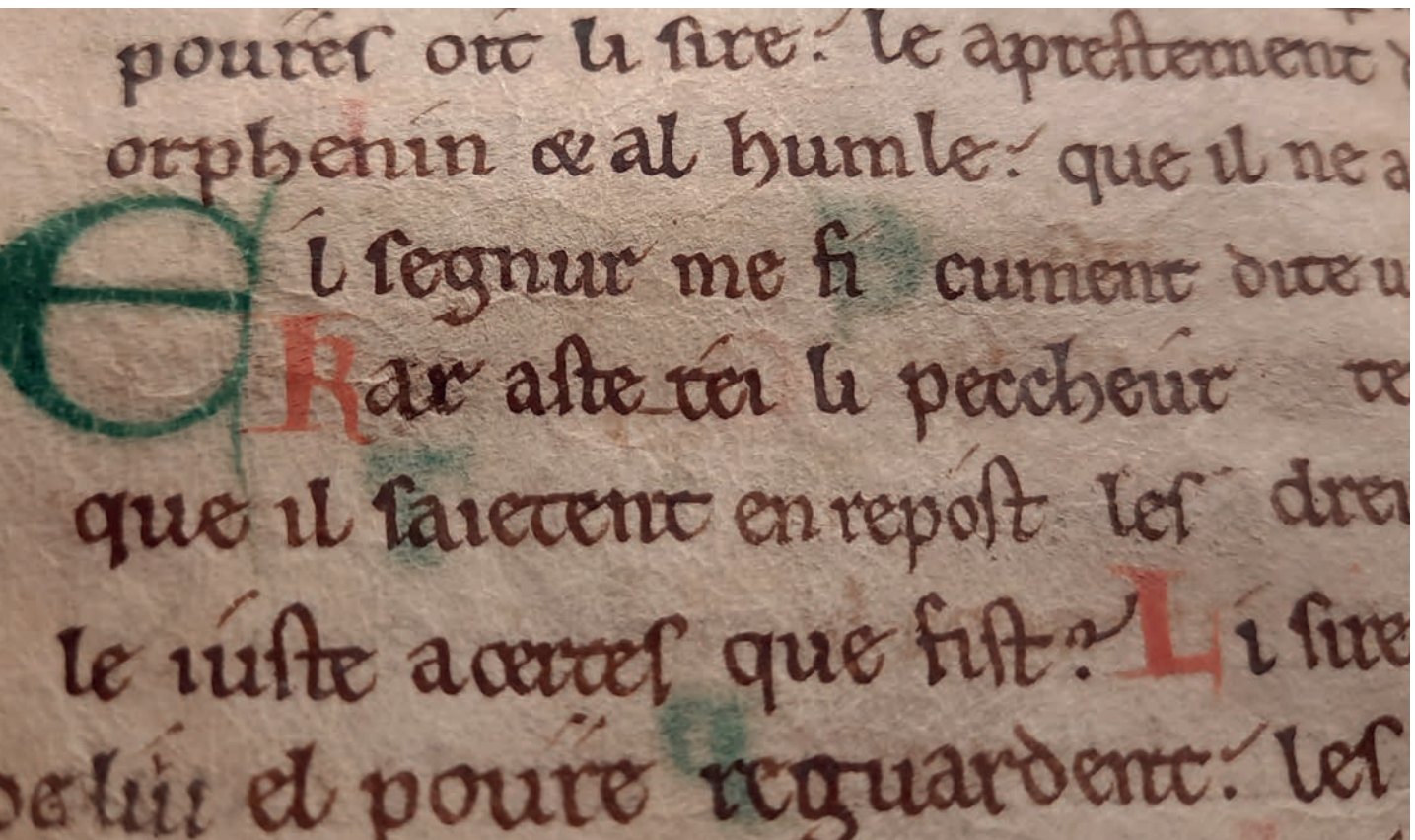
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f. 73v,
lines 39–40



f. 69v,
line 0

f. 38v
line 16

CORRECTIVE USES OF THE LOW DASH (AC)

The fact that OFr *aste tei* on f. 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: f. 42r, line 6 (*requer_râi*); f. 58r, line 7 (*moue_mént*); f. 63r, line 25 (*exo_îrent*). A similar situation occurs on f. 57r, line 23, where *Guâr_de* was written as such due to a cut in the folio. Also, on f. 73r, line 33, a low dash was later inserted in *d_é* 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 f. 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_currât* on f. 37r, line 6—no material limitations of the parchment surface either, yet the prefix is written as a preposition. He wrote *de_getement de pôle* on f. 40v, line 37, with the first *de* interpreted once again as a preposition, not a prefix. As for *la_uirunément* on f. 48r, line 7, the scribe probably believed, at least initially, that he was writing a

◆ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms 320.

Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023.

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definite article followed by a noun, without any trace of ellision; then he changed his mind later. On f. 50v, line 21, *co_uřement* is probably a distraction error or a separation in the source that could have already split the word. On f. 55r, line 9, the final reading is *em_pennéz*, but his initial choice must have been *en_pennéz*, 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_út* on f. 59r, line 18; and a preposition + verbal noun on f. 59r, line 34, where one reads *es_dreceánz*. Finally, on f. 71r, line 40, the text has *a_mí*. 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 *âimen_óre âimen_óre* on f. 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_chóse* on f. 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 *resplendí_rent* on f. 54v, line 11. This needs to be interpreted in comparison with a f. 60r, line 28, where the scribe wrote once again *resplendí_rent*, but the low dash was transcribed on top of an erasure, due to a spelling error.

desq; es lignedes de ses peres: e
 uem cu il en honur fust nel
 z: e semblanz faiz este
 sire des deus parlat: e
 desq; al dechedement:
 uendrat: li nre ds e n
 t: e en la uirunement
 erre desseurer sun po
 nent sur sacrifices. **E**
 erre. **O**i li mient po
 uent ds ie sui. **N**

f. 48r
 line 7

ie. eissi en sainte ch
 e glorie. **K**ar miel dre
 int ta. **E**issi beneist
 mains. **S**icume de
 r leures desledecen
 sur mun lit. en mat
Eel co uement
 es ta: mei receut
 ie. il enterrunt
 aue: parties de

f. 50v
 line 21

im ne porra il e pam d
 urice oit nre sire e p
 untá en isrl. **K**ar il
 e de lui. **E** mandá
Eplut á els manna
 as angeles mania
U tresportá ault
 olut sur els sicum
 sels em pennéz.
 leur tabernacle

f. 55r
 line 9

in? **V**obliera á auer
 cordes? **E**ie dis. ore cu
 emembrere fui des oure
 ent de tel merueilles.
 uentiuns serai trauau
 ie li noltre ds: tu iel
 la tue uertud: raensi
 ioseph. **Y**urent tey d
 abýsmes. **M**ultitud
Kar les tues saiet
Resplendi rent les

f. 54v
 line 11

EXTENSIVE ERASURES = LINES IN A SOURCE? (VA, AC)

A casual look at the extensive erasures of Douce ms 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 possessive 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 Douce ms 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, 2:85-86). 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 rhythmicity of Latin words comes into play. Indeed, extensive erasures in Douce ms 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 Douce ms 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.

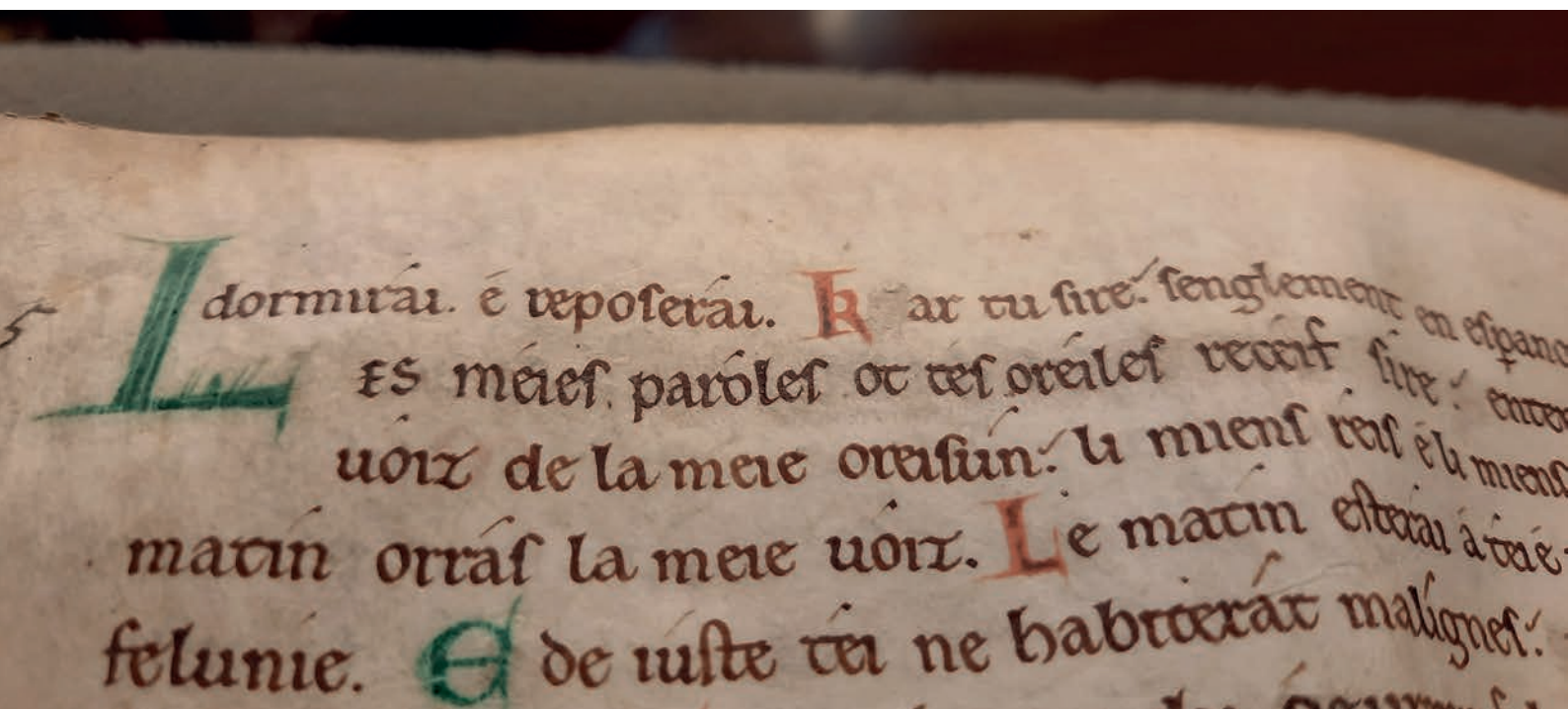
We took notice of this pattern in four cases where parallels could be established between Douce ms 320 and Arundel ms 320. Even though the word order and lexical choices of the Arundel gloss were not always those of the

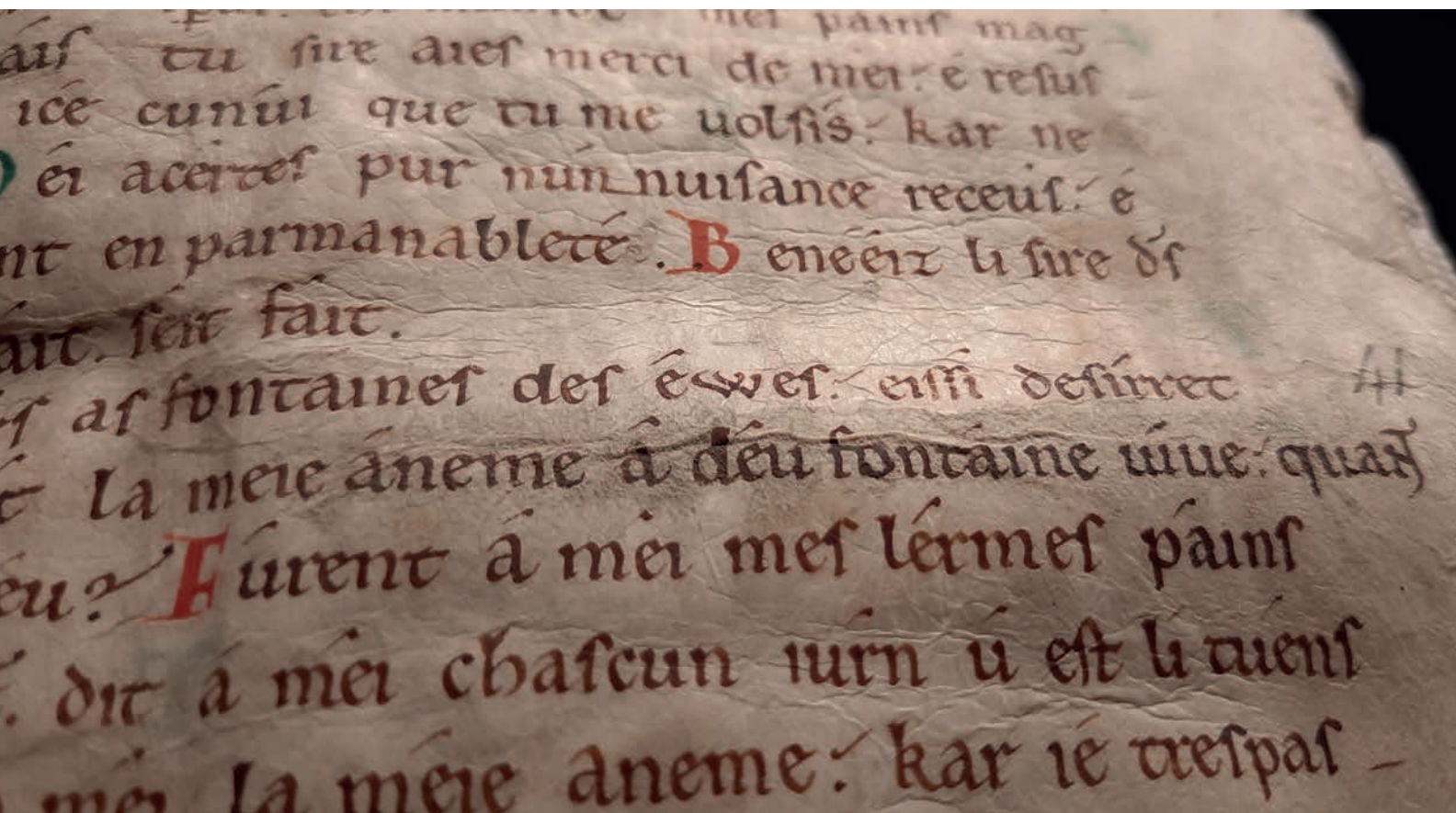


▼ Drawing of the last two lines on London, Bodleian Library, Arundel ms 230, f. 9r.

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^{Les mees paroles ot tes oreilles receif}
ERBenBA mea auribus ^{receif} percepsit domini.
enintellige clamorem meum.





◆ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms 320.

Facing page: the extensive erasures of Douce, f. 37v and 46r.

Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023.

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► Drawing of London, Bodleian Library, Arundel ms 230, f. 45v.

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Douce prose, the erasures of the latter manuscript were in tune with the interlinear glosses of the former, as if the source of Douce MS 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 Douce MS 320, f. 37v, line 2, the extensive erasure fits the number of words from the gloss of Arundel: (L)*ES méies . paróles . ot tes oréiles recéf sire*. Incidentally, the Old French text is the same in Douce and Arundel (cf. Arundel MS 230, f. 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 Douce MS 320 on f. 46r, line 24. This corresponds to the width of the Latin text in Arundel MS 230, f. 45v. Certainly, the vernacular text is rather different (Douce reads here *Sezelât la meie aneme á déu 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*

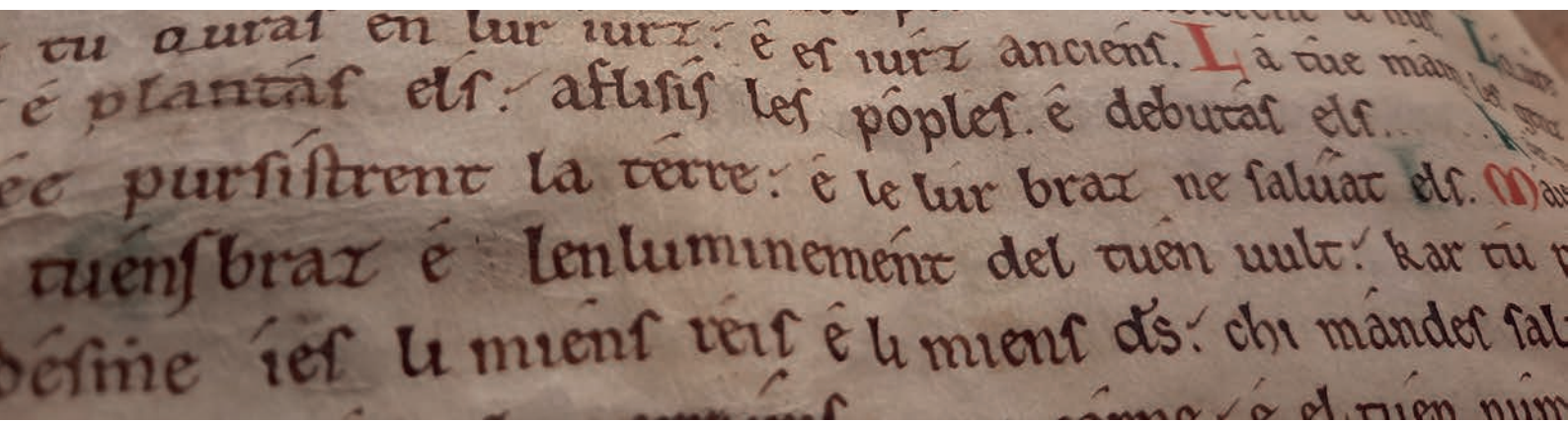
S^{Sei lac}*ituit* ^{lamore aneme}*anima* ^{adeu}*mea* ^{fontaine uiue}*ad dm fonte uiuu.*
^{qnt}*quando* ^{uendrat so}*uentiam* ^{et appariterai}*& appparebo* ^{deuant}*ante*
^{laface dedeu}*faciem dei.* ^{ubi}*Ubi* ^{est ds}*est deus tuus.*

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 póples . é debutás els*, on f. 46v, line 13, of Douce MS 320. This corresponds to the Latin line *afflixisti populos et expulisti eos* from Arundel MS 230, f. 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 f. 57r, line 10: *Dum ne te irastrás tu enparmanableté á nus ; ú* is the spitting (vernacular) image of the Latin line from Arundel, f. 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 Arundel MS 230



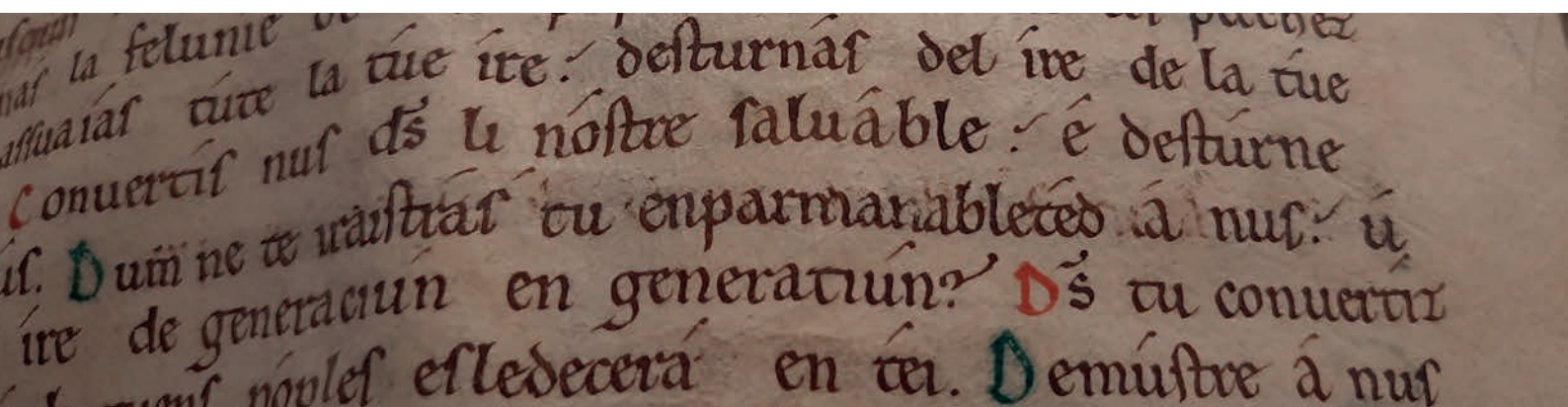
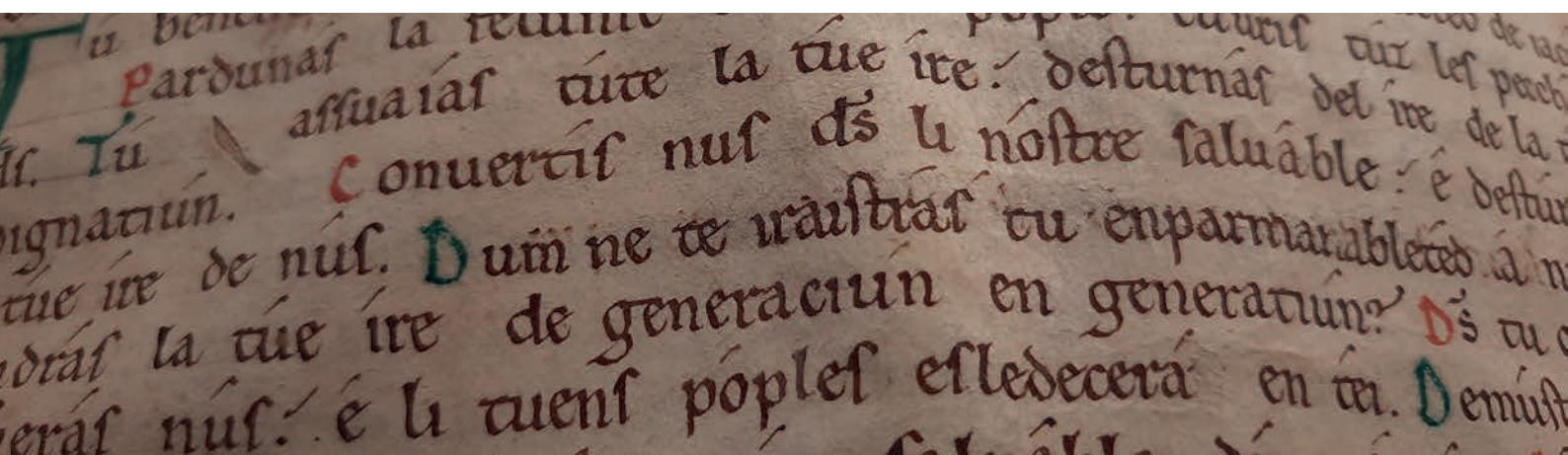
^{latue ma in lesgez de poier} ^{et plantas els.}
Manus tua gentes disperdidit & plantasti eos:
^{affixisti} ^{les poples} ^{et debutas els.}
affixisti populos & expulisti eos.

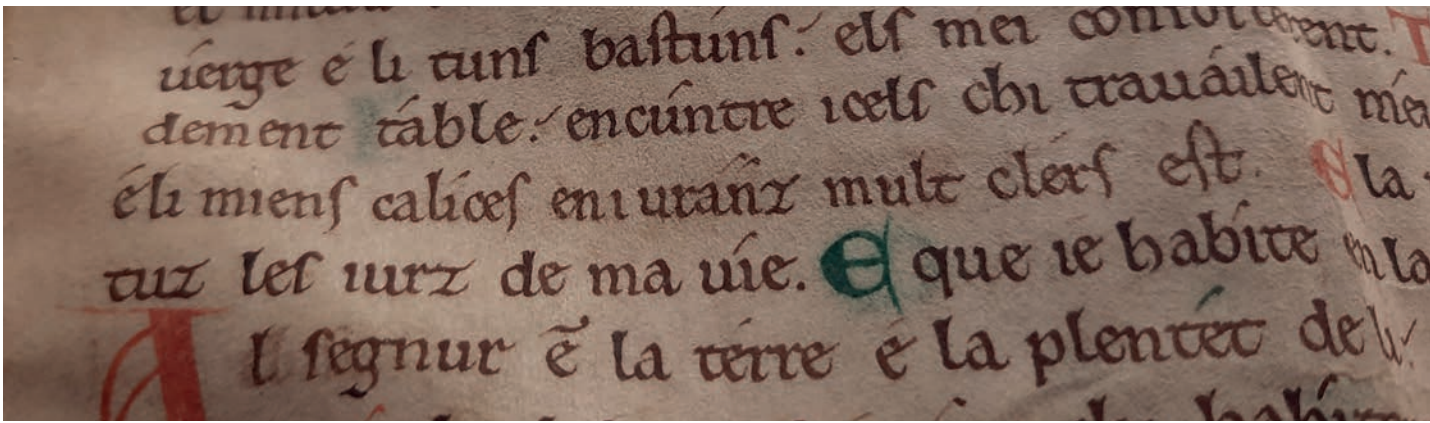
◆ Drawings of London, Bodleian Library, Arundel ms 230, f. 46v (above) and 86v (below).
 © Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

^{Hiens uncel en parmanableter curucef tu anuf.}
Nunquid in eternum irasceris nobis: aut
^{u extendras} ^{latue ire} ^{degeneraciun}
extenderis iram tuam a generatione in
^{engaciun}
generationem?

◆ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms 320 and print-screens of London, Bodleian Library, Arundel ms 230. Above: The extensive erasure of Douce, f. 46v, line 13. Below: The extensive erasure of Douce, 57r, line 10. Facing page (up): The extensive erasure of Douce, 41r. (down): The extensive erasure of Douce, 41r, line 22. Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023. Courtesy of the Imaging Services of The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Creative Commons licence CC-BY-NC 4.0.

with the erasures of the vernacular text of Douce ms 320 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, f. 41r : *é li mien calices eniuranz mult clers est*. If we look at Arundel, f. 26r-26v, we read :

Lat. *Impinguasti in oleo caput meum; et*

Fr. *Tu en olie mun chief encraissas; et*

Lat. *calix meus inebriant quam preclarus est.*

Fr. *li miens calices eniuranz kar mult clers est.*

Douce reads on one line *Tú encraissás én ólie mun chéf* and on the next line the rewriting on erasure *é 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 f. 41r, this time on line 22 (Ps 21): *e il meeéme seignurerát sur les génz . Mangérent é aórérent tuit li crás dé la terre* . In Arundel, f. 25v-26r, we find :

Lat. *Quoniam domini est regnum; et ipse*

Fr. *Kar del seignur est le regne; et il*

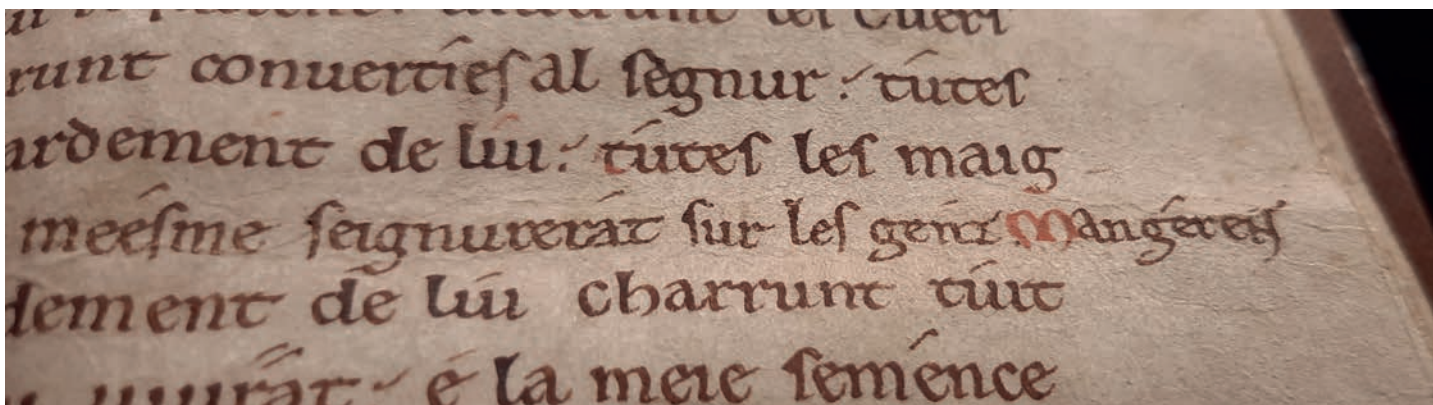
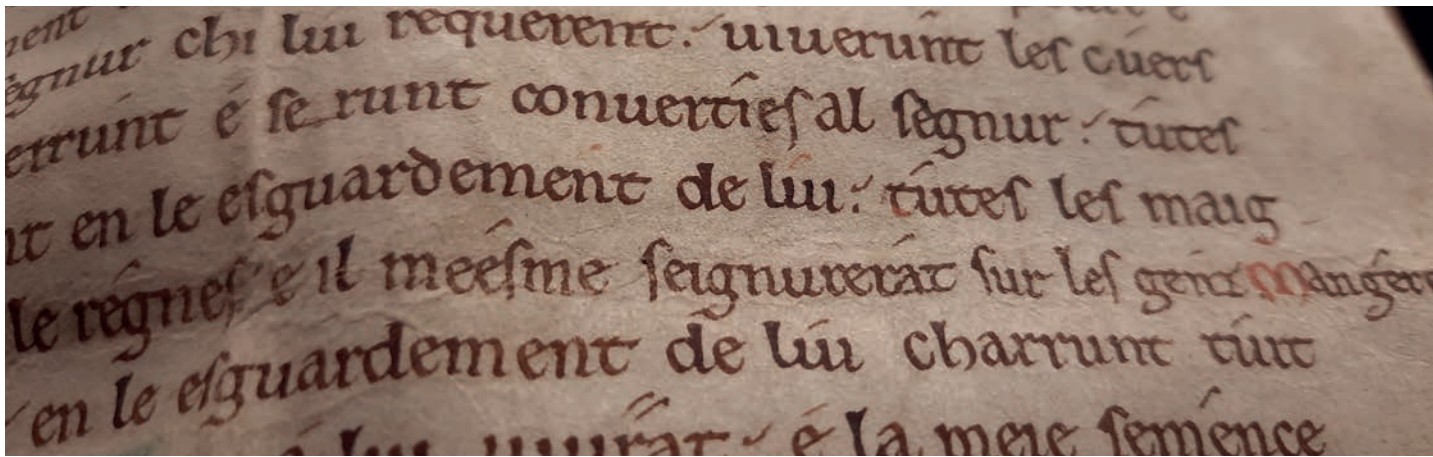
Lat. *dominabitur gentium.*

Fr. *seinurirat des genz.*

Lat. *Manducauerunt et adorauerunt omnes*

Fr. *Mangerent et aurerent trestuit*

Lat. *pingues terre; [...]*



chi descendent en terre. **E** la meie aneime a lui uiurat: e la
 seruirat a lui. **A**nnuncée iert al segnur la lignée chi auer
 cerunt li ciel la sūe iustise: al pōple chi nausterat le quel
 si sire guuérne mei. e nūle chose ne desiert a mei. en liu
 uat. **S**ur le eue de refection nurrūt mei: ma aneime
 t mei sur les sentes de iustise: pur sun num. **R**ax

li cras de la terre. **E** la meie aneime a lui uiurat: e la meie semence
 nuncée iert al segnur la lignée chi auenir est: e annun
 iustise: al pōple chi nausterat le quel fist li sire.
 mei. e nūle chose ne desiert a mei. en liu de pasture iluec mē
 de refection nurrūt mei: ma aneime conuertit. **D**eme
 de iustise: pur sun num. **R**ax iasēt ce que ie irai
 har tu es ot mei

Fr. 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 *meésme*, and by better rendering the concept of *gentium* with *sur les génz*. 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 41r, line 27, reads *Lí sire guuérne méi. é nūle chose ne desiert a mei ; en líu de pasture ilúec méi aluát*. In Arundel, f. 26r, the text is:

Lat. *Dominus regit me* PSALMVS DAVID

Fr. *Li sire guuerne mei*

Lat. *et nichil michi deerit ; in loco*

Fr. *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

Cil chi sement en lermes: en esledecement cuillent.
 en parmanableté chi habité en ierusalé. Li mont en lauru
 é li sire en laurunement de sun pōple: des ore é desq; en secl
 dequerrad. La uerte des neccheurs sur la sort des iustes:

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 f. 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 Arundel ms 230), not a bilingual version on two columns where lines like these reach 30 characters on average with spaces (see the Maidstone fragments or Cotton ms Nero C iv). This is further supported by the length of the odd erasure at the beginning of f. 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 f. 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 f. 39v, line 0, and f. 69v, line 0, are related to the issue of extensive erasures discussed in this section of the present article. Furthermore, the double erasure of f. 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. Korciakangas 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

◆ *Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320. Facing page (up):* The extensive erasure of Douce, f. 41r, line 27; *(down):* The correction of the eye-skip in Douce, f. 69v, line 0. *This page (below):* The extensive erasure of Douce, f. 38r, line 19. Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023. Courtesy of the Imaging Services of The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Creative Commons licence CC-BY-NC 4.0.

seven syllables. This was proven by a careful analysis of re-inkings and changes occurring in baselines (cf. Schwendner 2021, 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.

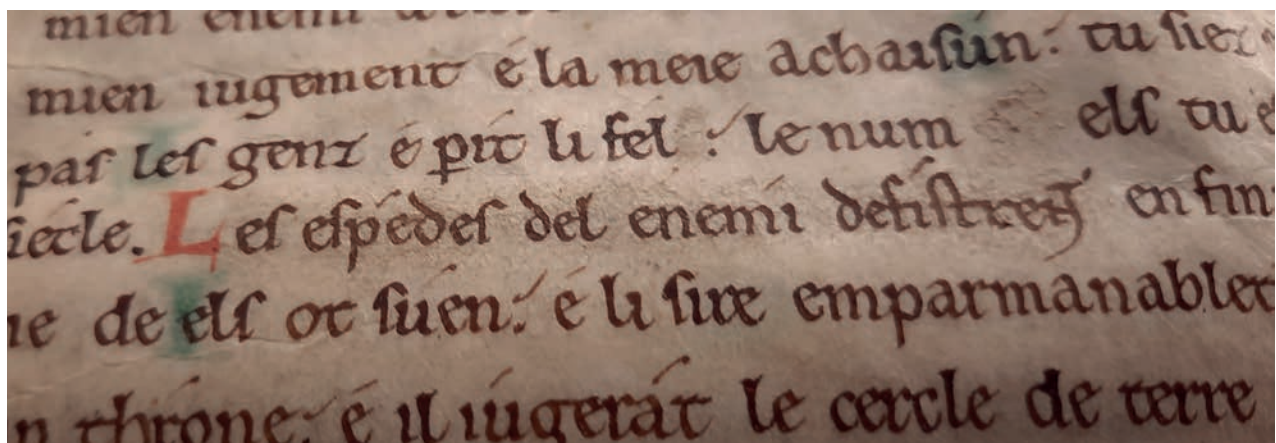
Our research has identified many more erasures which could be based on this visual segmentation of the source text. When we extended these reconstructions to many other situations, the conclusion was that the Latin text of the prototype had a variation in line width that did not surpass an average of 3–5 letters in comparison with the Latin text of Arundel ms 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 Arundel ms 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 Douce MS 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 f. 38r, line 19, where the French text reads *Les espédes del enemí defístrent en fin* and corresponds to Arundel ms 230, f. 12v (Lat. *Inimici defecerunt framee in finem*; Fr. *Del enemí defístrent les espedes en fin*). This is one of many instances where Ian Short's assertion that the Douce scribe did a word-to-word translation is confirmed (cf. Short 2015: 31–37). Yet there are oscillations on a scale ranging from formal/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: 36). This conjecture has little to do with the actual translation process.

On f. 38r, line 28: *enfichees sunt les génz el destruiment que il firent*—with *génz* written in small letters above the line, corresponds to Arundel, f. 13r (Lat. *Exultabo in salutari tuo; infixe sunt / gentes in interitu quem fecerunt*).

On f. 38v, line 17: *Kâr lesquels choses tu parfesis il destrui strent; le iuste a certes que fist ?*—where *-strent* is written in the right-hand margin, below, would fit Arundel's f. 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*.

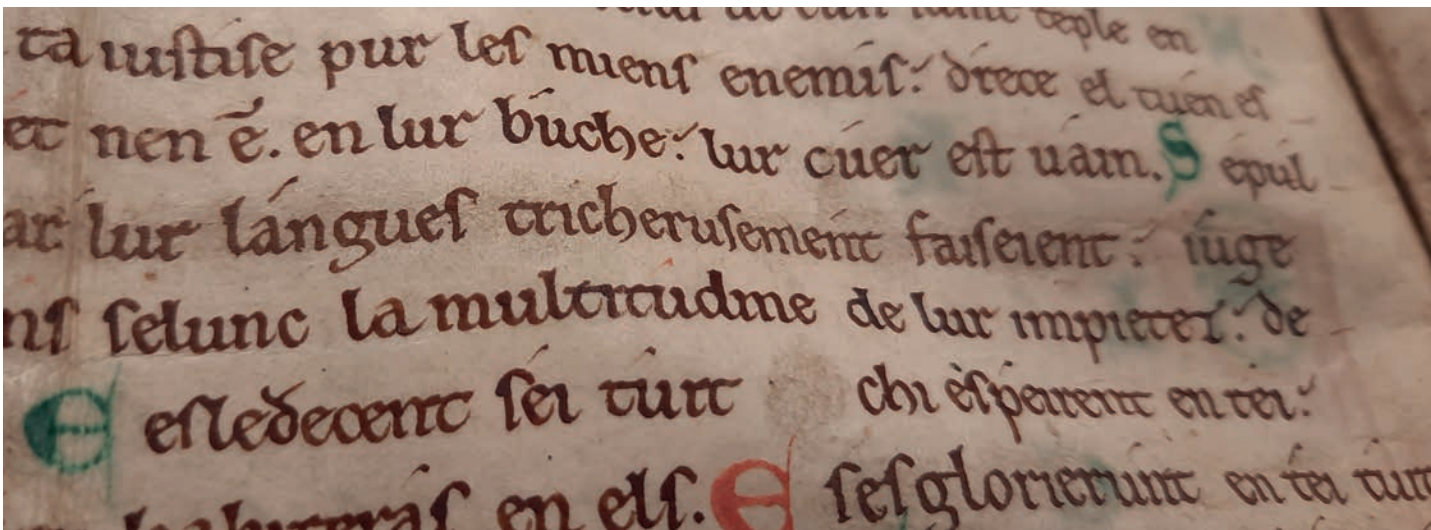
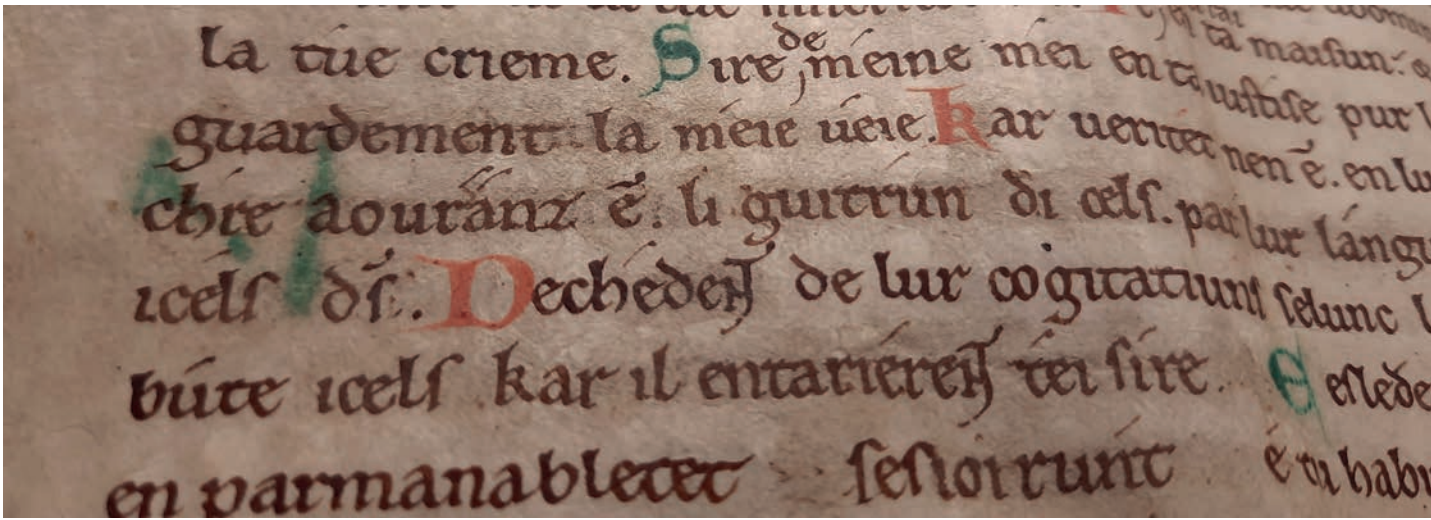
Last but not least, on f. 39v, line 3: *Fâi merueiluses lés tues misericordes; chi sals fâis les esperanz en téi* (with *salf*



bitet en syon. annuncie
 ordar. ne ubliat mie la clamur des poures. **A**ies mien de
 ulitet de mes enemis. **O**bi essalves mei des portes de
 tuens loenges. es portes de la fille syon. **I**e
 fichees se les el destruiemens que il firent **E**n cest la
 piez de els. **Q**uneuz iert li sire iugement faisan
Seient turnet li pecheur en en

trespasse el munt si cume passer
 e. apareilerent lur saietes en que
Kar lesquels choses tu parfesis il destrui
 mple. li sire el ciel sun liet **L**i oï
 demandent les fiz des humes. **L**i

ures ueies. **P**arfai les miens pas es tues sentes.
 traces. **I**e criai kar tu me ois ds. incline la tue
Fai merueiluses les tues misericordes. chi fals fais
 a la tue destre. garde mei si cu purnele de
 cueure mei. de la face des feluns chi mien



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

Facing page (up): The extensive erasure of Douce, f. 38r, line 28; (middle): The extensive erasure of Douce, f. 38v, line 17; (down): The extensive erasure of Douce, f. 39v, line 3. This page (up): The extensive erasure of Douce, f. 37v, lines 10-11. Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023.

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and *fâis* probably rewritten on top of a sequence which was briefer initially), corresponds to Arundel, f. 18v: *Mirifica misericordias tuas; qui saluos / facis sperantes in te*, if the reconstruction allows once again a minor variation of characters.

The examples of f. 38r, line 28, and f. 38v, line 17, could represent rewritings, with the inclusion of more terms absent from the initial version of the text in Douce MS 320. There is an excess of words that begs for a coherent explanation (not only here, but 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 f. 38r, line 19, and f. 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 f. 37v, lines 10-11 now read: *Sépúlchre aouranz est. li guitrún di cels. par lur langues tricherusement faiseient*. Cf. the Latin text of Arundel, f. 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 (f. 37v, line 17) Douce MS 320 reads: *SIRE ne me arguer en ta fuirúr; ne en la tue ire ne me castiér*. Cf. Arundel, f. 10r: *DOMINE ne in furore tuo arguas me;/ neque in ira tua corripas me*. In this other example, the Arundel text is rather different: *Sire ne en ta forsenerie constreignes 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).

ioels **D**echedeſ de lur cogitaciun
 bûte ioels kar il entatiereſ tei ſire
 en parmanabletet ſeſſoirunt
 chi aiment le tuen num: kar tu
 de la tue bone uoluntet

Sire ne me arguer en ta futur
 de mei ſire quar ie ſui enferm: ſaine
 meie aneme **C**onturbede e mult
 e deliure ma aneme: ſalf me ſai pur
 remehre ſer de rei en enfern a certel

Corunaf nuſ.
 a futur: ne en la tue ire ne me caſtier: **M**e
 enferm: ſaine mei ſire. quar li mien of ſunt
 mult: e tu ſire deq; aquant. **S**ieſ
 ſai pur la tue miſericordie. **Q**uar nen e
 a certel chi gebirac a tei? **T**e travailai
 de mei lermes mun lit

The fact that the first half word on f. 37v, line 10 (*Sépúl-*), 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 f. 39v, lines 14–15, for instance, we read: *li sire li miens firmamenz . é li miens refuges . e li miens deliuerere*. This corresponds to Arundel

f. 19r: *Diligam te domine fortitudo/ mea; dominus fir-
mentum meum et/ refugium meum; et liberator meus*, but the text can also be reconstructed as:

*Diligam te PSALMVS DAVID
domine fortitudo mea ; dns fir-
mam'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 (*É amerai téi...*) 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

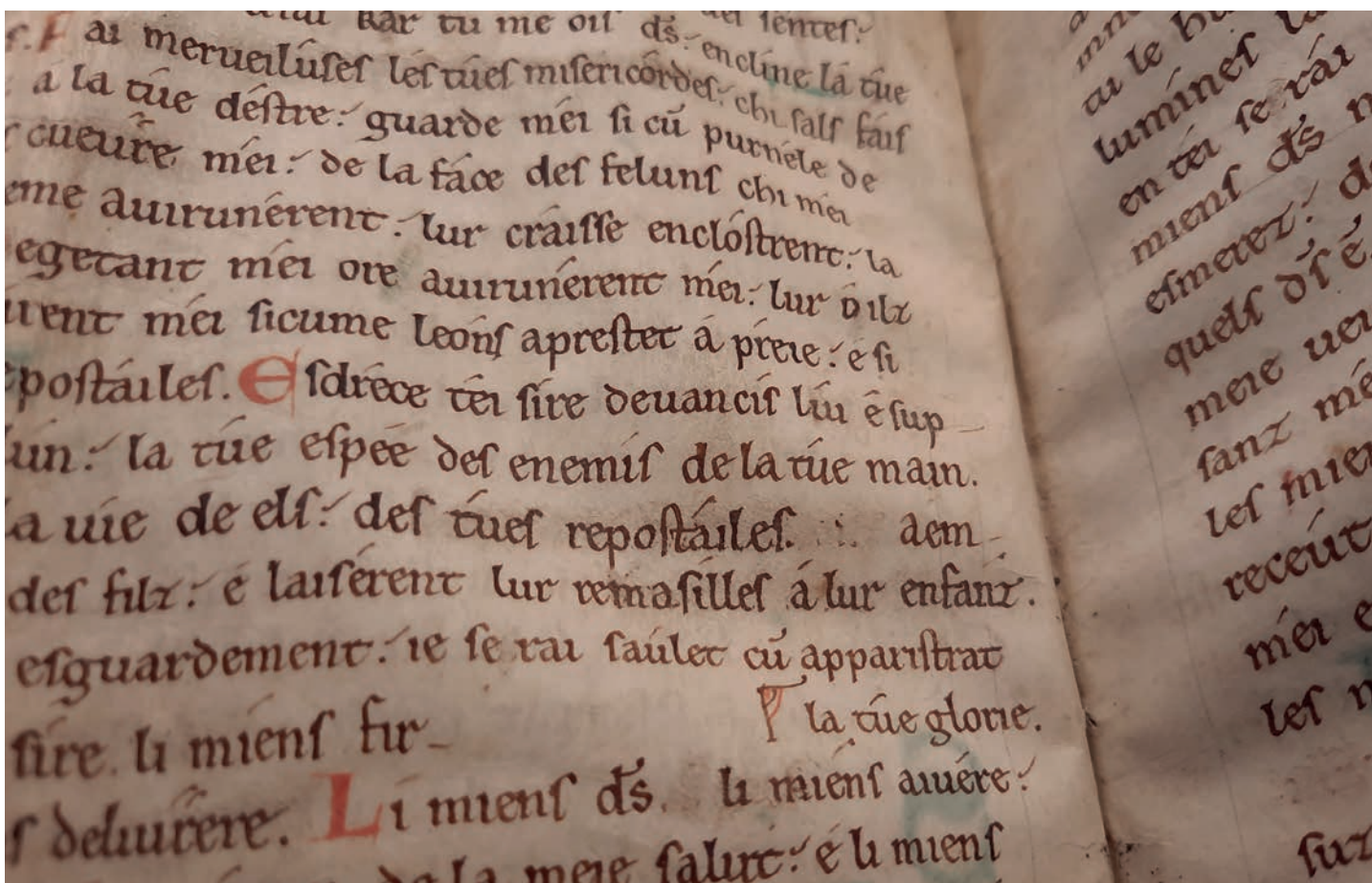
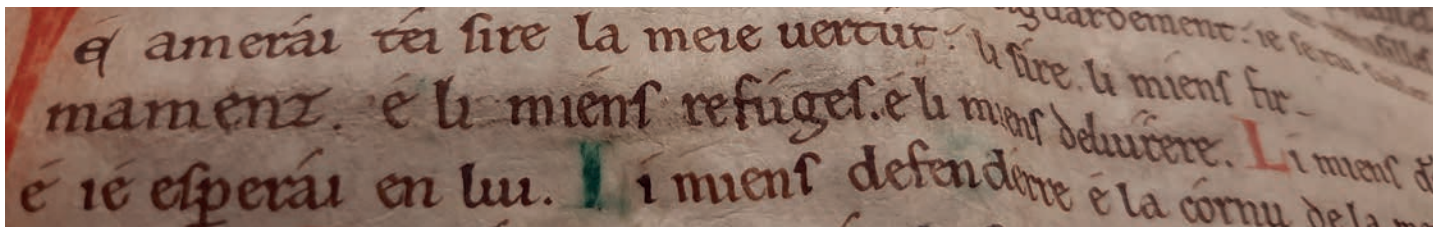
◆ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320.

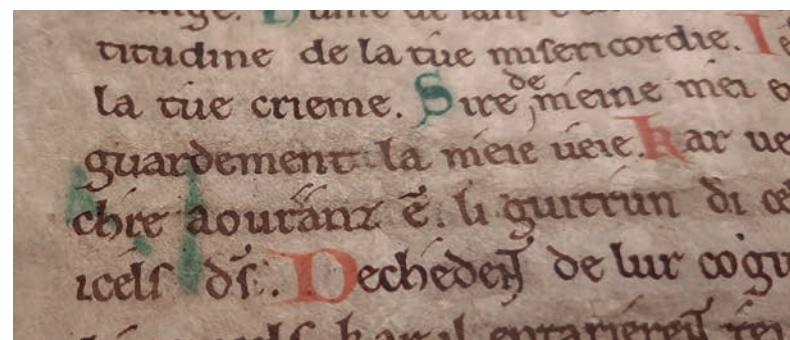
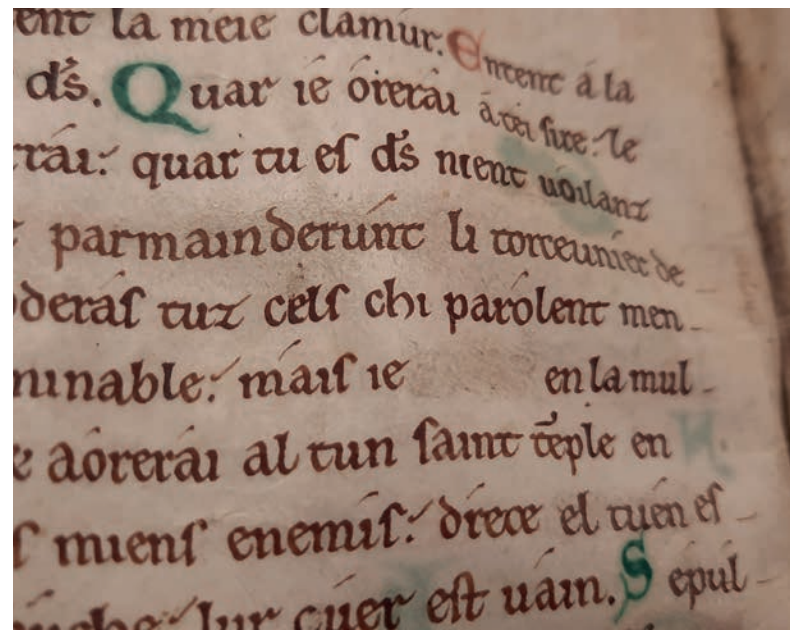
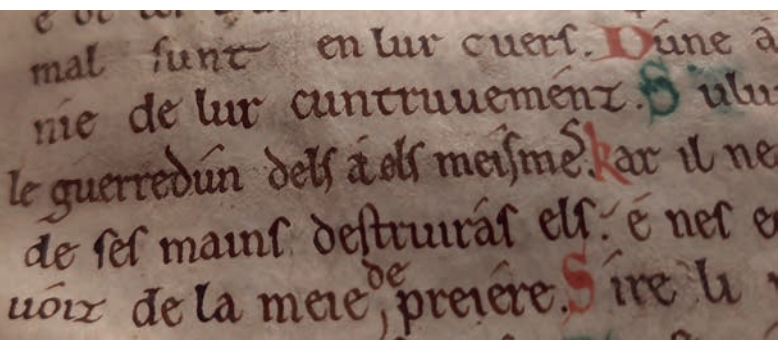
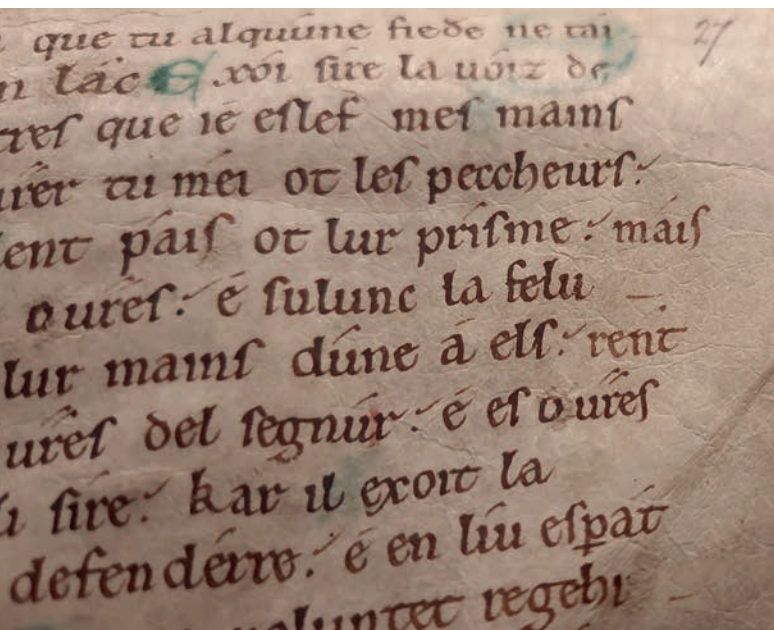
Facing page (up + down): The extensive erasure of Douce, f. 37v, line 11.

This page (down): The extensive erasure of Douce, f. 39v, lines 15 + the issue of the end of the previous psalm on line 14.

Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023.

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the entire word, at the end of that line, is further proof that he operated by copy-units.

Another example occurs on f. 42r, line 29, where we read: *rént le guerredún dels à els meïsmes*.—with the final *-s* of *meïsmes* written in superscript. Cf. Arundel MS 230, f. 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 *meïsmes* 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 *rént* 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 *rént* 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 *guerredún*), but the scribe had no place to insert *meïsmes* 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 f. 37v, lines 9–10: *dréce el tuén esguardement la méie uéie*. Cf. Arundel, f. 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

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

(left): The extensive erasure of Douce, f. 42r, line 29.

(right): The extensive erasure of Douce, f. 37v, lines 9–10.

Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023.

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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 *uéie* 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 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 Douce MS 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 Douce MS 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 re-

constructed 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 interpre-

Oxford Psalter's largest erasure group (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320, f. 37v):

la tûe crieme . Sire deméine méi en ta iustise pur les miens enemís ; dréce el tuén es
 guardement la méie uéie . Kar uerité nen est . en lur búche ; lur cuer est uáin . Sépúl
 cré aouránz est . li guitrún di cels . par lur lánques tricherusement faiseient ; iúge
 icéls deus . Dechedent de lur cogitatiuns selunc la multitudine de lur impietez ; de
 dúte icels kar il entariérent téi síre . E esleðecent séi tuit chi espéirent en téi ;
 en parmanabletet sesioirúnt é tu habiterás en els . E sesglorierúnt en téi tuit
 chi aiment le tuén núm ; kar tu beneisterás al iúste . Síre sicume . délescút
 de la tûe bóne uoluntét córunás nús .
 Síre ne me arguer en tá fuírúr ; ne en la tûe íre ne me castiér . Merci áies
 de mei sire quar íe sui enferm ; sáine mei sire . quar li mien ós sunt conturbét E lá
 meie ánome conturbéde est . mult ; é tu síre deque aquant ? Seies cunuertit síre
 é deliure ma aneme ; salf me fáí pur la tue misericordie . Quar nen est en mort chi

Winchester Psalter Latin column

(London, BL, Cotton MS Nero C IV, f. 47r-v):

Introibo in domum tuam ; adorabo ad
 templum sanctum tuum in timore tuo .
 Domine deduc me in iustitia tua propter
 inimicos meos ; dirige in conspectu
 tuo uiam meam .
 Quoniam non est in ore eorum ueritas ;
 cor eorum uanum est .
 Sepulchrum patens est guttur eorum
 linguis suis dolose agebant ; iudi-
 ca illos deus .
 Decidant a cogitationibus suis secundum mul-
 titudinem impietatum eorum expelle eos ;
 quoniam irritauerunt te domine .
 Et letentur omnes qui sperant in te ; in æternum
 exultabunt et habitabis in eis .
 Et gloriabuntur in te omnes qui diligunt
 nomen tuum ; quoniam tu benedices iusto .
 Domine ; ut scuto bone uoluntatis
 tue coronasti nos .
 Domine ne in furore tuo arguas me ;
 neque in ira tua corripas me
 Miserere mei domine quoniam infirmus
 sum ; sana me domine quoniam contur-
 bata sunt ossa mea .
 Et anima mea turbata est ualde ; et
 tu domine usquequo .
 Conuertere domine et eripe anima meam .
 saluum me fac propter misericordiam tuam .
 Quoniam non est in morte qui memor sit tui ; in
 inferno autem quis confitebitur tibi .

Winchester Psalter Old French column

(London, BL, Cotton MS Nero C IV, f. 47r-v):

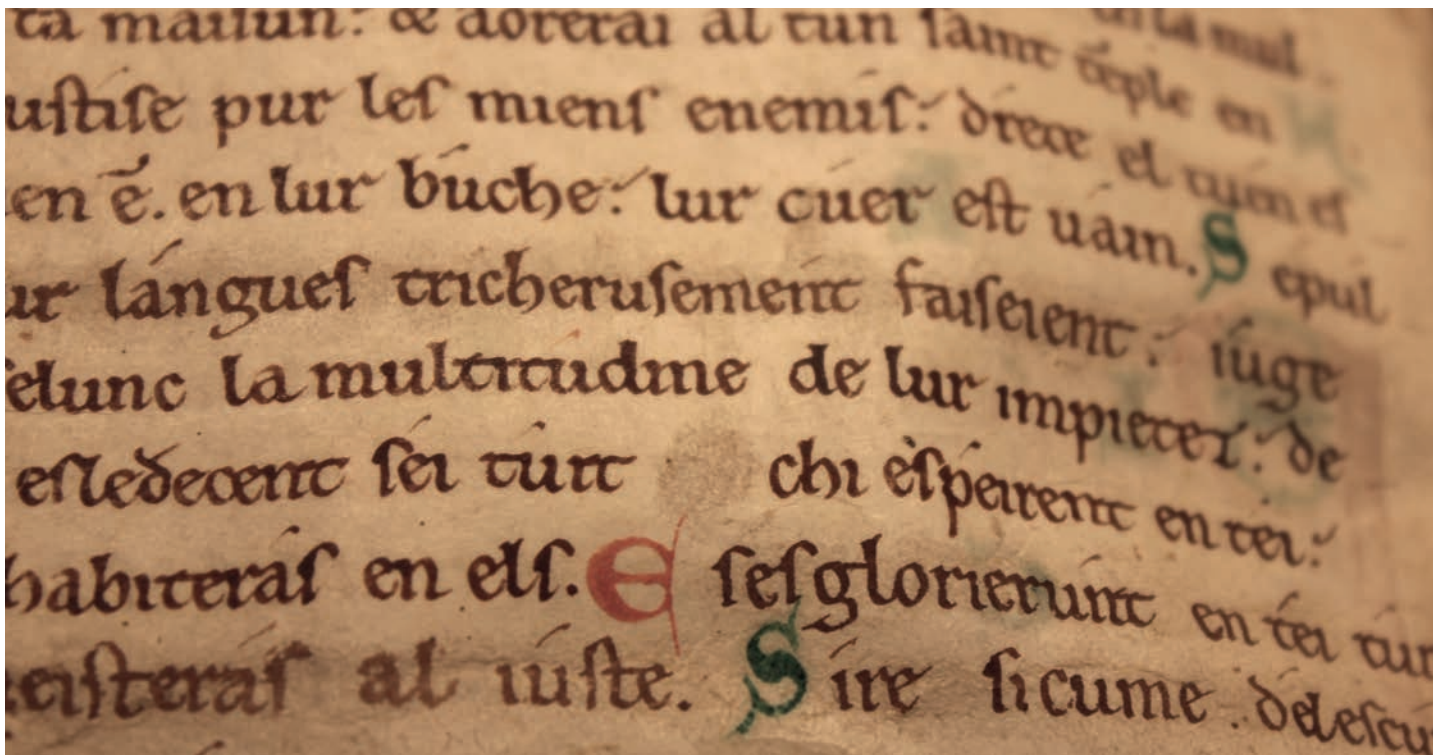
Ieo enterai en ta maison ; e aorerai el
 tun saint temple en la tue crieme .
 Sire demeine mei en ta iustice pur
 les miens enemís ; drece el tuen es
 guardement la meie ueie .
 Kar uerited nen est en lor buche ;
 lur cuer est uain .
 Sepulchre aouranz est li guitrún
 di cels ; par lur langues tricheruse
 ment faiseient iuge cels deus .
 Decheent de lur cogitatiuns . selunc 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 coronas nos .
 Sire ne me arguer en ta fuírúr . ne
 en la tue íre ne me chastier .
 Merci aies de mei sire kar ieo sui enferm ;
 sáine mei sire kar li mien os sunt
 conturbet .
 E la meie aneme conturbéde est mult ;
 e tu sire dequeaquant ?
 Series conuertit sire e de liure maneme ;
 salf me fai pur la tue misericorde .
 Kar ne . est . en mort ki remembre seite de
 tei ; en enfern acertes chi gihirat a tei ?

la tue crieme. **S**ure^{de} meine mei en ta iust
 guardement la meie ueie. **K**ar ueritet nen
 chre aouranz ē. li guitrūn di oels. par lur
 icels dī. **D**echēden^{de} de lur cogitaciūns seb
 būte icels kar il entariēre^{de} tē sire. **E**
 en parmanabletet se^{de}noirunt ē tu h
 chi aiment le tuen num. kar tu ben
 de la tue bone uoluntē corūnas

tation. Next comes a passage that was already discussed, followed by the case of Ps 5:10 + Ps 5:11 (also mentioned 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 *Dechēdent* 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

en parmanabletet se^{de}noirunt ē tu habit
 chi aiment le tuen num. kar tu beneste
 de la tue bone uoluntē corūnas
Sirf ne me arguer en ta futur ne en
 de mei sire quar ie sui enferm. saine me
 meie aneme cōturbēde ē. mult ē tu
 e deliure ma aneme. salf me fāi pur la tue
 remēbriere seit de tē. en enferm a certē chi g

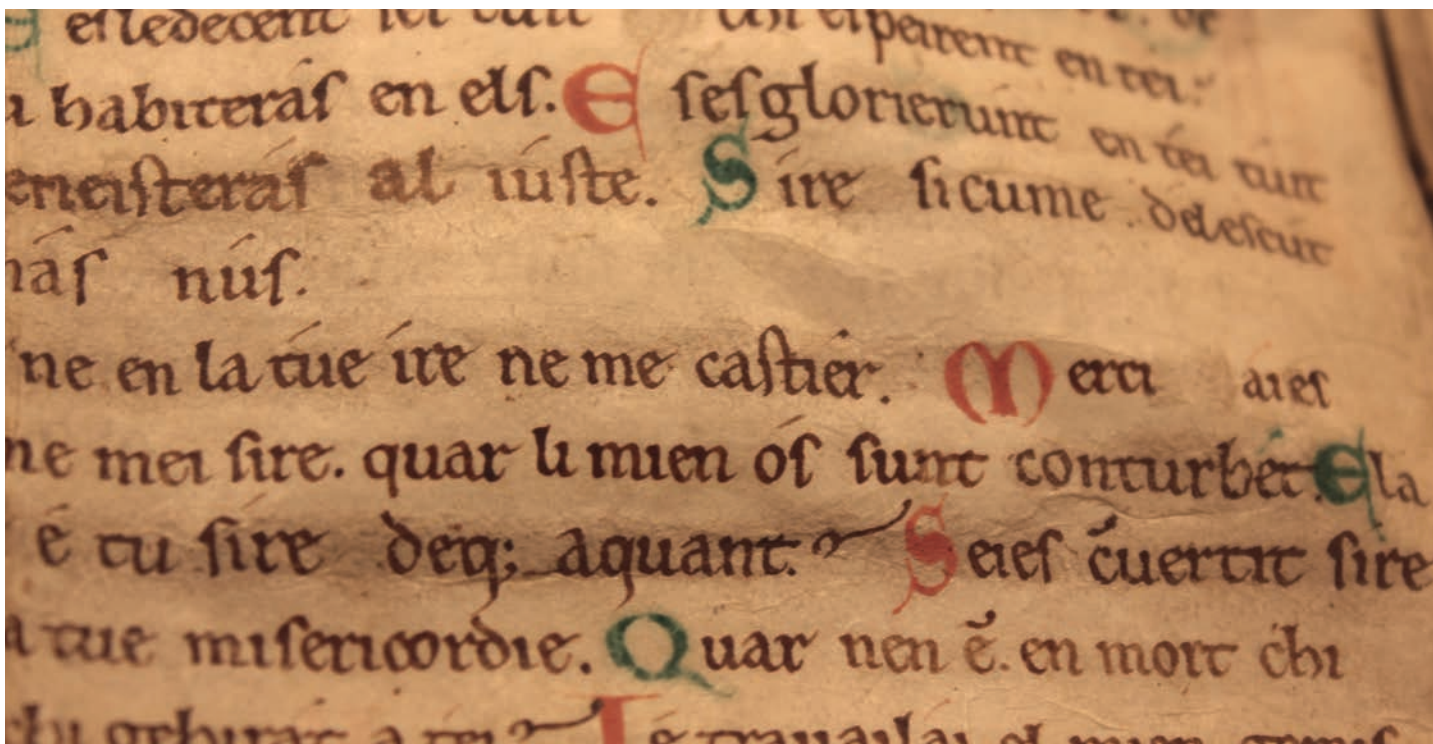


◆ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce MS 320, f. 37v.
 Photos: Vladimir Agrigoroaei / Alessia Chapel, 2023.
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le tuén nún belonged was separate from the copy unit of the verb that precedes it (also erased together with *qui*). As for the next 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



Ldormirai. e reposerai. **K**ar tu sire. senglement en espance establis mei.
Es meies paroles. or tes oreiles receis sire. entent la meie clamur. **E**ntent a la
 uoiz de la meie oraison. li mient reis e li mient ds. **Q**uar ie oterai a tei sire. le
 matin orrai la meie uoiz. **L**e matin estera a tei uerra. quar tu es ds nient uolanz
 felunie. **E** de iuste tei ne habitera malignes. ne ne parmanderunt li torceunier de
 uant tel oiz. **T**u haiz tuz chi deurent felunie. pderal tuz cels chi parolent men-
 ceunge. **H**ume de sans. e triche ur nre sire ferat abominable. mais ie. en la mul-
 titude de la tue misericordie. **I**e en ta mausun. e adorerai al tun saint temple en
 la tue crieme. **S**ire de même mei en ta iustise pur les mient enemis. drece el tuen es-
 gardement. la meie uie. **K**ar ueritec nen e. en lur buche. lur cuer est uain. **S**epul-
 chre aouranz e. li gurtrun di cels. par lur langues tricherusement faisient. iuge
 icels ds. **D**echede de lur cogitaciun felunc la multitudine de lur impietez. de-
 bute icels kar il entarieres tei sire. **E**stedecent sei turt chi espavent en tei.
 en parmanablecet. sehoirunt e tu habiteras en els. **E**ses glorierunt en ta turt
 chi aiment le tuen num. kar tu benesteras al iuste. **S**ire sicume de descut
 de la tue bone uoluntet. coronas nus.
Sis ne me arguer en ta furur. ne en la tue ire ne me castier. **M**erci aies
 de mei sire quar ie sui enferm. sane mei sire. quar li mien os sunt conturbet. **E**la
 meie aneme conturbede e. mult. e tu sire deg. aquant. **S**aes cuertit sire
 e deliure ma aneme. salf me fai pur la tue misericordie. **Q**uar nen e. en mort chi
 remembre seic de tei. en enfer a ceter chi gehurat a tei. **L**e trauailai el mien gemis-
 sement. lauerai par sengles nuiz mun lit. de mes lermes mun lit aruserai. **T**urber
 e. de furur. mien oiz. enuier. entre tuz mes enemis. **D**eseurez de mei turt chi
 uurez felunie. quar dit li sire la uoiz del mien plurement. **O**ic li sire la mei preiere.
 li sire la meie oraison receit. **V**ergundissent e seient conturbet forement trestuit li mien
 enemi. seies cuertit. e uergundissent mult igneusement.
Sis mient ds en tei espai. salf me fai de tuz parsuanz mei. e deliure mei.
Que alquune hede ne rauisset si come leun la meie aneme. dementes que nest
 chi reaimet ne chi salf facec. **S**ire li mient ds si ie fil ice. si e felunie el meies mainf.
Si ie rendi asgurre dunanz a mei males choses. **D**echede par deserte de mes ene-
 mis uains. **P**arsueuet li enemis la meie aneme e coprenget. e defult en terre la mei
 uie. e la meie glorie en puldre dement. **E**sdrece tei sire en la tue ire. e seies esal-
 cez el deuses de mes enemis. **E**t esdrece tei sire li mient ds el cumandement que
 tu mandas. e la synagoga des poples aurunerat tei. **E**pur iesti en halt repaire.
 li sire iugec les poples. **I**uge mei sire sulunc la meie iustise. e sulunc la meie
 innocence sur mei. **C**onsumedesert lordeet des pecheurs e adreteras le iuste. escer-
 chanz les cuers e les raint tu ds. **L**a meie drece aurtorie del seignor. chi salfs
 fait les drecurers de cuer. **D**s dreiz iugerre forz e suffiant. dum ne se curuce il
 par sengles iurz. **S**i uuf ne serrez conuertit sa espede crollerat. sun arc tendit.
 e apareilat le. **E**t en lui aprestat les uassels de mort. sel saietes al ardanz fist.

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.

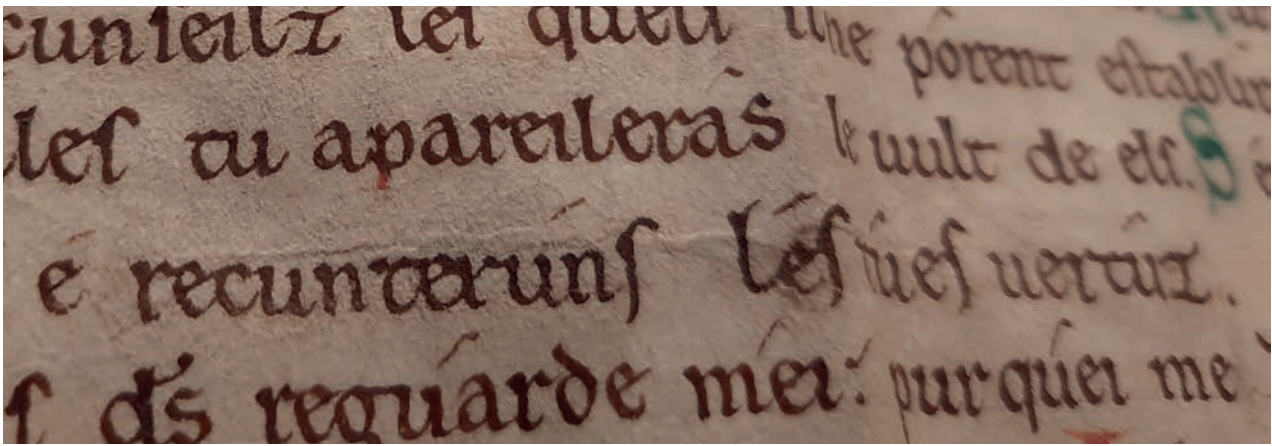
Arundel Psalter interlinear gloss (London, British Library, Arundel MS 230, f. 9v-10r):

Jo enterai enta maisun enta aureraí 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 esgarde 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 selectent sei tuit ki espereirent en tei ; en par manabletet
Et letentur omnes qui sperant in te ; in eternum
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 Douce MS 320:

[Ié enterrái en ta maisun ; et aórerái] ?
Introibo in domum tuam ; adorabo
[al tun saint temple en la túe crieme .] ?
ad templum sanctum tuum in timore tuo .
[Sire deméine méi en ta iustise] ?
Domine deduc me in iusticia tua
[pur les miens enemís ; dréce] ?
propter inimicos meos ; dirige
[el tuén esguardement la méie uéie] ?
in conspectu tuo uiam meam ;
[Kar ueritétenen est . en lur búche ;] ?
Quoniam non est in ore eorum ueritas ;
[lur cúer est uáin. Sépúlchré a-] ?
cor eorum uanum est . Sepulchrum pa-
[ouránz est li guitrún di cels par lur lángues] ?
tens est guttur eorum ; linguis suis
[tricherusemément faiseient ; iúge icéls deus .] ?
dolose agebant ; iudica illos deus.
[Dechédent de lur cogitatiuns selunc]
Decidant a cogitationibus suis ; secundum
[la multitudine de lur impietez] ?
multitudinem impietatum eorum
[debúte icels kar il entariérent téi síre .] ?
expelle eos ; quoniam irritauerunt te domine.
[Esleðcent séi túit chi espéirent en téi ; en] ?
Et letentur omnes qui sperant in te ; in
[parmanabletet sesioirúnt é tu habiteras en els .] ?
eternum exultabunt et habitabis in eis.
[E sesglorierúnt en téi túit chi aiment] ?
Et gloriabuntur in te omnes qui diligunt
[le tuén núm ; kar tu beneistras al iúste .] ?
nomen tuum ; quoniam tu benedices iusto .
[Sire sicume . délescút de la túe bóne uoluntét] ?
Domine ; ut scuto bone uoluntatis tue
[córúnás nús .] ?
coronasti nos . PSALMUS DAVID
[Sire ne me arguer en tá fuirúr ;] ?
Domine ne in furore tuo arguas
[ne en la túe íre ne me castiér.] ?
me ; neque in ira tua corripias me .
[Merci áies de mei sire quar íe sui enferm ;] ?
Miserere mei domine quoniam infirmus
[] ? [sáine mei sire . quar sunt conturbét .] ?
sum ; sana me domine quoniam conturbata
[li mien ós] ?
sunt ossa mea.
[E lá meie áneme conturbéde est . mult ; é tu] ?
Et anima mea turbata est ualde ; et tu
[síre deque aquant .] ?
domine usquequo .
[Seies conuertit síre é deliure ma aneme ;] ?
Conuertere domine et eripe animam meam ;
[salf me fáí pur la tue misericordie.] ?
saluum me fac propter misericordiam tuam .

f. 40v,
line 31



Getting back to the analysis of individual examples, it is worth noting that on f. 40v, line 31, Douce ms 320 reads: *nus canterums é recunterúns les túes uertúz.* 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* (f. 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 f. 47v, lines 39–40, Douce reads: *Kar láneme dé lúi en lá uie de lúi meésme serát benedéite.* The Latin text of Arundel has (f. 51v): *Quia anima eius in uita ipsius benedi-/cetur; confitebitur tibi cum benefece.* Its vernacular gloss is once again rather similar to Douce.

On f. 49v, line 5, Douce's sequence *que ié pláise deuant déu en la lumière dés uiuánz.* can be interpreted in comparison with the lines of Latin text in Arundel, f. 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 f. 51r, line 34. Douce has here: *A lúi par lá meie búche criái; é esledeceai desúz ma lánque.* In Arundel, f. 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.

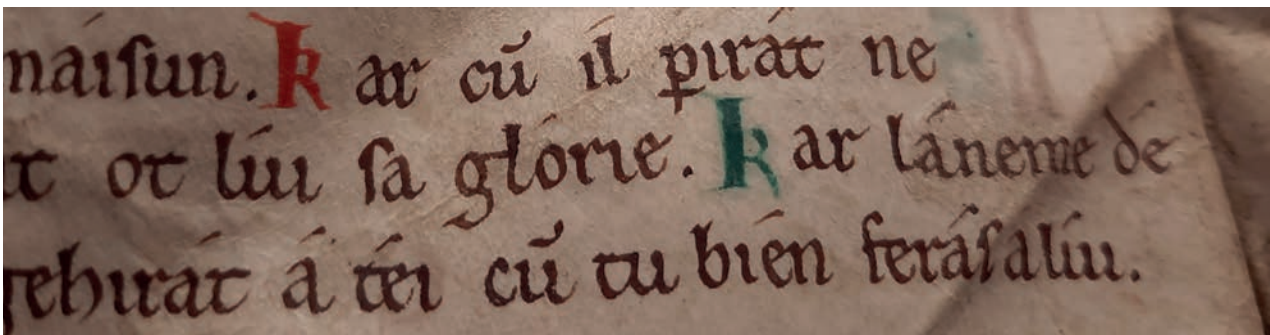
On f. 55r, line 28, Douce reads: *é les súes meruélles el*

◆ Close-ups of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce ms 320.

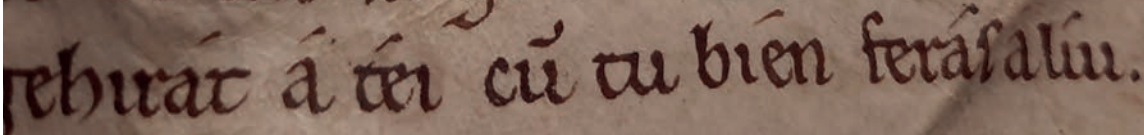
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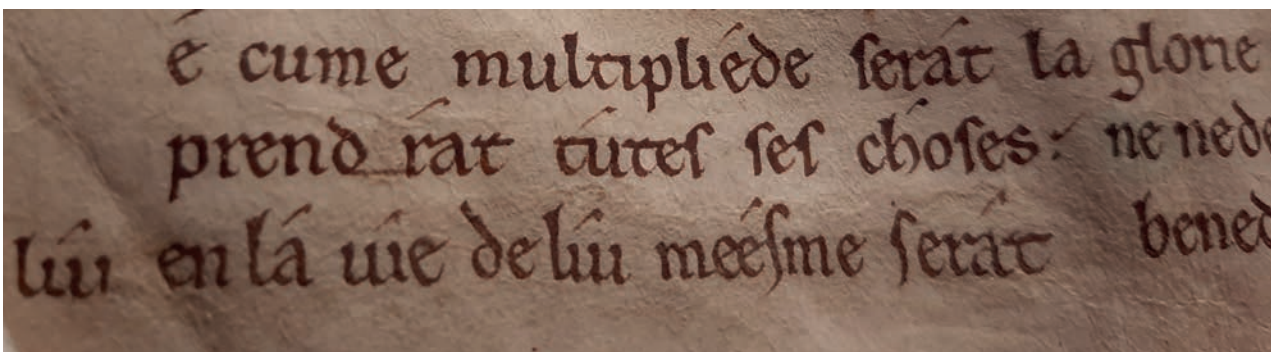
f. 47v,
line 39



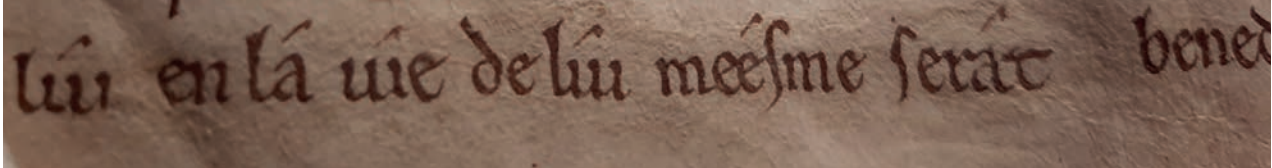
f. 47v,
line 40

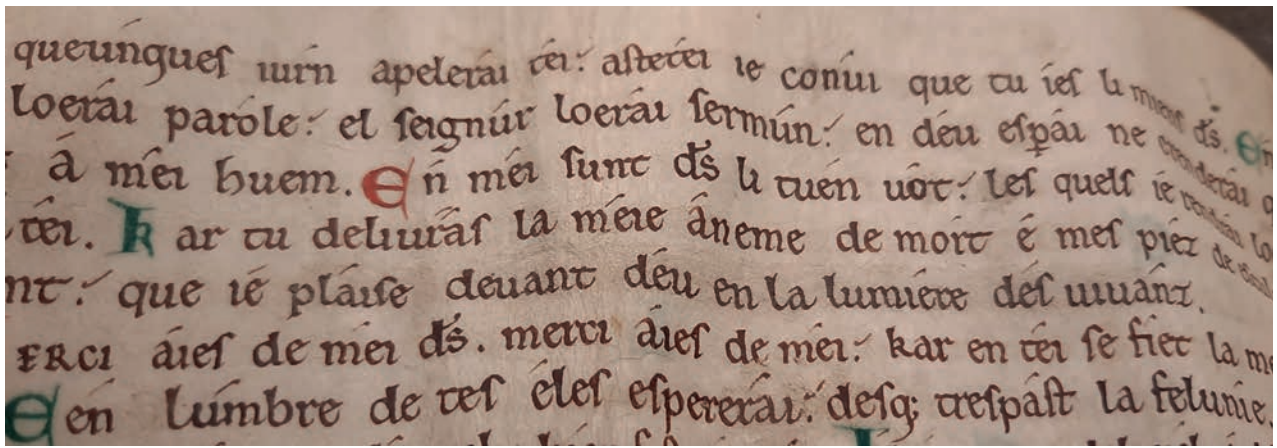


f. 47v,
line 39



f. 47v,
line 40



f. 49v,
line 5

cāmp de tafneós. Cf. Arundel, f. 80r: *Sicut posuit in egypto signa sua; e prodigia 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 f. 55r, line 37, Douce has: *E ferit chescūne chōse premiēr engendrēe en la tēre d'egýpte*. Cf. Arundel's Latin text, 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:

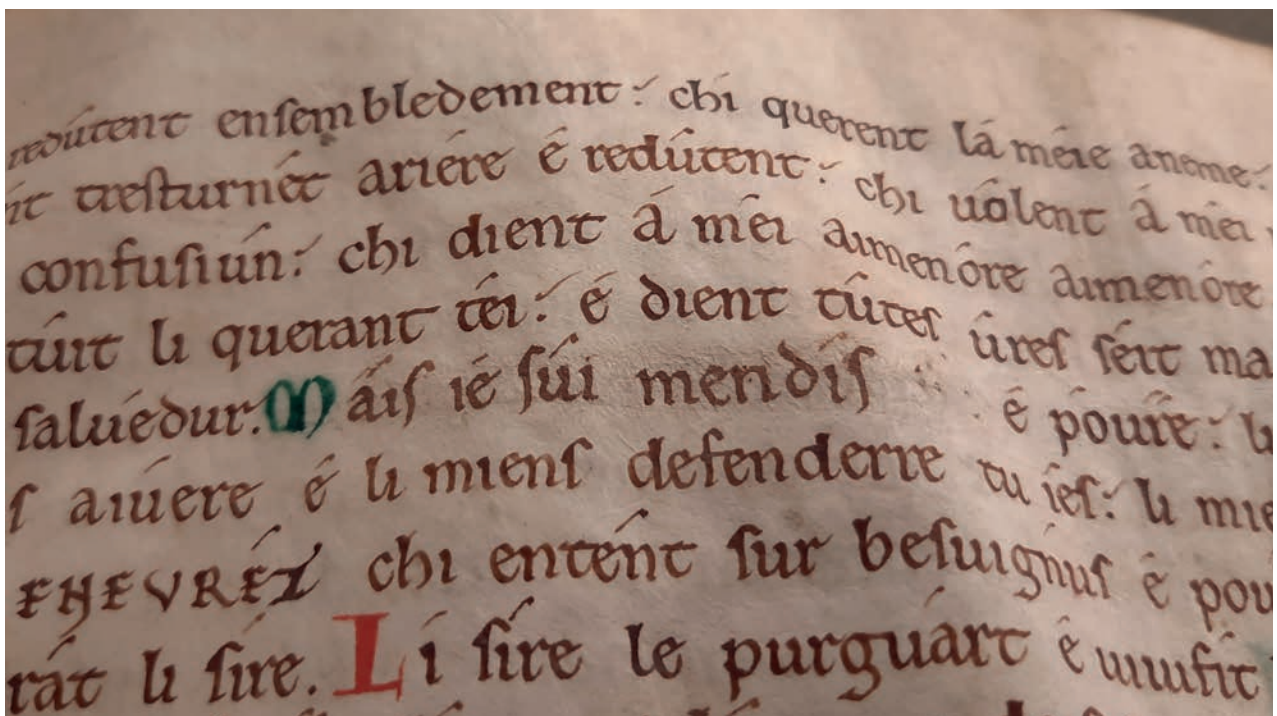
*Et percussit omne primogenitum
 in terra egypti (...)*

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 f. 46r, line 5, Douce has a phrase written on

top of an erasure: *Máis iē súi mendís é pōūre*. The Arundel gloss is similar to the Douce prose and corresponds to the Latin text (f. 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: 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: 178) also seems to be correct.

In our opinion, the scribe of Douce MS 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 rephrase, and on many other factors. This will be analysed in the next instalment of this paper.

f. 46r,
line 5

PRELIMINARY FINDINGS (VA, AC)

The first instalment of this paper cannot provide conclusions based on a partial analysis of the erasures in Douce ms 320. Proper conclusions will be drawn only at the end of the next instalment, when the study of erasures will be completed. For the time being, the preliminary results of our partial study (to be confirmed or rebutted by further research) is that 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 f. 40r he stopped correcting *quar* and *ker* into *kar*. Four folios later, on f. 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 f. 37r to 69v, corrected *acertes* into *mais* between f. 40v–46r, and finally left *acertes* uncorrected from f. 40v to f. 71v is proof of such resignation. Similarly, the erasures concerning double *-rr-* do not occur after f. 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 f. 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 f. 55–56. Four other corrections on top of erasures of this type occur on f. 56v–57r (*sul* > *sol*), f. 58v (*uitante* > *oitante*), f. 60r (? > *curucez*), and f. 70r (> *aorerums*), but they are rare exceptions. In the case of dentals in future and past tense verbal forms, the turning point occurs on f. 53–59. This

was amply discussed at the end of the section on dentals, where it was also noted that it can be linked to a turning point in the spelling of past participles (f. 57) and nouns ending in dentals (f. 60), thus leading to the conclusion that the scribe experimented and finally settled the issue of dentals when he transcribed f. 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 f. 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 f. 56v, f. 57r–f. 59v, and f. 57r–60r. Extensive erasures stop on f. 57r. There are only two on f. 61r and 75v, but they are not very large and cannot be linked to the issue of lines in the Latin source, only with word order. Folios 55–60 are therefore the segment of the text where he 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 hypotheses are as follows: first, that the scribe focused on making a pre-existing text more fluid—a hypothesis that was 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 Arundel ms 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 Arundel ms 230 follows the pattern of several glosses that are known in Old English literature (vide infra). In this type of equation, Douce would represent a possible prosification of a gloss.

OLD ENGLISH PRECEDENTS (VA)

The thing that makes the interpretation of the filiation of Arundel ms 230 and Douce ms 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 translational 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 vernac-

ular 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. Gretsches 2001; Gretsches 2005; Lendinara 2019: 87–92). Since the translations of the Bible could have played a similar role in the evolution of Old French (e.g., Trenchard 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, 23, *passim*; Gretsches 1999, 17–21; cf. Lendinara 2023: 338). *Group α* consists of its namesake codex *A* (London, British Library, Cotton MS 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, Royal MS 2 B v) is also early, dated to mid-10th century, the other glosses were compiled in early 11th-century: *L* (London, British Library, Additional MS 37517, in a 10th-century codex); mid-11th century—*G* (London, British Library, Cotton MS Vitellius E xviii); mid- or third quarter of the 11th century—*F* (London, British Library, Stowe MS 2) and *H* (London, British Library, Cotton MS 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: 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 appar-

tuses 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: 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 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 Arundel MS 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: 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 above-mentioned 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 Arundel MS 230 breaks with Douce MS 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, f. lat. 8846; Psalms 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: 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: 29–32). This corresponds to the peculiar mechanics of complex translation clusters analysed in the recent *Translation Automatism* volume (Agrigoroaei, Sasu, Voleková, Svobodová, Korondi, Ungureanu, Ginsac 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: 32–34).

Blom’s last category consists of “commentary glosses provid[ing] new information to and elucidat[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: 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: 37, with translational 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, Krivoschekova 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).

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

► Cambridge, Trinity College, ms R.17.1, f. 10v.

The Old English gloss is transcribed on the text of Romanum (second column), whereas the Old French one on Hebraicum (first column).

Courtesy of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College Cambridge



VERBA
 mea
 audi
 domine. intel
 lige murmur
 meum. adverte
 ad uocem clamo
 ris mei;
 ex meus &
 deus meus.
 quia te depre
 cor; Domine
 mar
 te
 audies uocem
 meam. mane
 preparabor ad
 te. & contem
 plabor. Quo
 nam
 non es deus
 uolens impieta
 te tu. nec habi
 tabit iuxta te
 malignus. Non sta
 bit in iustis

VERBA
 mea
 audi
 bus pape do
 mine. intelli
 ge clamorem
 meum: in ten
 de uoci oratio
 nis mee: rex
 meus & deus
 meus. Quo
 nam ad te ora
 bo domine
 mane. exau
 dies uocem
 meam. Quom
 am non deus uo
 lens
 iniquitatem
 tuam. Non ha
 bitabit iuxta
 te malignus:
 neq; pmanebunt
 in iustis

In finem p ea que heditatem
 consequuntur p clamor
 uox eccle.
 In finem p ea que heditate consequit p dñi uox eccle.
 Trima orō. Verba: orō plal
 modā. Clamorē. cord affe
 ctū. iō exaudi orationē.
 ecce ē de eod.

VERBA
 mea auribus
 pape domi
 ne: intellige clamorem meū.

VERBA
 mea auribus
 pape domi
 ne: intellige clamorem meū.

HEBR.
 BECOMERA JAM STORJA
 Dyllicne leoman hepō
 comera se storja 7 on
 englicf hinc man nemō
 se feaxeda storja he hinc
 acōpō seldan ymbe
 pēla pinta 7 honne
 for portacne.

VERBA
 mea auribus
 pape domi
 ne: intellige clamorem meū.

VERBA
 mea auribus
 pape domi
 ne: intellige clamorem meū.

VERBA
 mea auribus
 pape domi
 ne: intellige clamorem meū.

ROSI.
Gall.

Ad. De mendacia qda
 pfalture ul' comodo alie. n.
 malicia. s. benignitate ut
 obfiteres. que dixerit pharaon
 falsu p'filiis hebreoz. hanc
 mendacia n're s. in dolo laudat.
 qz q sic inuunt. meredunt
 aliqn ab oi' mendacio u'bari.
 Est etiā mendaciū ioco. quod
 n' fallit. ser em' cau dir' causa
 ioci dia. 7 h duo genā n' fē
 sine culpa. s. n' cu magna.
 pfectū aut n' uenit inari.
 nec p'cipali uita. cui more
 sua l'ala n' occidit anima.
 licet autē ed si n' falsū dīe
 uerū tacē. ut signū n' uult
 hoīe ad mortē pde: uerū ta
 ceat. s. n' falsū dicat. ne p'ca
 pore atq' animā suā occidat.
 Honē. culpa uerū tacere.
 ut 7 dōs. multa. h. u. d. si
 lud autē ubi n' ē. duplex cor:
 n' debet dici mendaciū. ut h' qz
 cōmīdet gladiū. 7 p'ntia
 potēnti reddere. si fures
 posere: n' debeo reddē. ne se
 ul' aliu occidat. Idō hie n' ē.
 duplex cor: quia cū p'nti
 reddē: n' cogitau' furentē
 posse repetere.

mane. ut uideant & here
 aut ueritati. **Q**uia n'
ante oculos tuos **O**disti
 simit manere infē. **Q** opatur cu. placet. si displicet. & si
 cadit: languor nate fac.
omnes qui opantur iniqui
 n' ipse **Q**uia h' est ueritatē contrā. uitas
 gnalit. de eo qd' ē. mendaciū n' ē. subal' nam.
tatem: pdes omnes qui lo
 s. de eo qd' n' ē. & mīto p'rtur q' declinat ab eo quod est ad id
 qn' solū operantel. quod non ē.
quuntur mendacium.
 h' ē. qd' supra. q' opantur iniquitatem. s. qui deca
 homicidam. s. qd' sup. q' loqr.

Virum sanguinum & dolo
 mendaciū. s. i. exhe reditabio. **Q** que autē seqt'
 p'it uiuum. hereditatē ex
sum abhominabitur domi
 nitat ispe. **T**ercio die se futurā domū dī. & n' e' premare in timore. an
 mutatio miscde: estimatōne que
 expellit timore.
nus: ego autem in multatu
 est muta & p'feti sū. q's n' ē
 partē ecclia. **Q**ue
dine misericordie tue. In
 lapis i edificatū. m h
 in troia p'fectio. **Q** celestia. **Q**ue
troibo in domum tuam: ad
 in troito. qz adorabo. i. prope n' m.
 templo. h de p'gressu p'uid.
orabo ad templum sanctum
 s. que. magnū p'fidū p'faciatib. s. p'uenientib; forā mītatē.
 s. h' n' ē. **Q**ue
tuam in timore tuo **D**omi
 adūa. **Q** deductio nūm p'faciē. **Q** hon
ne deduc me in iustitia tua:
 hominis. ubi malū p'mato datur: qd' n' d's. qz 7 si p'ume:
 n' suum malū infer: s. mal' iud' eod' relinquit. hō u' cū
 p'ntit malo uero h' agit. & deo prior ipse malus ē.
ppter inimicos meos diri
 s. ut p' oclis habeā p'cepta.

Pecce conē ea que emula
 ingerit. uñ ipsa p'bit.
 iustitia. r. quia p'ntentē
 7 supplex recipis.
In spētu. r. ubi homo n'
 uidet. cu laudant l' utu
 panti n' ē. credendū. quia
 n' uidet in conscientia in
 qua rē ad dīm dirigit. sō
 subd'. Qm' n' ē. m. o. e. a.
Non modo n' ē. ueritas in
 ore: s. sepulchrū. quia fe
 tida pronunt ad corrupē
 dū. qz si n' p'ficiat: dolo
 se. a. n' in motuunt: s. ef
 ficiunt.

ge in conspectu tuo uiam meā.
 Quoz iudicio uonett credendū. & iō ad scientiā
 ubi d's uidet fugiendū. ē.
Quoniam non est in ore eorū
 qz cor fallit de peccato 7 p'pna peccati.
ueritas: cor eorum uanū est.
 p' uoracitē. p' qua adulando mentunt. qz sep h'at
 uoracitē. & adulatione t'unt homines. & de
Sepulchrum patens est guttur
 uorant sibi assimilando. quib; mortuis ipsi se se
 Et mal. **Q**ue
eorum: linguis suis dolose
 pulē.

deceban sine
 ante oculos
 tuos **O**disti do
 d'ntem alle. ha
 mine omis qui
 he p'p'ech imp'it' p'p'
 opantur iniqui
 tatem: pdes
 qui lo
 quuntur men
 dacium: **V**irū
 blode
 sanguinum &
 dolosum abho
 minabitur
 domum
 tuam in timore
 tuo: **I**n troi
 bo in domum
 tuam. adora
 bo in templo
 sancto
 tuo in timore
 tuo: **D**omi
 ne deduc me
 in iustitia tua
 pppter inimicos
 meos: **D**irige
 ante faciem
 tuam uiam
 meam: **N**on
 est enim in ore
 eorum rectum.
 in terrena eoz
 in sidie. sepul
 chrum patens ē.
 guttur eoz. in
 guam suā leuif
 cant.



Handwritten text at the bottom of the page, possibly a reference or a note.

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*, Évrard'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 *Compt* 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. 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: 206; cf. Lendinara 2019: 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 annum* (Agrigoroaei 2023: 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 trans-

lation strategies (extreme functional equivalence). The presence of such tailor-made words in Old English glosses, often in connection with Latin realia (Lendinara 2012: 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: 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, 1: 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).

◀ Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.17.1, f. 10v.

The Old English gloss is transcribed on the text of Romanum (penultimate column), whereas the Old French one on Hebraicum (last column).

Courtesy of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College Cambridge

luz deus recout mei.
Laudabo nomen dei cum canticis
 & magnificabo eum in laude.
To loerai le num de deus o chan
 e magnifierai lui en loenge.
 nouell. **E**t placebit deo sup utculū: cor
 nua producentem & ungula
Eplaurat a deus sur ueel nuuel
 cornes fors menant e ungles.
Videant paupes & letentur: q̄
 te deū. & iuuet anima ur̄a.

toi moi non cup...
Her oi les poures li sire e les liez
 ne despist.
Laudent illum celi & terra: ma
 re & om̄ia reptalia in eis
Laudent celi e terre mer e tu
 tes choses rampantes en ds
Qm̄ deus saluam faciet syon &
 edificabuntur ciuitates iude.
Her ds salue fera syon e ierusa
 lem.

MAIDSTONE FRAGMENTS: TRANSCRIPTION (VA)

From Douce ms 320 and Arundel ms 230 stems the entire group of bilingual psalters on two columns, the evolution of which seems simple, but no research into their links has been made. Among these psalters, one witnesses an odd transformation that could be related not to bilingual psalters as a group, but to the (again) unclear filiation of 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 Arnsmagnasanske Samling 618 4^o*), especially since the fragments date to the same period. Yet despite similitudes with Douce ms 320 which link them in the same textual tradition, the three leaves

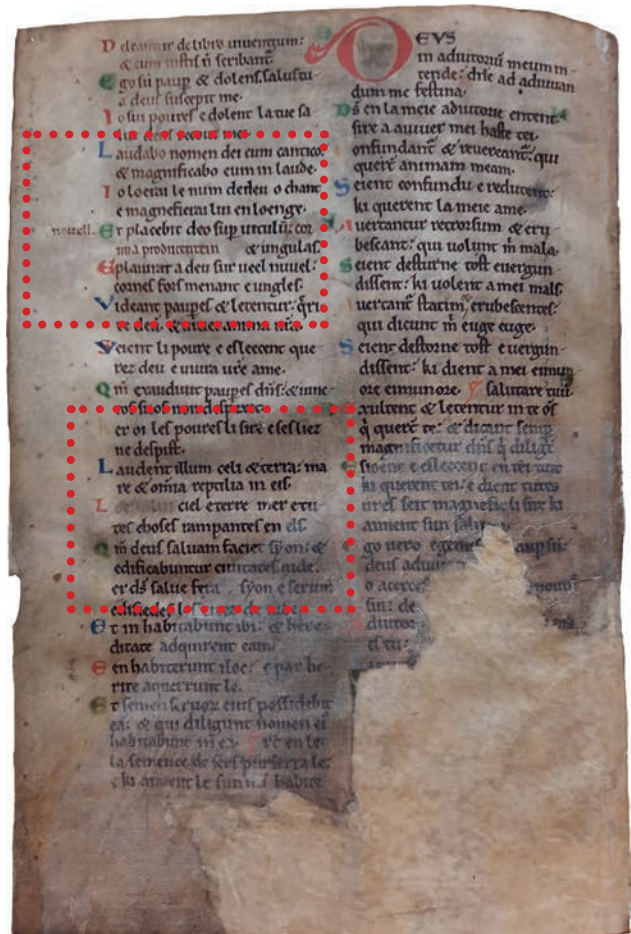
present a text which is a little different than what one finds in bilingual psalters based on Douce ms 320. It is therefore not certain that the Maidstone fragments represent a witness marking the transition to another category of bilingual (or trilingual) psalters. This transformation would seem natural 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).

An analysis of the translation strategies (or rewriting / *diorthosis*) from the Maidstone fragments is scheduled for the next instalment of the current experimental paper. For the time being, only a basic transcription of the text is provided in this last section of the first instalment. 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.

◆ Maidstone, Kent History and Library Centre, Fa/Z1 (Faversham Fragment I.): f. 3v (last folio in the (and two details 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** ^[f. 1ra] Enhabiterunt e se responderunt ; il meisme le mien talum agaiterunt .
- Ps 55:7b** Sicut sustinuerunt animam meam *pro nichilo saluos*
- + Ps 55:8** *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** [.....] / [.....] / [.....] ^[f. 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 lumbr de tes eles *esperai* ; *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** *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 hominum de[n]tes eorum ar[ma et sagi]te ; et lingua eorum [gladius ac]utus .*
[.....] dent d[e]ls ar[mes] l[a] l[angu]e dels [.....]
- Ps 56:7a** [.....] [.....] ^[> displaced] *gloria tu[a] .*
[.....] ^[f. 1va] en tute terre la tue glorie
- Ps 56:6** *Laqueum parauerunt pedibus meis ; et incurauerunt animam meam .*
Laz apresterent a mes pez ; e incurberent la meie ame .
- Foderunt ante faciem meam foueam ; et inciderunt in eam .* **Ps 56:7b**
Foirent deuant la meie face fosse ; e enchainent en li .
- Paratum cor meum deus paratum cor meum ; cantabo et psalmum* ^[> displaced] *dicam .* **Ps 56:8**
Apretez est li miens cuers *deus* ; apretez est mis cuers io canterai é psalme dirrai .
- Exurge gloria mea exurge psalterium et cithara ; exurgam diluculo .* **Ps 56:9**
Esdrece tei sire meie glorie ; esdrece tei sater e harpe io leuaria ^[> displaced] ainz iorn .
- Confitebor tibi in populis domine ; et psalmum dicam tibi in gentibus .* **Ps 56:10**
Io regehirai a tei en poples sire ; e salme dirrai en gent .
- Quoniam magnificata est usque a[d] celos misericordia tua ; et usque a[d] nubes ueritas tua .* **Ps 56:11**
[K]er magniffee est de[...] as [c]el[s] la tue misericorde e [.....] nu/]es la [t]ue uerite .
- Exaltare s[uper] celos deus [et super om/]nem terram glor[ia] tua .* **Ps 56:12**
Seies esalce s[u]r les c[iels] deus e sur] tute terre l[a] tue g[lorie] .
[text division]
- SI VERE [..... /] u[.....]iudica/]te fi[lii]* **Ps 57:2**
[.....] / [.....]
- [Etenim corde iniquitates operamini]* ^[f. 1vb] *in terra ; iniusticias manus uestre concimant .* **Ps 57:3**
Ker el cuer eniquitez uus ourent en terre . torconeries les uoz ma^[> displaced]ins composent .
- Alienati sunt peccatores a uulua ; errauerunt ab utero locuti sunt falsa .* **Ps 57:4**
Estrange sunt li pecheour de naisance ; foleerent de uentre par^[> displaced]lerent falses coses .
- Furor illis secundum similitudinem serpentis ; sicut aspidis surde et obturantis aures suas .* **Ps 57:5**
Furur est a els selunc la semblance de serpent ; sicume del surd serpent estupanz ses oreilles .
- Que non exaudiet uocem incantancium ; et uenefici incantantis sapienter .* **Ps 57:6**
La quele nen norra la uoiz des enchantanz sagement .
- [D]eus conter[e]t dentes eorum in ore ipsorum ; [mo]l[a]s l[eo]num confringet dominus .* **Ps 57:7**
Deus det[rib]lera les denz dels en la buch[e] d[e]ls meimes les ioes des [.....]s[.....]i[.....]n[.....]a li sire .
- [Ad nihil]um [d]euenient tanquam [aqua de]currens i[n]t[er]endit arcum* ^[> displaced] *suum* ^[> displaced] *donec infirmentur .* **Ps 57:8**
[.....] de[u]end[run]t sic[u]me euue [.....] ent]ende sun arc [.....] [.....]
- [.....] [.....] [.....] **Ps 57:9**
[.....] [.....] [.....]
- [.....] [.....] [.....] **Ps 57:10**
[.....] ^[f. 2va] [.....] si]cume uiande issi [.....]ez icels .

<p>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 .</p>	<p>[f. 2ra] Et de execratione et mendatio ; annunciabuntur in consummatione ; in ira consummationis et non erunt . E de execration e mencunge annuncie serrunt en consummation . [-line left blak]</p>	<p>Ps 58:13b + Ps 58:14 a(-b)</p>
<p>Ps 57:12 [E]t dicit homo si utique est fructus iusto ; utique est deus iudicans eos in ter[ra] . E dirra li huem si acertes est fruit al iuste acertes est deus iuianz els en terre uiuant . [text division]</p>	<p>Et scient quia deus dominabitur iacob ; et finium terre . En ire de consumation e nen erent e saurunt que deus seignoriera iacob e les fins de terre . Conuertentur ad uesperam et famem patientur ut canes ; et circuibunt ciuitatem .</p>	<p>Ps 58:14 (b)-c Ps 58:15</p>
<p>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 esdrekanz encontre mei deliure mei .</p>	<p>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 .</p>	<p>Ps 58:16</p>
<p>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 .</p>	<p>Il serunt esparpeille a manger acertes ne serunt saule e mur[erent] . Ego autem cantabo fortitudinem tuam ; et exaltabo mane misericordiam tuam .</p>	<p>Ps 58:16 Ps 58:17a</p>
<p>Ps 58:4 Quia ecce ceperunt animam meam ; irruerunt in me fortes . Ker eite tei il pristrent la meie aneme embruierent en mei li fort .</p>	<p>Mais io canterai la tue force e essalcerai par matin la tue misericorde . Quia factus es susceptor meus ; et refugium meum in die tribulationis mee .</p>	<p>Ps 58:17a Ps 58:17b</p>
<p>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 .</p>	<p>Ker tu es faiz li miens receuere e li miens refuies el iorn de la me[ie] tribulation . Adiutor meus tibi psallam . quia deus susceptor meus es ; deus meus misericordia mea .</p>	<p>Ps 58:17b Ps 58:18</p>
<p>Ps 58:6a Exurge in occursum meum et uide ; et tu domine deus uirtutum deus israel . Esdrece tei el mien contrecors e uei ; e tu sire deus de uertuz ; deus israel .</p>	<p>Li miens adiuuere a tei cantærai ker deus tu es li miens receuere ; li miens deus la meie misericorde . DEVS REPPVLISTI NOS ET DESTRUXISTI NOS IRA tus es et misertu[s] Deus tu debutas nus e [.....] / nus irez es e as merci [.....]</p>	<p>Ps 58:18 Ps 59:3</p>
<p>Ps 58:6a [I]ntende ad uisitandas omnes gentes ; non miserearis omnibus qui operantur iniquitatem . Entent a uisiter tutes genz ; nen aies merci de tuz ki ourent felunie .</p>	<p>Commuisti terram et contu= / eam ; sana contriciones eiu[s] quia / commota est . [T]u commous la terre e si la conturbas ; seigne les contriciuns de le ker commoue est .</p>	<p>Ps 59:3 Ps 59:4</p>
<p>Ps 58:7 Conuertentur ad uesperam et famem patientur ut canes ; et circuibunt ciuitatem . Il serunt conuerti al uespre e faim sufferunt cume chiens ; e auirunerunt la cite .</p>	<p>Ostendisti populo tuo dura ; potasti nos uino compunctionis . Tu demustras al tuen pople dures choses abeuras nus del uin de compunction .</p>	<p>Ps 59:4 Ps 59:5</p>
<p>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 quels oit .</p>	<p>Dedisti metuentibus te significationem ; ut fugiant a facie arcus . Tu dunas as cremanz tei signification que il fuient de la face del arc .</p>	<p>Ps 59:5 Ps 59:6a</p>
<p>Ps 58:9 Et tu domine deridebis eos ; ad nichilum deduces omnes gentes . E tu sire les escharniras ; a neent demerras tutes genz .</p>	<p>Vt liberentur dilecti tui ; saluum fac dextera tua et exaudi me . Purco que seient deliure li tuen amet ; salf me fai par ta destre e oi mei .</p>	<p>Ps 59:6a Ps 59:6b + Ps 59:7</p>
<p>Ps 58:10 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 .</p>	<p>Deus locutus est in sancto suo ; letabor et partibor siccimam et conuallem tabernaculorum metibor . Ieus parla en sun saint io mesleecerei et departirai siccima ; e la ualee des tabernacles mesuerai .</p>	<p>Ps 59:6b + Ps 59:7 Ps 59:8</p>
<p>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 aucune fiee ne oblient li mien pople .</p>	<p>Meus est galaad et meus est manases ; et effraim fortitudo capitis mei . Miens est galaad miens est manases e effraim la fortece de mun chief .</p>	<p>Ps 59:8 Ps 59:9a</p>
<p>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 .</p>	<p>Iuda rex meus ; moab olla spei mee . Iude li miens reis ; moab le pot de la meie spee .</p>	<p>Ps 59:9a Ps 59:9b + Ps 59:10a</p>
<p>Ps 58:13a Delictum oris eorum sermone[m] labiorum ipsorum ; et comprehendantur in superbia sua . Les mesfaiz de lur buche la parole de lur leures e seient compris en la lur superbe .</p>	<p>In idumeam extendam calciam[mentum meum ...]</p>	<p>Ps 59:9b + Ps 59:10a Ps 59:10b</p>

[text of the second fragment]

- Ps 68:15** [.....] ^[f. 3ra] *me et de profundis aquarum* .
Oste mei del fanc que io ne seie enzliche de cels ki hairent mei e des parfundece 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** ^[f. 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 aasil .
- 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} scandle .
- 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 comprehendat eos* .
Espant sur els la tue ire ; e la furor de la tue ire comprengre els .
- Ps 68:26** *Fiat habitatio eorum deserta ; et in tabernaculis eorum non sit qui inhabitet* .
Seit faite la 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 parseuurent e sur la dolor de mes plaies aiusterent .
- 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 .
- ^[f. 3va] *Deleantur de libro uiuentium ; et cum iustis non scribantur* .
Ego sum pauper et dolens . salus tua deus suscepit me .
Io sui poures e dolent la tue saluz deus recout mei .
- Laudabo nomen dei cum cantico ; et magnificabo eum in laude* .
Io loerai le num de deu o chant e magnifierai lui en loenge .
- Et placebit deo super uitulum nouellum ; cornua producentem et ungulas* .
E plaisirat a deu sur ueel nuuel ; cornes fors menant e ungles .
- Videant pauperes et letentur ; querite deum . et uiuet anima uestra* .
Veient li poure e esleecent querez deu e uiura uostre ame .
- Quoniam exaudiuit pauperes dominus ; et uinctos suos non despexit* .
Ker oi les poures li sire e ses liez ne despist .
- Laudent illum celi et terra ; mare et omnia reptilia in eis* .
Loent lui ciel e terre mer e tutes choses rampantes en els .
- Quoniam deus saluam faciet syon ; et edificabuntur ciuitates iude* .
Ker deus salue fera syon e serunt edifiedes les citez de iude .
- Et inhabitabunt ibi ; et hereditate adquirent eam* .
E enhabiterunt iloc ; e par herite aquerrunt le .
- 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]
- ^[f. 3vb] *Deus in adiutorium meum intende ; domine ad adiuuandum me festina* .
Deus en la meie adiutorie entent ; sire a aiouer mei haste tei .
- Confundantur et reuerentur ; qui querunt animam meam* .
Seient confundu e redulent ; ki querent la meie ame .
- Auertantur retrorsum et erubescant ; qui uolunt michi mala* .
Seient desturne tost e uergundissent ; ki uolent a mei mals .
- Auertantur statim et erubescantes ; qui dicunt michi euge euge* .
Seient destorne tost e uergundissent ; ki dient a mei eimunore eimunore .
- 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 .
- Ego uero egenus [et p]auper sum ; deus adiuua [me .]*
Io acertes [.....] poures sui ; de[us]
- Adiutor [.....]r meus es tu ; [.....]*
Li m[iens]
- Ps 68:28**
Ps 68:29
Ps 68:30
Ps 68:31
Ps 68:32
Ps 68:33
Ps 68:34
Ps 68:35
Ps 68:36a
Ps 68:36b
Ps 68:37
Ps 69:2
Ps 69:3
Ps 69:4a (-b mixed)
Ps 69:4b
Ps 69:5
Ps 69:6a
Ps 69:6b

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