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JEROME'S ABBREVIATED PSALTER

**THE MIDDLE ENGLISH
AND LATIN VERSIONS**

Edited by
JAMES H. MOREY

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GLOSSARY OF PSALM TERMINOLOGY

Abbreviated psalter: excerpts of one to a dozen or more verses from select psalms, presented in sequence for private devotional use.

Antiphon: a verse or verses sung by choirs responsively.

Book of hours (Latin *horae*): sets of prayers and psalms, similar to a **Breviary**, used for private devotion.

Breviary (Latin *breviarium*): a set of texts necessary to perform the divine service for any given day.

Canonical hours: see **Office**.

Canticle: an excerpted biblical text, meant to be sung, that appears in a **Psalter**.

Creeds: formal statements of articles of faith, often appearing in a **Book of hours**.

Florilegium: a specially chosen set of biblical texts.

Gallicanum: Jerome's translation of the psalms made from a revised text of the **Septuagint**, and used principally on the Continent and in Ireland. This version appears in the **Vulgate**.

Gradual psalms: Psalms 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, and 133, so called because of their association with the approach to the Temple in Jerusalem, up the steps (*gradus*).

Hebraicum: Jerome's last translation into Latin of the psalms, from Hebrew texts (*iuxta Hebraeos*).

Horarium: see **Office**.

Hours of the Virgin: a set of psalms, hymns, and biblical excerpts in praise of Mary. It could supplement the **Office**, and was a common feature of a **Book of hours**.

Incipit (Latin "it begins"): the first words of the first verse of a psalm.

Litany: a series of invocations and responses, used as a prayer.

Lollards: see **Wycliffites**.

Mass: prayers and ceremonies centred on the celebration of the Eucharist.

Nocturns: a division of the **Office** of Matins (during the night).

Office: the timetable of daily monastic prayer: matins, lauds, prime, terce, sext, none, vespers, compline.

Pandect: a complete copy of the biblical canon.

Penitential psalms: Psalms 6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129, and 142, notable for expressing sorrow for one's sins.

Placebo and Dirige: the Office of the Dead, so named because of the first words in the service and the first **Antiphon**.

Primer: a set of vernacular texts and prayers to instruct novices.

Psalm: a sacred song, originally in Hebrew, meant to be recited, chanted, or sung during the **Office**.

Psalter: a manuscript codex of the 150 psalms for either corporate ceremony or private devotion.

Responsory: see **Antiphon**.

Romanum: old Latin (*vetus Latina*) translation of the psalms from the **Septuagint**, attributed to Jerome, and used principally in Rome and in England before the tenth century.

Rule: a set of regulations governing monastic behavior. The most famous rule was written by Saint Benedict in the sixth century.

Septuagint: Greek translation of the Hebrew scriptures, ca. 250–100 BCE.

Vigils: the devotional service held on the evening before a feast day.

Vulgate (Latin *vulgaris*, of the people): Jerome's fourth-century translation of the Bible from Hebrew and Greek into Latin. The standard Latin text of the Bible in the Middle Ages.

Vulgate numbering of the psalms: Jerome followed the **Septuagint** (Greek) numbering system, which varies from the numbering of Reformation psalters—for example the King James Authorized Version (1611)—based on the Massoretic (Hebrew) numbering system, as follows:

Vulgate 1–8 = AV 1–8

Vulgate 9 = AV 9–10 (breaking at verse 20)

Vulgate 10–112 = AV 11–113

Vulgate 113 = AV 114–115 (breaking at verse 8)

Vulgate 114–115 (breaking at verse 9) = AV 116

Vulgate 116–145 = AV 117–146

Vulgate 146–147 (breaking at verse 11) = AV 147

Vulgate 148–150 = AV 148–150

Wycliffites: a group of fourteenth-century English religious reformers associated with John Wycliffe. Multiple members of the group were responsible for the first complete translation of the Bible into English.

In quacūq; die tuocāno te ⁊ uelocit
exaudi me. **R**e reuoces me ī diuicio
dier meor ⁊ ī generatione ⁊ genācone
auni tui. **E**t tu dñe fac me cū p̄p̄uo
me tuū ⁊ qm̄ suauis ē n̄ia tua. **E**le
ra me q; egeu ⁊ paup sū ⁊ cor meū
conturbatū ē t̄ra me. **S**icut umbra
cū declinat ablatū sū ⁊ exultus sū
sicut locuste. **A**dnuia me deus dñs
me ⁊ saluū me fac p̄p̄ n̄iam tuam.
Retribue seruo tuo iunifica me ⁊ cū
todiam sermones tuos. **R**euēla o
culos meos ⁊ et cōsiderato mirabilia
de lege tua. **I**ncola ego sū ī t̄ra ⁊ nō
abscondas a me mandata tua. **Q**uā
iniquitatis amoue a me ⁊ et de lege
tua non sū oblitus. **P**eduo me in
semita mandator tuor ⁊ qā ip̄am uo
lui. **I**ntima cor meū deus ī testifica

tua et nō ī avariciā. **A**verte oculos me
os ne videāt vanitātē et inīa tua iusti
fica me. **S**tatue seruo tuo eloqū tu
ū et timore tuo. **A**mputa obprobriū
meū qd' suspicatus sū et q̄a iudicia tua io
cunda. **A**ccipe concupim mandata tua:
et iustitiae tuae iustifica me. **E**t veniat se
cū me vniūsa tua dñe et salutare tuū scdm elo
qū tuū. **B**onitātē fecisti cū seruo tuo
dñe et scdm vrbū tuū. **B**onitātē et disci
plinā et scienciā doce me et q̄ ī mandatis
tuis credidi. **B**onus es tu et ī bonitātē
tua et doce me iustificacōes tuas. **M**em
brae fecerūt me et plasmaverūt me et da
mī intellectū ut discā mandata tua. **A**bi
at vniūsa tua ut consulet' me et scdm eloq
ū tuū seruo tuo. **V**eniāt in miserationē
tuā et iuuā et q̄ lex tua meditatio mea
ē. **A**gnat cor meū ī maculatū et iustifi

cordib; tuis nō confidat. **H**umiliat
sū usqueq; dñe: iustificā me scdm uer
bū tuū. **V**oluntaria om̃s mei bñplac
ta fac dñe: et iudicia tua doce me. **S**ul
cipe seruū tuū in bonū: et nō confundas
me ab expectatione mea. **A**diuua me
et saluus ero: et meditaor i iustificati
onib; semp. **H**ac cū seruo tuo scdm
uiam tuam: et iustificatiōes tuas doce
me. **S**eruus tuus ego sū: da m̃ inteller
tū. ut scā testimonia tua. **R**espice in
me: et miserere mei: scdm iudiciū dilige
cū nomen tuū. **G**ressus meos scdm eloqui
tū diriget: et nō dñet mei om̃s iniquia.
Redime me a calumpnijs hōm: ut cul
todia mandata tua. **L**acrimae tuā illumi
na sup̃ seruū tuū: et doce me iustifica
tiōes tuas. **V**ide humilitatē meā et
eripe me: q̃ legē tuā nō sū oblitus.

Iudicia iudicium meum et redime me: pro
eloquium tuum iustificata me. **A**ppropin-
quet deprecation mea in conspectu tuo domine:
iuxta eloquium tuum da mihi intellectum. **I**n-
tret postulatio mea in conspectu tuo: se-
cundum eloquium tuum eripe me. **E**ruc-
tabunt labia mea primum cum docueris
me. iustificationes tuas. **F**iat manus
tua ut saluat me: quoniam mandata tua
elegi. **C**oncupivi salutare tuum domine:
et lex tua meditatio mea est. **A**niet
anima mea et laudabit te: et iudicia tua
admirabunt me. **E**rravi sicut omnes qui
perunt querere servum tuum domine: quia man-
data tua non sum oblitus. **M**iserere mihi
domine miserere mihi: quoniam multum repleti su-
mus defecatione. **B**ene fac domine: bonis
et rectis corde. **C**onverte domine iustitiam
nostram: sicut torrens in austro. **D**e

INTRODUCTION

THE BOOK OF Psalms is the pre-eminent biblical book of the Middle Ages and perhaps of any age. The psalter itself enjoins that “seven times a day I have given you praise” (Ps. 118:164) and the Divine Office so practised by monks included portions of the psalter such that all 150 psalms would be recited (from memory and in Latin) in a single week, beginning on the Sabbath. Monastic practice is familiar and well documented.¹ Less familiar is the penetration of Latin and vernacular psalms in the daily devotions of lay people. After a review of the psalter in general and of the origins of abbreviated psalters in particular, this introduction will turn to one of the most important collections of psalm verses in the Middle Ages, *Jerome’s Abbreviated Psalter*. The edition presents the Middle English versions in parallel, followed by the Latin version in the Lincoln Thornton manuscript.

The Latin mass has certain essential components, but as the name “breviary” implies (*breviarium* in Latin) the liturgy was variously abbreviated and excerpted according to who was worshipping at a particular time and place.² The variety of liturgical practice is daunting and there are comprehensive guides to its medieval forms in ecclesiastical contexts, both secular and regular.³ There is, in addition, what can be called the liturgy of private devotion that was modelled on the larger-scale forms and that metamorphosed over time into multifarious, and ubiquitous, books of hours. *Jerome’s Abbreviated Psalter* is the most widespread text in the abbreviated psalter tradition. It is commonly found in primers and books of hours, and it illustrates an important aspect of lay devotional life from the eighth to the sixteenth century. The English versions contribute both to the history of English prose and to the history of biblical translation in English.

The Medieval Psalter

The significance of the psalter is twofold: first as an aid to prayer, personal devotion, and repentance, and second as a digest of biblical themes and stories as various verses were mapped typologically onto the life of Christ. A passage attributed to Alcuin (fl. late eighth century) subsumes both significances:

1 Two of the best treatments are by Dyer, “The Psalms in Monastic Prayer,” and Billett, *Divine Office*. Hughes (*Medieval Manuscripts*, sections 401–2) and Harper (*Forms and Orders*, 67–108) explain the distribution of the psalms within the Office, and Anlezark (“Psalms in the Old English Office”) is one of the few scholars to address abbreviated psalters specifically (200–2 and 210–16, where he makes the case for a set of twenty-seven verses from the Old English Office as an “abbreviated abbreviated psalter”).

2 The *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* cites Alcuin’s epistle 304 as the earliest use of the word: “rogastis ut scriberemus vobis breviarium comatico sermone qualiter homo laicus ... Deo supplicare debeat.” See below, p. 12.

3 For example Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*, especially sections 873–85 for psalters. For England in particular, see Gneuss, “Liturgical Books,” especially 114–16, Pfaff, *Liturgy*, and *Medieval Latin Liturgy*.

In psalterio usque ad obitum vitae habes materiam legendi, scrutandi, docendi, in quo inuenies prophetas, euangelia atque apostolicos et omnes diuinos libros spiritaliter atque intellegibiliter ex parte tractatos atque descriptos; et priorem atque secundum aduentum Domini ibi reperies prophetatos, incarnationem quoque ac passionem resurrectionemque atque ascensionem dominicam et omnem virtutem diuinorum dictorum in psalmis inuenies, si intima mente perscruteris et ad medullam intimi intellectus per Dei gratiam perveneris.⁴

In the psalter to the end of one's life you have material for reading, contemplating and teaching; in it you will find the prophets, the gospel, the apostles and all the divine books in a spiritual sense and also treated and described each in turn in a way that can be understood; and you will find there as well the first and second coming of the Lord foretold, [and] you will find the incarnation and passion, resurrection and ascension of the Lord, and all the power of the divine words in the psalms, if you peruse them intently, and you will come by the grace of God to the inmost marrow of understanding.

Similar claims concerning the psalter's scriptural comprehensiveness appear in the prologues to the two most widespread translations of the psalms in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century England, those by Richard Rolle and the Wycliffites.⁵ The Latin psalms appear in various formats in the Middle Ages: in stand-alone psalters (usually for liturgical use), in books of hours, and in devotional manuals known as primers.⁶ There are three major Latin versions: the *Romanum* (Old Latin [*vetus Latina*] translations of the Greek Septuagint, attributed to Jerome but probably not by him), the *Gallicanum* (made by Jerome in the late fourth century from a revised Septuagint in Origen's *Hexapla*), and the *Hebraicum* (also called *iuxta Hebraeos*, close to or following the Hebrews, because it was made by Jerome directly from Hebrew). Jerome performed this work, along with his translation of the other Hebrew scriptures, initially in Rome beginning in 383 and then while living in Bethlehem from 386 until ca. 405. He died in 420. The *Gallicanum* became most common, and it is the version usually found in modern printed Vulgate Bibles; its currency and prestige derive (as the name implies) from its inclusion in Bibles produced in ninth-century France under Alcuin's sponsorship.⁷ The *Romanum*, however, was used most commonly in both the Roman and the English churches into the thirteenth century.

⁴ The preface to *De psalmorum usu liber*, also known as *De laude psalmorum*, Black, "Psalm Uses," 60. Also in PL 101.467–68. This passage appears in two manuscripts that also contain Bede's abbreviated psalter: Paris, BN Lat. 1153 and Paris, BN Lat. 13388 (see Black, "Psalm Uses," 43, and below, p. 5, note 18).

⁵ Rolle's prologue notes that "This boke of all haly writ is mast oysed in halykyrke seruys, forthi that in it is perfeccioun of dyuyne paygne, for it contenys all that other bokes draghes langly, that is, the lare of the ald testament & of the new" (Bramley, *Psalter*, 4; reproduced in manuscripts of Rolle's revised English commentary, *Two Revisions*, 1:5. Hudson's note in vol. 3:1197 identifies Peter Lombard—citing Remigius—as the source). For the Wycliffite prologue, see *Earliest Advocates*, 58, lines 2007–16. Kuczynski discusses these prologues in "Unpublished Lollard," 97–103. Some appear in San Marino, Huntington MS 501, which contains a Middle English version of *Jerome's Abbreviated Psalter*. See also Sutherland, *English Psalms*, 62.

⁶ For primers, including some in English, see Sutherland, *English Psalms*, 17–34.

⁷ See Loewe, "Medieval History," 133–40 and Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*, section 873. The versions can be compared by putting *Sancti Hieronymi Psalterium (Hebraicum)* and *Le Psautier Romain (Romanum and Gallicanum)* side by side. *Biblia Sacra* prints the Gallican and Hebrew.

As late as the end of the fourteenth century the author of the prologue to the Wycliffite Bible was aware of the textual differences in Latin Bibles, especially with regard to unsatisfactory psalm readings:

And þe comyne Latyn biblis han more nede to be correctid, as many as I haue seyn in my liyf, þan haþ þe Englisch Bible late translatid. And where þe Ebreu, bi witnesse of Ierom and of Lire and oþere expositours, discordiþ fro oure Latyn bookis, I haue set in þe margyn bi þe maner of a glose what þe Ebreu haþ, and hou it is vndurstoniden in sum place, and I dide þis moost in þe Sauter, þat of all oure bookis discordiþ moost fro Ebrew, for þe chirche rediþ no3t þe Sauter bi þe laste translacioun of Ierom, out of Ebreu into Latyn, but an oþere translacioun of oþere men þat hadden myche lasse kunnyng and lasse hoolynesse þan Ierom hadde. And in ful fewe bokis þe chirche rediþ the translacioun of Ierom, as it mai be preued bi þe propir originals of Ierom, which he gloside.⁸

The English Bible “late translatid” refers to the later version of the Wycliffite project, and the prologue author’s privileging of the *Hebraicum* is odd given that most Wycliffite psalters translate the *Gallicanum*, going so far as to quote the incipits in Latin. That the prologue author thinks that “oþere men” made the corrupt translation—which must refer to the *Gallicanum*—indicates either his belief that Jerome was not responsible for this version or his awareness that Latin psalter texts often blended *Romanum* and *Gallicanum* readings. Hudson and Solopova identify the existence of *correctoria*, sets of divergent readings among Latin Bibles, which reflect a similar awareness of textual variance among biblical scholars. Although we do not know the precise Latin text from which the Wycliffite translators were working, it is clear that they used *correctoria* as the earlier version was revised into the later.⁹ The prologue author’s claim to have glossed the psalter translations is also odd, since only one manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Bodley 554) contains appreciable numbers of glosses.¹⁰ There is some question regarding whether the prologue represents the established opinion of the Wycliffite translators—whose number and identity is largely unknown—or whether the prologue is the idiosyncratic opinion of the “simple creature,” as he names himself in line 2801 of Dove’s edition. Given that the *Hebraicum* is never associated with the Wycliffite psalms it would appear that he was not responsible for their translation. These comments indicate, as Anne Hudson notes, that the prologue is the “exceptional addition” to the Wycliffite project, and that “simple creature” may have had a tenuous connection to the main transla-

Less scholarly, but more convenient, is Lefèvre d’Étaples’s *Quincuplex Psalterium*, where all three versions are printed in parallel.

8 From chap. 15, *Earliest Advocates*, 82, lines 2850–62, and cf. lines 2014–15, speaking of the psalter: “No book in þe elde testament is hardere to vndurstondyng to vs Latyns for oure lettre discordiþ myche fro þe Ebreu.” See Dove, *First English*, 128–29 and 173–74. Of the some 250 manuscripts containing Wycliffite scriptures in either the earlier or later version, Psalms appear in forty-two, more often than any other Old Testament book. See Dove, *First English*, 62 and Sutherland, *English Psalms*, 61–64.

9 Hudson and Solopova, “Latin Text,” 120–26.

10 See Dove, *First English*, 160–61, and Solopova, *Manuscripts*, 72–76. Michael Kuczynski is preparing an edition of these glosses.

tion work.¹¹ The special status of the text of the psalter in Latin and in English was well known, and vexatious.

The psalter was also variously excerpted as whole psalms were grouped for penitential and devotional purposes (primarily the seven penitential psalms and the fifteen gradual psalms) and as individual verses were copied into a variety of abbreviated psalters.¹² The format of medieval psalters differed from other biblical books, and due to their liturgical and devotional use they often travelled separately. Most biblical texts before the Reformation were copied as separately bound part-Bibles, and the psalms and the Gospels were most often in that format. The psalm verses were copied continuously, with only a coloured initial marking the beginning of individual verses. As late as the thirteenth century, when Stephen Langton imposed chapter divisions, the psalter was not so divided. Each psalm continued to be known by its opening words in Latin and even Wycliffite Bibles copied these Latin incipits as a reference aid.¹³ The seamless quality of the psalter, as it was either recited from memory or copied into manuscripts, gives it an indivisible unity and integrity not enjoyed by any other biblical book. In some manuscripts larger capitals for the three “fifties” (*quinquagene*) at the beginning of Psalm 1, Psalm 51, and Psalm 101 gave some sense of an interior structure.¹⁴ The verse “Deus in adiutorium meum intende ...” (Ps. 69:2) usually begins each fifty; the same verse appears at the beginning of each of the canonical hours.¹⁵ The Middle English versions have their own regimens of capitals to divide groups of verses; none comply with the organization one finds in the Benedictine Rule or in liturgical accessories for the recitation of the Divine Office.¹⁶ One must always be aware that medieval verses often

11 Hudson, *Selections*, 173. See also Hudson and Solopova, who note that “prologues in both English and Latin bibles were circulated separately from biblical books and had an independent textual tradition” (“Latin Text,” 108). Kelly reviews the status of the prologue in *Middle English Bible*, chap. 2: “Five and Twenty Books as ‘Official’ Prologue, or Not.”

12 For a review of what non-Wycliffite psalms appear where in Middle English, see Morey, *Book and Verse*, 172–94. The seven penitential psalms are 6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129, and 142; of these only Psalm 31 is unrepresented in *Jerome’s Abbreviated Psalter* (see King’oo, *Miserere Mei*, who notes that “the first explicit reference to the seven Penitential Psalms as a set appears in Cassiodorus’s mid-sixth-century *Expositio Psalmorum*” [4]). The fifteen gradual psalms are 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, and 133. They are so called because of their association with the approach to the Temple in Jerusalem, up the steps (*gradus*). Vulgate numbering for the psalms is used throughout.

13 See de Hamel’s discussion, with sample facsimile pages (*The Book*, 128–29, 182–85). Hughes (*Medieval Manuscripts*, section 874) outlines other division schemes. Sutherland discusses the use of Latin incipits in Wycliffite manuscripts containing Psalms (*English Psalms*, 260–76).

14 See Billett, *Divine Office*, 111. The abbreviated psalter in the *Book of Cerne* is so marked with ornamented initials (see Dumville, “Liturgical Drama,” 385). The *Liber Hymnorum* marks corresponding points (see Psalm Table), and Richard Rolle describes how “this boke is distyngid in thris fifty psalms, in the whilk thre statis of cristin mannys religion is sygnifyd” (Bramley, *Psalter*, 4).

15 Chapter 18 of the Benedictine Rule specifies that “Each of the day hours begins with the verse ... [69:2], followed by ‘Glory be to the Father’ and the appropriate hymns” (Fry, *Rule*, 213).

16 In the Middle English copies large capitals begin the following verses: 5:2 in University, Yale and Hunterian; 34:1 in Bodley and Yale; 38:13 in Yale and Hunterian; 50:3 in Bodley; 50:17 in Yale;

do not correspond to the arbitrary, though convenient, modern verse numbering established by the Parisian printer Robert Estienne (“Stephanus”) and his successors in the mid-sixteenth century. The presence or absence of psalm titles describing the circumstances of the psalm’s composition, and numbered as the first verse, is also a source of confusion. Differences in punctuation and in the attribution of clauses—as is common in the Middle English and Thornton abbreviated psalters—can also change the sense of any given verse. Reading a text in more lengthy, less discrete units, as a monk would recite the psalms, creates a meditative and prayerful experience, an experience further reinforced by the abbreviated psalters themselves, which present collections of verses as a single, unified prayer.¹⁷

Abbreviated Psalters

A complete psalter contains 150 psalms of variable length, anywhere from the two verses of Psalm 116 to the 176 verses of Psalm 118. An abbreviated psalter excerpts anywhere from one to a dozen or more verses from select psalms and presents them in sequence. The Psalm Table (on pp. 21–25) outlines which verses from which psalms appear in seven different abbreviated psalters.

The first person credited with the production of an abbreviated psalter is the Venerable Bede (d. 735), whose selection *iuxta Hebraeos* survives in three ninth-century manuscripts, all of which name Bede as the author.¹⁸ They differ slightly in their selection of verses, but the work contains approximately 365 verses, with at least one verse taken from each psalm in the form of a *catena* (a “chain” of linked verses). Psalm 136 is not represented. The verse that should represent Psalm 136, “Beatus homo qui timet

69:2 in Yale; 88:50 in Hunterian; 118:73 in Bodley and Yale; 142:1 in Bodley and Yale. The Yale manuscript of *Jerome’s Abbreviated Psalter* alternates red and blue initial letters for each verse, a practice that facilitates antiphonal reading (see de Hamel, *The Book*, 182–83). Billett (*Divine Office*, 112) notes how decorations in psalter manuscripts following the secular (*Romanum*) *cursus* mark the first psalm sung in the night Office on each day of the week (Pss. 1, 26, 38, 52, 68, 80, 97); manuscripts following the monastic (Benedictine, i.e. *Gallicanum*) *cursus* do the same, but with different psalms (20, 32, 45, 59, 73, 85, 101). Solopova notes that Wycliffite manuscripts of the psalms are consistently subdivided according to secular use (“Wycliffite Psalms,” 130–31).

17 King’oo notes how, in like manner, the seven penitential psalms “are all but transformed into one long and unbroken prayer of confession” (*Miserere Mei*, 13).

18 Paris, BN Lat. 13388. 81v–101r (Wilmart, *Precum libelli*, 143–59 and PL 94.515–27); Paris, BN Lat. 1153, 56v–65v (PL 101.569–79); Cologne, Dombibliothek 106, fol. 65r–71r (see Jones, “Cologne MS. 106”; a digital facsimile can be found at the Codices Electronici Ecclesiae Coloniensis website, www.ceec.uni-koeln.de/; verses are written as prose, from margin to margin, with larger capitals to mark the beginning). Fraipont, “Collectio,” and *Collectio Psalterii*, offer editions from these manuscripts. Browne gives a translation in his *Abbreviated Psalter*, and Ward adapts the translation from Miles Coverdale’s sixteenth-century translation in the Book of Common Prayer (*Bede and the Psalter*, 18–32; see her discussion, 10–14). Bestul notes that all three manuscripts are “devotional anthologies” and that “the incipit of the Tours manuscript [BN Lat. 13388] ... explains that the extracts are ‘orationibus convenientes cotidianis’” (“Continental Sources,” 106). If one counts according to modern verse divisions, 385 complete or partial verses appear, but Bede obviously would not have known these divisions. The selection of 365 verses is a Celtic motif; see below.

Dominum,” is the incipit of Psalm 111 (with *vir* for *homo* in the *Romanum*, *Gallicanum*, and *Hebraicum*; Paris, BN Lat. 1153 reads *amat* for *timet*) and appears nowhere in Psalm 136 (“Super flumina Babylonis illic sedimus et flevimus ...”). Bede may have intentionally skipped this psalm since the last verse is the vexatious “Blessed is he that shall take and dash thy little ones against the rocks.”¹⁹ Alcuin, also naming Bede, refers to what he took to be this work in letters written in the first years of the ninth century (see below, p. 12). At Wearmouth-Jarrow Bede followed a mixed rule, with strong Benedictine influences. Chapters 16, 17, and 18 of the Benedictine Rule (sixth century) outline the procedure for the recitation of the daily Office, and in particular of the psalter. Notably the oldest extant manuscript of the Benedictine Rule is English in origin (eighth century), and the Old English version of the Rule is the earliest vernacular translation (tenth century).²⁰ There is a complicated regimen of psalm division, including the various canticles and antiphons that bracket the psalms. The Rule insists that the entire psalter be recited within a week. Those monks who fail to do so “betray extreme indolence and lack of devotion.”²¹ Variation in the singing of the related canticles and antiphons could, however, be admitted depending on the size of the community: “If the community is rather large, refrains are used with the psalms; if it is smaller, the psalms are said without refrain.”²² Benedicta Ward notes that this kind of rearrangement could pertain to the omission of the “antiphons whose words made the psalms into Christian prayers.”²³ There is also some flexibility in the order of psalm recitation:

Hoc praecipue commonentes ut, si cui forte haec distributio psalorum displicuerit, ordinet si melius aliter iudicaverit, dum omnimodis id adtendat ut omni ebdomada psalterium ex integro numero centum quinquaginta psalorum psallantur, et dominico die semper a caput prehendatur ad uigilias.

Above all else we urge that if anyone finds this distribution of the psalms unsatisfactory, he should arrange whatever he judges better, provided that the full complement of one

¹⁹ See Ward, *Bede and the Psalter*, 10.

²⁰ A facsimile of the manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Hatton 48) appears in *Rule of St. Benedict*, and Gretsch edits the Old English version in *Die Regula*. In *Rule of St. Benedict* (24–25) Farmer discusses the dispersal and observance of the Rule across England in the eighth century.

²¹ Fry, *Rule*, 215.

²² Fry, *Rule*, 213. On 401–3 Fry discusses the various meanings of the words “refrain” and “antiphon,” and he notes the difficulty of determining the exact practice of any given monastic community over time and space, a difficulty that Billett confirms (*Divine Office*, 94). Billett (*Divine Office*, 91–108) discusses the role of John the Archcantor, who came to Wearmouth from St. Peter’s in 678—when Bede was a novice—to instruct the monks in proper psalmody according to Roman practice, and how the Council of Clofesho in 747 “should be viewed as a consolidation and strengthening” (108) of the sevenfold Roman Office *horarium* at multiple Anglo-Saxon monasteries, including Wearmouth-Jarrow. Bede mentions John the Archcantor in Book IV, chap. 18 of his *Historia Ecclesiastica* (Bede, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*); see also chap. 10 of the *Life of Ceolfrith* in *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow*, 89.

²³ Ward, *Bede and the Psalter*, 3. Huckle notes how, within Benedictine practice, “every Old Testament psalm is transposed into Christian revelation by the text of the antiphon” (“Toward a New Historical View,” 464).

hundred and fifty psalms is by all means carefully maintained each week, and that the series begins anew each Sunday at Vigils.²⁴

The meaning of *distributio* is open to interpretation, though it clearly has to do with the order of recitation and not with what is recited. Rearrangement differs from truncation or abbreviation.

An explanation for the origin of abbreviated psalters takes us back to Wearmouth-Jarrow, and possibly to Bede himself. The anonymous *Life of Ceolfrith* provides a glimpse into the variety of psalmodic practice in eighth-century Northumbria. Chapter 14 recounts how, in a time of plague in 686, Ceolfrith, the abbot, and a little boy (perhaps Bede himself) had to modify the recitation of the psalter due to the strained circumstances.

On the other hand, in the monastery over which Ceolfrith was prior all those who could read, preach or say the antiphons and responsories were snatched away, save the abbot himself and a lad [*puer*; Bede would have been approximately fourteen] who had been brought up and educated by him, and who even now holds the rank of priest in the same monastery and truly makes all who are willing aware of that man's praiseworthy actions both in writing and in speech. Now the abbot was deeply distressed by the impact of the plague I mentioned, and ordained that the order of service previously used should be abandoned and that they should sing through the whole psalter without antiphons except at vespers and matins. With profuse tears and lamentations on his part this was carried out for the space of a single week, until he could bear it no longer, and once more decreed that the course of the psalms with their antiphons should be restored according to the usual practice, and making every effort and with no little struggle he himself and the boy I mentioned carried out his decrees until such time as he himself could bring on or gather in from elsewhere sufficient colleagues to conduct the services.²⁵

This is a clear example of how the antiphons could be abridged, but not at the expense of the psalms. Bede tells a similar story of sickness and death in his *History of the Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow*. When Benedict Biscop (the founding abbot) was on his death-bed (ca. 689), he recited the psalter with assistance.

And because he could by no means get up to pray, and could not easily raise his voice or move his tongue to sing through the appointed course of psalms, this wise man was prompted by religious feeling to summon a few of the brothers to himself during each

²⁴ Fry, *Rule*, 215. Billett discusses this part of the rule (*Divine Office*, 58) along with a letter composed by Paul the Deacon (d. 799): "Concerning the division of singing the psalms throughout all the days of the week, if something seems better to anyone than what the blessed father himself established, he has permission from him to sing what he judges to be better" (59). Dyer quotes an earlier standard of psalm recitation by Pachomius (d. 346): "Si quis accesserit ad ostium monasterii, volens saeculo renuntiare ... docebitur orationem dominicam et psalmos quantos potuerit discere" ("Psalms in Monastic Prayer," 78n3). The phrase "quantos potuerit" may have been added by Jerome (d. 420) and indicates a concession to novices; Alcuin uses a similar phrase (see below, p. 13). Describing the practice of Egyptian monks, John Cassian (d. ca. 435) prefers quality to quantity: "Non enim multitudine versuum, sed mentis intelligentia delectantur" (see Dyer, "Psalms in Monastic Prayer," 61 and 79n12; cf. Ps. 46:8, "psallite sapienter"; cf. also Is. 29:13, Matt. 15:8, Mark 7:6–7, and 1 Cor. 14:15: "Psallam spiritu, psallam et mente").

²⁵ *Life of Ceolfrith*, chap. 14, in *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow*, 93–95. Brown discusses this story in *Bede the Venerable*, 16 and *Companion to Bede*, 7.

of the offices, whether by day or by night; they sang out the accustomed psalms in two choirs, while with their support he sang through the psalms with them as far as he could [ipse cum eis quatenus poterat psallendo], something he could not have done left alone by himself.²⁶

Likewise Ceolfrith, when travelling to Rome near the end of his life, recited the whole psalter twice in a single day.

So that the pretext of his age, or his weakness, or his journey should never threaten the old-fashioned strictness he was accustomed to, he made sure to sing the psalter in order twice every day [cotidie bis psalterium ex ordine decantare curavit], apart from the canonical hours of prayer; from the day that he set out from his monastery right up to the day he died, that is, one hundred and fourteen days from June 4th up to September 25th.²⁷

Since such a feat seems extreme for a dying man on a long journey, Grocock and Wood suggest that he was “probably using an abridgement such as Bede’s own.”²⁸ An abbreviated psalter may have been an option, but the singing of verses from Bede’s version (based on the *Hebraicum*) would presumably have required even more mental effort since the *Hebraicum* differs so markedly from the *Romanum* that Ceolfrith would be used to reciting in the Office. Either Bede wishes to attribute a *tour de force* of saintly achievement to his beloved abbot, or Ceolfrith indeed used an abbreviated psalter—in whichever version and perhaps from a *breviarium*, not from memory—since his devotions were presumably private, not corporate.

At some later point in his life, and perhaps recollecting these experiences, Bede composed an abbreviated psalter as an expedient alternative to the kind of harsh circumstances as described in the Latin prologue to *Jerome’s Abbreviated Psalter*. Even if he is not the *puer* himself mentioned in the *Life of Ceolfrith*, he was present at the time of the plague and surely aware of the circumstances. It has been proposed that the verse or verses may have served as a mnemonic device “to recall particular psalms and their contents,” but the incipit would serve that purpose more effectively.²⁹ The chosen verse may also have been somehow exemplary of the tenor of the entire psalm, but this is arguable. A reading of any or all of the various abbreviated psalters can support the construction of multifarious prayerful agendas. The variety of verses that appear in both Latin and English abbreviated psalters argues more for idiosyncratic than reasoned choice. The

²⁶ *History of the Abbots*, chap. 12, in *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow*, 50–51.

²⁷ *History of the Abbots*, chap. 22, in *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow*, 72–73. Ceolfrith died in 716 in Langres (Haute-Marne, France).

²⁸ *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow*, 73n197.

²⁹ Toswell, *Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, 55. Toswell also notes the more likely possibility that the abbreviation could serve as “a coherent and personal prayer to God” (56). George Hardin Brown makes the debatable claim that “From each of the Psalms Bede chose one or more verses that capture the spirit and theme of each prayer” (*Companion to Bede*, 58; in the index of Bede’s works Brown gives the title *psalterium paruum* [156]). Harris gives the title *psalterium idioticum*, but this term is properly reserved for Latin, non-scriptural liturgical texts (see Harper, *Forms and Orders*, 312); Harris also speculates that it “may simply have been a scholar’s tool for remembering which verses differed among the versions” (“Happiness,” 297), but the highly selective nature of the verses chosen would surely limit the ability to compare.

abbreviated form is the defining feature, not the content of the verses. The utility of an abbreviated psalter during times of sickness and travel—as happened at Bede’s own abbey—becomes the *raison d’être* of the genre in the prologue to *Jerome’s Abbreviated Psalter* (see below, pp. 16–17 and 85). There is thus a circumstantial, though not definitive, link between Bede’s eighth-century production and what becomes the standard text of *Jerome’s Abbreviated Psalter*.

A noteworthy feature of Bede’s abbreviated psalter is that it uses the *Hebraicum*. Of the some forty psalter manuscripts meant for corporate liturgical or private devotional use (usually because they also contain canticles and creeds) that survive from or are associated with Anglo-Saxon England, the *Romanum* is in fifteen, including nearly all of the eighth-, ninth-, and tenth-century exemplars. The *Gallicanum* is in twenty-six manuscripts of later date. Pulsiano notes that “though the *Hebraicum* was not used in the liturgy, it is significant to note that a reading from the *Hebraicum* finds its way occasionally into at least one of the Old English glossed psalters.”³⁰ In short, the *Romanum* is associated with earlier English liturgical and devotional use, and when trying to discern the origin of abbreviated psalters the version that is abbreviated provides the best clue for its source and filiations. It should also be noted that the famous Codex Amiatinus, produced at Wearmouth-Jarrow in Bede’s lifetime, produces the *Hebraicum*, though of course this manuscript (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Amiatino 1) is a pandect (complete copy of the biblical canon) not meant for liturgical use.³¹ The Divine Office as sung using either the *Romanum* or the *Gallicanum* was essentially an audible experience. There is no evidence that the *Hebraicum* was ever chanted or used liturgically, and thus it derives from an academic and textual environment. Likewise, the pandects that were made under Ceolfrith’s direction were evidently made for private consultation by monks.³²

The Roman psalter appears in the abbreviation found in the famous *Book of Cerne* (Cambridge, University Library Ll.1.10, 87v–98r), a ninth-century collection of prayers, gospel extracts, and a version of the *Harrowing of Hell* probably made in Mercia from

30 Pulsiano, “Psalters,” 69. *Hebraicum* readings also appear in *Jerome’s Abbreviated Psalter*, notably at verses 24:5b, 26:9b, 78:9 and 84:5 in translations of *salutaris* and *salvator*.

31 Pulsiano, “Psalters,” 67. Gretsich (*Intellectual Foundations*, 6–25) outlines the Anglo-Saxon uses and manuscripts of the psalter and describes differences among the three Latin versions. Gretsich, “Roman Psalter,” gives reasons why the *Romanum* continued to be used in England into the Benedictine Reform period. Note also the twelfth-century Eadwine (or Canterbury) psalter, Cambridge, Trinity College R.17.1 (ca. 1155), which provides a version of each psalter in three-column format: the *Gallicanum* receives a Latin gloss, the *Hebraicum* receives an Anglo-Norman gloss, and the *Romanum* receives an Old English gloss. Notably, English is associated with the *Romanum*. Likewise, the Old English translations of Psalms in the Paris Psalter (Paris, BN lat. 8824; mid 11th c.) are accompanied by a parallel text of the *Romanum*, though not the text that the translator used (see O’Neill, *King Alfred’s Old English Prose*, 10–11).

32 “[H]e had three pandects copied out, two of which he placed in the churches of each of his monasteries, so that it was easy for all who wanted to read a chapter in both testaments to find what they desired” (*Life of Ceolfrith*, chap. 20, in *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow*, 99). See also Brown, *Companion to Bede*, 8, and his references.

various pre-existing texts.³³ The opening rubric of the psalter identifies a Bishop Aedelwald as the compiler ("hoc argumentum forsorii [for versarii] oedelwald episcopus decerpit"); Aedelwald's name appears earlier (on folio 21r) in an acrostic poem. The man in question has been identified both with the Bishop of Lindisfarne from ca. 721 to 740 and with the Bishop of Lichfield from 818 to 830. Thus the surviving manuscript is either a copy of works dating from the eighth century or it was first made ca. 820–840.³⁴ A total of 272 verses appear, but the absence of any verses from Psalm 118 to Psalm 136 indicates a lacuna in the manuscript's exemplar. Brown notes that the verses may form "a continuous prayer on behalf of the church on earth" and could possibly figure in commemorations of the dead.³⁵ Volkofsky argues that Aedelwald's collection "distils the entire psalter into something like a penitential psalm," and she notes correspondences to the use of some of the same psalm verses in the immediately following account of the Harrowing.³⁶ No one purpose can be identified, and surely the prayer book format would allow for multiple applications over time, space, and individual circumstance.

The Gallican version appears in the abbreviated psalter that is one of forty hymns and prayers—in Latin and Irish—found in an eleventh-century manuscript (Dublin, Trinity College E 4.2, 22v–31r, missing two leaves between 24 and 25) known as the *Liber Hymnorum*. The use of the *Gallicanum* is in keeping with Irish practice. The original composition may date from the time of the *Book of Cerne* and Bestul suggests that parts of the manuscript may derive from eighth-century English models that Alcuin subsequently took with him to the Continent.³⁷ Brown disagrees: "it is more likely that the inclusion of an abridged psalter in Cerne may have been, in part, stimulated by the Continental emphasis upon its inclusion in devotional anthologies, than that there was any Continental reliance upon the English devotional genre."³⁸ The categories of "Continental," "English," and "Celtic" blur, and we see blendings and borrowings in the manuscript record that belie any one-way or sequential influence.

The preface to the *Liber Hymnorum* names an authority even older than Bede, Gregory the Great (d. 604), as the creator of the text:

33 In *Prayer Book of Aedelwald*, Kuypers edits the text on 174–95 and his textual notes mark many minor spelling deviations from *Romanum* readings. McNamara provides further notes, including the observations that "The Old Latin Psalter of the Roman type was probably brought to England by St Augustine of Canterbury in 597CE. It later became very common in England but does not appear to have been used in Ireland" ("Psalms," 41) and "The Irish Psalter *par excellence* was the *Gallicanum*" ("Psalms," 103).

34 See Brown, *Book of Cerne*, 20–21, 143–45, plate vi, and figure 3 (the erratum slip notes that fig. 3 is on the bottom right of p. 193, not the bottom left). Dumville makes the argument for Æthelwold, Bishop of Lindisfarne ("Liturgical Drama," 393–95).

35 Brown, *Book of Cerne*, 150.

36 Volkofsky, "Psalmody," 9.

37 Bestul, "Continental Sources," 106–7. McNamara provides a short discussion and he notes that the text sometimes follows Irish witnesses of the *Gallicanum* as opposed to the standard version, particularly in verses 24:11, 26:4, 26:9, 30:18, 32:22, 37:23 ("Psalms," 77–78).

38 Brown, *Book of Cerne*, 159.

Incipiunt cccxv orationes quas beatus papa Grigorius sparsim de toto psalterio deo gubernante et adiuuante congregavit. Si deuota mente cantentur uicem ut fertur omnium psalmorum et sacrificii et fidelis animarum commendationis continent.³⁹

Here begin 365 prayers which the blessed Pope Gregory gathered from the complete psalter, with the direction and help of God. If they are sung with a devout mind, they contain, it is said, the benefit of all the psalms, and of the sacrifice and the faithful commendation of souls.

The significance of there being 365 verses connects with a Celtic affinity for that number, a number connected with the very long Psalm 118—the “Beati immaculati”—that figures prominently in all abbreviated psalters.⁴⁰ As the preface indicates, the verses are conceived to be a series of prayers, not a psalter, but their cumulative effect is the same as having recited all of the psalms. Just as one must take care when casting a spell or reciting a charm, one must observe the precise number of these verses. The practice of paraphrasing psalms and recombining prayers obviously pre-dates Bede or Gregory, so it would appear that Bede is working in that tradition when he formalized the abbreviated psalter as a set of specific verses that, when recited, have the same efficacy as reciting the whole psalter.⁴¹ It is impossible to say with certainty who first came up with the idea of an abbreviated psalter, but it appears likely that Bede was aware of abbreviated psalters in the tradition of the *Book of Cerne* and of the *Liber Hymnorum*. He then produced his own set of 365 verses in imitation of the Celtic practice, but he chose to use the *Hebraicum*, perhaps out of a desire to see the genre represented in the more scholarly version.⁴² Like the Codex Amiatinus, Bede’s abbreviated psalter would then be intended for private reading, not corporate recitation. The high number of singleton verses in Bede’s abbreviation that have no counterpart in the other abbreviations may also indicate that Bede is making a conscious effort to represent all of the psalms, even as he abbreviates them (see Psalm Table). The other abbreviations make no such effort.

39 *Irish Liber Hymnorum*, 1:144. A digital facsimile can be found at the Trinity College Library website: digitalcollections.tcd.ie/home/. Each verse is marked by a one-line initial at the left margin, and words are often abbreviated severely to fit verses into single lines and produce a block of text.

40 See *Irish Liber Hymnorum*, 2:217. Bernard and Atkinson also note a Celtic practice that grants the efficacy of an entire hymn if only the last three verses are sung (1:xxii and 2:98). Hill describes how the Old Irish Table of Penitential Commutations specifies sets of 365 prayers and actions because the human body was believed to contain 365 joints and sinews (“Punishment,” 410). The *Irish Sex Aetates Mundi* specifies a journey of 365 days for the children of Israel to travel from Babylon (Hell) to Jerusalem (Heaven). The 176 paces in each day’s journey are linked to the 176 verses of Psalm 118. See *Irish Sex Aetates Mundi*, 129. I owe these references to Charles D. Wright.

41 See Bestul, “Continental Sources,” 106–7, and the other texts edited by Fraipont in *Bedaе Venerabilis Opera*, 406–51.

42 In *Libri II*, Kendall points out that “Bede usually quotes from the Roman Psalter” (175n4). When Bede quotes from the *Hebraicum* he says so, as for example in his quotation of Psalm 21:6 “iuxta Ebraicam veritatem” in the section on paranomasia in his *De Schematibus et Tropis* (*Libri II*, 174). The reference to the “true Hebrew” makes clear the prestige of this version and it is a convention often used by the Paris Masters in the twelfth century and later by Nicholas of Lyra in his *Postilla in totam bibliam*, a crucial commentary for the Wycliffites.

Alcuin, like Bede, was from Northumbria and he was born at about the same time that Bede died (ca. 735). As the sponsor of the Carolingian renaissance in the eighth century, he was responsible for introducing many liturgical texts and practices across Europe, including Bede's abbreviated psalter, a copy of which he sent to Bishop Arno of Salzburg. Alcuin describes this collection (which does not survive) in a letter written in 802:

Direxi dilectioni vestrae, per Fredegisum filium meum manualem libellum multa continentem de diversis rebus, id est breves expositiones in psalmos septem paenitentiae; in psalmum quoque CXVIII; similiter et in psalmos XV graduum. Est quoque in eo libello psalterium parvum, quod dicitur beati Bedae presbyteri psalterium, quem ille collegit per versus dulces in laude Dei et orationibus per singulos psalmos iuxta Hebraicam veritatem.⁴³

For love of you I have arranged, through my son Fredegisus, a little book containing various things, that is short expositions of the seven penitential psalms, of psalm 118, and likewise of the 15 gradual psalms. There is also in this little book a small psalter which is said to be the psalter of the blessed priest Bede which he collected in sweet verses in praise of God and with prayers from each of the psalms according to the true Hebrew version.

The reference to "Hebrew truth" recurs. In Paris, BN 1153 the opening verses from the fifteen gradual psalms immediately follow Bede's abbreviated psalter; in Cologne, Dombibliothek 106 the same verses precede on folio 60r–v and are separated by four leaves (Bede's abbreviated psalter begins on folio 65r). Either these verses were intended to prompt the recollection of the psalm, or—on the abbreviated psalter model—the verses suffice for the recitation of the entire psalm.

In another letter written at the same time, Alcuin responds to Charlemagne's request for guidance on how best to observe a lay version of the Office:

Sed quia vos rogastis, ut scriberemus vobis breviarium comatico sermone, qualiter homo laicus, qui adhuc in activa vita consistit, per dinumeratas horas has Deo supplicare debeat: et licet vos, qui christiano ordine vivitis et christiana opera facere desideratis, non ignoratis, qualiter Domino supplicetur: sed quia rogastis, dicemus breviter quod sentimus.⁴⁴

But since you have asked that we write for you a *breviarium* in abridged speech, how a layman who now takes part in the active life, through these enumerated hours ought to pray to God; and since you, who wish to live according to Christian customs and perform Christian works should not be ignorant of how to pray to God: because you have asked we say briefly what we understand.

⁴³ Alcuin, epistle 259, in Duemmler, *Epistolae*, 417 (also in PL 100.407) and see Ward, *Bede and the Psalter*, 12. Jones, "Cologne MS. 106" demonstrates that the Cologne manuscript could not be the actual copy; Bestul "Continental Sources," 107–11 suggests that it is an analogous anthology, along with other Carolingian manuscripts that may be based on English exemplars. Alcuin produced a biblical florilegium, the *De Laude Dei*, probably at York in 790–793. In Bamberg, Stadtbibliothek Misc. Patr. 17 (late 10th c.) the extracts from psalms fill eleven and a half columns, following the *Romanum* (see Marsden, *Text of the Old Testament*, 222–25).

⁴⁴ Alcuin, epistle 304, in Duemmler, *Epistolae*, 462. Epistle 304a has similar wording. Both letters date from ca. 801–804. Wilmarit edits a similar text, followed by prayers linked to Christ's last words on the Cross (*Precum libelli*, 34–36, from Paris BN Lat. 5596).

This section of the letter is often quoted, but the immediately following outline of Christian prayers and thirteen psalm verses is not, and it may provide some clues regarding whether or not Alcuin models the devotions on an abbreviated psalter:

Cum enim de lectulo stratus vestri surrexeritis, dicendum vobis est: dic primum: 'Domine Iesu Christe, fili Dei vivi, in nomine tuo levabo manus meas [Ps. 62:5], Deus in adiutorium meum' [Ps. 69:2], tribus vicibus cum psalmo: 'Verba mea' [Ps. 5:2], usque: 'Mane adstabo tibi' [Ps. 5:5]. Deinde, 'Pater Noster', et preces: 'Dignare, Domine, die isto: perface gressus meos [Ps. 16:5]: Benedictus Dominus die cotidie [Ps. 67:20]: dirigere et sanctificare digneris [from the Roman Office of Prime]: Fiat misericordia tua, Domine, super nos' [Ps. 32:22]. Et surgens incipiat versum: 'Domine, labia mea aperies' [Ps. 50:17]. Ipso expleto cum gloria incipiat psalmum: 'Domine, quid multiplicati sunt' [Ps. 3:2]. Deinde sequitur: 'Miserere mei Deus' [Ps. 50:3]. Deinde: 'Venite, exultemus Domino' [Ps. 94:1]. Deinde psalmos quantos volueris.⁴⁵

Whenever you [should] rise from lying on your bed, you are to say: say first: 'Lord Jesus Christ, son of the living God, in thy name I will lift up my hands [Ps. 62:5], [O] God [come] to my assistance' [Ps. 69:2], three times with the psalm: 'My words' [Ps. 5:2], all the way through: 'In the morning I will stand before thee' [Ps. 5:5]. Then, 'Our Father', and you pray: 'Vouchsafe, Lord, [to keep] this day: perfect my steps [Ps. 16:5]: Blessed be the Lord day by day [Ps. 67:20]: You are worthy to direct and sanctify [from the Roman Office of Prime]: Let thy mercy, Lord, be upon us' [Ps. 32:22]. And rising begin the verse: 'O Lord, open thou my lips' [Ps. 50:17]. This having been done with the Gloria begin the psalm: 'Why, Lord, are they multiplied' [Ps. 3:2]. Then follows: 'Have mercy on me, O God' [Ps. 50:3]. Then 'Come, let us praise the Lord' [Ps. 94:1]. Then as many psalms as you wish.

The psalm verses are obviously out of order, and four of the verses do not appear in any of the major abbreviated psalter versions. All of the other verses appear in one or more, and five appear every time.⁴⁶ Alcuin's last sentence echoes the earlier advice of Pachomius—that one may say as many more psalms as one can, or as one wishes, and he may himself be choosing psalms *quantos voluerit*. We thus have evidence that multiple sets of psalm verses in various orders—to be supplemented at will with other psalms and prayers—were known to ecclesiastical and lay audiences from at least as early as the eighth century.⁴⁷ Whereas any number of psalm verses were excerpted into prayers from even earlier times, abbreviated psalters emerged as a more formal and sustained genre.

⁴⁵ Duemmler, *Epistolae*, 462–63. The incipits of a confession and of the penitential psalms follow. A similar guide to prayer at nocturns, with a mix of psalms and Christian verses, appears in the *Regularis Concordia* (*Monastic Agreement*, 11–13) composed by Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester (d. 984).

⁴⁶ 62:5 only in Bede and Einhard; 69:2 in all; 5:2 and 5:3 in all; 5:4 and 5:5 in none; 16:5 in all except Cerne; 67:20 in none; 32:22 in all; 50:17 in all; 3:2 only in Einhard; 50:3 in all; 94:1 in none.

⁴⁷ Other examples of high-ranking individuals who knew the psalms in a personal, abridged format include King Alfred (d. 899) and Adelida, daughter of William the Conqueror. Asser tells of Alfred that "After this he learnt the 'daily round,' that is the services of the hours, and then certain psalms and many prayers; these he collected in a single book, which he kept by him day and night, as I have seen for myself; amid all the affairs of the present life he took it around with him for the sake of prayer, and was inseparable from it" (*Alfred the Great*, 75, and see 91, 99, 100). Anselm of Bec made extracts from psalms for Adelida ca. 1072, but they have not survived. See Southern, *Saint Anselm*, 91–100.

An anonymous Carolingian writer composed another set of verses from the *Romanum*, and he appears to implicitly criticize Bede's choice of the *Hebraicum*. This version is edited by Pierre Salmon in a manuscript from Vercelli, Italy (Vercelli, Biblioteca e Archivio Capitolare 149, folios 146–54, later ninth century, probably German), and its preface names Einhard (friend and biographer of Charlemagne, d. 840) as the author.⁴⁸ The attribution to Einhard would appear to be an attempt to associate a famous name with the text since by the early 800s the Alcuinian revisions to the Bible—including the Gallican psalter—were adopted across the Frankish regions and it is difficult to conceive of Einhard or anyone else championing the use of the Roman version at this time and place. The preface explains that reciting the whole psalter is not convenient for the average sinner and that a specific selection of verses is a worthy substitute:

PREFATIO EINHARDI. Liber psalmodum, quamuis totus sacer sit atque ad diuina officia celebranda ceteris sacrae Scripturae libris multo accommodatior habeatur, Deum tamen inuocare ad pro suis peccatis supplicare uolentibus totus conuenire non potest. Idcirco eam partem quae ad hoc proprie pertinere uidetur excerpere, atque unum ex ea libellum conficere curauim, in quo si aliqua praetermissa inueniuntur, quae similiter ut cetera orationi faciendae congruere putantur, sciendum est ideo praetermissa, quoniam non cuilibet sanctae ecclesiae membro, sed tantum capiti eius, Christo uidelicet, conuenire uidentur. Fecit hanc excerptionem ante me Beda presbyter Anglorum, quae sufficere posset illam habere uolentibus, si de illo psalterio, quod hebraicum appellamus, eam non fecisset. Sed, quia haec translatio in usu moderno non habetur, non iudicauim superuacuum fore si de illa hoc facerem, quam tempore praesenti pene tota per orbem terrarum Christi cantat Ecclesia.⁴⁹

EINHARD'S PREFACE. The book of the psalms, although the whole of it is sacred and much better suited than the other books of holy scripture for the celebration of the divine office, yet all of it is not convenient for someone who wants to call upon God and beg mercy for his sins. I have therefore taken out those portions which seem appropriate for this purpose, and I have taken care to make a little book from them, in which if anything is found to be left out, which is thought to belong with the prayers which have been made, let it be known that what is left out is because it seems to be appropriate not for any members of holy church but rather for its head, namely Christ. Bede the priest of the English made these extracts before me, which would have sufficed for those who wished to have it if he had not made it from that psalter which we call the Hebrew. But because that translation is not used in modern times I did not think it superfluous if I made one from that which at the present time over almost the whole world the church sings to Christ.

The version sung “over almost the whole world” would presumably signify the Gallican since the Roman psalter was used primarily in Italy, though also in England, through the sixteenth century. The Roman and Gallican readings are often so similar as to be hard to

⁴⁸ *Testimonia Orationis*, 55–78. In the introduction Salmon notes that “Les psautiers abrégés préludèrent aussi à un nouveau type de prières composées principalement de versets du Psautier et destinées à la piété privée” (52). In another volume (*Analecta Liturgica*, 93–119) Salmon edits the ninth-century *Flores Psalmorum* of Bishop Prudentius of Troyes (d. 861), which combines excerpted psalter verses (*Gallicanum*) with personal prayers. Chapter III of *Analecta Liturgica*, “Psautiers Abrégés du Moyen Âge,” (69–119) is a helpful treatment of the subject with numerous quotations from various manuscripts.

⁴⁹ *Testimonia Orationis*, 55.

distinguish, but since the text in the Vercelli manuscript is clearly *Romanum* this preface appears to be have been copied from elsewhere. In the later eleventh century Sigebert of Gembloux speaks of an abbreviated psalter by Einhard made from the Gallican psalter:

Einardus scripsit Vitam Caroli imperatoris tanto veracius quanto adhaesit ei familiaris. Hic imitatus Bedam, qui abbreviavit Hebraicum Psalterium, excerpando de illo omnes versus, verba orationis habentes; abbreviavit et ipse Gallicanum Psalterium, quo nos Galli utimur, excerpens de illo omnes versus verba orationis continens.⁵⁰

Einhard wrote a life of the Emperor Charles, true to the same degree as he accompanied him closely as a companion. He also imitated Bede who abbreviated the Hebrew psalter, excerpting from it all the words having to do with prayer; he [Einhard] abbreviated the Gallican Psalter which we use in Gaul, excerpting from it all the verses containing words of prayer.

In brief, then, as we would expect, the *Romanum* appears in English abbreviated psalters before the tenth century, the *Gallicanum* in Ireland and on the Continent, and the *Hebraicum* only in Bede's scholarly selection.

Jerome's Abbreviated Psalter

The most widespread medieval abbreviated psalter is *Jerome's Abbreviated Psalter*, also known as "Verba mea" from the opening words of its first excerpted verse, "verba mea auribus percipe" (Ps. 5:2). It exists in at least fifty manuscripts, described and listed by Salmon on pages 76–82 of his *Analecta Liturgica*, the earliest of which is late tenth century and is probably English (Vatican, Reginensis Lat. 338). The first manuscript to attribute the work to Jerome is eleventh century (Vatican, Chigi C VI 173) where it follows the *Flores Psalmorum* of Prudentius of Troyes. Apart from this and other manuscript attributions, there is no apparent reason for the association of Jerome with this text. The Chigi manuscript includes the prologue giving the rationale for the abbreviation that often travelled with the text (see below, pp. 16–17).⁵¹ The number of manuscripts is surely greater than fifty because it appears in books of hours and some versions of the York and Sarum *Horae*.⁵² Victor Leroquais, in his magisterial survey of books of hours in the Bibliothèque nationale, calls the abbreviated psalter an "accessory" as opposed to a primary or secondary element, but even so *Jerome's Abbreviated Psalter* was well known and widely dispersed in learned and lay circles.⁵³ As a rule, the tenth- and eleventh-century manuscripts give the text of the *Romanum*.

⁵⁰ *Liber de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, PL 160.566–67.

⁵¹ Salmon quotes the prologue on p. 85 of his *Analecta Liturgica*, and he discusses dating and attribution on pp. 88–89. Boynton comments on the genre of this manuscript, especially the diversity of the contents and arrangements ("*Libelli Precum*," 259, 269).

⁵² The earliest edition is by Cardinal Giuseppe Maria Tommasi: *Venerabilis viri Iosephi Mariae Thomasii Opera Omnia*, Rome: 1749. II, 576–80. It also appears in PL 115:1451–58 where it is wrongly attributed to Prudentius of Troyes. The version in Lincoln Cathedral MS 91, 258v–263r (the Lincoln Thornton, mid-fifteenth century) is edited below. For the York version see *Horae Eboracenses*, 116.

⁵³ Leroquais, *Livres d'heures*, 1:xiv, and see also 83, 85.

In the twelfth century Reginald of Durham recounts how the self-taught merchant, and later saint, Godric of Finchale (b. ca. 1065, in Norfolk) memorized the Psalter of Saint Jerome and how those psalter verses informed and inspired his meditations. His use of the psalter was so devoted that carrying the *libellus* in his hand led to the permanent curvature of the little finger.⁵⁴ As late as the sixteenth century the tradition was alive in England. Thomas Stapleton, a sixteenth-century biographer of Saint Thomas More, notes how More “follow[ed] the example of St. Jerome and others [and] selected certain Psalms of which he made, so to say, a Psalter or compendium of the Psalms.”⁵⁵ More made the compendium—excerpts from Psalm 3 to the whole of Psalms 62 and 66, in Latin—while a prisoner in the Tower of London (1534–1535). It is based on psalms that More annotated in his prayer book—printed in 1522—and the prayer book also contains both Jerome’s and Saint Bernard’s abbreviated psalters.⁵⁶

A prologue in most copies names Jerome as the author, but this attribution is almost certainly an attempt to link the text to a famous name, in this case the pre-eminent biblical authority for the Middle Ages. The prologue goes on to describe the rationale for the psalter’s production:

Beatus vero Ieronimus in hoc modo disposuit hoc spalterium, sicut angelus domini docuit per spiritum sanctum. Porro propter hoc ab[b]reuiatum est quod hii qui solitudinem habent seculi, vel qui in infirmitatibus iacent, aut operibus seu itineribus occupantur, qui nauigium agunt, qui bellum commissuri sunt, vel quos inuidia diaboli exagitat, uel aliud aliquid tribulacionis molestat, siue quociens uouere cotidie spalterium et implere minime possunt, vel qui ieiunant et debilitantur, et qui dies festos custodiunt, et qui uult animam suam saluam facere et vitam eternam habere, hoc spalterium dicat assidue.⁵⁷

The blessed Jerome in this manner composed this psalter, just as the angel of the Lord taught through the holy spirit. Moreover this abbreviation was made for this reason, that those who have worldly cares, or who lie in infirmity, or who are occupied by work or travel, who travel at sea, who are engaged at war, or harassed by the wiles of the devil,

54 Reginald of Durham, *Libellus*, chap. 9 (41–42), chap. 92 (200–1). Clanchy discusses Godric’s literacy in “Literate and Illiterate,” 52–53. A new edition of Reginald’s *Life* is forthcoming: Coombe, *Reginald of Durham*.

55 Stapleton, *Life*, 63. The anonymous biography of More printed by Wordsworth, *Ecclesiastical Biography*, without naming Jerome, states that More “selected certaine psalmes out of the psalter, and made himselfe a prettie little volume; and to reade all, or most parte therof, everie morning, he seldome omitted” (2:66).

56 See Martz and Sylvester, *Thomas More’s Prayer Book*, xxvii–xxxiv. This prayer book is not the “prettie little volume” named by the anonymous biographer. The text of More’s abbreviated psalter can be found in William Rastell, *The vorkes of Sir Thomas More Knyght* (London, 1557): 1408–16, and in *Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, 214–25, 302–13. See also Zim, *English Metrical Psalms*, 82.

57 Quoted from Lincoln, Cathedral Library 91, fol. 258v. Leroquais, *Livres d’heures*, prints a somewhat longer version in BN ms. Lat. 13285, 17v–18r; from Salisbury (2:89), as does Wordsworth from the York and Sarum primers (*Horae Eboracenses*, 116). Salmon, *Analecta Liturgica*, 85–87 prints other versions, including one in a fourteenth-century Italian dialect (87), and he notes that Marsilio Ficino translated the entire abbreviated psalter in the fifteenth century (see Marcel, *Marsile Ficini*, 445). The Middle English versions do not translate this prologue and instead provide their own (see below).

or who are afflicted by any other tribulation, and as many times a day wish to say the psalter and are not able to do so, or those who fast and are weak, and those who observe holy days, and who wish to save their souls and have eternal life: let them say this psalter assiduously.

The prologue varies little from manuscript to manuscript, though the first sentence concerning the divine inspiration does not always appear. In medieval iconography Jerome is often shown both with a lion at his feet and with a dove whispering in his ear. The fairly exhaustive list of exigent circumstance may either be a concession to those who actually suffer, or a robust excuse for those who are either unable or unwilling to recite the entire psalter.

Given the appearance of abbreviated psalters in the context of other prayers, it seems likely that the psalms were used devotionally, not liturgically. For this reason, *Jerome's Abbreviated Psalter* is often found in both manuscript and printed books of hours. Eamon Duffy, considering the use of the abbreviation in its Latin version by lay people who did not know Latin in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, emphasizes that “conscious meaning was not the primary consideration, but rather the sanctification of time and the offering of the self to God by the lengthy repetition of words of power, or as medieval English men and women would have said, *vertu*.”⁵⁸ This is surely right, and reciting the words in specific phrases—as was done in the *Book of Cerne's* abbreviated psalter, for example—must have had an incantatory power. Acting like monks probably also appealed to their lay imitators.

The psalter of Saint Bernard is the clearest example of this kind of special knowledge and it testifies to the persistent human desire for the shortcut. As with the other eponymous invocations of the most celebrated pope (Gregory) and the most prestigious biblical authority (Jerome), one may suspect that Bernard's name is meant to deflect any possible criticism of the practice of abbreviating something as important as the psalter. A recollected association with the Venerable Bede, though not explicit in any of the Latin or Middle English versions, may also have lent considerable authority. The preface to Bernard's psalter relates how a devil refuses to reveal the eight psalm verses that will guarantee salvation (even the Devil knows and can quote scripture, including the psalms; see Matt. 4:6, where the Devil cites Ps. 90:11–12). Saint Bernard responds that he will simply recite the entire psalter each day so as not to omit those verses. Faced with the torment of having to listen to the complete psalter, all the while knowing the recitation will assure Bernard's salvation, the Devil relents and reveals the verses.⁵⁹ The eight-verse version was translated into Middle English in one early fifteenth-century manuscript.⁶⁰ The choice of verses corresponds exactly to those in *Jerome's Abbreviated*

⁵⁸ Duffy, “Psalms and Lay Devotion,” 100.

⁵⁹ Wieck supplies an illustration of Bernard copying the first verse from a late-fifteenth-century book of hours by the Master of Jean Rolin II (*Time Sanctified*, 108).

⁶⁰ See Morey, *Book and Verse*, 189. Black edits the Middle English from London, BL Royal 17.A.xxvii (*Paraphrase on the Psalms*, 49–54), and see Wordsworth, *Ecclesiastical Biography*, 2:66n10. The verses are 12:4b–5a (construed as one verse), 30:6, 38:5a, 38:5b, 115:16b–17, 141:5b, 141:6, 85:17. There is also a twelve-verse version, only in Latin, which appears in *Speculum Spiritualium*

Psalter, except for verse 141:5, which does not appear in any abbreviated psalter tradition. Verse 141:6 appears in Thornton, but not in the Middle English versions, and verse 85:17, appearing last, is oddly out of sequence (see the Psalm Table on pp. 21–25). The Middle English versification consists of eight, eight-line stanzas rhyming abababab, with the first two or three lines translating the verse and the remainder of the stanza expanding upon themes of thralldom to sin and death, and the hope of salvation. Duffy considers that the work functions mechanistically, “as a task to be got through, to produce a specific good.”⁶¹ For some reciters, the sounds themselves may have been the source of power; for others, both affective and intellectual engagement with the words would have made the recitation efficacious. The number and range of contexts in which these and other abbreviations appear (over the span of centuries) admit multiple understandings and applications.

The Middle English Versions

The Middle English versions provide the best evidence of the desire to apply a Latin monastic model on vernacular lay experience, an experience that was doubtless understood consciously. Even a lay person like Robert Thornton, who not only copies but also supplements and rearranges the verses in Latin, was surely aware of what he was doing on a syntactic level. The Middle English version survives in six manuscripts, presented here in parallel. The version in University stands alone: Bodley 416, Hatton 111, and Yale 360 are usually very close, as are HM 501 and Hunterian 496, leaving us with three main versions.⁶² Because the University manuscript is the only one that provides a copy of the Latin verse before each Middle English translation, it appears first. Its Latin text follows the *Gallicanum* with a few Roman readings, with minor transpositions and additions (e.g., of “Domine”). The text can be compared with the longer version as it appears in the Lincoln Thornton, a version which contains even more Roman readings. The translation in University is literal, often awkward, and sometimes incorrect (e.g. at 140:3). The awkwardness derives primarily from hypostasis, that is, the lack of conjunctions or subordination, and a desire to follow the Latin word for word. It seems likely that the translations were made on the fly, even as the Latin verses were copied. Twice verses appear in reverse order (118:124 with 118:125 and 118:172 with 118:173) and at 118:133 a small correction is made. At 34:24a University gives the Latin reading from the *Gallicanum* but translates according to the *Romanum*, perhaps another indication of haste and of the intrusion of a verbal memory. At 35:11, 38:14, 108:21, and 142:12a University gives a reading not found in any Latin psalter.

(Paris, 1510). The verses are 12:4b, 12:5a, 24:6, 24:7, 30:6, 38:5, 85:17, 115:16, 115:17, 141:5b, 141:6 (modern numbering; it is unclear where one of the longer verses may have been divided so as to produce the twelfth verse).

⁶¹ Duffy, “Psalms and Lay Devotion,” 100.

⁶² Paues prints the beginning of Hatton 111, up to Psalm 12:4–5, in *Fourteenth Century English Biblical Version*, lxiv.

Sutherland proposes that University served as a schoolroom text to teach students how to translate from Latin into English.⁶³ It differs from the other versions by including eight unique verses (21:23, 70:7b, 70:14, 70:15a, 108:23, 118:30, 118:40, 118:41), thus providing further evidence that University does not follow a set exemplar.⁶⁴ The other versions are more paratactic, and thus likely to insert a conjunction for a comma and to sequence half verses in compound sentences. HM and Hunterian skip the most verses, but they are also more likely to include half verses that the other versions omit. Insofar as these matters can be judged, HM and Hunterian are perhaps the most polished. They also preserve an echo of the *Hebraicum* reading of “saluator” or “ihesu” where the *Romanum* and *Gallicanum* read “salutaris” (see verses 26:9b, 50:14, 78:9, and 84:5). HM and Hunterian also follow a *Hebraicum* reading at 68:19, but *Romanum* readings at 70:9, 70:12, and 88:51 (cf. also 85:3–4 and 108:21, where the translations suggest familiarity with some other version).

A comparison of the contents of the manuscripts indicates that University, Bodley, Yale, and Hunterian are meant for private devotions or as the liturgical accessory of a lay person. The range of biblical contents from both the Old and New Testaments in Hatton 111 and HM 501 suggest that they had some pretensions as vernacular lay Bibles.⁶⁵ HM 501 is of further note because the Middle English version of *Jerome's Abbreviated Psalter* is preceded by a text that has sometimes been called an abbreviated psalter, but which has been convincingly characterized by Michael Kuczynski as a *catena* of psalm verses: 142 verses from twenty-three different psalms (five complete) are “extracted and reconfigured as a continuous homiletic argument.”⁶⁶ The translation corresponds closely to the Wycliffite later version. Only five verses (88:50–51 and 89:13, 16–17) overlap with verses found in *Jerome's Abbreviated Psalter*. Verses are not in sequence, and although they are identified by psalm number they are written continuously and without initial letters. The selection and sequencing of verses in the HM 501 *catena* are unique, and given its placement immediately before *Jerome's Abbreviated Psalter* one might surmise that they are somehow to be read in tandem. The heavily biblical contents of the rest of the manuscript argue for its use by a cleric, perhaps for preaching.⁶⁷ Despite their common subject matter and proximity, however, this psalm *catena* and *Jerome's Abbreviated Psalter* belong to two distinct genres.

⁶³ Sutherland, *English Psalms*, 246–48, citing “Cambridge Tract 1” as an example of such an “educational environment”: “[I]n skolis þei construen þe Sauter, gospel and pestil on Engliche, and so lernen to make translacion from Latyn into Engliche” (248, quoting from *Earliest Advocates*, 93).

⁶⁴ Notably, Thornton includes 21:23 (in the margin), 70:14–15a, and 108:23.

⁶⁵ Sutherland, following J. M. Harris-Matthews, suggests that some of the psalm versions in Hatton 111 may derive from “a revised EV/LV text” (*English Psalms*, 155n44; see also 138n5), a possibility strengthened by the Wycliffite contents elsewhere in the manuscript.

⁶⁶ Kuczynski, “Unpublished Lollard,” 105. A leaf is missing between 115v and 116r. The complete psalms are 1, 14, 23, 89, 92. Hanna proposes that the collection in HM 501 is “composed of verses chosen to exhibit God as a just king demanding righteous behavior from his people” (*Handlist*, 28).

⁶⁷ Kuczynski discusses another set of psalm verses written out in Oxford, Bodleian Laud Misc. 182, a Lollard biblical compendium (“Unpublished Lollard,” 106–8); see also Solopova, *Manuscripts*, 178–81.

Each of the Middle English versions begins with a conventional prayer to Mary and Christ, expressing the hope of achieving everlasting life. Since the Latin versions almost always have the prologue that offers the abbreviation as a concession to busy, sick, or otherwise indisposed supplicants, it is hard to believe that the Middle English translators did not know of it. I assume that they did, and that they chose to omit it and to provide a conventional prayer to indicate that these verses are now an established part of regular lay devotion, what I am calling private liturgical practice, and not a special case for unconventional circumstances.

Emendations appear in square brackets; minor dittographies are emended silently. The manuscripts sometimes provide colons to mark breaks, and the punctuation supplied here sometimes breaks or conjoins parts of verses contrary to the practice in modern printed Vulgates in order to reflect how the verse was understood by the Middle English translators. The variations among the six versions are often minor, but each reveals how one small subset of that famous abstraction, the medieval audience, received the text. For purposes of comparison, the reading from the later version of the Wycliffite Bible is supplied last. Only in one instance, at 118:28, does the Wycliffite translation correspond exactly to the other Middle English versions. Psalter numbering follows Vulgate practice.

The following table outlines which verses from which Psalms appear in the major Abbreviated Psalters discussed in the Introduction.

Psalm	Bede ¹	Cerne	Liber-Hymnorum	Einhard	ME	Thornton	Bernard
1	1-3	1, 2					
2	10-12	11					
3	4, 7	4, 5, 9	7	2-4, 7, 9			
4	2	2	2	2-7, 10			
5	2-4, 9	2, 3, 8, 9	2, 3	2-4, 8, 9, 12	2, 3	2, 3	
6	2-5	2-5, 9, 10	2-5	2-6	2-5	2-5	
7	2, 3	2, 3, 7, 10, 11, 18	2-3	2, 3	2, 3	2, 3	
8	2	2		2, 3, 5, 10			
9	3, 33 (9B.12) ²	2, 3, 11, 12, 33 (9B.12)	14	2, 3, 5, 11, 14, 16, 20, 33, 35, 38			
10	6	8					
11	2		2	2, 8			
12	3-5	1, 4, 6	1-5	1-6	4, 5	4, 5	4, 5
13	7						
14	4						
15	1, 2	1, 2, 7, 9	1	1, 9, 10		2	
16	1, 5-8, 15	1, 6, 8, 9	1, 5-9	1, 5, 6-9, 13	5-9	5-9	
17	2	2-4, 29, 30, 32, 47-49	29, 44	2, 3, 28-30, 49, 50			
18	13-15	2, 15	13, 14	13-15	13, 14	13, 14	
19	8		10	10			
20	14			14			
21	20-22	2, 7, 12, 17, 21, 22	2, 11, 12, 20-22	2, 4-6, 10-12, 20-22	20-23	20-23	
22	6	1, 2, 4, 6		6			
23	5						
24	1, 4, 5, 7, 11, 16-18, 20	1, 2, 5-8, 11, 15, 16, 18, 22	4, 7, 11, 16-20	1-3, 4-8, 11, 16-18, 20, 22	4-8, 11, 18	4-7, 11, 18	
25	8, 9, 11	7	9, 11	8, 9	9, 10	9, 10	
26	1, 7, 9, 11-13	1-4, 7, 9, 13	11, 12	7-9, 11, 12	7, 9, 11, 12	7, 9, 11, 12	
27	2, 3, 7	1, 2, 7, 9	1-3	1-3, 9	1-3, 9	1-3, 9	
28	2	11					

1 Not every verse cited appears in all three manuscript copies. See above, p. 5.

2 Reformation psalters break Psalm 9 and begin Psalm 10 after verse 21.

Psalm	Bede ¹	Cerne	Liber Hymnorum	Einhard	ME	Thornton	Bernard
29	11, 13	3, 5, 11, 13		2-4, 9, 10, 13			
30	2-4, 6, 16, 17	2, 3, 6, 15-18	2-6, 10, 16-18	2-6, 8-11, 15-18	2, 3, 6, 16-18	2, 3, 6, 16-18	6
31	1, 5, 7	1, 5, 7, 11	5, 7	5, 7			
32	18, 22	22	22	22	22	22	
33	2, 4, 5, 9-11, 21, 23	2			2, 3	2, 3, 4	
34	1-3, 9, 18, 28	20, 23	1-3, 17, 19, 22-25	1-3, 17, 18, 22-25, 28	1, 2, 22-24	1-3, 22-24	
35	6, 8, 10-12	11	12	6-12	11, 12	11, 12	
36	25, 28, 40	4					
37	2, 16, 21-23	2, 8, 16, 18, 19, 22, 23	22-23	2-10, 18-20, 22	7, 10, 16, 22, 23		
38	8, 9, 11	2, 14	5, 9, 11, 13, 14	6, 9, 11, 13, 14	5, 13, 14	5, 13, 14	5
39	2, 3, 14, 17, 18	18, 19	12, 14-18	12-15, 18	12-14, 18	12-14, 18	
40	5, 11	5, 14	5, 11	5, 12	5	5-7	
41	2			2, 12			
42	1-2		1-3 ³	1-4			
43	26	9, 26		5, 9, 23, 24, 26	23, 24, 26	23, 24, 26	
44	7, 18	2		7-8, 18			
45	2	2, 12					
46	3, 7	2, 3, 7, 8					
47	15	10, 11		10, 11			
48	16	13, 16					
49	1, 8-12, 14, 15, 23						
50	3-6, 11-14, 16, 17, 19	3-6, 11, 13, 14, 17		3-6, 11-14, 16, 17	3-4, 11-14, 16, 17	3-4, 11-14, 16, 17	
51	3, 10	3		11			
52	7						
53	3, 4	3, 4		3-5, 7-9	3-5	3-6	
54	2, 3, 24	2, 17		2-6, 24	2-3	2-3	
55	4, 5, 10	5, 8-11		2-4, 8-10		11-13	
56	2-4	2, 3		2, 8, 10-12	2	2, 3	
57	12						
58	2, 10, 11, 17, 18	2, 12, 17, 18		2-4, 6, 10, 12, 17, 18	2-3	2-4	
59	13, 14	13, 14		7, 13			
60	2-6, 8			2-6, 9			
61	6, 7	8		13			
62	2-5, 8	2, 4		2, 4-6, 7-9			
63	2	2, 11		2			
64	6	3, 5, 6		3, 4-6			

65	4, 8, 9, 20	1, 2, 8, 9, 19, 20			4, 13			
66	2, 7, 8				3-6			
67	2, 4	31, 36			29			
68	17-19, 30	6, 14-17, 31, 34, 35			2, 5-7, 14-20, 30	14-19	14-19	
69	2 ⁴ 5, 6	2, 6	2 ⁵ 6 ⁶		2-6	2, 3, 6	2, 6	
70	1, 2, 4, 5, 12	2, 3, 5, 8, 9, 23	1-4, 8, 9, 12, 18		1-6, 8, 9, 12, 18, 23, 24	1-3, 7-9, 12, 14, 15	1-5, 8, 9, 12, 14, 15	
71	17	11, 12, 18, 19						
72	28	28						
73	12, 19		19, 20		19, 21, 23	19, 20	19-21	
74	10				2			
75	10				8, 11			
76	2, 3	2, 3			12, 15			
77	38							
78	8, 9	8, 9	8, 9		8, 9, 13	9	8-9	
79	3, 8		3, 20		2-4	3, 20	3, 20	
80	2							
81	3, 4				8			
82	2, 19				19			
83	9, 13	5, 9	9, 10		2, 4-6, 9-11, 13			
84	5, 6, 8	8	5		5-8	5-8	5-8	
85	1, 3-7, 11, 12, 15-17	1	1-6, 11, 15-17		1-13, 15-17	1-4, 15-17	1-4, 15-17	17
86	7							
87	3, 14	2, 3	3		2-4, 10, 16	2, 3	2, 3	
88	6, 15	49, 50, 53			9, 12, 15, 48, 49	50, 51	50, 51	
89	16, 17	1, 2	13, 16, 17		1, 2, 13, 16, 17	13, 16, 17	13, 16, 17	
90	9							
91	5	2, 9			2, 5			
92	5							
93	18	11, 22			18, 19			
94	6, 7	2						

3 Dublin, Trinity College E.4.2 is missing two leaves after this point.

4 “Deus in adiutorium meum,” an introductory verse found in all Offices.

5 Verse 69:2 appears twice in the Liber Hymnorum, at line 1 on folio 22v and line 269 on folio 25v (out of 480 lines in Bernard and Atkinson’s edition, though their lineation does not correspond to the manuscript). As an antiphon, it introduces the first and third “fifty” (see introduction, p. 4; the second fifty was probably also so marked but it does not appear because of missing leaves).

6 Text resumes at line 197 at the top of folio 25r.

7 This verse appears last in Bernard’s abbreviation, and is the only verse out of sequence.

Psalm	Bede ¹	Cerne	Liber Hymnorum	Einhard	ME	Thornton	Bernard
95	6						
96	10			9			
97	3						
98	5			3, 4			
99	2, 3						
100	1, 2			1, 2			
101	2, 3	2	2, 3, 24, 25	2-4, 25	2, 3, 25, 26	2, 3, 24, 25	
102	1-4	1, 13, 14, 17		14, 16 ⁸		10	
103	1, 31	31, 33, 34					
104	4, 5						
105	3, 47, 48	1, 4, 6, 47, 48	4, 6, 47	4, 6, 47			
106	1, 8, 9	8, 9					
107	13, 14		7, 13	2, 7, 13			
108	21, 22, 26	21, 22, 30	21, 22, 26	21, 22, 26	21-23, 26	21-23, 26	
109	2						
110	1, 3, 7	1, 2, 10		1			
111	1, 7	1					
112	2	1, 2					
113	9(1), 10(2) ⁹	9(1)		9(1), 10(2)			
114	4	4, 5	4, 5	4, 5			
115	13, 15	16	16	16		16, 17	16, 17
116	2						
117	6-9, 21	14, 28, 29 ¹⁰	25	25, 28			
118	7, 10, 18, 29, 36, 41, 50, 64, 67, 68, 76, 88, 92, 103, 108, 116, 117, 124, 132, 135, 137, 149, 153, 159, 165, 169, 170		8, 10, 17-19, 22, 25-29, 33-41, 43, 58, 64, 66, 68, 73, 76, 77, 80, 86, 88, 94, 107, 108, 116, 117, 120, 121, 124, 125, 132-35, 144-46, 149, 153, 154, 156, 159, 169, 170, 173, 176	4, 5, 7, 10, 12, 18, 19, 26, 28, 29, 34, 38, 40, 41, 43, 49, 50, 58, 64, 66, 68, 71-73, 75-77, 80, 84, 86-88, 94, 103, 105, 107-9, 114, 116, 117, 120-22, 124, 125, 130, 132-35, 143, 146, 149, 150, 153, 154, 156, 157, 159, 168-70, 173, 175, 176	17-19, 22, 28, 29, 35-38, 65, 66, 68, 73, 76, 77, 80, 107-9, 114, 116, 76, 77, 80, 107-9, 116, 117, 124, 125, 130, 132-35, 153, 154, 156, 159, 169-71, 173-76		
					17-19, 22, 28, 29-30, 35-38, 40, 41, 66-68, 73, 76, 77, 80, 107-9, 116, 117, 124, 125, 132-35, 153, 154, 169-76		
119	2		2	2	2	1, 2, 4	
120	1				2	2	
121	6					7	
122	3		3	1, 3, 4	3	1, 2, 3	

[illegible]

8 Verses 1-22 appear at the end of the Vercelli MS, after the verses from Psalm 144.

9 Verses 1 and 2 of Psalm 114 in Reformation Bibles.

10 Cerne is not missing any leaves at this point, but the absence of any verses from Psalm 118 through Psalm 136 indicates a lacuna in the exemplar.

|| See introduction, pp. 5-6.

I2 Verses 1-22 from Psalm 102 follow.

13 In Paris, BN Lat. 13388 opening verses from the 15 gradual psalms follow (ed. Wilmart, *Precum Libelli*, 160–61); in Cologne, Dombibliothek 106 the same verses precede on folio 60r–v.