



# Newly Discovered Pieces of an Old English Glossed Psalter: The Alkmaar Fragments of the N-Psalter

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## ABSTRACT

This article provides an analysis and edition of newly discovered fragments of an Old English glossed psalter in the Regional Archive of Alkmaar, the Netherlands. These fragments once belonged to the same ‘N-Psalter’ as fragments earlier found in Cambridge (Dietz 1968), Haarlem (Derolez 1972), Sondershausen (Pilch 1997; Gneuss 1998) and Elbląg (Opalińska *et al.* 2023). The article provides analyses of the language and textual affiliations of the Old English gloss and aims to reconstruct the provenance of the fragments and the N-Psalter as a whole. The annotated edition includes appendices with collations of the Latin and Old English texts of other extant glossed psalters.

## INTRODUCTION

Around 1600, bifolia belonging to an Old English glossed psalter were used in a bookbinder’s workshop as material to support the construction of various early modern books. From the late 1960s onwards, fragments of this glossed psalter have been recovered in various archives across Europe. In 1968, Klaus Dietz called attention to two vertically-cut parchment strips in the collection of fragments in Pembroke College, Cambridge, that were evidently once used as endleaf guards of a book that still remains unidentified.<sup>1</sup> In 1972, René Derolez reported on another fragment from the same manuscript: a single strip of parchment cut horizontally from a bifolium which had been removed from one of the bindings of an unidentified book in the municipal library of Haarlem, the Netherlands.<sup>2</sup> Twenty-five years later, Herbert Pilch discovered more of the psalter (two-thirds

<sup>1</sup> K. Dietz, ‘Die ae. Psalterglossen der hs. Cambridge, Pembroke College 312’, *Anglia* 86 (1968), 273–9.

<sup>2</sup> R. Derolez, ‘A New Psalter Fragment with OE Glosses’, *ES* 53 (1972), 401–8. The strip is marked with a shelfmark, ‘168 B 4’, but according to Derolez, p. 401, this shelfmark number must be incorrect since that volume is ‘actually in the library; but there can be no doubt that the strip was not removed from its binding’. However, Derolez may be incorrect in his assumption, see the section on provenance below.

of one folio) in the collection of *membra disiecta* of the Schlossmuseum of Sondershausen, Germany.<sup>3</sup> Pilch's edition and analysis were greatly improved upon by Helmut Gneuss, who published a new and definitive edition of the 'Sondershausen Fragment' in the following year and demonstrated that this had once been part of the same manuscript as the Cambridge and Haarlem fragments.<sup>4</sup> In 2023, Monika Opalińska, Paulina Pludra-Żuk and Ewa Chlebus presented two further endleaf guards of the Cambridge type (cut vertically) that belonged to the same glossed psalter. Fortunately, these endleaf guards were still attached to the binding of their host volume, a grammar of Hebrew published in 1600, now in the C. Norwid Library in Elbląg, Poland.<sup>5</sup>

The present article calls attention to the discovery of a relatively large number of further fragments that were once part of the same Old English glossed psalter: eight endleaf guards of the Haarlem type, cut horizontally from various bifolia, and thirteen parchment strips that were used as spine linings.<sup>6</sup> These twenty-one fragments were found in a four-volume set of an undated edition of the *Thesaurus Graecae linguae* by Henri Estienne that once belonged to the municipal library of Alkmaar, the Netherlands, but is now part of the collection of the Regional Archive, Alkmaar.<sup>7</sup> Watermarks of the paper used for the flyleaves and pastedowns suggests that these books were bound around the year 1600.<sup>8</sup> An overview with measurements of the individual fragments is provided below, per volume of the set:

**Vol. 1.** Front endleaf guard (334 × 55 mm) containing Pss. CXVIII.136–8, 144–5; CXXVII.2–3; CXXVIII.1–3. Back endleaf guard (339 × 53 mm) containing Pss. CXVIII.131–2, 138–40; CXXVI.2–3; CXXVII.3–4. A single parchment strip used as a spine lining (44 × 100 mm) containing parts of Ps. LIV.3–5, 9–11.

**Vol. 2.** Front endleaf guard (336 × 55 mm), cut from the lower margin of a bifolium, which shows traces of the bottom of capital **M** of *Mandasti* (Ps. CXVIII.138) and the tail of the **ę** in *tug* (Ps. CXXVII.3). Back endleaf guard (336 × 49 mm) containing Pss. CXVIII.133–4, 140–2; CXXVI.4–5; CXXVII.5–6. Six parchment strips used as spine linings (49 × 108 mm; 24 × 111 mm; 22 × 112 mm [no text]; 22 × 110 mm; 25 × 110 mm; 44 × 108 mm [no text]), containing Ps. XLIII.8–11, 14–17.

<sup>3</sup> H. Pilch, 'The Sondershäuser Psalter: a Newly Discovered Old English Interlinear Gloss', *NOWELE* 31/32 (1997), 313–23.

<sup>4</sup> H. Gneuss, 'A Newly-Found Fragment of an Anglo-Saxon Psalter', *ASE* 27 (1998), 273–87.

<sup>5</sup> M. Opalińska, P. Pludra-Żuk and E. Chlebus, 'The Eleventh-Century "N" Psalter from England: New Pieces of the Puzzle', *RES* 74 (2023), 203–21, <https://doi.org/10.1093/res/hgac081>. On the study of parchment waste in books from Elbląg, see P. Pludra-Żuk, 'Reconstructing Book Collections of Medieval Elbląg', *Fragmentology* 4 (2021), 55–77.

<sup>6</sup> Images of the fragments are included as Plates in this article and will also be made available in Open Access via *Fragmentarium*.

<sup>7</sup> Alkmaar, Regional Archive, 135 A 9.

<sup>8</sup> See the discussion of the provenance of the fragments below.

**Vol. 3.** Front endleaf guard (339 × 50 mm) containing Pss. LXXXV.2–3, 9–10, 14–15; LXXXVI.2–3. Back endleaf guard (337 × 48 mm) containing Pss. LXXXV.1–2, 7–9, 13–14, 17–LXXXVI.2. Two parchment spine linings (45 × 131 mm; 40 × 128 mm) containing part of Pss. XLII.5–XLIII.2, 4–6; two further parchment spine linings (125 × 29 mm; 126 × 24 mm) containing part of Ps. XLIII.11–12, 17–18; and two parchment spine linings that contain no text (126 × 22 mm; 124 × 29 mm).

**Vol. 4.** Front endleaf guard (339 × 57 mm) containing Pss. CXVIII.134–6, 142–4; CXXVI.5–CXXVII.1, 6–CXXVIII.1. Back endleaf guard (330 × 49 mm) containing Pss. CXVIII.175; CXIX.5; CXX.6–7; CXXI.6. The six parchment strips used as spine linings in this volume are from a different manuscript, written in a script of the late twelfth century, featuring passages from the *Decretum Gratiani*.

The fragments have since been detached from the bindings and it has been possible to reconstruct that they belonged to nine individual folios; images of these reconstructed folios are included in this article as Plates I–XVIII. In the present article, these Alkmaar fragments are first introduced in the context of the other pieces of the ‘N-Psalter’ in Cambridge, Haarlem, Sondershausen and Elbląg. Next, the relationship between the Old English glosses in these fragments and the thirteen other extant Old English glossed psalters is outlined.<sup>9</sup> A subsequent discussion of the language of the Old English glosses of the Alkmaar fragments is then followed by an attempt to uncover the provenance of the fragments and the N-Psalter as a whole. The article concludes with an annotated edition of the fragments, as well as Appendices with variant readings of the Old English and Latin texts.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> It is customary to refer to the Old English glossed psalters with the following sigla: A = London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A.i (Vespasian Psalter); B = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 27 (Junius Psalter); C = Cambridge, University Library, Ff.1.23 (Winchcombe/Cambridge Psalter); D = London, British Library, Royal 2.B.v (Regius/Royal Psalter); E = Cambridge, Trinity College, R.17.1 (Eadwine Psalter); F = London, British Library, Stowe 2 (Stowe Psalter); G = London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius E.xviii (Vitellius Psalter); H = London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius C.vi (Tiberius Psalter); I = London, Lambeth Palace, MS 427 (Lambeth Psalter); J = London, British Library, Arundel 60 (Arundel Psalter); K = Salisbury, Cathedral Library, MS 150 (Salisbury Psalter); L = London, British Library, Additional 37517 (Bosworth Psalter); M = New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 776 (Blickling Psalter). For an overview, see P. Pulsiano, ‘Psalters’, *The Liturgical Books of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. R. W. Pfaff (Kalamazoo, 1995), pp. 61–86. In the present article, the standard editions of these glossed psalters are cited.

<sup>10</sup> This article has profited from many scholars and experts gracefully sharing their expertise. In particular, I would like to thank Benita Jansma and Lisette Blokker (Alkmaar Regional Archive) for allowing access to the fragments and Ed van der Vlist for alerting me to the presence of these fragments. Additional thanks are due to Amos van Baalen (for his insights and comments, especially on Latin and Old English), Rolf H. Bremmer Jr and Kees Dekker (for their useful comments on an earlier draft), Sarah Gilbert and Irene O’Daly (for sharing their paleographical expertise), and Henk Porck (for sharing his expertise on paper history). I also thank research assistant Lucas Gahrman for his help with making the collations represented in the Appendices. Lastly, I am indebted to the anonymous reviewers for their insightful suggestions.





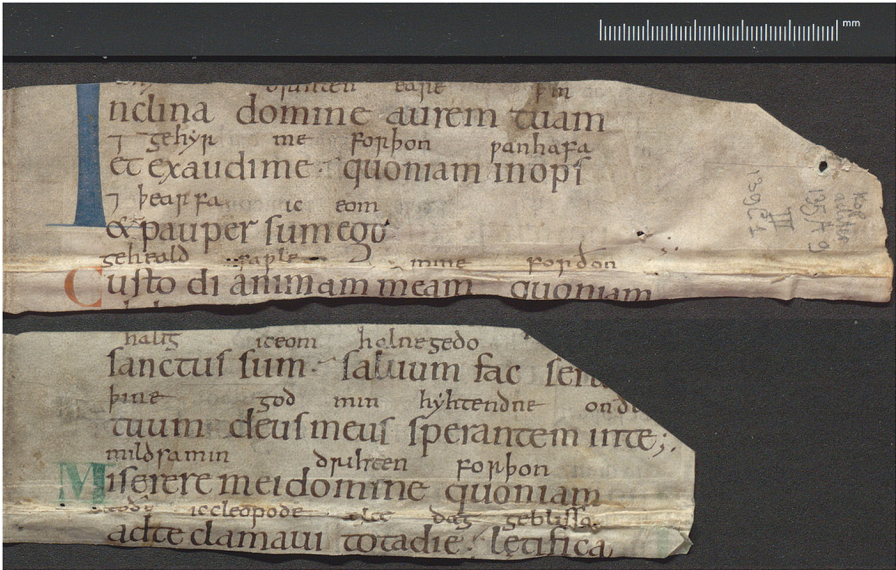


Plate VII. Alkmaar fragments, fol. \*N-A4r (Alkmaar, Regional Archive, 135 A 9, III endleaf guards).

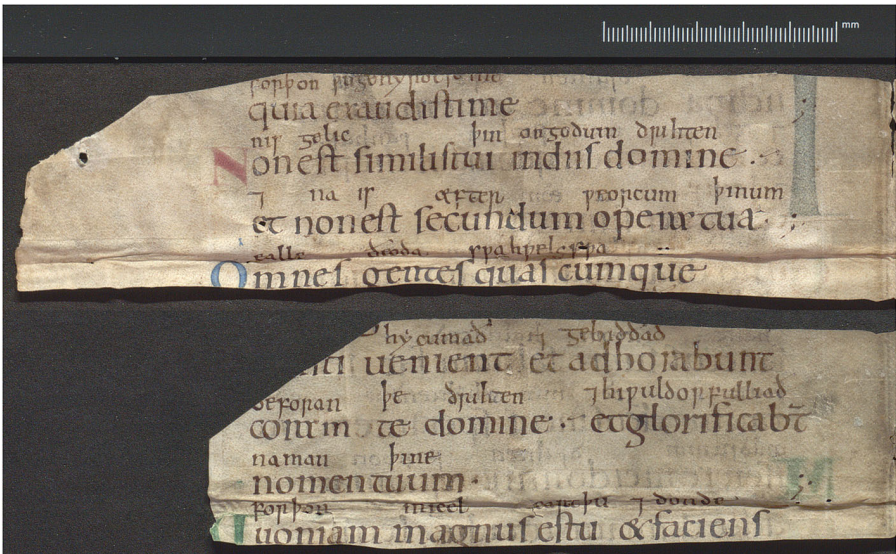


Plate VIII. Alkmaar fragments, fol. \*N-A4v (Alkmaar, Regional Archive, 135 A 9, III endleaf guards).

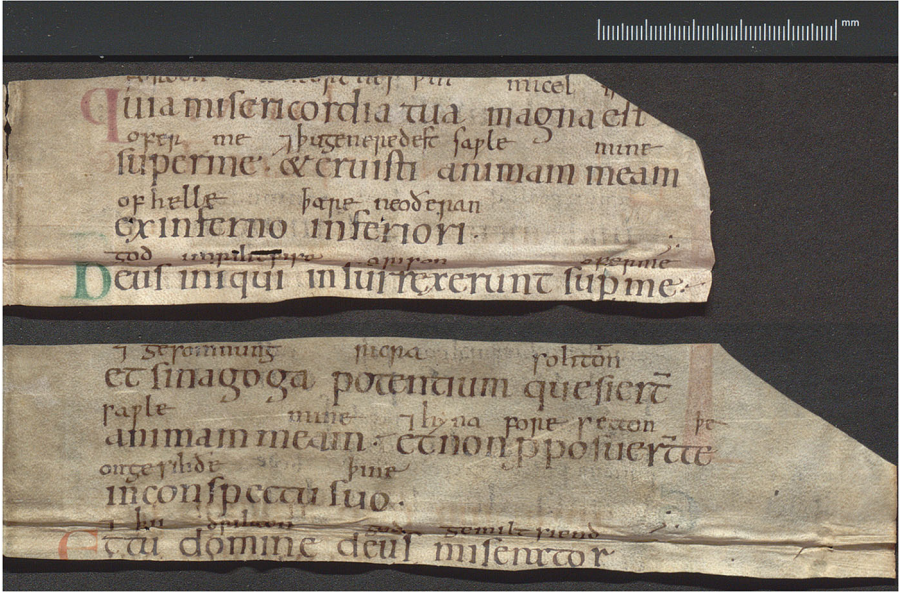


Plate IX. Alkmaar fragments, fol. \*N-A5r (Alkmaar, Regional Archive, 135 A 9, III endleaf guards).

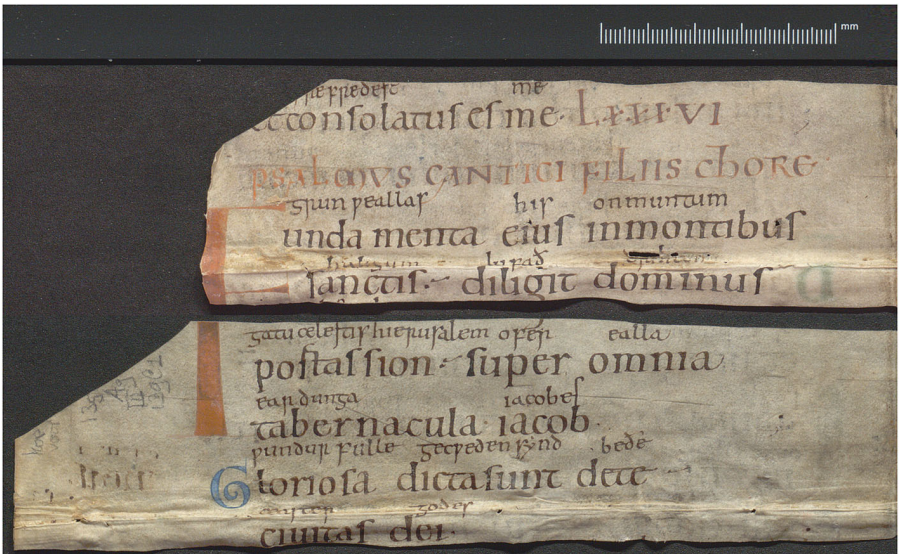


Plate X. Alkmaar fragments, fol. \*N-A5v (Alkmaar, Regional Archive, 135 A 9, III endleaf guards).

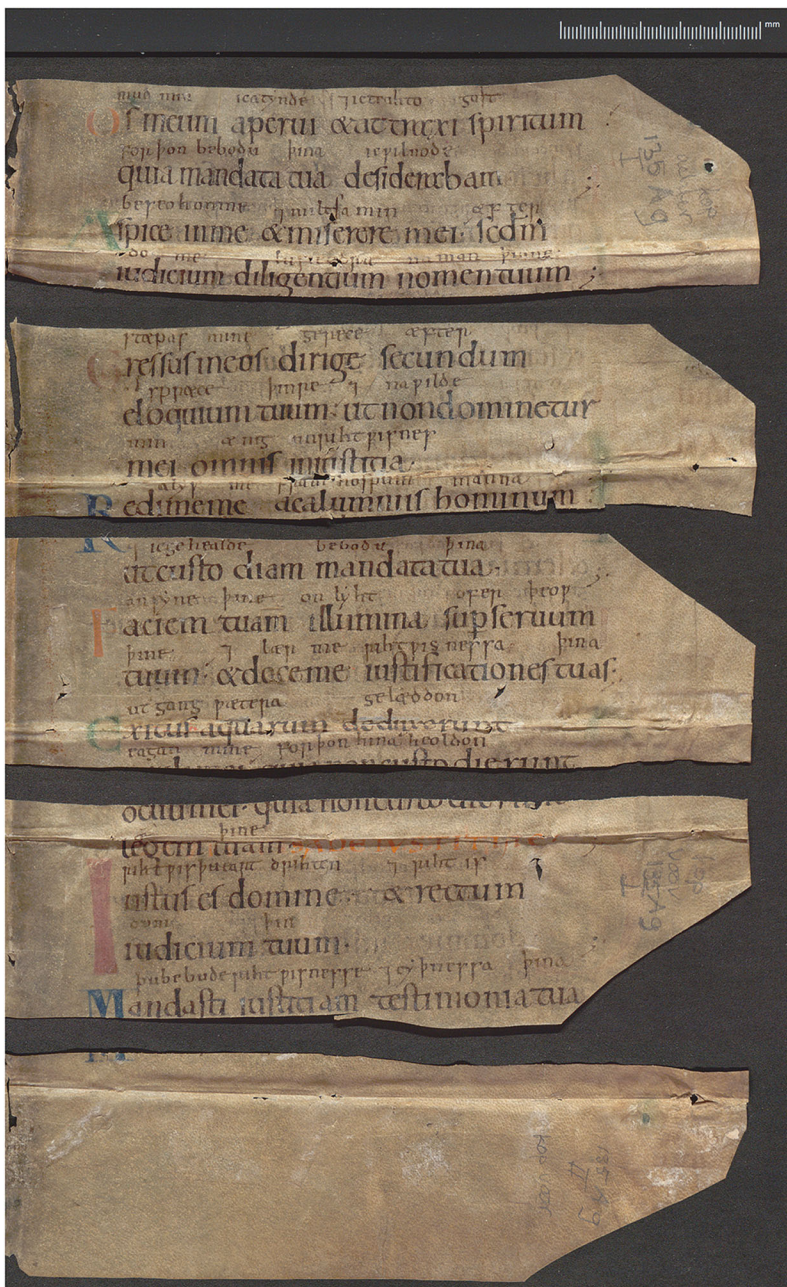


Plate XI. Alkmaar fragments, fol. \*N-A6r (Alkmaar, Regional Archive, 135 A 9, I, II, IV endleaf guards).



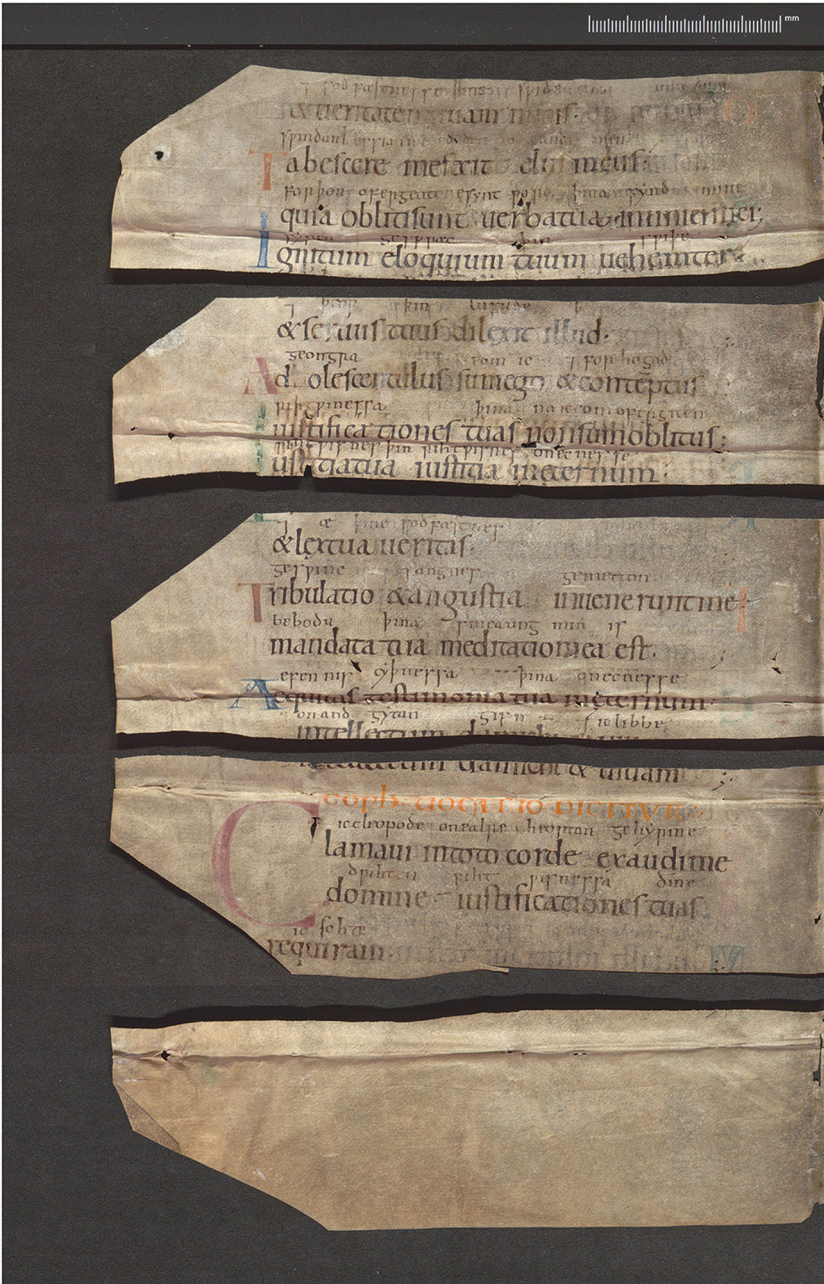


Plate XII. Alkmaar fragments, fol. \*N-A6v (Alkmaar, Regional Archive, 135 A 9, I, II, IV endleaf guards).

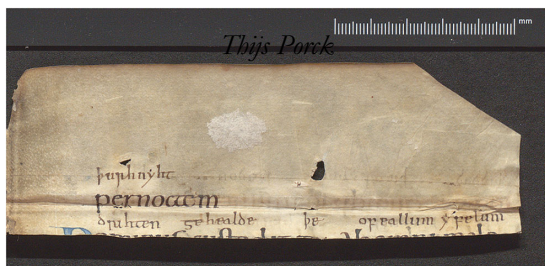


Plate XIII. Alkmaar fragments, fol. \*N-A7r (Alkmaar, Regional Archive, 135 A 9, IV endleaf guard).



Plate XIV. Alkmaar fragments, fol. \*N-A7v (Alkmaar, Regional Archive, 135 A 9, IV endleaf guard).

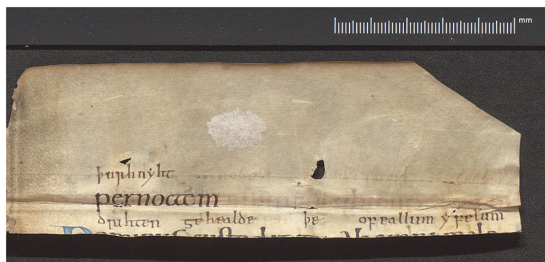


Plate XV. Alkmaar fragments, fol. \*N-A8r (Alkmaar, Regional Archive, 135 A 9, IV endleaf guard).

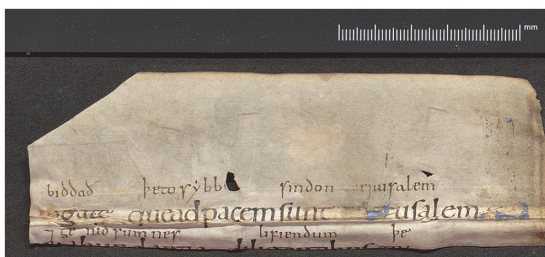


Plate XVI. Alkmaar fragments, fol. \*N-A8v (Alkmaar, Regional Archive, 135 A 9, IV endleaf guard).

The Alkmaar Fragments of the N-Psalter

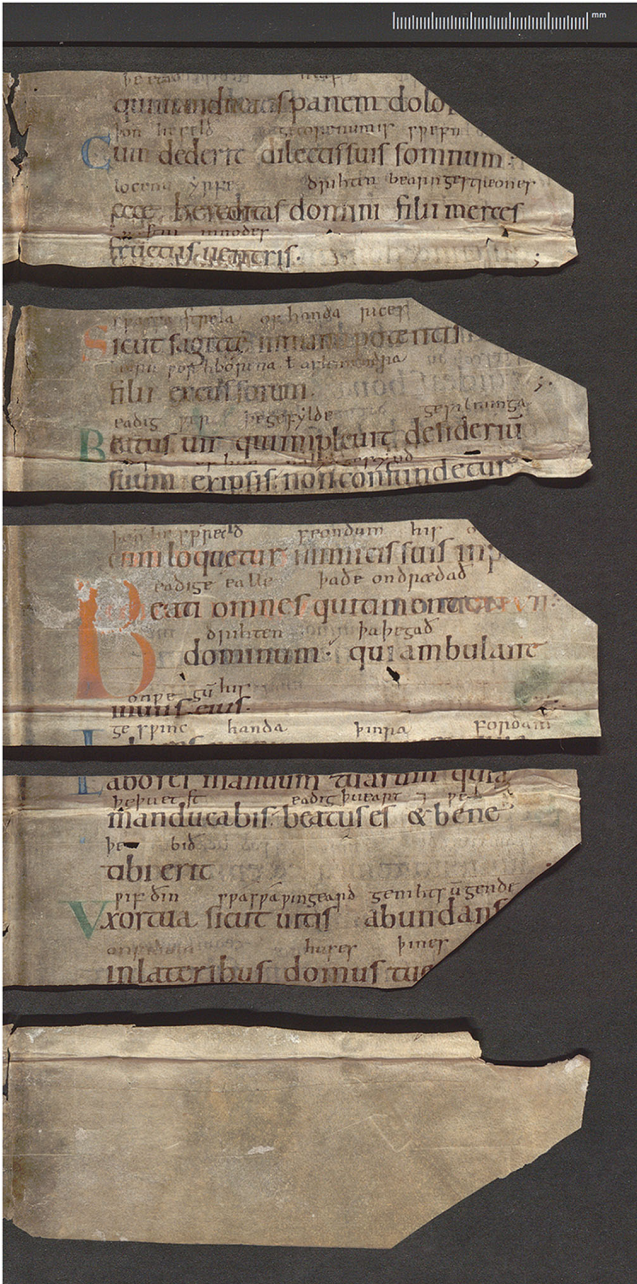


Plate XVII. Alkmaar fragments, fol. \*N-A9r (Alkmaar, Regional Archive, 135 A 9, I, II, IV endleaf guards).



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THE ALKMAAR FRAGMENTS AND THE OTHER PARTS OF THE N-PSALTER

Once a full psalter with a continuous Old English gloss, the N-Psalter currently survives only in fragments. With the newly found Alkmaar fragments included, the complete or partial Old English glosses of a little under nine hundred Latin words have surfaced:

**N-C** = Cambridge, Pembroke College, 312C, nos. 1 and 2. Pss. LXXIII.16–21, 22–LXXIV.31; LXXVII.31–37, 37–43 (complete or partial OE glosses of 76 Latin words)

**N-H** = Haarlem, Noord-Hollands Archief, Oude Boekerij, 188 F 53. Pss. CXIX.4–5; CXX.4–6; CXXI.4–5; CXXII.3 (complete or partial OE glosses of 65 Latin words)

**N-S** = Sondershausen, Schlossmuseum, Lat. liturg. IX 1.<sup>11</sup> Pss. VI.9–11; VII.1–9 (complete or partial OE glosses of 107 Latin words)

**N-E** = Elblag, C. Norwid Library, SD.XVI.1480. Pss. CXIII.16–20, 22–26; CXIV.1 (complete or partial OE glosses of 70 Latin words)

**N-A** = Alkmaar, Regionaal Archief, 135 A 9. Pss. XLII.5; XLIII.1–2, 4–6, 8–12, 14–18; LIV.3–5, 9–11; LXXXV.1–3, 7–10, 13–15, 17; LXXXVI.1–3; CXVIII.131–45, 175; CXIX.5; CXX.6–7; CXXI.6; CXXVI.2–5; CXXVII.1–6; CXXVIII.1–3 (complete or partial OE glosses of 565 Latin words)

The claim that these fragments all derive from the same manuscript is based on a number of shared features. Each of those features is briefly described below, with reference to examples from the Alkmaar fragments (N-A).

First, all fragments share the same script for the Latin and Old English texts. Gneuss identified the script of the Latin text as an Anglo-Caroline Style IV minuscule with distinctive **ra**-ligatures, which suggests that the manuscript was made around the year 1050.<sup>12</sup> The Latin text of N-A has the same script and also includes **ra**-ligatures in *contra* (Ps. XLIII.16), *exprobrantis* (Ps. XLIII.17), *erant* (Ps. LIV.4), *opera* (Ps. LXXXV.8), *coram* (Ps. LXXXV.9), *miserant* (Ps. LXXXV.15), *attraxi* (Ps. CXVIII.131), *desiderabam* (Ps. CXVIII.131) and *israbel* (Ps. CXXVIII.1). The scribe did not use the **ra**-ligature consistently; N-A features a number of **ra**-sequences without the ligature: *sperantem* (Ps. LXXXV.2), *adorabunt* (Ps. LXXXV.9) and *requiram* (Ps. CXVIII.145). This same combination of distinctive **ra**-ligatures and normal **ra**-sequences is found in the Elblag

<sup>11</sup> Formerly Sondershausen, Schlossmuseum, MS Br. 1. G. Huber-Rebenich and C. Hirschler *et al.*, *Bestandskatalog zur Sammlung Handschriften- und Inkunabelfragmente des Schlossmuseums Sondershausen* (Sondershausen, 2004), p. 119.

<sup>12</sup> Gneuss, 'A Newly-Found Fragment', pp. 273–4. On this script, see D. N. Dumville, *English Caroline Script and Monastic History: Studies in Benedictinism, A.D. 950–1030* (Woodbridge, 1993), pp. 111–40.

fragments (N-E) – the Sondershausen fragment (N-S) only has **ra**-ligatures, while these ligatures are absent from both the Cambridge (N-C) and Haarlem (N-H) fragments.<sup>13</sup> In all extant fragments, the Old English gloss is written, probably by the same hand, in a smaller English vernacular minuscule, while the rubrics are written in uncial script.<sup>14</sup>

The *mise-en-page* of the text of N-A is also similar to that of the other N-Psalter fragments. A full bifolium, reconstructed on the basis of five endleaf guards of N-A (see Fig. 1), reveals a writing frame of *c.* 210 × 140 mm, ruled for seventeen lines of Latin text (*c.* 12.5 mm per line; the drypoint ruling is at the headline and baseline of the Latin text). The folio-size can be estimated to be about *c.* 300 × 180–90 mm. This spacious presentation of the Psalter text is unusual compared to other Old English glossed psalters and may suggest that the N-Psalter was intended for annotation.<sup>15</sup>

This manner of ruling and the number of lines per folio corresponds neatly to N-S, which, having been cut vertically at folio length, is the only other N-Psalter fragment that contains the exact number of lines of Latin text each folio would have had. Another feature of textual presentation that each of the N-fragments share is the presence of verse initials (*c.* 9–11 mm high; *c.* 7–9 mm wide) in the alternating colours red, green and blue, which are located to the left of the main text block.<sup>16</sup> Psalm initials, in the same colours, take up a vertical space of three lines of Latin text and are found in N-C, N-S and N-A.

A further distinctive feature of the N-Psalter fragments, according to Gneuss, is a specific kind of *punctus versus*; at the end of verse lines, located at the right-hand edge of the writing frame, found in N-C, N-H, N-S and N-A.<sup>17</sup> Concerning this particular form of *punctus versus*, Gneuss claims that this ‘form [is] not frequently

<sup>13</sup> Opalińska *et al.*, ‘The Eleventh-Century “N” Psalter’, p. 209.

<sup>14</sup> For an exhaustive description of the scripts of the Latin text and the Old English gloss, see Opalińska *et al.*, ‘The Eleventh-Century “N” Psalter’, p. 209.

<sup>15</sup> Gneuss, ‘A Newly-Found Fragment’, p. 276 n. 9, points out that the N-Psalter had a generous layout and ample space for the text, given the fact that some of the smaller-sized contemporary psalters have between twenty and twenty-seven lines of Latin text per folio. Jane Toswell describes the N-Psalter as ‘a large, not elegant, but very practical and useful copy of the Gallican Psalter with an Old English gloss’; M. J. Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter* (Turnhout, 2014), p. 183.

<sup>16</sup> The sequences of alternating colours do not appear to follow a regular pattern.

<sup>17</sup> In N-E, the right-hand margins of the writing frame have been cut off and, so, the end punctuation cannot be seen. However, as Opalińska *et al.*, ‘The Eleventh-Century “N” Psalter’, pp. 209–10, point out, the rest of the punctuation marks (*punctus elevatus* for the major medial pause and *punctus simplex* at the end of some verses) in N-E do match that of the other N-Psalter fragments. On the use of punctuation to indicate psalmody in medieval psalters, see M. B. Parkes, *Pause and Effect: an Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West* (Aldershot, 1992), pp. 103–5.

found elsewhere, if at all'.<sup>18</sup> However, this kind of *punctus versus* with one extra dot appears to be more common and the feature may not be as distinctive as has been assumed. Similar forms were used by, e.g., the tenth-century scribe identified as 'Hand 4' in the Parker Chronicle, as well as the eleventh-century scribe who added an Old English charm in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 190, p. 130.<sup>19</sup> Perhaps more significantly, a similar three-point *punctus versus* ∙ at the end of verse lines is found in one other contemporary Old English glossed psalter: the Arundel Psalter (J), with which the N-Psalter has a small number of unique readings in common.<sup>20</sup>

Further similarities between N-A and the other N-Psalter fragments include the version of the Latin Psalter text and its *tituli*. Like the other N-fragments, N-A is a Psalter Gallicanum with some Romanum readings, e.g., the Romanum *et non egredieris deus in uirtutibus nostris* (Ps. XLIII.10; also in ABCDEFHJK) rather than Gallicanum *et non egredieris in uirtutibus nostris* (found in G and I).<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, the rubrics, or *tituli*, in N-A appear to derive from the same source as those in the other fragments of the N-Psalter. For the rubrics of N-C, N-S and N-E, Opalińska *et al.* have identified the possible source as Pseudo-Jerome's *Breviarium in Psalmos*.<sup>22</sup> Four complete rubrics in N-A also show similarities to the *Breviarium* (see Table 1).<sup>23</sup>

One further indication that N-A once belonged to the same psalter as the other N-fragments is the presence in both N-C and N-A of musical annotation in a later hand. Across the initial opening of Psalm LXXIII in N-C, a later hand has added the antiphon 'In israhel (sic) magnum nomen eius', accompanied by Anglo-Norman neums.<sup>24</sup> N-A features a similar addition by a later hand in the

<sup>18</sup> Gneuss, 'A Newly-Found Fragment', pp. 275–6.

<sup>19</sup> These instances were identified using *DigiPal: Digital Resource and Database of Manuscripts, Palaeography and Diplomatic* (London, 2011–14); <https://www.digipal.eu/digipal/page/109/?graph=31453> and <https://www.digipal.eu/digipal/page/123/?graph=8902>. I am grateful to one of the anonymous reviewers for raising their suspicion that this form of *punctus versus* may be more common than Gneuss had assumed.

<sup>20</sup> E.g., 'horn' for Latin *cornu* (Ps. XLIII.6) and the Latin spelling *adorabunt* rather than *adorabant* (Ps. LXXXVIII.9); see the Appendices for further instances. I will return to this similarity in my discussion of the provenance of the manuscript below.

<sup>21</sup> A full collation of the Latin text in N-A with the Gallicanum and Romanum Psalter readings and the Latin texts of the other Old English glossed psalters is included as Appendix C at the end of this article.

<sup>22</sup> Opalińska *et al.*, 'The Eleventh-Century "N" Psalter', pp. 211–12. N-H does not have any rubrics.

<sup>23</sup> The rubric of Psalm XLIII in N-A is incomplete, but its reconstructed version on the basis of F – '[In finem filii c](h)ore [ad intellectum ps](a)lmi domino' – is also close to the *Breviarium in Psalmos*: 'In finem, pro filii core, intellectus'. The text of the *Breviarium in Psalmos* is edited in *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Stridonensis presbyteri opera omnia*, PL 26, cols. 821–1299.

<sup>24</sup> K. D. Harzell, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1200 Containing Music* (Woodbridge, 2006), no. 53.

Table 1:  
Rubrics in N-A compared to *Breviarium in Psalmos*

	N-A	Breviarium in Psalmos
<b>Ps. LXXXVI</b>	Psalmus cantici filii chore	Psalmus cantici filii core
<b>Ps. CXVIII.137</b>	sade iustitiae	Sade.
<b>Ps. CXVIII.145</b>	Coph uocatio dicitur	Coph.
<b>Ps. CXXXVIII</b>	Decimum canticum graduum	Canticum graduum. Iste psalmos decimum...

right-hand margin next to the opening of Psalm XLIII: ‘Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum’ with musical notation.<sup>25</sup>

The claim that N-A belonged to the same manuscript as the other N-fragments can be further substantiated by the fact that one of the endleaf guards of N-A must have been cut from the same bifolium as N-H (see Fig. 2). Cut horizontally from the lower end of a bifolium, N-H contains the last four lines of each page and provides the text of Pss. CXIX.4–5, CXX.4–6, CXXI.4–5 and CXXII.3. One of the endleaf guards of N-A was cut from the top of the same bifolium and contains the top margin and the first two lines of each page, with the text of Pss. CXVIII.175, CXIX.5–6; CXX.6–7 and CXXI.6. In other words, in three places where the text of N-H breaks off, the text of N-A continues: *Hen mihi, quia incolatus meus prolongatus est habitavi | cum habitantibus cedar* (Ps. CXIX.5); *Per diem sol non uret te, neque luna | per noctem* (Ps. CXX.6); and *sedes super domum David. | Rogate quae ad pacem sunt ierusalem* (Ps. CXXI.5–6). The bifolium reconstructed in Fig. 2 would have been in the middle of a quire, given the fact that the text runs on from the first to second leaf. Moreover, this bifolium would have been part of the same quire as the bifolium reconstructed in Fig. 1 (where the left leaf covers Ps. CXVIII.131–45 and the right leaf Pss. CXXVI.2–CXXVIII.3). It is possible to estimate that this quire consisted of at least two further bifolia, covering the text of Pss. CXVIII.146–174 and CXXII.4–CXXVI.1.<sup>26</sup> This finding indicates that the quires of the N-Psalter were made up of at least four bifolia (eight leaves), which was a standard size of a

<sup>25</sup> In the margin of the opening of Psalm XLIII in F, fol. 46r, a later hand has added ‘Eructavit’ with musical notation (neums drawn on three-line staves). Cf. Opalińska *et al.*, ‘The Eleventh-Century “N” Psalter’, p. 215 n. 55, who note that the later musical annotation in the opening of Psalm LXXIX of N-C also has a corresponding annotation in F.

<sup>26</sup> It is possible to calculate, roughly, the average number of Latin words on each leaf of the N-Psalter on the basis of the average number of Latin words per line in N-A (=4.18 Latin words; average based on the 165 complete and emended Latin lines in the N-A fragments, including the *tituli*). Since each leaf would have been ruled for seventeen lines of Latin text on both sides, the number of Latin words per leaf ( $4.18 \times 17 \times 2$ ) amounts to *c.* 142 Latin words per leaf. The manuscript would have needed space for *c.* 300 Latin words to cover Ps. CXVIII.146–74, i.e., two



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RECTO	VERSO	RECTO	VERSO
<u>N-A</u> CXVIII.131-2 4 lines	<u>N-A</u> CXVIII.138-40 4 lines	<u>N-A</u> CXXVI.2-3 4 lines	<u>N-A</u> CXXVII.3-4 4 lines
<u>N-A</u> CXVIII.133-4 4 lines	<u>N-A</u> CXVIII.140-2 4 lines	<u>N-A</u> CXXVI.4-5 4 lines	<u>N-A</u> CXXVII.5-6 4 lines
<u>N-A</u> CXVIII.134-6 4.5 lines	<u>N-A</u> CXVIII.142-4 4.5 lines	<u>N-A</u> CXXVI.5-CXXVII.1 4.5 lines	<u>N-A</u> CXXVII.6-CXXVIII.1 4.5 lines
<u>N-A</u> CXVIII.136-8 4.5 lines	<u>N-A</u> CXVIII.144-5 4.5 lines	<u>N-A</u> CXXVII.2-3 4.5 lines	<u>N-A</u> CXXVIII.1-3 4.5 lines
<u>N-A</u> bottom margin	<u>N-A</u> bottom margin	<u>N-A</u> bottom margin	<u>N-A</u> bottom margin

Figure 1. Reconstructed bifolium of N-A, showing a distribution of seventeen Latin lines per folio. For images of these fragments, see Plates XI–XII; XVII–XVIII.

RECTO	VERSO	RECTO	VERSO
<u>N-A</u> CXVIII.175 top margin + 2 lines	<u>N-A</u> CXIX.5-6 top margin + 2 lines	<u>N-A</u> CXX.6-7 top margin + 2 lines	<u>N-A</u> CXXI.6 top margin + 2 lines
<u>N-H</u> CXIX.4-5 4 lines	<u>N-H</u> CXX.4-6 4 lines	<u>N-H</u> CXXI.4-5 4 lines	<u>N-H</u> CXXII.3 4 lines

Figure 2. Reconstruction of a bifolium from which both N-H and one of the endleaf guards of N-A were cut. For images of these N-A fragments, see Plates XIII–XVI.

quire in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, although quires of five or six bifolia also occur.<sup>27</sup>

Given all of the shared features described above, there can be no doubt that the fragments now in Alkmaar once belonged to the same mid-eleventh-century manuscript as the fragments in Cambridge, Haarlem, Sondershausen and Elbląg. When it was still intact, that ‘N-Psalter’ would have covered around

leaves; Pss. CXXII.4–CXXVI.1 would have required space for *c.* 275 words (with some extra space for Psalm initials), i.e., two leaves.

<sup>27</sup> A. R. Rumble, ‘Using Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts’, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: Basic Readings*, ed. M. P. Richards (New York, 1994), pp. 3–24, at 9.

200 to 220 folios, each ruled for seventeen lines of Latin text.<sup>28</sup> The Latin text was supplied with a continuous Old English gloss, probably by the same scribe, while a later hand provided the opening versicles of a number of psalms with musical notation.

TEXTUAL AFFILIATIONS OF THE OLD ENGLISH GLOSS

In his overview of the extant psalters from Anglo-Saxon England,<sup>29</sup> Philip Pulsiano notes how the relationship between the fourteen Old English glossed psalters is ‘under lively discussion’.<sup>30</sup> One of the complicating factors, as observed by Celia and Kenneth Sisam, is the fact that there must have been hundreds of Old English glossed psalters in the tenth and eleventh centuries, which makes drawing direct connections between the ones that still survive today unlikely and, thus far, impossible.<sup>31</sup> Rather than direct connections, scholars typically distinguish between three main Old English glossing traditions for the Psalms: the A-tradition, the D-tradition and the I-tradition.<sup>32</sup> The Old English glosses to individual psalters are generally ascribed to one of these traditions, but they can also show the influence of multiple traditions and will usually feature some idiosyncratic glosses. Deviations from the main traditions that are shared between two or more psalters have been used to establish more fine-grained hypothetical

<sup>28</sup> Derolez, ‘A New Psalter Fragment’, p. 401, estimated a total of *c.* 200 folios. Using the calculation outlined in n. 26 above, and assuming that a full Gallicanum Psalter with rubrics has approximately 30,500 Latin words (based on the Gutenberg Gallicanum Psalter, <http://www.liberpsalorum.info/Gutenberg.html>), it is possible to adjust that estimate slightly: 30,500 words/142 Latin words per leaf = *c.* 215 leaves for the Latin text and *tituli* (note that it would also be necessary to account for further space being taken up by decoration, such as full-page initials for the openings of Psalms I, LI and CI).

<sup>29</sup> For a comprehensive study of the broader context of the Psalter in Anglo-Saxon England, also covering Latin psalters, commentaries and the contexts in which Psalms were read and used, see Toswell, *Anglo-Saxon Psalter*.

<sup>30</sup> Pulsiano, ‘Psalters’, pp. 76–7. For a good introduction to the Old English glosses in these psalters, see J. Roberts, ‘Some Anglo-Saxon Psalters and Their Glosses’, *The Psalms and Medieval English Literature: from the Conversion to the Reformation*, ed. T. Atkin and F. Leneghan (Cambridge, 2017), pp. 37–71. For a more wide-ranging introduction to the early medieval practice of glossing the Psalms, see A. H. Blom, *Glossing the Psalms: the Emergence of the Written Vernaculars in Western Europe from the Seventh to the Twelfth Centuries* (Berlin, 2017).

<sup>31</sup> *The Salisbury Psalter*, ed. C. Sisam and K. Sisam, EETS os 242 (London, 1959), 74–5.

<sup>32</sup> See F.-G. Berghaus, *Die Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse der altenglischen Interlinear-versionen des Psalter und der Cantica* (Göttingen, 1979), and, especially, M. Gretsch, *The Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform*, CSASE 25 (Cambridge, 1999), 26–7, and the references there. See also, Toswell, *Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, pp. 221–82. The letters A, D and I refer to the sigla of the manuscripts which represent the archetypes of these traditions (see n. 9 above).

archetypes, but establishing a convincing stemma of the Old English psalter glosses has thus far proved very difficult.<sup>33</sup>

Prior analyses of the N-fragments have shown that the Old English gloss of the N-Psalter belongs to the D-tradition, with close links to F and G. On account of a number of uniquely shared readings between N-C and F, Dietz argued for F as being closest to N,<sup>34</sup> while Derolez observed a number of instances where N-H did not correspond to F but followed G (as well as D and J), arguing in favour of G as the ‘nearest relative’.<sup>35</sup> Next, Gneuss, comparing the readings of N-S with the D-type psalters DFGJK, concluded that ‘neither F nor G can account for all readings’ and that ‘[i]f Ns had only one exemplar, this must have been remarkably close to D’.<sup>36</sup> Lastly, Opalińska *et al.* argued that most of the Old English glosses in N-E ‘are equivalent to those used in psalters D and F, and to a slightly lesser extent, also to those in G and H’. They further note that, given a number of significant lexical discrepancies, it is impossible that any of these psalters would have been the direct exemplar of N.<sup>37</sup>

A comparison between the Old English glosses in N-A and those found in the other extant Old English glossed psalters largely confirms the picture painted above. N-A is clearly close to F and G,<sup>38</sup> but neither can ultimately be called the closest relative to N-A. The first two tables of selected variant readings in Appendix A list multiple instances where N-A differs from F and, instead, follows G as well as other psalters (especially D, H and J); the following two tables in Appendix A provide an overview of occasions where N-A differs from G in favour of a gloss that is found in F and other psalters (especially D, H and J). These correspondences and differences may be found on the levels of lexis, morphology and spelling. Gneuss’s assumption that the N-Psalter’s exemplar may have been very close to D is borne out by the last table in Appendix A, which lists glosses that differ from both F and G but typically follow D. A number of these Old English glosses are uniquely shared between D and N-A, including the gloss ‘comun’ for *uenerunt* (Ps. XLIII.18), the double gloss ‘swindan l essian’ for *tabescere* (Ps. CXVIII.139), and ‘bebodu þina’ for *mandata tua* (Ps. CXVIII.131, 134, 143). Even more revealing of the closeness of

<sup>33</sup> See, e.g., P. R. Kitson, ‘Topography, Dialect, and the Relation of Old English Psalter-Glosses’, *ES* 83 (2002), 474–503; *ES* 84 (2003), 9–31.

<sup>34</sup> Dietz, ‘Die ae. Psalterglossen’, p. 275.

<sup>35</sup> Derolez, ‘A New Psalter Fragment’, p. 408.

<sup>36</sup> Gneuss, ‘A Newly-Found Fragment’, pp. 279–81.

<sup>37</sup> Opalińska *et al.*, ‘The Eleventh-Century “N” Psalter’, p. 211.

<sup>38</sup> For instance, N-A shares with F and G an apparent error in the glossing of *intellectum* in Ps. CXVIII.144. This word is glossed with ‘on andgytan’, where the preposition ‘on’ appears to be prompted by a misinterpretation of the prefix *in-* in *intellectum*; only F and G feature a similar reading: ‘on andgit’ F; ‘on and[ ]’ G; cf. ‘ondget’ A; ‘ondgit’ BL; ‘andgyt’ CDK; ‘ondgiet’ E; ‘andgyt’ I; ‘andgit’ J.

N to D is N-A's inclusion of a single Latin interpretative gloss 'celestis hierusalem' for *sion* (Ps. LXXXVI.2), which is also only found in D.<sup>39</sup>

While the N-Psalter's relationship to D, F, G and H had already been touched upon in prior scholarship, the collations in Appendix A show that N also shares a number of readings with J. Commonalities between J and N-A include the gloss 'horn' for *cornu* (Ps. XLIII.6) and similar double glosses for *exprobrantis* (Ps. XLIII.17) and *excussorum* (Ps. CXXVI.4).<sup>40</sup> A further similarity is the gloss 'wanhafa' for *inops*, 'poor person' (Ps. LXXXV.1), which is only found in N-A, F and J, in the context of this Psalm verse and nowhere else in the extant Old English corpus. More remarkably, a clear error in N-A is also found in J: for *in conspectu suo* (Ps. LXXXV.14), N-A glosses 'on gesihðe þine', apparently misinterpreting *suo* as Latin *tuo*; J has a similar gloss ('on gesihðe þinre'), but here the Latin text has been altered to match the Old English gloss: *in conspectu tuo*.<sup>41</sup> In other words, along with F, G and H, J needs to be added to the D-type psalters that show some notable similarities to N.<sup>42</sup>

N-A also shows a number of idiosyncratic glosses that are not found elsewhere; these have been collected in Appendix B. These unique readings mostly concern dialectal, spelling and morphological variants as well as a number of double glosses and errors, as discussed in the next section.

#### THE LANGUAGE OF THE OLD ENGLISH GLOSS

The language of the Old English glosses in the Alkmaar fragments is typical for (late) West Saxon and features, e.g., palatal diphthongisation (e.g., 'ceaster' for *ciuitas*, Ps. LXXXVI.3), breaking of *a* before *l* plus consonant (e.g., 'ealle' for *omnes*, Ps. CXXVII.1) and absence of Anglian smoothing (e.g., 'beseoh' for *aspice*, Ps. CXVIII.132). Occasional non-West Saxon and archaic forms were probably copied from the D-type exemplar.<sup>43</sup> For instance, the scribe's use of the archaic form 'comun' rather than *comon* (for *uenerunt*, Ps. XLIII.18) is exclusively shared with D and presumably has its origins in the exemplar – elsewhere the expected ending *-on* is used for the plural past indicative forms.<sup>44</sup> The same goes for the older

<sup>39</sup> D, fol. 102v. Likely, this Latin interpretation, like so many others in D, ultimately derives from Cassiodorus' *Expositio psalmorum*; see Gretsche, *Intellectual Foundations*, pp. 28–33.

<sup>40</sup> These double glosses are discussed in the section on language below.

<sup>41</sup> In all the other Old English glossed psalters, the Latin text reads *suo* (Gallicanum) or *suum* (Romanum) with the appropriate translation 'his' (ACEFG) or 'heora' (BDIL); in H and K there is no gloss for *suo*.

<sup>42</sup> In *Salisbury Psalter*, ed. Sisam and Sisam, p. 71, an archetype 'D<sub>fgbj</sub>' is postulated to account for the similarities between D, F, G, H and J; perhaps N needs to be inserted into the stemma here.

<sup>43</sup> Gneuss, 'A Newly-Found Fragment', pp. 281–2.

<sup>44</sup> On the inflection *-un* for the past indicative, see A. Campbell, *Old English Grammar* (Oxford, 1959), §735e; R. M. Hogg and R. D. Fulk, *A Grammar of Old English. Vol. 2: Morphology* (Malden, MA, 2011), §6.22.

form ‘self’ (for *ipse*, Ps. XLIII.5) in N-A and D, which is found as ‘sylf’ in the more consistently late West Saxon F and G.<sup>45</sup> The form ‘neoderan’ (for *inferiori*, Ps. LXXXV.13) shows non-West-Saxon back mutation for more usual late West Saxon *nideran*; the form in N-A is possibly derived from the D-type exemplar and shared with DFGK.<sup>46</sup> Not all of N-A’s non-West-Saxon forms are also found in D, however. For instance, N-A uniquely glosses *sagittę* (Ps. CXXVI.4) with ‘strela’, rather than expected late West Saxon *stręla* (found in DFGI). The non-West Saxon form ‘aflemendra’ (for *excussorum*, Ps. CXXVI.4), is shared only with G; the other glossed psalters provide different lexical glosses here, with the exception of the West-Saxon form of this word in J (‘aflimendra’).<sup>47</sup> On the whole, non-West Saxon forms are rare and the language in these glosses is generally typical of a late eleventh-century user of the West-Saxon variety of Old English.

In terms of morphology, the scribe’s use of possessive personal pronouns shows occasional reductions. For instance, the expected masculine accusative singular *þinne* and dative *þinum* are reduced to *þine* in: ‘on namann þine’ (for *in nomine tuo*, Ps. XLIII.9); ‘fac [] þine’ (for *gedo seruum tuum*, Ps. LXXXV.2; reduction shared with G); ‘hi wuldorfulliað naman þine’ (*glorificabunt nomen tuum*, Ps. LXXXV.9) and ‘ofer þeow þine’ (for *super seruum tuum*, Ps. CXVIII.135).<sup>48</sup> On one occasion, the expected feminine genitive singular form *minre* is reduced to *mine*, in ‘gescyndnis ansyne mine’ (for *confusio faciei mee*, Ps. XLIII.16).<sup>49</sup> The incorrect use of *þine* rather than *þin* for the feminine nominative singular in ‘æ þine’ (for *lex tua*, Ps. CXVIII.142) is an indication that *-e* may be this scribe’s default option for inflectional endings in the singular.<sup>50</sup> For the possessive pronouns modifying plural nouns, the scribe typically used *-a* endings, a feature shared only with D. However, the scribe is not entirely consistent, again opting elsewhere for *-e*: ‘bebodu þina’ (for *mandata tua*, Ps. CXVIII.131, 134, 143); ‘rihtwisnessa þina’ (for *iustificaciones tuas*, Ps. CXVIII.136, 141); ‘fynd mine’ (for *inimici mei*, Ps. CXVIII.139); and ‘rihtwisnessa ðine’ (for *iustificaciones tuas*, Ps. CXVIII.145). The reduction of the inflectional endings on the possessive pronouns is not an unexpected feature of late Old English.

<sup>45</sup> On the forms *self* and *sylf*, see Campbell, *OE Grammar*, §§325–6; R. M. Hogg, *A Grammar of Old English. Vol. 1: Phonology* (Malden, MA, 1992), §5.22.

<sup>46</sup> See Hogg, *Grammar of OE*, §5.104

<sup>47</sup> On West-Saxon <ie, i, y> and non-West-Saxon <e> as the outcome of *i*-umlaut for the Germanic diphthong \*/au/, see Hogg, *Grammar of OE*, §5.82.

<sup>48</sup> But cf. ‘naman þinne’ for *nomen tuum* (Ps. CXVIII.132) and ‘hryc minne’ for *dorsum meum* (Ps. CXXVIII.3).

<sup>49</sup> This is a reduction shared with F and J; I and K give the correct forms – ‘minre ansyne’ and ‘ansyne minre’, respectively – while other Old English glossed psalters have a form of masculine *andwlita*, followed by *mines*.

<sup>50</sup> ‘æ þin’ is found in all other Old English glossed psalters, except E which also gives ‘pine’.

Lexically, the Old English gloss of N-A is close to D, F, G, H and J (as discussed above) and does not stand out for its radically distinctive lexical choices. It does contain five instances of double glosses, marked by the abbreviation for Latin *vel* ‘or’,<sup>51</sup> that are of interest:

- ‘styrunge l gewændunga’ for *commotionem* (Ps. XLIII.15)
- ‘aswarnung l scama’ for *uerecundia* (Ps. XLIII.16)
- ‘hispendes l odwitendes’ for *exprobrantis* (Ps. XLIII.17)
- ‘swindan l essian’ for *tabescere* (Ps. CXVIII.139)
- ‘worborena l aflemendra’ for *excussorum* (Ps. CXXVI.4)

The first of these is unique to N-A (most of the D-type glosses have a form of *styring* ‘moving’) and provides the otherwise unattested word ‘gewændunga’,<sup>52</sup> derived from *wendan* ‘to turn’. This second gloss may reflect a possible alternative interpretation of the context of the phrase in this Psalm as referring to the turning of heads by the Gentiles, rather than the shaking of heads.<sup>53</sup> The second double gloss, which also occurs in I (‘aswarnung l scamu’), was in all likelihood intended to provide a more common alternative for the rare *aswarnung*, which is only found in some Old English glossed psalters (N-A, D, F, H and I) and only in the context of this Psalm verse.<sup>54</sup> A similar motivation may underlie the double gloss for *exprobrantis* (‘hispendes l odwitendes’; cf. ‘hispendra l edwites’ in J): both interpretations are equivalent in meaning and they are mainly used in psalter glosses, but forms of the verb *edwitan/ætwitan/odwitan* are more widely attested outside psalter glosses than forms of *hyspan*. The addition of ‘odwitendes’ in N-A may

<sup>51</sup> The N-A fragments may contain one further double gloss, but this one lacks the abbreviation for *vel*: ‘loca nu efene’ for *ecce* (Ps. CXXVII.4). Compared to the glosses of the D-type (‘efne’ CFGI; ‘efne nu’ DJ; ‘æfne’ K), N-A appears to add the imperative ‘loca (nu)’ as an alternative translation, although the whole phrase ‘loca nu efene’ [look now indeed] could also have been intended as a rather verbose singular gloss; the full phrase is attested once, in an Ælfrician homily, Ælfric’s *Catholic Homilies: the First Series, Text*, ed. P. Clemoes, EETS ss 17 (Oxford, 1997), p. 384. In his *Grammar*, Ælfric does indicate that ‘efne’ and ‘loca nu’ are alternative translations for Latin *en* and *ecce*: ‘en efne oððe loca nu, her hit is; en, adest episcopus efne, her is se bisceop; ealswa ecce: ecce, uenit rex efne nu, her cymð se cyning’, Ælfric’s *Grammatik und Glossar*, ed. J. Zupitza, repr. H. Gneuss (Berlin, 1966), p. 231. I owe this reference to Amos van Baalen.

<sup>52</sup> The *-a* ending looks plural, but nouns that end in *-ung* occasionally occur with an *-a* ending in the singular oblique cases. See Hogg and Fulk, *Grammar of OE*, §3.76. Cf. ‘gewilnunga’ for *desiderium* (Ps. CXXVI.5).

<sup>53</sup> Cf. ‘onwendnisse’ A; ‘onwendnesse’ B; ‘ondwendnyisse’ C; ‘æwendnesse l styringe’ E.

<sup>54</sup> An interesting parallel with this double gloss is the incomplete double gloss ‘aswarnien l’ for *erubescant* ‘they will be ashamed’ (Ps. VI.11) in N-S. The alternative gloss was cut off, but Gneuss suggested that this ‘was very probably a form of *scamian*’, given the double gloss ‘ablysigen l scamiað’ for *erubescant* at the start of the same Psalm verse (XLIII.11). See Gneuss, ‘A Newly-Found Fragment’, p. 286.

therefore be another instance of a more common alternative being supplied as a second gloss. Interestingly, the first gloss is a D-type gloss ('hyspendes' DEF; 'hyspendest' H; 'hysspende' K), while the second gloss seems to derive from another psalter gloss tradition ('eðwetendes' A; 'edwitendes' BG; 'edwityndes' C) – perhaps, therefore, the glossator had access to multiple glossed psalters. The double gloss for *tabescere* 'to waste away, be consumed' is also found in D ('swindan l essian') and J ('essian l swindan'). Here, the first gloss *swindan* is also rare and only found in Old English glossed psalters, but the same seems to apply (to an even greater extent) for the provided alternative *essian*. According to the DOE, the verb *essian*, not attested outside these psalter glosses, may have been 'derived from the adjective *ȝþe* "desolate, waste" which would give an infinitive *\*ȝþsian* "to make weak"; alternatively, it is an 'error for otherwise unattested *\*lessian* (cf. MED *lessen* "to become less") ... with initial /mistakenly copied as *l*'.<sup>55</sup> If the latter interpretation is true, this double gloss is another instance of a rare and outdated word (*swindan*) being replaced with a more current alternative. The last double gloss appears to be prompted by the fact that the Latin word *excussorum* can be interpreted as the genitive plural form of both *excussor* 'accuser' and *excussus* 'one who is cast out'.<sup>56</sup> The first interpramentum 'wrohtborena' is the genitive plural of the rare word *wrohtbora* 'accuser, monster (lit.: blame-bearer)' (as in the D-gloss 'wrohtborena'), an Old English rendering of *excussor*,<sup>57</sup> while the second gloss 'aflemendra' is a possible translation of Latin *excussorum* 'of the outcasts'.<sup>58</sup> N-A's use of double glosses to provide more current alternatives for outdated words or additional translations for polysemous or ambiguous Latin words is in line with how double glosses were used by other Anglo-Saxon glossators.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>55</sup> DOE, s.v. *essian*.

<sup>56</sup> I thank Amos van Baalen for this suggestion.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. DMLBS, s.v. *excussor*. The form in N-A shows metathesis and elision of 't'.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. DOE, s.v. *a-flyman* 1.e, on the gloss 'affimendra' in J: 'present participle used as substantive, glossing past participle *excussus*: one who is fleeing, cast out'. Alternatively, the present participle of *a-flyman* 'to put to flight; to drive out' is 'one who is putting to flight; one who is driving out', i.e., a form possibly glossing *excussor* rather than *excussus*. At any rate, given the diversity of the extant Old English psalter glosses, the word *excussorum* appears to have stumped many a glossator: 'witgena' A; 'aladiendra' BL; 'witgyna l wregyndra' C; 'wrohtborena' D; 'onscuniendrae' E; 'berenda' F; 'aflemendra' G; 'wrohtberenda l ofascacendra' I; 'affimendra l wrohtberendra' J; 'wrohttuhra' K.

<sup>59</sup> See, e.g., A. S. C. Ross and A. Squires, 'The Multiple, Altered and Alternative Glosses of the Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels and the Durham Ritual', *N&Q* 225 (1980), 489–95; E. Wiesenekker, 'Word be worde; andgit of andgite: Translation Performance in the Old English Interlinear Glosses of the Vespasian, Regius and Lambeth Psalters' (unpubl. PhD dissertation, Vrije Univ. Amsterdam, 1991), pp. 187–96; S. M. Pons-Sanz, 'A Study of Aldred's Multiple Glosses to the Lindisfarne Gospels', *The Old English Gloss to the Lindisfarne Gospels: Language, Author and Context*, ed. J. Fernández Cuesta and S. M. Pons-Sanz (Berlin, 2016), pp. 301–28; Tadashi

Lastly, the Old English gloss also shows occasional errors. Some of these may be the result of misreading the exemplar. For instance, the glosses ‘lifiendum’ for *diligentibus* (Ps. CXXI.6) and ‘geambredon’ for *fabricauerunt* (Ps. CXXVIII.3) appear to be misreadings of *lufiendum* (as in D) and *getimbredon* (as in F). In the gloss ‘manegum’ for Latin *uirtutibus* (Ps. XLIII.10) the scribe switched around the **n** and **g** of *magenum* which was presumably in the exemplar (D has ‘mægenum’). Another error concerns the misinterpretation of the Latin preposition *in* as a negative prefix, which is found in the incomplete gloss for *in testamento* (Ps. XLIII.18): ‘uncyþnyss[ ]’. On one occasion, the scribe provided an uninflected form of Old English *drihten* to render a Latin genitive *domini*: ‘yrfe drihten’ (for *hereditas domini*, Ps. CXXVI.3); Opalińska *et al.* note the presence of similarly uninflected forms of *drihten* for dative forms in the various N-Psalter fragments and attribute this feature to incorrectly expanded abbreviations that must have been part of the exemplar.<sup>60</sup> Other erroneously uninflected forms among the N-A glosses include ‘in folc’ (for *in populus*, Ps. XLIII.15) and ‘ongeansprende’ (for *obloquentis*, Ps. XLIII.17). These and other remarkable features of the scribe’s copying practice have been flagged in the annotated edition of the N-A fragments below.

#### PROVENANCE OF THE FRAGMENTS AND THE N-PSALTER

Until the discovery of the N-E fragments in Elbląg, little could be said about the provenance of the N-Psalter fragments; they were all apparently used to support the construction of early modern books, but no information was available about their host volumes. The fact that the N-E fragments were still attached to a book’s binding changed this situation dramatically, as Opalińska *et al.* have shown. The book in question, Casper Waser’s *Archetypus grammaticæ Hebraeæ* (Basel: Conrad Waldkirch, 1600), was printed in the year 1600 and has a stamped *supralibros* that shows it belonged to Samuel Meienreis who died only four years later, in 1604.<sup>61</sup> Therefore, the binder of the book will have used the fragments of the N-Psalter somewhere between 1600 and 1604.

Meienreis’s biography and the binding technique used for his Hebrew grammar allows for pinpointing an even narrower chronological range as well as a possible location of the binder. Meienreis, born in 1572 in Elbląg (*olim* Elbing), was an affluent gentleman from Poland, who read theology at the University of Leiden, where he lived between December 1600 and April

Kotake, ‘Binomials or Not? Double Glosses in Farman’s Gloss to the Rushworth Gospels’, *Binomials in the History of English: Fixed and Flexible*, ed. J. Kopaczyk and H. Sauer (Cambridge, 2017), pp. 82–97.

<sup>60</sup> Opalińska *et al.*, ‘The Eleventh-Century “N” Psalter’, pp. 210–11. N-H also has an uninflected form of *drihten* where a genitive form is expected: ‘mægðe drihten’ for *tribus domini* (Ps. CXXI.4).

<sup>61</sup> For the provenance of N-E, see Opalińska *et al.*, ‘The Eleventh-Century “N” Psalter’, pp. 217–19.



1602.<sup>62</sup> There, Meienreis attended the lectures of Francis Junius the Elder (1545–1602), under whose supervision he defended his thesis on the Old and New Covenant on 19 January 1602.<sup>63</sup> Significantly, Junius, who had been professor of Theology at Leiden since 1592, had also been teaching Hebrew there between 1597 and 1601;<sup>64</sup> it is possible, therefore, that Meienreis bought his Hebrew grammar in Leiden, while he was studying with Junius.<sup>65</sup> Opalińska *et al.* point out that the binding of Meienreis's Hebrew grammar shows features that are characteristic of both French and Dutch bindings of the period; they suggest the possibility of the book either having been bound in two separate stages (first in France, then in the Netherlands), entirely in France or by a bookbinder working in the Netherlands who was familiar with French binding techniques.<sup>66</sup> The last option points towards Leiden as a place where Meienreis's book may have been bound. By the year 1600, Leiden was home to more than forty booksellers and bookbinders, including people like Louis Elzevir (1540–1617), who had gained experience as a bookbinder in Liège and Douay before setting up shop in Leiden in the 1580s (where he worked as a seller and printer of books, as well as a beadle and bookbinder for the University).<sup>67</sup> Thus, there is some circumstantial evidence to suggest that Meienreis bought his Hebrew grammar during his studies in Leiden and had it bound locally, somewhere between December 1600 and April 1602. At any rate, Meienreis is unlikely to have bought his book later than May 1602, when his deteriorating

<sup>62</sup> Meienreis matriculated in Leiden as 'Samuel Meigenrei, Elbingensis, 27' on 29 December 1600, along with two other students from Elbląg: 'Joannes Bodecher [Hans von Bodeck], Elbingensis, 18' and 'Andreas Anrenbeek, Elbingensis, 18'. W. N. du Rieu, *Album studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae MDLXXV-MDCCCLXXV* (Den Haag, 1875), p. 59.

<sup>63</sup> *Theses Theologicae de Veteri et Novo Dei Foedere Quas Favente Deo Opt. Max. sub Praesidio Clariss. Viri, D. Francisci Iunii, publicè defendet Samuel Mejenreis Elbingensis Borussus. Ad 19. diem Ianuarii* (Leiden, 1602), <https://dlibra.biblioteka.elblaska.pl/dlibra/publication/48601/edition/43456>.

<sup>64</sup> A. A. Bantjes, *De Leidse hoogleraren en lectoren 1575-1815. Vol. 1: De Theologische Faculteit* (Leiden, 1983), p. 53.

<sup>65</sup> Opalińska *et al.*, 'The Eleventh-Century "N" Psalter', p. 218 n. 86, note that a number of books from Meienreis's collection have annotations that indicate that he had purchased them in Leiden.

<sup>66</sup> They describe the binding as follows: 'The laced-case binding of the volume ... was made of parchment with paper lining over thin millboards. The book block is sewn on four double white leather thongs and has sprinkled red edges. The endbands are worked with green silk on a white leather core with a couple of tie-downs. The parchment endleaf guards are sewn separately'. The linked sewing of the double sewing supports, the panel spine paper lining and the separately sewn endleaf guards are identified as typically French, while the red-sprinkled edges and green endbands are designated as Dutch features. Opalińska *et al.*, 'The Eleventh-Century "N" Psalter', pp. 207, 218, 218 n. 89.

<sup>67</sup> P. Hoftijzer, 'Het Leidse wonder', *Jaarverslag 2007 van de Koninklijke Brill NV* (Leiden, 2008), pp. 73–96, at 86.

health forced him to leave Leiden and return home to Elbląg, where he would die two years later, at the age of 32.

The bindings of the host volumes of the N-A fragments show similarities to the book in Elbląg and also attest to a binder working with fragments of the N-Psalter around the year 1600. The N-A fragments were applied as support material for the bindings of each of the four folio-volumes of Henri Estienne's *Thesaurus Graecae linguae* (n.d. [after 1572], *sine loco*), now in the Regional Archive in Alkmaar (135 A 9).<sup>68</sup> Like Meienreis's Hebrew grammar, each of the four volumes had a laced-case parchment binding; these cases with their parchment covers, with V-notched turn-ins with overlapped corners, are now no longer attached to the book blocks. Each book block has five double sewing supports with herring-bone sewing. The endbands show sewing with alternating green and brown threads, with tiedowns. The parchment endleaf guards were sewn separately. The watermarks in the paper used as pastedowns and flyleaves suggest that these books were bound around the year 1600.<sup>69</sup> Each of the four volumes also show traces of two chain clips, as this four-volume set was once chained up in the municipal library of Alkmaar.<sup>70</sup>

Another four-volume set that belonged to the same library in Alkmaar, with very similar bindings to the N-A set, features indications that the books were all bound in the Netherlands. This set (Alkmaar, Regional Archive, 136 E 4) constitutes the edition by Conrad Gessner of Galen's works: *Cl. Galeni Pergameni opera omnia* (Basel: Froben, 1561–2). The bindings of these volumes (with the exception of volume 3 which has been refitted with a modern binding) have the exact same features as the N-A set, described above. The watermarks in the paper used for the pastedowns and flyleaves differ from the N-A set, although these also indicate that the book was bound around the same time.<sup>71</sup> In addition, like the N-E book, the volumes have sprinkled red edges. There are two further indications that the binder responsible for the N-A set was also responsible for this set of Galen books. First of all, the first volume of the Galen set has endleaf guards of the

<sup>68</sup> The *Thesaurus Graecae linguae* was first published in 1572 in five volumes; the later four-volume edition now in Alkmaar is undated.

<sup>69</sup> The watermarks were identified using the *Gravell Watermark Archive*, online. The watermarks in the paper used for the pastedowns and flyleaves in the volumes correspond to Gravell, ARMS.1373.1 (Basel crozier – 1602) and Gravell, ARMS.1212.1 (Shield, Basel crosier, crown, tower – 1602). The watermark in the paper between the couched-laminate board and the parchment cover resembles Gravell, SLD.014.1 (Strasbourg lily – 1599).

<sup>70</sup> On the history of the municipal library of Alkmaar, see P. Dijkstra and K. Forrer, *Kennis is pracht. De Alkmaarse librije* (Alkmaar, 2019).

<sup>71</sup> The paper used for the pastedowns and flyleaves in these volumes correspond to Likhachev, no. 4132 (Pot A-D-B – 1600; <https://memoryofpaper.eu/likhachev/likhachev.php?Signatura=4132>); the paper used between the couched-laminate board and the parchment cover resembles *Wasserzeichen Informationssystem*, no. DE4215-PO-162594 (One-headed heraldic eagle, with nimbus, N-F – 1599; <https://www.wasserzeichen-online.de/?ref=DE4215-PO-162594>).

same late-twelfth-century manuscript of the *Decretum Gratiani*, of which strips were used as spine linings in volume 4 of the N-A set.<sup>72</sup> Second, since the parchment covered cases are detached from the book blocks in both sets, it is possible to see that the same hand who wrote the letters ‘F’ and ‘E’ on the insides of the pastedowns of volumes 2 and 3 of the N-A set, also wrote ‘H’, ‘J’ and ‘G’ on the pastedowns of volumes 1, 2 and 4 of the Galen set. Further annotations, in different ink, on the insides of the pastedowns of volumes 2 and 4 of the Galen set locate the binder in the Netherlands, since they are Dutch binding instructions to adjust the size of the binding: ‘Dese canten groot / grooter te maken | als de anderen / gvon[?] op de snede’ (vol. 2) [make this side big, bigger than the other ... on the edge] and ‘Dese canten groter te maken als de ander’ (vol. 4) [make this side bigger than the other]. Given the fact that these instructions were clearly intended for the binder of the book (since they would no longer be legible once the endpapers had been pasted down), it is reasonable to assume that the binding workshop, which used the N-Psalter in the N-A set and the twelfth-century manuscript of the *Decretum Gratiani* in both volume 4 of the N-A set and volume 1 of the Galen set, was located in the Netherlands.<sup>73</sup>

The fact that both sets in the Alkmaar archive, both bound around the year 1600, once belonged to the municipal library of Alkmaar provides a link with Leiden as a location where the books were bought (and possibly bound). According to the city records, the local city government of Alkmaar had sent Cornelis Hillenius and Adriaen Hendricxz Rabbi to Leiden in order to buy books for the municipal library at the auction of Daniel van der Meulen’s voluminous book collection.<sup>74</sup> This auction, supervised by Louis Elzevir, took place in Leiden on 4 June, 1601.<sup>75</sup> The Alkmaar patrons spent more than 400 guilders and returned to Alkmaar with a total of 27 books from the auction, with an additional 32 books (23 bound; 9 unbound) bought from various Leiden booksellers. The two four-

<sup>72</sup> The Galen set fragments show the text of *Decretum Gratiani*, concordia discordantium canonum, distinctio 35, c. 8; distinctio 36, c. 2; distinctio 45, cc. 9, 13, 14, 17; and distinctio 46, c. 1; volume 4 of the N-A set has 5 spine fragments, showing the text of *Decretum Gratiani*, part 2, causa 5, questio 2, c. iv; questio 3, c. i–iii; and questio 4, c. i. The text is written in two columns, with rubrics in red ink, illuminated initials and annotations in a later hand. The script can be dated to the later twelfth century.

<sup>73</sup> A Dutch provenance is also suggested by some of the other *membra disiecta* in the other volumes of the Galen set, which includes pieces of a Dutch-language Book of Hours (in volumes 1, 2 and 4), alongside fragments of a late medieval Latin Psalter (in volume 4) and a Latin commentary to Peter Lombard’s *Libri quattuor sententiarum* (in volumes 2 and 4). These fragments all date to the fifteenth century.

<sup>74</sup> Dijkstra and Forrer, *Kennis is pracht*, pp. 42–5.

<sup>75</sup> Two book catalogues survive and are digitally available through *Book Sales Catalogues Online - Book Auctioning in the Dutch Republic, ca. 1500–ca. 1800* (Leiden, 2015), <http://primarysources.brillonline.com/browse/book-sales-catalogues-online>.

volume sets are not listed in the book sale catalogue of the 1601 auction of Van der Meulen's library, but they can be identified with titles in the records of the 1601 book-buying expedition.<sup>76</sup> The four-volume set of the *Thesaurus Graeca linguae* (containing the N-A fragments) was bought, bound, for the price of 23 guilders and 10 stivers; Gesner's edition of Galen's work was bought, bound, for the price of 24 guilders. The fact that these books were already bound when the Alkmaar patrons bought them in Leiden in 1601 is another reason for assuming Leiden as the location of the binder who used pieces of the N-Psalter.

The books in Alkmaar that contain the N-A fragments offer clues to unravel one more piece of the provenance puzzle of the N-Psalter: the missing host volume of the Haarlem fragment N-H. Regarding the host volume of N-H, Derolez notes:

The *membra disiecta* in the Haarlem collection must have been removed from the bindings of the books still in the Haarlem library, but the date and the circumstances of the operation have not been recorded. Neither has it proved possible so far to identify the volume from whose binding the Psalter fragment was reprinted. To be sure the number '168 B 4', written in pencil on both sides of the fragment, is that of a volume actually in the library; but there can be no doubt that the strip was not removed from its binding.<sup>77</sup>

Derolez's claim that the book with the shelfmark 168 B 4 cannot possibly be the host volume of N-H is left unsubstantiated and needs to be revisited in the light of the discovery of the N-A fragments in the *Thesaurus Graeca linguae* books. As it turns out, the binding of the Haarlem book, a copy of Eusebius, *De evangelica praeparatione libri XVI* (Paris: Robertus Stephanus, 1544) in Greek,<sup>78</sup> shares a number of features with the books in Alkmaar: it is a folio-sized book with a laced-case parchment binding, with five double sewing supports, red-sprinkled edges and endbands with green and brown threads, with tiedowns. More crucially, this book has flyleaves with the same watermark as the flyleaves found in the N-A set, suggesting it was made by the same binder around the same time.<sup>79</sup> The Haarlem book shows signs of restoration which may have involved the removal of *membra disiecta* and the hand responsible for writing the shelfmark '168 B 4' on the N-H fragment is the same hand that wrote this shelfmark on the inside of the binding of this copy of Eusebius (as can be gleaned from the distinctive capital B). In other words, contrary to Derolez's claim, it is not at all unlikely that N-H was, in fact, removed

<sup>76</sup> Alkmaar, Regional Archive, Archief van de gemeente Alkmaar, 1325–1815, no. 601.

<sup>77</sup> Derolez, 'A New Psalter Fragment', p. 401.

<sup>78</sup> Haarlem, Noord-Hollands Archief, Oude boekerij van de Stichting Bibliotheek Zuid-Kennemerland te Haarlem, inv. no. 13687.

<sup>79</sup> The watermark is Gravell, ARMS.1212.1 (Shield, Basel crosier, crown, tower – 1602).

from the binding of this particular book, given the book's similarity to the books in which the N-A fragments were found.<sup>80</sup>

If the Eusebius book in Haarlem was indeed the host volume of N-H (and there appears to be little reason to dismiss the pencilled shelfmark on N-H), there is another possible link with Leiden. The Haarlem copy of Eusebius's *De euangelica praeparatione* has a companion volume with a matching laced-case parchment binding and matching flyleaves: a copy of Eusebius's *Historia ecclesiastica* in Greek (Paris: Robertus Stephanus, 1544).<sup>81</sup> These two books can be identified with two titles in the catalogue of the Leiden book auction of Daniel van der Meulen's library of 4 June, 1601: 'Eusebii Euang. praeparat. Græc. ex Bibliot.reg.Lut. 44 / Eiusdem Ecclesiast. Historia'.<sup>82</sup> An annotated version of the book sale catalogue from the archive of Andries van der Meulen shows that these books were sold together, for the price of 17 guilders and 2 stivers.<sup>83</sup> Given all of the above, it seems probable that the two volumes now in Haarlem were bound at the same time in Leiden following the auction on 4 June, 1601, and a piece of the N-Psalter, N-H, was used in the binding of the first volume.<sup>84</sup>

Summing up thus far, information gathered from the host volumes of N-E and N-A, as well as the potential host volume of N-H, points towards Leiden as the most plausible location for the bookbinder who used an eleventh-century Latin psalter with Old English glosses in his workshop. Since Leiden was an international student hub, this localisation can also explain why some of these fragments ended up in places far removed from Leiden, such as Elbląg (through Leiden student Samuel Meienreis), Cambridge (notably, one of Meienreis's Polish

<sup>80</sup> Speculatively, perhaps Derolez's dismissal of this book as a host volume was prompted by the relatively late date of this book as compared to the eleventh-century fragment and he may have expected a smaller chronological gap between the fragment and its potential host volume.

<sup>81</sup> Haarlem, Noord-Hollands Archief, Oude boekerij van de Stichting Bibliotheek Zuid-Kennemerland te Haarlem, inv. no. 13688.

<sup>82</sup> The various abbreviations in the catalogue match the wording on the title page of the copy of Eusebius's *De euangelica praeparatione* in Haarlem: 'Eusebii Pamphili Euangelicæ præparationis Lib. X V. / EX BIBLIOTHECA REGIA. / ... / LUTETIA / ... / M. D. XLIII.?'

<sup>83</sup> Utrecht, Utrechts Archief, familiearchief Van der Meulen, collectie Andries van der Meulen, nr. 16, A2v. A digital version is available through *Book Sales Catalogues Online*.

<sup>84</sup> It is possible to trace the history of the Eusebius volumes now in Haarlem beyond 1601. The volume with the *Historia ecclesiastica*, which also shows signs of restoration involving the removal of *membra disiecta*, has an ownership notation, consisting of the name of the owner 'Simon Thimotheus Rolandi', Psalm XXXI.1 in Hebrew, and the year in which he may have bought it: 'a. 1638'. Neither of the books is mentioned in the first catalogue of the Haarlem library (published in 1672), but they are mentioned in the catalogue of 1716, which means that they were probably donated to or bought by the Haarlem library somewhere between 1672 and 1716. I owe the information about the Haarlem library catalogues to Hannah Goedbloed, Curator of Rare Books and Manuscripts at Noord-Hollands Archief, Haarlem. A search through the *membra disiecta* of the Haarlem library unfortunately did not yield new finds of fragments of the N-Psalter.

friends and fellow Leiden student, Hans von Bodeck, moved to the University of Cambridge in 1602)<sup>85</sup> and Sondershausen (in the early seventeenth century, most foreign students in Leiden came from protestant Germany).<sup>86</sup> Two questions remain, however: where did the eleventh-century N-Psalter come from and how did it end up in a Dutch bookbinder's workshop around the year 1600?

The provenance of the eleventh-century N-Psalter itself may be established on the basis of its similarities to a number of other Old English glossed psalters. In particular, the N-Psalter shows visual similarities to the contemporary Stowe Psalter (F), Vitellius Psalter (G) and Tiberius Psalter (H) in terms of its *mise-en-page* and decoration, especially the verse-initial capitals in alternating colours red, green and blue. As described above, the Old English glosses are closely related to D (the Regius Psalter), as well as F, G and J (the Arundel Psalter). According to the overview by Pulsiano, each of these Old English glossed psalters were probably written in Winchester, between 1050 and 1075 (with the exception of the tenth-century D): 'almost certainly from Winchester' (D); 'assigned by Sisam and Sisam ... to south-western England, but by Turner ... to New Minster (Winchester)' (F); 'probably in Winchester' (G); 'Winchester, probably Old Minster' (H); and 'probably at Winchester (New Minster)' (J).<sup>87</sup> Given the similarities between these psalters and the N-Psalter, it is therefore tempting to assign the latter to Winchester as well, although some of the localisations are contested and Exeter may also be a possibility.<sup>88</sup> If all these psalters can indeed be assigned to Winchester, this means that about half of the extant glossed Psalters from this period came from two or three scriptoria in the same place.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>85</sup> I owe this suggestion to Winfried Rudolf.

<sup>86</sup> See, e.g., M. Zoeteman, 'De studentenpopulatie van de Leidse universiteit, 1572–1812. "Een volk op zyn Siams gekleet enige mylen van Den Haag woonende"' (unpubl. PhD dissertation, Leiden Univ., 2011), pp. 258–9, 438.

<sup>87</sup> Pulsiano, 'Psalters', pp. 61–70.

<sup>88</sup> See the discussion, with references, in Opalińska *et al.*, 'The Eleventh-Century "N" Psalter', p. 215. Exeter as a possible location is based on Neil Ker's observation that 'regular alternation of the colours red, blue, and green is usually found in manuscripts from Exeter'. See N. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957), p. xxxviii. Notably, Ker does assign D, J and G to Winchester and does not provide a location for H and F; see Ker, *Catalogue*, nos. 134 (J), 199 (H), 224 (G), 249 (D), 271 (F). Gneuss and Lapidge assign each of these psalters to Winchester in Gn-L, *ASMS* nos. 304 (J), 378 (H), 407 (G), 451 (D), 499 (F).

<sup>89</sup> On Winchester as a centre of production of Old English glossed psalters, see Gretsches, *Intellectual Foundations*, esp. pp. 267–9. See also the discussion of Gretsches's arguments in Toswell, *Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, pp. 239–41. The preponderance of mid-eleventh-century Old English glossed psalters from Winchester raises the broader question of why there was a sudden interest in this material in Winchester around the time of the Norman Conquest, long after Winchester's intellectual predominance under Abbot Æthelwold and the Benedictine Reform. Relatedly, the general assumption that there may have been hundreds of glossed psalters of this kind may need revision: how does this assumption square with the fact that most psalters that have survived

How the N-Psalter from southern England ended up in a Dutch bookbinder's workshop is a matter of speculation. It is possible that this psalter was one of the many Catholic books that were shipped to the Continent after the Reformation in England. In a famous quote, John Bale lamented in 1549 the treatment of manuscripts after the Dissolution of the Monasteries (1536–42), which included selling shiploads of English parchment to bookbinders in Europe:

But to destroye all [libraries] without consyderacyon, is and wyll be unto Englande for euer, a moste horryble infamy amonge the graue senyours of other nacyns. A great nombre of them whych purchased those superstycyouse mansyons, reserued of those lybrarye boke, some to serue theyr iakes, some to scoure theyr candelstyckes, and some to rubbe their bootes. Some they solde to the grosser and sope sellers, 7 some they sent ouer see to the bokebynders, not in small nombre, but at tymes whole shyppes full, to the wonderynge of the foren nacyns.<sup>90</sup>

The N-Psalter may well have been one of the victims of this sixteenth-century anti-Catholic libricide, although a more spectacular backstory has been suggested for the N-Psalter by Gneuss.

Gneuss raised the tantalizing possibility that the N-Psalter may be identified as the 'Gunhild Psalter' that had once belonged to Gunhild (d. 1087), sister of the ill-fated King Harold Godwinson.<sup>91</sup> Following the Norman Conquest, Gunhild had taken refuge in Flanders and, in 1087, donated her Latin Psalter with Old English glosses to the church of St Donatus in Bruges.<sup>92</sup> This book, listed as 'Item psalterium Gunnildis expositum in anglico' in the thirteenth-century library catalogue of the chapter of St Donatus,<sup>93</sup> was last mentioned in 1561 by Jacques de Meyer in his *Commentarii sive Annales rerum Flandricarum*. De Meyer describes Gunhild's 1087 donation to the church of St Donatus, including her 'psalterium, quod et hodie vocamus psalterium Gunnildis, Latinum quidem, sed cum enarrationibus linguæ Saxonice, quas hic nemo satis intelligit' [psalter, which today we still call the Gunhild Psalter, certainly in Latin, but with explanations in the Saxon

came from one and the same place as well as with the fact that all discovered fragments of Old English glossed psalters in book bindings can, thus far, be traced back to one and the same N-Psalter? Perhaps there were fewer Old English glossed psalters and we may be dealing with a more localized phenomenon. I thank one of the anonymous reviewers for pointing out these broader implications; exploring these further would go beyond the scope of this article and may be done elsewhere.

<sup>90</sup> Cited in E. Trehanne, *Perceptions of Medieval Manuscripts: The Phenomenal Book* (Oxford, 2021), p. 179.

<sup>91</sup> See also the more full-fledged discussion in Opalińska *et al.*, 'The Eleventh-Century "N" Psalter', pp. 216–17.

<sup>92</sup> See H. Gneuss, 'More Old English from Manuscripts', *Intertexts: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Culture Presented to Paul E. Szarmach*, ed. V. Blanton and H. Scheck (Tempe, 2008), pp. 411–22, at 417.

<sup>93</sup> Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. theol. 1115a, fol. 120r.

language, which no one here can quite understand].<sup>94</sup> Since then, there has been no trace or mention of the Gunhild Psalter. Opalińska *et al.* offer the suggestion that the manuscript may have been lost when the church of St Donatus was destroyed in 1804.<sup>95</sup> Another possible and perhaps more likely scenario is that the Gunhild Psalter fell prey to the Calvinists who took control of the city of Bruges between 1578 and 1584. During this period, they founded a ‘publique librairie’ and on 10 October 1578, they started to confiscate books from monasteries, abbeys and chapters – the best were kept for the public library and the rest were to be sold.<sup>96</sup> The books of the chapter of St. Donatus were confiscated on 13 December 1580, and if the Gunhild Psalter was among these books, it was most presumably sold rather than included in the public library, given its puzzling Saxon glosses that no one could understand.

Whether shipped in from England or sold out of Bruges, the eleventh-century English N-Psalter ended up in a Dutch bookbinder’s workshop around the year 1600. That workshop was probably located in the university town of Leiden. There, the psalter was cut into pieces, which were then used to reinforce the bindings of scholarly books in Greek, Latin and Hebrew. One of these books was a Hebrew grammar that belonged to a student from Elbląg, Poland; two other books had been purchased at a Leiden book auction on 4 June 1601 and eventually

<sup>94</sup> Jacques de Meyer, *Commentarii, sive, Annales rerum Flandricarum libri septendecim* (Antwerp, 1561), p. 210.

<sup>95</sup> Opalińska *et al.*, ‘The Eleventh-Century “N” Psalter’, p. 217. Interestingly, the German philologist Leopold August Warnkönig (1794–1866) spent two years looking for ‘un Manuscrit Anglosaxon savoir le Psautier de Gunhildis soeur de Harald’ between 1833 and 1835, but was unable to find it; he speculated that the French may have removed the book, when they took control of Bruges in 1794. See O. Bock, ‘The British Record Commission, its Secretary C. P. Cooper, and Two of his German Correspondents During the 1830s’, *Scholarly Correspondence on Medieval Germanic Language and Literature*, ed. T. Porck, A. van Baalen and J. Mann, special issue of *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 78:2–3 (2018), 204–27, at 220.

<sup>96</sup> N. Geirnaert, ‘Een initiatief van het Calvinistisch stadsbestuur te Brugge: de openbare bibliotheek, 1578–1584’, *Brugge in de Geuzentijd: Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van de hervorming te Brugge en in het Brugse Vrije tijdens de 16de eeuw*, ed. D. van der Bauwhede and M. Goetinck (Brugge, 1982), pp. 45–54, at 47. The text of the resolution is cited in J. Vandamme, *Het bibliotheekwezen in Brugge. Vóór 1829* (Brugge, 1971), pp. 23–4: ‘Ten selven daghe sijn jonckeer Philips Baesdorp, burchmeester van den courpse, Mr Jan van Ghelder, raet, ende Mr Oliver Nieulant, bij ’t college ghedeputeert omme te makene inventaris van alle de boucken toebehoort hebbende de voorseide cloosters ende capitels, omme daeruute ghenomen te werdene de beste ende daer mede ghestoffeert eene publique librairie ten behouwe van der stede ende de superflue vercocht te werdene’ [on the same day, Philips Baesdorp, mayor of the municipality, Jan van Gelder, counselor and Oliver Nieulant, were chartered by the city council to make an inventory of all the books that belonged to the aforesaid monasteries and chapters, to take therefrom the best and with these stock a public library for the sake of the town and to sell the superfluous ones]. Little else is known about this short-lived public library, which was dissolved in 1584, when the Spanish gained control of Bruges.



made their way to the municipal library of Haarlem; and a four-volume Greek dictionary was bought during a book buying expedition by Alkmaar notables who had attended that same auction in 1601. Some four centuries later, fragments of the N-Psalter are beginning to reemerge from these early modern book bindings and can now once again be reassembled.<sup>97</sup>

ANNOTATED EDITION OF THE ALKMAAR FRAGMENTS

Text in italics indicates expanded abbreviations; letters between round brackets () are only partially visible. Missing Latin text is reconstructed on the basis of the Stowe Psalter (F) and given between square brackets. Missing or incomplete Old English glosses are not reconstructed. A dash – in the line of Old English glosses indicates a word that is present in the Latin text has not been glossed.

[fol. \*N-A1r – Plate I]

[*Psalm XLII*]

XLII.5 [confitebor illi salutar](e)

(m)in

[uultus mei et deus me]us. **XLIII**

;

[*Psalm XLIII*]

[**IN FINEM FILIIS C**](H)ORE

[**AD INTELLECTUM**<sup>98</sup> **PS**](A)LMI DŌ<sup>99</sup>

urum

XLIII.2 [Deus auribus n]ostris

[ ]eras

ure

[audiuimus pa]tres nostri

[...]

[fol. \*N-A1v – plate II]

4 tui: qu(o)[niam conplacui]sti

on him

in eis.

<sup>97</sup> A digital reconstruction of the N-Psalter, bringing together all known fragments, is planned in collaboration with Monika Opałińska.

<sup>98</sup> Rubric reconstructed on the basis of F.

<sup>99</sup> Added by later hand in right-hand margin: ‘Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum’ with Anglo-Norman neums. Cf. F, fol. 46r, where a later hand has added ‘Eructavit’ with musical notation.

þu eart self  
 5 Tu es ipse [rex meus et deus meus]

þu ðe bebeod[ ]  
 qui man(d)[as salutes iacob]

on ðe fynd  
 6 In te inim[icos nostros uentilabimus]  
 horn 7  
 cornu: e[t in nomine tuo]

[...]

[fol. \*N-A2r – Plate III]

8 (nos: et odientes nos confudisti) ;

on gode we beoð herede ælce dæge  
 9 In deo laudabimur tota die:

7 on namann<sup>100</sup> þine we andettað  
 et in nomine tuo confitebimur

on worulde  
 in seculum. ;

nu soðlice ðu anyddest 7 ðu gædrefdest  
 10 Nunc autem repulisti et confudisti

us 7 na ðu utgæst –  
 nos: et non egredieris deus.

on manegum<sup>101</sup> urum  
 in uirtutibus nostris. ;

ðu acyrdest us underbæclig æfter  
 11 Auertisti nos. retrorsum post

feondum urum 7 þe hatedon  
 inim(i)[c](o)s nostros: et qui oderunt

us (h)y reafodon him  
 [nos diripi]ebant sibi. ;

<sup>100</sup> Duplication of the final **n** may be a scribal error and is unique for N-A.

<sup>101</sup> Probably a scribal error for *magenum*, cf. ‘mægenum’ BDH; ‘mægnum’ CFJ; ‘mægenum 1 mihtum’ G.

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12	[Dedisti	nos	t]amquam	swa swa	sceap	oues	
	(7)	on	þeodum				
	[escarum e]t	in	gentibus				
		us					
	[dispersisti]	nos.					;

[...]

[fol. \*N-A2r – Plate IV]

14	<i>nostris</i>	subsannationem	et		(derisum)	
	þam	–	synd on	ymbhwyrfte	urum	
	his	qui	sunt in	circuitu	nostro.	;

15	þu settest	us	on	gelicnesse		
	Posuisti	nos	in	similitudinem		
	ðeoda <sup>102</sup>	styrunge	‡	gewændunga <sup>103</sup>	heafdes	
	gentibus:	commotionem			capitis	
	on	folc <sup>104</sup>				
	in	populis.				;

16	ælce	dæge	aswarnung <sup>105</sup> ‡	scama <sup>106</sup>	min	ongean
	Tota	die	uerecundia		mea	contra
	me	is	7	gescyndnis	ansyne	mine
	me	est:	et	confusio	faciei	meç
	oferwreah	me				
	cooperuit	me.				;

<sup>102</sup> Various glossed psalters give a dative plural gloss, following the Latin form, but N-A and G give a genitive plural form, since Old English *gelicnes* tends to go with the genitive.

<sup>103</sup> Only occurrence in the Old English corpus of this word with the prefix *ge-*, cf. *wendung* ‘turning, change’.

<sup>104</sup> This gloss, found only in N-A, is missing the expected inflection *-um* for dative plural.

<sup>105</sup> The word *aswarnung* is only found in N-A, D, F, H and I, in the context of this Psalm verse and nowhere else in the extant Old English corpus. Cf. *DOE*, s.v. *aswarnung*, which only mentions three occurrences, possibly because the form ‘aswærnunga’ is given between square brackets in the edition of F by Andrew Charles Kimmens, *An Edition of British Museum MS. Stowe 2: the Stowe Psalter* (Toronto, 1979) (and between <> in the *DOEC*), but the word is clearly visible in the digitized manuscript, although there are possible signs of erasure or damage to **nung**.

<sup>106</sup> This double gloss resembles the one given in I: ‘aswarnung ‡ scamu’; the other Old English glossed psalters do not have a double gloss here. The *-a* ending in N-A seems to be an error on the part of the scribe, the strong fem. nom. sg. *-u* is expected.

- of stefne hispentes 1 odwitendes 7 ongeansprecende<sup>107</sup>  
 17 A uoce exprobrantis et ob[lo](q)uentis:  
 of ansyne feondes 7 ofehtendes  
 a facie inimici et per[sequentis.]
- ðas ealle comun<sup>108</sup>  
 18 Hęc omnia uenerunt [super nos]  
 na ofergiten syndon þe 7  
 nec oblitī sumus te. et [inique]  
 we ne dydon uncyþnyss[ ]<sup>109</sup>  
 non egimus in testa(m)[ento tuo]

[...]

[fol. \*N-A3r – Plate V]

[*Psalm LIV*]

- (7 gehyr)<sup>110</sup>  
 LIV.3 et exau[di me.]  
 geunrot[ ]  
 Contrist(a)[tus sum in exercitatione]  
 minum 7  
 4 mea: e(t) [conturbatus sum [4] a uoce]  
 feondes  
 inimici [et a tribulatione peccatoris]  
 forþon  
 Quoniam [declinauerunt in me]  
 unrihtwisn[ ]  
 iniquit(a)[tes et in ira molesti]  
 hy wæron  
 erant (m)[ihi.]

<sup>107</sup> N-A does not extend the genitive form here. Cf. ‘ongeanprecendes’ DEFH.

<sup>108</sup> *-un* is an older form of pl. pret. ind. *-on*; N-A shares this form with D.

<sup>109</sup> This gloss seems to stem from confusing the preposition *in* with the negative prefix *in-*.

<sup>110</sup> Only the bottom half of this line of Old English glosses is visible.

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heorte min  
 5 Cor meu(m) [conturbatum est]  
 on me  
 [in me]

[...]

[fol. \*N-A3v – Plate VI]

9 [Expectabam eum qui sal](u)um  
 [me fecit a pusillanimit]ate  
 [spiritus et tempestate.] ;

10 [Precipita domine diuid]e  
 ic geseah  
 [linguas eorum quonia](m) uidi  
 [ ]esse  
 [iniquitatem et contrad](i)ctionem  
 [in ciuitate.] ;

11 [Die et nocte circumdabit] hy  
 eam  
 [ ]snes  
 [super muros eius iniquita](s)

[...]

[fol. \*N-A4r – Plate VII]

[Psalm LXXXV]

LXXXV.1 [ ] (drihten) care þin  
 Inclina domine aurem tuam  
 7 gehyr me forþon wanhafa<sup>111</sup>  
 et exaudi me: quoniam inops  
 7 þearfa ic eom  
 et pauper sum ego ;

<sup>111</sup> The word *wanhafa* ‘poor person’ is found only in N-A, F and J, in the context of this Psalm verse and nowhere else in the extant Old English corpus.

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	geheald	sawle	mine	forðon		
2	Custodi	animam	meam	quoniam		
	halig	ic eom	halne	gedo []		
	sanctus	sum:	saluum	fac se(ru)[um]		
	þine	god	min	hyhtendne	on	ð(e)
	tuum	deus	meus	sperantem	in	te ;
	mildsa	min	drihten	forþon		
3	Miserere	mei	domine	quoniam		
	to	ðe	ic cleopode	ælce	dæg	geblissa
	ad	te	clamaui <sup>112</sup>	tota	die:	letifica

[...]

[fol. \*N<sub>2</sub>A4v – Plate VIII]

	forþon	þu	ge(hyrdest)	(me)		
7	quia	exaudisti	me			;
	nis	gelic	þin	on	godum	drihten
8	Non est	similis	tui	in	diis	domine:
	7	na	is	æfter	weorcum	þinum
	et	nonest	secundum	opera	tua.	;
	ealle	ðeoda	swa	hwelc	swa	
9	Omnes	(g)entes	(q)uascumque			
	[]	hy	cumað	7	gebiddað	
	[feci](s)ti	uenient	et	adhorabunt		
	(b)eforan	þe	drihten	7	hi wuldorfulliað <sup>113</sup>	
	coram	te	domine:	et	glorificabunt	
	naman	þine				
	nomen	tuum.				;

<sup>112</sup> This is the Romanum reading; none of the Old English glossed psalters have the Gallicanum reading *clamao*. The present tense glosses in F ('ic cleopige') and CK ('ic clypige') may show influence of the Gallicanum reading.

<sup>113</sup> This gloss closely resembles the one in F, 'wu[erasure of r]dorfulliað', and is unlike any of the other Old English glossed psalters in the context of this Psalm verse; see Appendix B.

*The Alkmaar Fragments of the N-Psalter*

forþon micel eart þu 7 donde  
 10 (Q)uoniam magnus es tu *et* faciens

[...]

[fol. \*N-A5r – Plate IX]

(forðon) [ ](rtnes) (þin) micel i(s)  
 13 Quia misericordia tua magna est  
 ofer me 7 þu generedest sawle mine  
 super me: *et* eruisti animam meam  
 of helle þære neoðeran  
 ex inferno inferiori. ;

god unrihtwise arison ofer me  
 14 Deus iniqui insurrexerunt super me:  
 7 gesomnung ricra sohton  
 et sinagoga potentium quesierunt  
 sawle mine 7 hy na foresetton þe  
 animam meam: et non proposuerunt te  
 on gesihðe þine<sup>114</sup>  
 in conspectu suo. ;

7 þu drihten god gemiltsiend  
 15 Et tu domine deus miserator

[...]

[fol. \*N-A5r – Plate X]

(fr)efredest me  
 17 (e)t consolatus es me. **LXXXVI** ;

[*Psalm LXXXVI*]

**LXXXVI.1 PSALMUS CANTICI FILIIS CHORE**

grunweallas his on muntum  
 Fundamenta eius in montibus

<sup>114</sup> This is an incorrect gloss for *suo*; the glossator seems to have misinterpreted the word as *tuo*.





*The Alkmaar Fragments of the N-Psalter*

- 134 alys me fram hospum manna  
 Redime me a calumniis hominum;  
 7<sup>118</sup> ic gehealde bebodu þina  
 ut custodiam mandata tua. ;
- 135 ansyne þine onlyht ofer þeow  
 Faciem tuam illumina super seruum  
 þine 7 lær me rihtwisnessa þina  
 tuum; *et* doce me iustificationes tuas ;
- 136 utgang wætera gelæddon  
 Exitus aquarum deduxerunt  
 eagan mine forþon hi na heoldon  
 oculi mei; quia non custodierunt  
 æ þine  
 legem tuam. **SADE IVSTITIAE** ;
- 137 rihtwis þu eart drihten 7 riht is  
 Iustus es domine; *et* rectum  
 dom þin  
 iudicium tuum. ;
- 138 þu bebude rihtwisnesse 7<sup>119</sup> cyþnessa þina  
 Mandasti iustitiam testimonia tua

[*fol. \*N-A6v – Plate XII*]

- 7 soðfæstnesse þine swiðe  
*et* ueritatem tuam nimis. ;
- 139 swindan 1 essian me dyde æ(ƿ)anca<sup>120</sup> min  
 Tabescere me fecit zelus meus;

<sup>118</sup> This unique N-A gloss corresponds to the Gallican reading *et custodiam*; the Latin texts (and Old English glosses) of all other Old English glossed psalters follow the Romanum reading with *ut*, glossed with a form of *hæt*: ‘ðæt’ A; ‘þæt’ BCDFGIJKL; ‘pet’ E.

<sup>119</sup> This Tironian note without a Latin equivalent is not found in any of the other Old English glossed psalters.

<sup>120</sup> ƿ legible on offset of ink on facing pastedown.

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	forþon quia	ofergeatene obliti	synt sunt	word uerba	þina tua	fynd inimici	mine mei	;
140	fyren Ignitum		gespræc eloquium		þin tuum	swiþe uehementer		
	7 <i>et</i>	þeow seruus	þin tuus	lufude dilexit	þæt illud.			;
141	geongra Adolescentulus <sup>121</sup>		eom sum	ic ego	7 <i>et</i>	forhogad contemptus		
		rihtwinessa <sup>122</sup> iustificationes	þina tuas	na non	ic eom sum	ofergiten oblitus		;
142	rihtwisnes Iustitia	þin tua	rihtwisnes iustitia	on in	ecnesse ęternum			
	7 <i>et</i>	æ lex	þine <sup>123</sup> tua	soðfæstnes ueritas.				;
143	geswinc Tribulatio	7 <i>et</i>	angnes angustia	gemetton inuenerunt	(me) <sup>124</sup> me			
	bebodu mandata	þina tua	smeaung meditatio	min mea	is est.			;
144	efennis Acquitas	cyþnessa testimonia	þina tua	on in	ecnesse ęternum			
	on andgytan <sup>125</sup> intellectum		gif da	(me) <sup>126</sup> mihi	7 <i>et</i>	ic libbe uiuam		;

**COPH UOCATIO DICITUR**

<sup>121</sup> Corrected from *adbolescentulus* by erasure of the **h**; notably, only J has the *adbolescentulus* reading.

<sup>122</sup> Spelling error for *rihtwinessa*; cf. other instances of this word in the verse.

<sup>123</sup> The expected form here is nominative feminine singular *þim*, as found in all Old English glossed psalters. Only E also gives the incorrect form 'þine'.

<sup>124</sup> **me** only visible on offset of ink on facing pastedown.

<sup>125</sup> The inclusion of the preposition 'on' is unexpected and may be caused by a scribal misinterpretation of the prefix *in-* in *intellectum*; only F and G have the same reading. The weak form 'andgytan' is rare; according to the *DOE*, *s.v. andgyte* only four occurrences of this weak form are known (this gloss in N-A is the fifth occurrence). The neuter strong form *andgyt*, found in all other Old English glossed psalters, is more common.

<sup>126</sup> Some of the ink has faded away here, but the onset of the third minim of the **m** and the top part of the **e** are still visible.

ic cleopode on ealre heortan gehyr me  
 145 Clamaui in toto corde exaudi me

drihten rihtwisnessa ðine  
 domineꝰ iustificaciones tuas

ic sohte<sup>127</sup>  
 requiram.

;

[...]

[fol. \*N-A7r – Plate XIII]

leofað sawl min 7 hereð þe  
 175 Viuet anima mea *et* laudabit teꝰ

7 domas þina gefylstað me  
 (*et* iudicia tua adiuuabunt me)<sup>128</sup>

[...]

[fol. \*N-A7v – Plate XIV]

[Psalm CXIX]

– wuniendum cedar swiðe  
 CXIX.5 cum habitantibus cedarꝰ [6] multum

ic þeodig wæs<sup>129</sup> sawl min  
 (incola fuit anima mea)<sup>130</sup>

[...]

[fol. \*N-A8r – Plate XV]

<sup>127</sup> The use of the past tense here does not appear to be prompted by the Latin *requiram*, which is either present or future, but DFGJ all give past tense ‘sohte’, while ABCEIKL give a present tense: ‘soecu’ A; ‘sece’ BCEIKL.

<sup>128</sup> Only the top half of this Latin line is visible.

<sup>129</sup> The curious and ungrammatical gloss ‘ic þeodig wæs’ for Latin *incola fuit* is only found in N-A, but note that both F and K also have the ungrammatical ‘ic’: ‘ældæodig ic wæs’ F; ‘ealþeodi ic wæs’ K. The word *þeodig* is otherwise unattested in Old English and the glossator may have been confused by the fact that Latin *incola* can mean both ‘native inhabitant’ and ‘foreign resident’ (see Lewis and Short, *s.v. incola*) and decided to leave out the first element of *el-þeodig*. Alternatively, the ‘ic’ in N-A is a curious scribal error for *el-*. The readings in F and K, which feature both the incorrect first-person pronoun and a variant of the word *el-þeodig*, may have been caused by the same scribal error somewhere in the transmission of this particular gloss, followed by the correction of unattested *þeodig* to *ealþeodig*. Intriguingly, Derolez has pointed out the N-glossator’s difficulty with translating the word *incolatus* in Ps. CXIX.5; see Derolez, ‘A New Psalter Fragment’, pp. 407–8.

<sup>130</sup> Only the top half of this Latin line is visible.

*Thijs Porck*

[*Psalm CXX*]

CXX.6 þurh nyht  
per noctem  
drihten gehealde<sup>131</sup> þe of eallum yfelum  
7 (Dominus custodit te ab omni malo)<sup>132</sup>

[...]

[*fol. \*N-A8v – Plate XVI*]

[*Psalm CXXI*]

CXXI.6 biddað þe to sybbe sindon ierusalem  
(R)ogate que ad pacem sunt ierusalem:  
7 geniðsumnes<sup>133</sup> lifendum<sup>134</sup> þe  
(et abundantia diligentibus te)<sup>135</sup>

[...]

[*fol. \*N-A9r – Plate XVII*]

[*Psalm CXXVI*]

CXXVI.2 þe etað (hlaf)<sup>136</sup>  
qui manducatis panem dolo(r)[is]  
þonne he selð gecorenum is<sup>137</sup> swefn  
Cum dederit dilectis suis somnum:  
loce<sup>138</sup> nu yrfe drihten<sup>139</sup> bearn gestreones  
3 ecce hereditas domini filii merces  
wæstm innodes<sup>140</sup>  
fructus uentris. ;

<sup>131</sup> The incorrect subjunctive form here (also found in CFG) may be influenced by the Latin subjunctive *custodiat* which follows *omni malo* in this Psalm verse.

<sup>132</sup> Only the top half of this Latin line is visible.

<sup>133</sup> The cross-stroke on the ð is difficult to see; the spelling *-nið-* is unusual, but may be based on the D-gloss ‘geniðsumnes’.

<sup>134</sup> Probably a scribal error for *lufendum*; cf. ‘lufendum’ AD, ‘lufigendum’ FI. Notably, G has a similar error ‘lifigendum’.

<sup>135</sup> Only the top half of this Latin line is visible.

<sup>136</sup> Only the bottom half of this Old English gloss is visible.

<sup>137</sup> The intended form was probably *his*; the gloss ‘is’ is attached to the preceding gloss as ‘gecorenumis’.

<sup>138</sup> The expected form is *loca*, cf. the gloss for *ecce* in Ps. CXXXVII.4 below.

<sup>139</sup> Uninflected form of *drihten*.

<sup>140</sup> The intended form was in all likelihood *innodes*.

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swa swa strela of handa rices  
 4 Sicut sagitte in manu potentis [ita]

bearn worhborena l̄ aflemendra<sup>141</sup>  
 filii excussorum.

;

eadig wer þe gefylde gewilnunga  
 5 Beatus uir qui impleuit desideriu

his of him na byð gescynd  
 suum ex ipsis: non confundetur

þonne he sprecð feondum his o[ ]  
 5 cum loquetur inimicis suis in p[orta]

[*Psalm CXXVII*]

CXXVII.1 eadige ealle þa ðe ondrædað  
 Beati omnes qui timent

drihten þa þe gað  
 dominum: qui ambulant

on wegum his  
 in uis eius.

;

geswinc handa þinra forðam  
 2 Labores manuum tuarum quia

þe<sup>142</sup> þu etst eadig þu eart 7 wel  
 manducabis: beatus es et bene

þe<sup>143</sup> bið  
 tibi erit.

wif ðin swa swa wingearde genihtsumgende  
 3 Vxor tua sicut uitis abundans

on sidum huses þines  
 in lateribus domus tue<sup>144</sup>

<sup>141</sup> This double gloss is unique for N-A, but cf. ‘afimendra l̄ wrorhtberendra’ J.

<sup>142</sup> The gloss ‘þe’ is placed here, but probably belongs to the gloss ‘forðam’ for *quia* in the line above. Cf. ‘forþon þe’ G; ‘forðan ðe’ F; ‘forðon þe’ IJ; ‘forþam’ K; *quia* does not occur in ABCDEL.

<sup>143</sup> Something (perhaps one letter) has been crossed out after this word.

<sup>144</sup> Tail of the *ç* visible on front endleaf guard of vol. 2 of the N-A set.

[fol. \*N-A9v – Plate XVIII]

		(swa	æþele	elebergena) <sup>145</sup>	
	[filii tui]	sicut	nouella	oliuarumꝑ	
		[ ](b)hwyrfte	mysam <sup>146</sup>	þinre	
	(i)n circuitu	mense	tuę		;
	loca nu efene <sup>147</sup>	swa	byð gebletsod	man	
4	Ecce	sic	benedicetur	homo <sup>148</sup> ꝑ	
	þa ðe ondrædað <sup>149</sup>	drihten			
	qui timet	dominum.			;
		þe	drihten	of	sion
5	[Bene](d)icat tibi	dominus	ex	sionꝑ	
	(7)	geseoh ðu	gode	–	
	et	uideas	bona	ierusalemꝑ	
	eallum	dagum	lifes	þines	
	omnibus	diebus	uitę	tuę	;
	7 þæt þu geseo suna	suna	þinra		
6	Et uideas filios	filiorum	tuorumꝑ		
	[ ]	ofer	israbel		
	[pa](c)em super	israbel.	<b>CXXVIII DE</b>		;

<sup>145</sup> Only the bottom half of this line of Old English glossing is visible.

<sup>146</sup> A scribal error for *mysan*. Cf. ‘mysan ðinre’ D; ‘mysan þinre’ G1.

<sup>147</sup> The Latin word appears to be translated twice here, but it is not separated by the usual abbreviation for Latin *vel* to indicate that this is a double gloss, see the discussion of double glosses and n. 51 above.

<sup>148</sup> N-A gives the Gallicanum reading here, as do F, I and K. The other Old English glossed psalters (ABCDEGJL) follow the Romanum reading: *omnis homo*. I and K both nevertheless give Old English glosses for absent *omnis*: ‘ealle man’ K; ‘ælc man’ I. N-A is similar to F (‘mann’), in that they both give neither the Latin word *omnis* nor its Old English gloss.

<sup>149</sup> The Old English gloss is plural, whereas the Latin word is singular. N-A shares this plural ending with FGJK – the plural ending could possibly be explained by familiarity with the Romanum reading *omnis homo* [every man], which is found in G and J (and reflected in the gloss of K), but not in F or N-A (see also the previous footnote).

CXXVIII.1 **CIMUM CANTICUM GRADUUM**

oft hy oferwunnon me  
(S)epe expugnauerunt me

fram geoguðe minre cweðe  
a iuuentute mea: dicat  
nu —  
nunc israhel ;

oft hy oferwunnon me  
2 Sepe expugnauerunt me

fram geoguðe minre 7 soðlice na  
a iuuentute mea: *et* enim non

mehton me  
[pot]uerunt michi. ;

hryc minne geambredon<sup>150</sup>  
3 [supra do](t)sum meum fabricauerunt

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<sup>150</sup> Probably a misspelling for *getimbredon*. Cf. ‘getimbredon’ FI.

APPENDIX A: SIGNIFICANT VARIANT READINGS OF THE OLD  
ENGLISH GLOSS

The tables below include selections of significant variant readings within the extant Old English glossed psalters. Correspondences between N-A and other extant Old English psalter glosses may be useful in establishing links between these manuscripts.

Generally, the N-A gloss corresponds with both F and G, but it is not a direct copy of either. The first two tables are overviews of variant readings where N-A corresponds to G, but not with F; the next two tables show where N-A provides glosses that match F, but differ from G. The last table in this appendix demonstrates where N-A varies from both F and G and generally follows D.

Variant readings that only concern minor matters of spelling of, e.g., the suffix *-nes* are not included (N-A generally has the spelling *-nes*, as opposed to *-nis* A and *-mys* CF). In the tables, spelling variants are given as they appear in the standard editions of the Old English glossed psalters, but whenever two psalters only differ in their use of *ð* and *þ*, these readings have been conflated.



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LEXICAL CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN N-A AND G, NOT SHARED WITH F

Psalm verse	Latin	N-A [=G]	F	Alternative readings in other glossed psalters
XLIII.9	<i>in deo</i>	on gode [=BCEGIJ]	on dæge <sup>151</sup>	in gode A, – DH, on god K
XLIII.10	<i>reppulisti</i>	ðu anyddest [=DGHK]	ðu andettest <sup>152</sup>	on weg adrife A, þu aweg adrife B, þu onweg adrife C, ðu aneddest E, þu utawurpe I aneddest I, þu aweg drife J
XLIII.10	<i>confudisti</i>	gædrefdest [=DGHK]	gescendest	ðu gescendes A, gescendes B, gescyndyst C, gescindest I drefdest E, gescyndest I, gescændest J
XLIII.17	<i>a uoce</i>	of stefne [=DGH]	fram stemne [=E]	from stefne ABC, fram stefne IK, fram stæfne J
XLIII.17	<i>a facie</i>	of ansyne [=DGH]	fram ansyne [=C]	from onsiene A, fram onsiene B, from onsiene E, fram ansene I, fram ansine J, – K
LXXXV.3	<i>tota die</i>	ælce dæg [=DGL]	ealne dæg [=BCIJ]	alne deg A, ealne dæg BCIJ, elece diege E, ælce dæge H, ælne dæg K
LXXXV.13	<i>eruisti</i>	þu generedest [=DGHJKL]	þu gerodest	ðu generedes AB, þu generydyst C, genere E
CXVIII.140	<i>uebementer</i>	swiþe [=DEGJ]	ðearle	swiðlice ABCIL, swyþe K
CXX.7	<i>dominus</i>	drihten [=EGJKL]	– [=DI]	dryh A, dryhten B, drihtyn C
CXX.7	<i>ab</i>	of [=DGJK]	fram [=I]	from ABCEL
CXXI.6	<i>ierusalem</i>	ierusalem [=G]	– [=ABCDKL]	on ieruselem E, on hierusalem I, ierlm J
CXXVI.3	<i>fili</i>	bearn [=ABCDGJIL]	sunu	bearn E, – K
CXXVI.4	<i>potentis</i>	rices [=DGJ]	mihtiges [=L]	maehtges A, mehtiges B, mihtys C, mihtig E, rican I mihtigan I, mihtuhra K
CXXVII.1	<i>beati</i>	eadige [=CDGJ]	eadige beoð [=L]	eadge A, eadge beoð B, – E, eadige syndon I, eadi K
CXXVII.6	<i>filios filiorum</i>	sunu sunu [=DG]	bearn bearna [=ABCIL]	bearn bearna E, sunu sunu JK
CXXVIII.2	<i>et enim</i>	7 soðlice [=ABCDEGJKL]	witendlice	soðlice I

<sup>151</sup> This form stems from misinterpreting Latin *deo* as *die*, possibly influenced by the occurrence of that word in the same line.

<sup>152</sup> Between square brackets in the edition by Kimmens, but clear in the digitized manuscript; **et** may show signs of erasure.

OTHER CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN N-A AND G, NOT SHARED WITH F

Psalm verse	Latin	N-A[=G]	F	Alternative readings in other glossed psalters
XLIII.15	<i>gentibus</i>	ðeoda [=GK]	ðeodum [=BCIJ]	ðiodum AE, – DH
LIV.4	<i>inimici</i>	feondes [=ABDGHJK]	fynd <sup>153</sup>	feondys C, fendes E, fyndes I
LIV.11	<i>eam</i>	hy [=DGHJ]	hi [=CK]	hie ABE, hig I
LXXXV.2	<i>tuum</i>	þine [=G]	þinne [=ABCDEHJKLI]	
LXXXV.9	<i>uenient</i>	hy cumað [=DGHJL]	hi cumað	cumað ABCEIJK
LXXXV.10	<i>magnus</i>	micel [=ABDGHJL]	mycel [=K]	micyl C, michel E, mære I
LXXXV.13	<i>magna</i>	micel [=DEGHJL]	mycel [=KI]	michelu AB, micyl C
CXVIII.131	<i>aperui</i>	ic atynde [=DG]	ic ontynde [=ACL]	ontynde B, ontiene E, ic antynde I, ic untinde J, ic openede K
CXVIII.141	<i>sum ego</i>	eom ic [=GJ]	ic eom [=BCDEKL]	ic eam A, eam ic I <sup>154</sup>
CXVIII.144	<i>uiuam</i>	ic libbe [=EGIJ]	ic lifige	ic lifgu A, ic lifge B, ic lyfge C, ic lybbe DK, ic lyfige L
CXVIII.175	<i>anima</i>	sawl [=BCDGL]	sawla	sawul min A, sawl E, sawle IJ, saul K
CXVIII.175	<i>laudabit</i>	hereð [=ABDGL]	herað	heryð C, 7 ic herige E, loflæcað I heo herað I, heriað J, hera K
CXIX.5	<i>habitantibus</i>	wuniendum [=DG]	wunigendum [=IJ]	ðæm eardiendum AB, eardiyndum C, eærdigendum E, eardiendan K, þæm eardiendum L
CXIX.6	<i>anima</i>	sawl [=BCDGL]	sawle [=IJ]	sawul A, sæwl E, saul K
CXXVI.3	<i>domini</i>	drihten [=G]	drihtnes [=EIJL]	dryh A, dryhtnes B, drihtnys C, – DK
CXXVI.5	<i>uir</i>	wer [=ABCDEGHIJKL]	wew	se wer B
CXXVII.3	<i>uitis</i>	wingearð [=DGIK]	wineard [=J]	wintreow ABCL, lif E
CXXVII.5	<i>et uideas</i>	7 geseoh ðu [=DGJK]	7 geoh <sup>155</sup>	gesee A, 7 ðu gesihst B, 7 þu geseo CI, 7 gesioð E, þæt þu gesihst L
CXXVII.5	<i>uitę tuę</i>	lifes þines [=ADGIJL]	lyfes þine	þines lifes B, lifys þinys C, lif ðin E, liues þines K

<sup>153</sup> The gloss in F appears to interpret *inimici* as the nominative plural, rather than the genitive singular.

<sup>154</sup> These differences are due to differences in the Latin base text: *sum ego* FGIJK; *ego sum* ABCEDEL. FK give ‘ic eom’, which does not follow the Latin word order.

<sup>155</sup> Clearly legible as ‘geoh’ in the digitized manuscript, but given between brackets in the edition by Kimmens; possibly, **eo** shows signs of damage or erasure.

*The Alkmaar Fragments of the N-Psalter*

LEXICAL CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN N-A AND F, NOT SHARED WITH G

Psalm verse	Latin	N-A [=F]	G	Alternative readings in other glossed psalters
XLIII.16	<i>faciei mee</i>	ansyne mine [=F]]	anwlitan mines	ondwleotan mines A, ondwlitan mines B, andwlitan minys C, andwlitan mines DH, onsien I andwlitan mines E, anwlitan mines I minre ansyne I, ansyne minre K
LIV.4	<i>quoniam</i>	forþon [=ABCFJ]	forþam þe [=I]	– DH, forðan E, forþan þe I, forþam K
LXXXV.1	<i>inops</i>	wanhafa [=F]]	wædla [=BCDIKL]	wæðla A, wiedla E,– H
LXXXV.7	<i>quia</i>	forþon [=ABCFJL]	forþam þe	– DH, forþan E, forþi þe I, forþam K
LXXXV.13	<i>quia</i>	forðon [=ABCFJL]	forþam þe	– DH, forþan E, forþi þe I, forþam K
LXXXV.14	<i>quesierunt</i>	sohton [=BCDEFHJL]	hy sohton	sohtun A, 7 sohtan I, sohtan K
LXXXV.2	<i>portas</i>	gatu [=CDFHIJ]	geatu I gatu	geatu AB, gato E, geata K
CXVIII.131	<i>spiritum</i>	to gast [=DFJ]	gast [=ACK]	oroð BL, gæst E, to gaste I
CXVIII.131	<i>quia</i>	forþon [=ABCDFJ]	forþon þe [=I]	forðan EL, forþam K
CXVIII.136	<i>excitus</i>	utgang [=DFIJ]	utgang I siðfæt	utgong ABCL, utgæð E, utfær K
CXVIII.136	<i>quia</i>	forþon [=ABCDFJ]	forþo[ ] þe	forðæn E, forðon þe I, forþam K, forðan L
CXVIII.137	<i>et rectum</i>	7 riht is [=FJL]	7 riht [=CDI]	7 reht A, 7 ryht is B, 7 rihtwis E, 7 rih K
CXVIII.141	<i>adolescentulus</i>	geongra [=CDF]	geongra I gingra	iungra A, gingra B], min ungleæwnes E, iungclinge I, geongan K, gengra L
CXXVI.5	<i>inimicis</i>	feondum [=DFIJK]	wið feondum	to ... feondum AB, on feondum C, fiond E, to feondum L
CXXVII.3	<i>nouella oliuarum</i>	æþele elebergena [=F <sup>156</sup> ]	æðele I ælegrene elebergena elebeam	neow plant eletrea A, niwe plant eletreowa B, niwe planta

(Continued)

<sup>156</sup> In F, ‘æþele’ is clearly legible in the digitized manuscript, but given between brackets in the edition by Kimmens.

*Thijs Porck*  
(Continued)

Psalm verse	Latin	N-A [=F]	G	Alternative readings in other glossed psalters
				eletreowa C, ælegrene elebergena D, niwra elebergennæ E, nywlicra elebergena I guogað elebeama I, æpele elebergan J, elegrene eleberige K, – plantan eletreowa L
CXXVII.4	<i>sic</i>	swa [=BCDFIJKL]	swa nu	swe A, swæ E
CXXVII.5	<i>ex sion</i>	of sion [=CFJ]	– [=DIK]	of sione ABL, ob syon E

OTHER CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN N-A AND F, NOT SHARED  
WITH G

Not included in this overview are differences between N-A and G where the latter gloss is illegible due to damage to the manuscript.

Psalm verse	Latin	N-A [=F]	G	Alternative readings in other glossed psalters
XLIII.2	<i>patres</i>	[fæd]eras [=DFHIJK]	fæderes	fedras A, fædras BC, faderes E
XLIII.9	<i>tota die</i>	ælce dæge [=DFH]	ælce dæg	allne deg A, ealne dæg BC, alne deg E, æfre I ealne dæg I, ælcne dæg J, ealle dæg K
XLIII.11	<i>sibi</i>	him [=ABCDEFHIJK]	hi	
XLIII.15	<i>posuisti</i>	þu settest [=FJK]	þu asettest	ðu settes AB, ðu gesettyst C, – D, ðu gesettest EI, þu asettes H
LXXXV.1	<i>aurem</i>	eare [=ABCDEFHIJL]	earam	earan K
LXXXV.2	<i>saluum fac</i>	halne gedo [=CEFJ]	halne do [=BDHKL]	halne doa A, gehæl I
LXXXV.13	<i>ex inferno</i>	of helle [=ABCDEFHJKL]	of ohelle	helle of I

*(Continued)*

*The Alkmaar Fragments of the N-Psalter*

(Continued)

Psalm verse	Latin	N-A [=F]	G	Alternative readings in other glossed psalters
LXXXV.14	<i>sinagoga</i>	gesomnung [=ABCDFJKL]	gesamnunga <sup>157</sup>	on gemotstowe E, gesomnunga H, gesamnung I.
LXXXVI.3	<i>dicta</i>	gecweden [=DFH]	gecwedene [=IK]	cweden A, cwedene B, gecwedyne C, cweþene E, gecwedon J
CXVIII.136	<i>deduxerunt</i>	gelæddon [=F]	gelæddan [=J]	oferleordon A, oferferdon BL, ofyrleorðan C, oferforon D, ferdon E, forðbrohton I gelæddon I, oferforan K
CXVIII.137	<i>iustus es</i>	rihtwis þu eart [=FIJKL]	rihtwis eart þu [=C]	rehtwis earð A, ryhtwis ðu eart B, rihtwis – D, rihtwis is E
CXVIII.138	<i>nimis</i>	swiðe [=ABCDEFIJL]	swyðe [=K]	
CXVIII.140	<i>seruus</i>	þeow [=BDEFJL]	þeowa [=CIK]	ðiow A
CXVIII.140	<i>dilexit</i>	lufude [=F]	lufode [=CDEJL]	lufade ðet A, lufað B, gelufede I, lufede K
CXVIII.175	<i>uiuēt</i>	leofað [=BFJKL]	lyfað [=C]	liofað A, lifige D, lifæþ E, leofaþ I lifige I
CXIX.6	<i>multum</i>	swiðe [=ABCDEFIJL]	swyðe [=K]	
CXXI.6	<i>pacem</i>	sybbe [=CDF]	sibbe [=ABEGIJKL]	micel E
CXXVI.2	<i>dederit</i>	he selð [=DFIK]	hy sylð	seleð A, he seleð BL, sylyþ C, seleþ E, stilleþ J
CXXVI.3	<i>ecce</i>	loce nu [=F]	loca n[ ]	sehðe A, þis is BDL, þis ys C, þios is E, efne IK, loca nu J
CXXVI.3	<i>hereditas</i>	yrfe [=FJ]	hyrfe	erfewardnis A, erfeward B, yrfewardnys C, yrfewardnes D, yrfeweard E, yrfewardnesse I, – K, erfewardnes L
CXXVI.5	<i>ex ipsis</i>	of him [=ABCDEFJKL]	of hym	on him E, of heom I þan I

<sup>157</sup> G and I show the expected Late West Saxon form, while the other glossed psalters show an Anglian (or early West-Saxon) form with rounding of *a* before a nasal. On rounding of *a*, see Hogg, *Grammar of OE*, §5.3–6.

GLOSSES WHERE N-A CORRESPONDS TO NEITHER F NOR G, BUT  
GENERALLY FOLLOWS D

Psalm verse	Latin	N-A	F; G	Alternative readings in other glossed psalters
XLIII.5	<i>ipse</i>	self [=DEH]	sylf FG [=I]	se ilca ABCJ, þe sylfa K
XLIII.6	<i>cornu</i>	horn [=J]	hornu F; heorte G <sup>158</sup>	– ABCDEH, mid horne I, hor K
XLIII.9	<i>laudabimur</i>	we beoð herede [=BDEH]	we beoð geherode F [=I]; we heredon G	we bioð here A, we beoð heryde C, we beoð geherede J, we beoþ herode K
XLIII.10	<i>deus</i>	– [=DHK]	god F [=ABCEJ]; both the Latin word <i>deus</i> and its gloss are absent in G and I.	
XLIII.11	<i>qui oderunt</i>	þe hatedon [=D]	ða ðe hatudon F; þa þe hatedon G [=I]	ða ða ... fiedon A, ða þa ðe ... feodon B, þa þe ... feodon C, þa þæ fiodon I hatedon E, hatedon H, þa ðe hatodon J, þa hatodon K
XLIII.11	<i>diripiebant</i>	[h]y reafodon [=DH]	hi reafedon F; hy reafedon G	gereafadon A, gereafodon B, gereafydon C, hyo reafodon E, gegripon I gelahton I, gedrefodon I gegripon J, hi reafodon K
XLIII.16	<i>confusio</i>	gescyndnis [=DH]	gescendnys F; gescyndes G	gedroefednis A, gedrefednes B, gedrefydnys C, gescindnes E, hosp I gescyndnys I, gedrefednesse J, gescyndnes K
XLIII.18	<i>uenerunt</i>	comun [=D]	comon F [=BCEHIJ]; acomon G	cwomun A, coman K
LIV.4	<i>erant</i>	hy wæron [=DH]	hi wæron FG [=J]	werun A, wæron BC, hy wæron E, hig wæron I, hi wæran K
LXXXV.1	<i>quoniam</i>	forþon [=ABJL]	forðon ðe F; forðam þe G	forþan CE, – DH, forþi þe I, forðam K

(Continued)

<sup>158</sup> The form in F is influenced by the Latin form *cornu*, while the gloss in G stems from misinterpreting Latin *cornu* as a form of *cor* ‘heart’.

The *Alkmaar Fragments of the N-Psalter*

(Continued)

Psalm verse	Latin	N-A	F; G	Alternative readings in other glossed psalters
LXXXV.2	<i>quoniam</i>	forðon [=ABCJL]	forðon ðe F; forþam þe G	– DH, forþan E, forþi þe I, forðam K
LXXXV.2	<i>sperantem</i>	hyhtendne [=D]	hopiende F; hihtende G [=HJK]	gehyhtendne AB, gehihtynde C, gewenende E, hopiendne I, hyhtende L
LXXXV.3	<i>miserere</i>	mildsa [=AHJK]	gemiltsa F [=BDL]; [] G	gemyltsa C, miltsa E, gemildsa I
LXXXV.3	<i>quoniam</i>	forþon [=ABC DHJL]	forðon ðe F; forðam þe G	forþan E, forþi þe I, forðam K
LXXXV.3	<i>clamau</i>	ic cleopode [=BDHI]	ic cleopige F <sup>159</sup> ; ic clypode G [=L]	ic cleopade A, ic clypige CK, ic clipede E, ic clipode J
LXXXV.8	<i>non est</i>	nis [=ABDIL]	nys F [=C]; nan is G	ne is E, nis is H, na is JK
LXXXV.8	<i>et non est</i>	7 na is [=JK]	7 nis F [=ABDHI]; 7 nan is G	7 nys CL, 7 ne is E
LXXXV.10	<i>quoniam</i>	forþon [=ABCJ]	– F [=DH]; forþam þe G	forþan EL, forþi þe I, forþam K
LXXXV.13	<i>inferiori</i>	þære neoðeran [=DHK]	ðære neoþran F; on þære neoþeran G	ðere niðerran A, ðære niðerran B, þære nyðyrran C, on þa yteran E, þære nyþeran IL, þære niþeran J
LXXXV.14	<i>insurrexerunt</i>	arison [=BC]	onarison FG [=DEHJL]	areosun A, onræsdon I onarison I, arisan K
LXXXV.14	<i>potentium</i>	ricra [=DHKL]	mihtigra F [=C]; riccra I mihtigra G	mehdigra AB, miehde E, ricra I mihtigra I, riccra J
LXXXV.15	<i>miserator</i>	gemiltsiend [=DL]	gemildsiend F [=J]; mildsigend G [=E]	mildsend A, miltsiend B, mildsiynd C, mildsiend HIK
LXXXV.17	<i>consolatus es</i>	frefredest [=D]	frefrodest FG [=HJK]	froefrende were A, afrefriende wære me B, frefriynd eart C, frefrend is E, gefrefrodest I

(Continued)

<sup>159</sup> The present tense glosses in C, F and K are possibly influenced by the Gallican future reading *clamabo*, but all Old English glossed psalters render perfect *clamau* in the Latin text.

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(Continued)

Psalm verse	Latin	N-A	F; G	Alternative readings in other glossed psalters
LXXXVI.2	<i>sion</i>	celestis hierusalem [=D]	siones F; – G [=BHIK]	sion AJ, sionys C, syon E
LXXXVI.2	<i>tabernacula</i>	eardunga [=DHJ]	getelda F; eardunga I geteld G	geteld ABC, eardung E, geteld I eardungstowe I, earddunga K
LXXXVI.3	<i>ciuitas</i>	ceaster [=DEJK]	ceastra F; ceastre G [=H]	cester ABI, ciestre C
CXVIII.131	<i>mandata tua</i>	bebodu þina [=D]	bebodu ðinum F; bebo[]ine G	bibodu ðin A, þine bebodu B, bebodu þine CIJL, bebod þin E, beboda þine K
CXVIII.132	<i>miserere mei</i>	miltsa min [=D]	gemiltsa me F; gemiltsa me G	mildsa min AJ, gemiltsa min BI, myldsa min C, miltsæ me E, mildsa me K, gemiltsa min drihten L
CXVIII.132	<i>diligentium</i>	lufiendra [=AD]	lufigendra FG [=BIK]	lufiyndra C, lufiendræ E, lifigendra J, lufigendra L
CXVIII.133	<i>Iniustitia</i>	unrihtwisnes [=KL]	unrihtwisnyse F; unrih[] G	unrehtwisnis A, unryhtwisnes BD, unrihtwisnys C, on unrihtwisnesse EIJ
CXVIII.134	<i>mandata tua</i>	bebodu þina [=D]	bebodu ðine FG [=CIJL]	bibodu ðin A, þine bebodu B, bebod þin E, beboda <þine> K
CXVIII.135	<i>inlumina</i>	onlyht [=CIK]	onliht F [=JL]; alyht G [=D]	inliht A, onleht B, onlihte E
CXVIII.135	<i>seruum tuum</i>	þeow þine [=C]	þeow þinne F [=BDJL]; þeowan þinne G [=K]	ðiow ðinne AE, þeowan þinum I
CXVIII.135	<i>iusificationes tuas</i>	rihtwisnessa þina [=D]	rihtwisnyse þine F [=C]; rihtwisnesse þinre G	rehtwisnisse ðine A, þine ryhtwisnessa B, soðfestnesse þine E, rihtwisnessa þine IL, rihtwisnesse þine JK
CXVIII.138	<i>testimonia tua</i>	cyþnessa þina [=D]	gecyðnyssa – F; cyðnessa þine G	cyðnisse ðine A, þine cyðnessa B, cyðnyssse þine C, kyðnessse þine E, gecyðnyssa þine I, ciþnessa þine J, cyþnesse þine K, cyþnessa þine L

(Continued)



*The Alkmaar Fragments of the N-Psalter*

(Continued)

Psalm verse	Latin	N-A	F; G	Alternative readings in other glossed psalters
CXVIII.139	<i>tabescere</i>	swindan l essian [=D]	swindan FG [=K]	aswindan ABCI, onegæn E, essian l swindan J, aswindan oððe unhalian L
CXVIII.139	<i>uerba tua</i>	word þina [=D]	word þine FG [=EIJKL]	word ðin AC, þine word B
CXVIII.140	<i>contemptus</i>	forhogad [=D]	forogað F; forhogud G	forhogd A, forhogod BCKL, hirwnessæ E, forhygdelic l forsewen I, forhogað J
CXVIII.141	<i>oblitus</i>	ofergiten [=D]]	ofergyten FG	ofergeotul A, ofergiteliende BL, ofyrgyttul C, ofergitend E, ofergytol l ic ne forgæt I, forgyten K
CXVIII.142	<i>iustitia tua</i>	rihtwisnes þin [=DKL]	rihtwisnyse þin F; rihtwisnesse þin G [=I]	rehtwisnis ðin A, þin ryhtwisnes B, rihtwisnys þin C, soþfestnes þine E, rihtwisnessa þine J,
CXVIII.142	<i>iustitia</i>	rihtwisnes [=IL]	rihtwisnyse F; rihtwisnesse G	rehtwisnis A, ryhtwisnes B, rihtwisnys C, – D, soðfestnesse E, rihtwisne J, rihwisnes K
CXVIII.143	<i>et angustia</i>	7 angnes [=DK]	7 angnys F; 7 agnes G	7 nearunis A, 7 nearones BL, 7 nearunys C, 7 nearones E, 7 angsumnys I, 7 angsumnes J
CXVIII.143	<i>mandata tua</i>	bebodu þina [=D]	bebodu ðine F; beboda þine G	bibod ... ðin A, bebod ... þin B, bebodu ... þine C, bebodæ ... þin E, bebodu þine IJ, bebodu þin K, bebodu ... þin L
CXVIII.144	<i>testimonia tua</i>	cyþnessa þina [=D]	gecyðnys ðin F; cyðnessa þine G	cyðnis ðin A, þin cyðnes B, cyðnyss þin C, gewitnesse þin E, gecyðnessa þine I, cþnessa þine J, cyþnes þin KL
CXVIII.144	<i>da mihi</i>	gif me [=DK]	syle me F [=C]; syle l gif me G	sele me ABEL, sile me J

(Continued)

*Thijs Porck*

(Continued)

Psalm verse	Latin	N-A	F; G	Alternative readings in other glossed psalters
CXVIII.175	<i>iudicia tua</i>	domas þina [=D]	dom ðin F; domas þin[] G	domas ðine ACIJKL, þine domas B, domæs ðine E
CXX.6	<i>noctem</i>	nyht [=D]	nihte F [=I]; niht G	naecht A
CXXI.6	<i>sunt</i>	sindon [=EJ]	[=BCEJJKL] synd F [=CK]; syndon G [=I]	sind A, sint BL, synt D
CXXVI.2	<i>qui manducatis</i>	þe etað [=D]]	forðon etað F; <sup>160</sup> þa þe etað G [=CK]	ða ðe eotað A, ge ðe eotað B, ðæ etæþ E, ge þe etað I, ge þa þe etað L
CXXVI.5	<i>qui impleuit</i>	þe gefylde [=D]	se ðe gefylde F; he gefylde G	se gefylleð A, se ðe gefylð BI, se gefyllþ C, se gefylleþ E, þe gefilde J, þa gefulde K, se þe gefylþ L
CXXVII.2	<i>beatus es</i>	eadig þu eart [=BDIJL]	eadig eart þu F [=C]; [ ]adig þ[] G;	eadig ðu earð A, eædig ðu biist E, eaddi eart K
CXXVIII.1	<i>expugnauerunt</i>	hy oferwunnon [=D]	hi oferwunnon FG [=IJ]	oferfuhtun A, oferfuhton BL, ofyrfuhton C, gefuhton E, hi ouerwunnan K
CXXVIII.1	<i>iuuentute mea</i>	geoguðe minre [=DK]	iuguðe min F; iuguðe minre G [=C]	guguðe minre A, giguðhade minum B, gigoþe minre E, iugeðe minre I, geoguþe – J, geoguðhade minum L
CXXVIII.2	<i>iuuentute mea</i>	geoguðe minre [=D]]	iuguðe min F; iuguðe m[] G	iuguðe minre A, minre giguðe B, iuguðe mine C, gigoþe minre E,– IK, geoguðe minre L
CXXVIII.2	<i>non potuerunt</i>	na mehton [=D]	ne mihton FG [=C]	ne maechtun A, ne mehton BL, ne michton E, hig ne mihton I, na mihton JK

<sup>160</sup> Here the scribe probably mistook *qui* for *quia*.

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APPENDIX B OLD ENGLISH GLOSSES THAT ARE UNIQUE TO N-A

The table below shows the Latin and Old English readings from N-A, alongside the corresponding Old English glosses in the other psalters. These Old English glosses have no equivalents in the other psalters. Spelling variants are given as they appear in the standard editions of the Old English glossed psalters, but, if two psalters only differ in their use of ð and þ, these readings are conflated.

Psalm verse	Latin	N-A	Alternative readings in other glossed psalters
XLIII.9	<i>in nomine tuo</i>	on namann þine	in noman ðinum A, on noman ðinum B, on naman þinum CFGIJ, – DH, on namæn þinum E, on naman þinan K
XLIII.10	<i>uirtutibus</i>	manegum	megnum A, mægenum BDH, mægnum CFJ, megnum E, mægenum I mihtum G, mihtum I, strenðe K
XLIII.11	<i>retorsum</i>	underbæclig	on bec A, on bæc BCK, underbecling D, on beclinc E, under bæc FI, underbæclincg G, underbæcling H, underbæcc J
XLIII.14	<i>qui</i>	–	ða A, ða ðe BIJ, þe CDFGH, ðæ E, – K <sup>161</sup>
XLIII.15	<i>commotionem</i>	styrunge I gewændunga	onwendnisse A, onwendnesse B, ondwendnysse C, styringe DHK, æwendnesse I styringe E, styrunga F, styrunge G, cweccunge I, stiringa J
XLIII.15	<i>in populis</i>	on folc	we gefyllað AC, <sup>162</sup> on folcum BDFGHIJK, on ðiodum I folcum E
XLIII.16	<i>uerecundia</i>	aswarnung I scama	scomu AB, sceame C, aswarnung D, scamu EGJ, aswærnunga <sup>163</sup> F, aswærnung H, aswarnung I scamu I, sceamung K
XLIII.17	<i>exprobrantis</i>	hispendes I odwitendes	eðwetendes A, edwitendes BG, edwityndes C, hispendes DEF, hispendest H, hiscendre I hispendes I, hispendra I edwites J, hysspende K

(Continued)

<sup>161</sup> In K this whole line is only partially glossed.

<sup>162</sup> This curious gloss is caused by the glossator interpreting the Romanum reading *in plebibus* as *implebibus* (< *impleo*). See P. Pulsiano, *Old English Glossed Psalters: Psalms 1–50* (Toronto, 2001), p. 630.

<sup>163</sup> Between square brackets in the edition by Kimmens, but clearly visible in the digitized manuscript; possible signs of erasure of **nung**.

Psalm verse	Latin	N-A	Alternative readings in other glossed psalters
XLIII.17	<i>ob[lo]quentis</i>	ongeanprecende	wiðspreocen A, wiðsprecondes BJ, wiðsprecyndys C, ongeansprecendes DEFH, ongeansprecen G, besprecendre I ofersprecendes I, ongeanspecende K
XLIII.17	<i>nec obliti sumus te</i>	na ofergiten syndon þe	7 ofergeotele we ne sind ðec A, 7 ofergitole ne sint we ðe B, 7 ofyrgytule we ne synd þe C, ofergiten we ne syndon D, 7 ofergitende we ne sindon ðe E, na ofergiten we syndon þe F, ofergiten we ne syndon þe G, ofergyten we ne sindon H, ne forgytele we ne synt I ne we ne forgeaton þe I, ofergitole J, na forgytene we synd þe K
XLIII.18	<i>in testamento</i>	uncyþnyss[ ]	in cyðnisse ðinre A, o[ ] þinre B, on cyðnyss þinre C, on cyþnisse þinre D, on cyþnesse ðine E, on cyðnyss þine F, on cyðnesse þinre GHK, on gecyðnyss I gewitnyss þinre I, on cþnesse þinre J
LXXXV.9	<i>quascumque</i>	swa hwelc swa	swa hwelce A, swa hwelce swa BDL, swa hwylce C, ða midþy ðe E, swa hwylc swa F, swa hwylce swa GH, þe I, swa hwilce swa J, þa K
LXXXV.9	<i>glorificabunt</i>	hi wuldorfulliað	ariað A, arweorðiað BD, wurðiað C, wiorþiað E, hi wu[r erased]dorfulliað F, gemær[ ] G, – H, hig wuldriap I, wuldriap J, arwyrðiaþ K, arwurþiað L
LXXXV.14	<i>non proposuerunt</i>	hy na foresetton	non foresettun A, no foresetton B, ne foresetton C, na foresetton DGHJL, ne [foræsetten] E, hi na foresetton F, hig – I, na forsetton K
LXXXV.14	<i>conspectu suo</i>	gesihðe þine	gesihðe his ACFG, gesihðe heora BDL, onsine his E, – H, heora gesihþe I, gesihþe þinre J, gesihðe – K
LXXXVI.1	<i>fundamenta</i>	grunweallas	steaðelas A, staðolas BCE, grundweallas DFIIJK, grundwealas G, grundwealles H
LXXXVI.3	<i>gloriosa</i>	wundurfulle	wuldurfeste A, wuldorfæste BC, wuldurfulle D, þa wuldorfestan E, wundorfulla F, wuldorfulle G, wulderfulle H, wuldorfulle þing I, wundorfulle J, wulderful K
CXVIII.133	<i>ut non dominetur</i>	7 na wilde <sup>164</sup>	7 ne waldeð A, þætte ne walde BL, þæt ne wealdyð C, þæt na wylde DF, 7 ne wylde G, þæt ne sie wældend E, ne gewylde I, þæt na wilnode J, þæt na gewylde K

(Continued)

<sup>164</sup> The N-A gloss follows the Gallicanum reading *et non dominetur*, which is given in AGIK.

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(Continued)

Psalm verse	Latin	N-A	Alternative readings in other glossed psalters
CXVIII.134	<i>ut custodiam</i>	7 ic gehealde <sup>165</sup>	ðæt ic halde A, þæt ic healde BCFL, þæt ic gehealde DGJJK, þæt ic gehælde E
CXVIII.136	<i>non custodierunt</i>	hi na heoldon	ne heoldun A, ne heoldon BCG, na heoldon D, ne geheldon E, hi ne healdon F, hig ne geheoldon I, na hi ne geheoldon J, na – K, hie ne heoldon L
CXVIII.138	<i>iustitiam testimonia</i>	rihtwisnesse 7 cyþnessa	none of the other psalters have the Tironian note
CXVIII.139	<i>obliti sunt</i>	ofergeatene synt	ofergeotule sind A, ofergeoteliende sint B, ofyrgytynde synd C, ofergeaton D, ofergiten sindon E, ofergytene synd F, ofergea[] [] G, forgeaton I, ofergitene sind J, forgytene synd K, ofergitende synt L
CXVIII.140	<i>eloquium</i>	gespræc	gesprec ABCDL, gespreca E, spræca F, spræce G, spæc I, gespræce J, spræca K
CXVIII.141	<i>iustificaciones tuas</i>	rihtwinessa þina	rehtwisnisse ðine A, þine ryhtwinessa B, rihtwisnysse þine CF, rihtwinessa þina D, soðfestnesse þine E, rihtwisnesse þine GJK, rihtwinessa þine IL
CXVIII.142	<i>lex tua</i>	æ þine	æ þin ACDGJKL, þin æ B, ewe þine E, is æ þin I
CXVIII.144	<i>intellectum</i>	on andgytan	ondget A, ondgit BL, andgyt CDK, ondgiet E, on andgit F, on and[] [] G, andgyt I, andgit J – ABCDK, cedron E, ceder F, syfullum G, on cederlande I, ceader J, þiesternesse L
CXIX.5	<i>cedar</i>	cedar	– ABCDK, cedron E, ceder F, syfullum G, on cederlande I, ceader J, þiesternesse L
CXIX.6	<i>incola fuit</i>	ic þeodig wæs	londleod wes A, londleod wæs B, landleod wæs C, eardbegenga wæs DI, on elðiodgum wes E, ælðeodig ic wæs F, ælðeodig wæs GJ, ealþeodi ic wæs K, londleod 7 wræcca L
CXXI.6	<i>abundantia</i>	geniðsumnes	genyhtsumnis A, genyhtsumnes B, genihtsumnys C, genihtsumnesse EI, genihtsumnis F, geniðsumnes D, genihtsumnes GJKL
CXXI.6	<i>diligentibus</i>	lifiendum	lufiendum AD, ðæm lufiendum B, lufiyndum C, lufigende E, lufiendum FI, lifiendum G, – J, luuiende K, ðæm lyfendum L

(Continued)

<sup>165</sup> The N-A gloss follows the Gallicanum reading *et custodiam*, but all other Old English glossed psalters give a translation that fits the Romanum reading *ut custodiam*, which is given in all Old English glossed psalters.

Psalm verse	Latin	N-A	Alternative readings in other glossed psalters
CXXVI.2	<i>suīs somnum</i>	is <sup>166</sup> swefn	his slep AE, his [] slæp B, hys slæp C, his swefn DJK, his swefn l slæp G, his slæp FL, his swefetu l slæp I
CXXVI.3	<i>uentris</i>	innodes	innodes DEFI, innopes J, in[ ]ðes G, wombe AB, wambe C, – K, wombe 7 innopes L
CXXVI.4	<i>sagittę</i>	strela	strelas A, strælas BJL, flanas C, stræla DFGI, strielæ E, stæla K
CXXVI.4	<i>excussorum</i>	worhborena l aflemendra	witgena A, aladiendra BL, witgyna l wregyndra C, wrohtborena D, onscuniendræ E, berenda F, <sup>167</sup> aflemendra G, worhtberendra l ofascendra I, aflimendra l wrorhtberendra J, wrohttuhra K
CXXVI.5	<i>non confundetur</i>	na byð gescynd	ne bið gescended AB, ne bið gescyndyð C, na bið gescynd DG, ne bið gescynded E, ne biþ gescynd F, he ne bið gescend I, na biþ gescind J, na beoð gescynd K, ne biþ gescended L
CXXVII.2	<i>quia</i>	fordam þe	– ABCDEL, <sup>168</sup> forðan ðe F, forþon þe GIJ, forþam K
CXXVII.3	<i>abundans</i>	genihtsumgende	genyhtsumiende AB, genihtsumiynde C, genihðsumgende D, genihtsumnes E, berende l genihtsumigende F, genihtsu:[] G, genihtsumigende IJ, nihtsumgende K, genihtsumiende L
CXXVII.3	<i>mensę tuę</i>	mysam þinre	beodes ðines AL, þines beodes B, beodys þinys C, mysan ðinre D, gemetes þines E, smysan <sup>169</sup> ðine F, mysan þinre GI, misan þinre J, myse þinre K
CXXVII.4	<i>ecce</i>	loca nu efene	sehðe AB, efne CFGI, efne nu DJ, gesihþe E, æfne K, gesehðe L
CXXVII.4	<i>benedicetur</i>	byð gebletsod	bið bledsad A, bið bletsod B, bið gebledsod CL, bið gebletsod DFIIJK, sie gebletsod E, beoð gebletsod G

(Continued)

<sup>166</sup> The gloss ‘is’ is probably an error for *his*; it is attached to the gloss ‘gecorenum’ for *dilectis* as ‘gecorenumis’.

<sup>167</sup> The edition by Kimmens gives ‘[berenda]’ but in the digitized MS the word is legible, albeit possibly erased.

<sup>168</sup> ABCDEL give the Romanum reading, which omits the word *quia*.

<sup>169</sup> The edition by Kimmens gives ‘[s]mysan’ but the s is legible in the digitized manuscript, albeit possibly erased.

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(Continued)

Psalm verse	Latin	N-A	Alternative readings in other glossed psalters
CXXVII.4	<i>homo</i>	man	ylc mon A, ælc mon BL, ælc mann CD, ealle mon E, mann F, ælc man GJ, ealle man K <sup>170</sup>
CXXVIII.1	<i>super isrl</i>	ofer isrl	ofer israel AJ, ofer – BDIL, ofyr israhel C, ofer isræhele E, ofer israhel F, ofe[ ] – G, ouer geleaffulle K
CXXVIII.2	<i>expugnauerunt</i>	hy oferwunnon	oferfuhtun A, oferfuhton BL, ofyrfuhtvn C, – D, fuhton E, hi oferwunnon FGJ, hig oferwunnon I, hi ouerwunnon K
CXXVIII.3	<i>dorsum meum</i>	hryc minne	bec minne A, minne bæc B, hricg l bæc min C, hrycg minne DE, hric min F, hri:[ ] minne G, hrygge minnum I, ricg minne J, hricg minne K, bæc min L
CXXVIII.3	<i>fabricauerunt</i>	geambredon	timbradun A, timbredon BDL, getimbredon FI, hy timbredon G, timbrodon C, tymbrodon E, getimbrodon J, timbrodan K

APPENDIX C COLLATION OF LATIN TEXT

The table below shows distinctive Latin readings from N-A, alongside the corresponding readings from the Psalterium Romanum and the Psalterium Gallicanum,<sup>171</sup> as well as any alternative Latin readings found in other glossed Psalters. Underlined forms indicate the ones which correspond to the Latin readings in N-A. Whenever the Romanum and Gallicanum give the same reading, the two columns have been merged and the form they provide has been centred – these shared readings have only been included if there was an alternative in any of the other glossed Psalters. Variation within the psalters between *ae*, *æ* and *ē* has not been taken into account and forms with *æ* are used throughout this overview (except when N-A uses *ē*); variation between *u* and *v* is also ignored.

<sup>170</sup> Differences are also due to the Latin text: ABCDEGJL give the Romanum reading *omnis homo*; FIK have the Gallicanum reading *homo*.

<sup>171</sup> The Romanum and Gallicanum readings are based on *Le Psautier Romain et les autres anciens psautiers latins*, ed. R. Weber (Rome, 1953).

Psalm verse	N-A	Romanum	Gallicanum	Alternatives in other glossed Psalters
XLIII.4	in eis	in illis ABCDE	in eis FGHIJK	–
XLIII.6	cornu	– ABCDE	cornu FGHIJK	–
XLIII.8	odientes nos confudisti	eos qui nos oderunt confudisti ABCDE	odientes nos confudisti FGHIJK	–
XLIII.9	sæculum	sæcula B	sæculum IFK	sæcula diapsalma A, secula CDE, seculum GHJ
XLIII.10	reppulisti	reppulisti ABDEFGI	reppulisti ABDEFGI	repulisti CHJK
XLIII.10	egredieris deus	egredieris deus ABCDEFGHIJK	egredieris GI	–
XLIII.11	post inimi[c]os nostros	præ inimicis nostris ABCDE	post inimicos nostros FGHIJK	–
XLIII.11	qui oderunt [nos]	eos qui nos oderunt AB	qui oderunt nos FGHIJK	qui nos oderunt CD, eos qui oderunt nos E
XLIII.12	[t]amquam	tamquam ABCDEFIJK	tamquam ABCDEFIJK	tanquam EGH
XLIII.14	subsannationem et derisum his	derisu et contemptu his ABD	subsannationem et derisum his FGHI	derisu et contemptu his C, derisum et contemptum his E, subsannationem et derisum his J subsannationem et derisum hiis K
XLIII.14	sunt in circuitu nostro	in circuitu nostro sunt BCDEJ	in circuitu nostro	in circuitu nostro su A, <u>sunt in circuitu nostro FGHIK</u>
XLIII.15	commotionem	commotionem ABFGHIK	commotionem ABFGHIK	commotationem DE, commutationem CJ
XLIII.15	populis	plebibus ABCDE	populis GHIJK	–
XLIII.16	faciei meę	uultus mei ABDE	faciei meę FGHIJK	ultus mei C
XLIII.16	cooperuit	operuit ABCDE	cooperuit FGHIJK	–
XLIII.17	a facie	a facie ABCDEGHIK	a facie ABCDEGHIK	affacie GJ
XLIII.18	nec obliti	et obliti non ABCDE	nec obliti FGHIK	nec obliti H
LXXXV.1	tuam et	tuam ad me et ABCDEL	tuam et FGHIJK	–
LXXXV.1	quoniam	quoniam ABCDEFGHIJKL	quoniam ABCDEFGHIJKL	quonian I
LXXXV.1	inops	egenus ABCDEL	inops FGHIJK	–
LXXXV.2	animam meam	animam meam ABCDEFGHIK	animam meam ABCDEFGHIK	animam meam I, animam meam J
LXXXV.3	mei	mihī ABCDL	mei FGHIJK	michi E
LXXXV.3	clamaui	clamaui ABCDEFGHIJKL	clamabo	–
LXXXV.3	letifica	letifica ABCDFIK	letifica ABCDFIK	letifica EGHJL
LXXXV.7	quia	quoniam ABCDEL	quia FGHIJK	–
LXXXV.8	tui	tibi ABCDEL	tui FGHIJK	–
LXXXV.9	quascumque	quascumque ABCDEFGHIJKL	quascumque ABCDEFGHIJKL	quascunque H
LXXXV.9	adorabunt	adorabunt ABDEFGHIKL	adorabunt ABDEFGHIKL	adorabunt CJ
LXXXV.9	coram	coram ABCDEFGHIKL	coram ABCDEFGHIKL	coramp J
LXXXV.9	glorificabunt	honorificabunt ABCDEL	glorificabunt FGHIK	glorificabo J
LXXXV.13	quia	quoniam ABCDEL	quia FGHIJK	–
LXXXV.13	eruiſti	eripuisti ABCDEL	eruiſti FGHIJK	–
LXXXV.13	inferiori	inferiori ABDEFGHIJK	inferiori ABDEFGHIJK	inferiore CDL

(Continued)



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(Continued)

Psalm verse	N-A	Romanum	Gallicanum	Alternatives in other glossed Psalters
LXXXV.14	iniqui	iniusti ABCDEL	<u>iniqui</u> FGHIJK	–
LXXXV.14	super me	in me ABCDEL	<u>super me</u> FGHIJK	–
LXXXV.14	sinagoga	synagoga ABEKL		<u>sinagoga</u> CDFGHIJ
LXXXV.14	potentium	potentium ABCDEFGHIKL		potentiam J
LXXXV.14	quiesierunt	quæsierunt ABCFGI		<u>quiesierunt</u> DEHJKL
LXXXV.14	in conspectu suo	ante conspectum suum ABCDEL	<u>in conspectu suo</u> FGHIK	in conspectu tuo J
LXXXV.15	deus	deus meus ABCDEL	<u>deus</u> FGHIJK	–
LXXXV.15	miserator	<u>miserator</u> ABCDEFGHIJKL		misereator D
LXXXVI.2	sion	<u>sion</u> ABCDGHJK		syon EF
CXVIII.131	attraxi	adtraxi ABCDEFHJKL		<u>attraxi</u> GI
CXVIII.132	miserere mei	<u>miserere mei</u> ABCDEFGHIJK		miserere mei domine L
CXVIII.133	ut non	<u>ut non</u> BCDEFJL	et non AGIK	–
CXVIII.134	a calumniis	a calumniis ABDEFKL		a calumnii CGJ, calumpniis I
CXVIII.134	ut custodiam	<u>ut custodiam</u> ABCDEFGIJKL	et custodiam	–
CXVIII.135	illumina	inlumina ABCDEFJL		<u>illumina</u> GIK
CXVIII.136	deduxerunt	transierunt ABCDEL	<u>deduxerunt</u> FGIJK	–
CXVIII.137	rectum	<u>rectum</u> ACDEGIJKL		rectum est B
CXVIII.139	zelus meus	zelus domus tuæ ABDE	<u>zelus meus</u> FGIJK	zelus domus tue C, zelus tuæ L
CXVIII.140	illud	<u>illud</u> ABCDEFIJKL		illus G
CXVIII.141	adolescensulus (corrected from adholescentulus)	adulescentior	adulescentulus	adolescentior ABCEL, adoliscentior D, <u>adolescensulus</u> FGIK, adholescentulus J
CXVIII.141	sum ego	ego sum ABCDEL	<u>sum ego</u> FGIJK	–
CXVIII.142	iustitia tua	<u>iustitia tua</u> AFGIK		iustitia tua domine BCDEJL
CXVIII.142	eternum	<u>eternum</u> ABDEFIKL		eternum CJ
CXVIII.143	angustia	<u>angustia</u> ABCDEIJKL		angustiæ F
CXVIII.143	inuenerunt	<u>inuenerunt</u> ABCDEGIJKL		inuernerunt F
CXVIII.143	mandata tua	mandata autem tua ABCDEL	<u>mandata tua</u> FGIJK	–
CXVIII.143	mea est	<u>mea est</u> ABCDEFGIJKL	mea	–
CXVIII.144	aequitas	<u>aequitas</u> ABDFGIJKL		equitas CE
CXVIII.144	eternum	<u>eternum</u> ABDEGIKL		eternum CFJ
CXVIII.144	intellectum	<u>intellectum</u> AFIK		et intellectum BCDEGJL
CXVIII.144	mibi	<u>mibi</u> ABCDFGIKL		michi EJ
CXVIII.145	corde	corde meo ABCDEL	<u>corde</u> FGIJK	–
CXIX.5	habitantibus	<u>habitantibus</u> ABCDEFGIJKL	habitationibus	–
CXXI.6	que	<u>que</u> ABEGIJKL		<u>que</u> CDF
CXXI.6	ierusalem	hierusalem ABDFIJKL		in hierusalem C, in ierusalem E, ierusalem G
CXXI.6	et abundantia	<u>et abundantia</u> AEGIK		et habundantia BDFJL, ex abundantia C
CXXVI.2	somnum	<u>somnum</u> ACDEFGIJK		sompnum B
CXXVI.3	ecce	hæc est BDEL	<u>ecce</u> AFGIJK	hec est C

(Continued)

*Thijs Porck*  
(Continued)

Psalm verse	N-A	Romanum	Gallicanum	Alternatives in other glossed Psalters
CXXVI.3	hereditas		<u>hereditas ABCDFGJJKL</u>	hereditas E
CXXVI.3	merces		mercis ABCDEJL	merces FGJK
CXXVI.4	sagittæ		<u>sagittæ ABDFKL</u>	sagittæ CEGIJ
CXXVI.4	fili		fili FGJJK	et filii ABCDELD
CXXVI.4	excussorum		<u>excussorum ABCEFGJJKL</u>	excussorum D
CXXVI.5	impleuit		implebit ACEFI	<u>impleuit BDGJKL</u>
CXXVI.5	confundetur	<u>confundetur</u> <u>ABCDEFIJKL</u>	confundentur	confundætur G
CXXVI.5	cum loquetur	dum loquetur ABCDEL	cum loquentur	cum loquetur FIJ, <u>cum loquetur G</u>
CXXVII.2	manuum tuarum	fructuum tuorum ABCDEL	<u>manuum tuarum</u> FGJJK	–
CXXVII.2	quia	– ABCDEL	quia FGJJK	–
CXXVII.3	abundans		abundans ACEFGIK	habundans BDJL
CXXVII.3	domus tuæ		domus tuæ ABDEFGJJKL	domus tue CF
CXXVII.3	nouella	nouellæ CLK	nouella <u>ABEFGJ</u>	nouvelle DI
CXXVII.3	mensæ tuæ		<u>mensæ tuæ ABDEGIL</u>	mense tue CF, mense tuæ JK
CXXVII.4	homo	omnis homo ABCDEGJL	homo FIK	–
CXXVII.4	timet		<u>timet ABDEFGJJKL</u>	timent C
CXXVII.5	tibi		te ABCDEL	tibi FGJJK
CXXVII.5	sion		<u>sion ABCDFGJJKL</u>	syon E
CXXVII.5	et uideas		et uideas ABCDEFGJJK	ut uideas L
CXXVII.5	bona	quæ bona sunt ABDEL	bona FGJJK	que bona sunt C
CXXVII.5	ierusalem	in hierusalem ABCDL	hierusalem FIJK	in ierusalem E, <u>ierusalem G</u>
CXXVII.5	uite tuæ		<u>uite tuæ ABDEFGIKL</u>	uite tue C, uite tuæ J
CXXVII.6	[pac]em		pax ABCDEL	<u>pacem FGJJK</u>
CXXVII.6	super <i>israhel</i>		<u>super israhel ABCDFGJJKL</u>	super israel E
CXXVIII.1	[s]epe		sæpe K	<u>sepe ABCDEFGJJKL</u>
CXXVIII.1	israhel		<u>israhel ABCDGIJKL</u>	israel E
CXXVIII.2	sepe		sæpe K	<u>sepe ABCDEFGJJKL</u>
CXXVIII.2	michi		mihi ABCDFGIKL	<u>michi E</u>
CXXVIII.3	fabricauerunt	<u>fabricauerunt</u> <u>ABCDEFGJJKL</u>	fabricabantur	–