# Miscellaneous Notes on the Old English Prose and Metrical Psalms in the Paris Psalter

## パトリック・オニール

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"The Paris Psalter" の名称で知られている写本 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin, MS 8824には、11世紀中期に書かれた古英語による詩篇150篇のすべてが収録されている。*そのうち詩篇1-50は散文、51–150は韻文にそれぞれラテン語から翻訳されている。これらの散文と韻文の古英語訳について、特に統語法を中心に解決されないままになってきた多くの問題点を取り上げ、正しい解釈を提示する。ここに掲載する小論は、筆者が2016年に Harvard University Press から出版される *Old English Psalms*（Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library series）を執筆している間に生まれた副産物である。

キーワード：*apo koinou*; Janet Bately; Cassiodorus; Julian of Eclanum; King Alfred; George Philip Krapp; Bruce Mitchell; Patrick P. O' Neill; John D. Tinkler; Romanum Psalter

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# I. Addenda and Corrigenda to O'Neill's edition of *King Alfred's Old English Prose Translation of the First Fifty Psalms*.

<u>Text:</u>

Virtually all of the present notes draw attention to a stylistic feature that was missed in O'Neill's edition, namely, the construction known as *apo koinou*, whereby 'a word or closely related group of words, occurring between two portions of discourse, contains an idea which completes the thought of the first part, to which it is grammatically related, at once supplies the thought essential to the following part, to which it may also be grammatically related, and is not felt to belong more closely with the first part than with the second'.[1]

**Ps 13,5** *Heora tungan wyrcaþ mycel facn, þeah hi fægere sprecon; heora geþeaht ... hæt* ('Their tongues work many deceits, though they speak pleasantly, their thoughts, desires and deeds are like the venom of that most deadly serpent called "asp."'): Bright-Ramsay, p. 25, insert a semi-colon after *facn* and a comma after *sprecon*. But more likely the clause *þeah hi fægere sprecon* serves as a *koinon* to the clauses preceding and following. Replace the colon after *sprecon* with a comma.

**Ps 31,1** *Eadige beoð þa þe him beoð heora unrihtwisnessa forgifene* ('Blessed are those whose iniquities are forgiven'): on whether the relative construction inheres in *þe him* or *þe ... heora*, compare **Ps 31,2,** *se wer þe him*, which seems to indicate the former; see Mitchell, *Syntax* §2199.

**Ps 32,12** *of his þam wlitegan temple* ('from that beautiful temple of his') serves as a *koinon* to the preceding (*Drihten locað of heofonum and gesihð eall manna bearn*) and following (*he wlit ofer ealle þa þe ealre eorðan ymbhwyrft buiað*) clauses. Replace the period after *bearn* by a comma.

**Ps 35,1–2** *Se unrihtwisa cwyþ on his mode þæt he wylle syngian. For þam Godes ege nis beforan his eagum, for þæm he deð swiðe facenlice beforan his ansyne* ('The unjust person says within himself that he will sin, because fear of God is absent from his sight, he therefore acts very deceitfully in God's sight'): the difficulty of determining whether the clause *For þam Godes ege nis beforan his eagum* is explanatory of the preceding clause or correlative with the first clause of the following verse (*for þæm he deð*) is best resolved by taking it as a *koinon* to both. Accordingly, replace the period after *syngian* with a comma.

**Ps 37,11** *Þa þe ... mine sawle seceað—hu hy magon yfel don* ('those who ... seek my soul, probing how

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1) H. D. Merritt, *The Construction απο κοινου in the Germanic Languages* (Stanford, 1938), p. 16. In the examples which follow, the *koinon* is marked in the translation by bounding commas.

to inflict evil'): *seceað* ('they seek') could be read as a *koinon* with *mine sawle* (preceding object) and the purpose clause *(hu ... don)* following.  If so read, then the dash before *hu* is unnecessary.

**Ps 40,2**  *Drihtne* is an editorial error for *Drihten*.

**Ps 43,12**  *Ac þu hæfst nu ... us forsewenran gedone þonne ure fynd; and þa þe us hatiað, hy us gegripað ...* ('On the contrary, you have now ... made us more despised than our enemies, and those who hate us, lay hold of us'): *and þa þe us hatiað* could be read as a *koinon* which is co-ordinate with the preceding *ure fynd* ('our enemies') while also serving to define the subject *hy* of the clause following.  Replace the semi-colon after *fynd* with a comma.

**Ps 44,5–6**  *... cum, orsorg, and rixsa.   For þinre soðfæstnesse and for þinre ryhtwisnesse, þe gelæt swyðe wundorlice þin seo swyþre hand ...* ('... advance in prosperity, and rule, because of your truth and justice, your right hand will lead you most wondrously ... .'): Bright-Ramsay, p. 105, have a comma after *rixsa*, and a semi-colon after *ryhtwisnesse*.  The easiest solution is to treat *for þinre soðfæstnesse and for þinre ryhtwisnesse* as a *koinon* to the final clause of the previous verse and to the clause following, *þe gelæt* etc.  Replace the period after *rixsa* with a comma.

**Ps 48,15**  *Ac God, þeah, alyst mine sawle of helle handa; þeah ic þyder cume, þonne he me underfehð* ('Despite that, God will rescue my soul from the power of hell, although I should come there, he will gather me up'): the concessive clause *þeah ic þyder cume* serves as a *koinon* to the clauses preceding and following.  Replace the semi-colon after *handa* with a comma.

Although very common in Old English poetry (including the Metrical Psalms; see below) *apo koinou* is rather rare in prose,[2] so the presence of seven possible examples in the single text of the Prose Psalms is remarkable.  A plausible explanation for the use of this trope is that Alfred, aware that the psalms had their origins in Hebrew hymns,[3] sought to convey something of their poetic quality in his translation.  Janet Bately was the first to note evidence in the Prose Psalms of a conscious striving for a heightened (in contradistinction to prosaic) style;[4] these instances of *apo koinou* lend further

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2) See Mitchell, *Syntax*, §§3800–03.

3) As he would have known from Jerome's second Preface to the Psalms, *Nam et titulus ipse hebraicus Sephar Thallim, quod interpretatur Volumen hymnorum ... .* ; Robert Weber *et al.* (ed.), *Biblia Sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, 2 vols., (2nd revised edn., Stuttgart, 1975), I, p. 768, lines 15–16.

4) J. Bately, 'Lexical Evidence for the Authorship of the Prose Psalms in the Paris Psalter', *Anglo-*

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support to her observation.

Commentary:[5]

**Ps 46,3** ( 4 )  For the biblical source of Alfred's reference to *ure folc* (those Jews who sided with Antiochus, the enemy), see I Mcc 1 : 12–16.

**Ps 48,7** ( 8 )  For another parallel to the theme that one cannot be saved from damnation by the efforts of others, see Julian's *Epitome*, p. 209, lines 42–5, 'Nemo amicorum neque suae oblatione pecuniae redimi poterit in pericula diues ob peccata deductus … .'

## II. Addenda and Corrigenda to Krapp's edition of the *The Metrical Psalms*.

Text:

**Ps 52,6** *manna ban mihtig drihten liste tosceadeð, þa him liciað* ('the mighty Lord skillfully scatters the bones of those who indulge themselves'): on the evidence of Ro (*hominum*) *sibi placentium*, it appears that *þa* represents the relative pronoun ('who') and not the conjunction *þe* ('because') as tentatively proposed by Mitchell, *Syntax*, §3131.

**Ps 54,22** MS *seaðe* for *soðe* is an anticipatory dittography of *seaðe* in the b-line.

**Ps 56,1** *oð þæt gewite forð and unriht me eall beglide* ('until wickedness fully leaves me and passes me by'): the awkward word-order results from the use of *unriht* as subject of both *gewite* and *beglide*, in what Tinkler, *Vocabulary and Syntax,* p. 86, characterizes as an *apo koinou* construction; he also reads *eall* as an adjective qualifying *unriht* rather than an adverb, as in the present translation.  On the use of the subjunctive *beglide* after *oð þæt*, see Mitchell, *Syntax,* §2769.

**Ps 58,9** *þær me wæs freondes þearf* ('when I needed a friend'): Mitchell, *Syntax,* §2464, argues for a causal element in *þær*.  Unfortunately, there is nothing in the Latin text for comparison.

**Ps 61,11** *Þeah þe eow wealan to wearnum flowen* ('Even though riches should flow in profusion to you') is evidently concessive, though Ro *diuitiae si affluent* suggests a conditional construction; see Mitchell, *Syntax,* §3393.

**Ps 63,5** *þær hi mamriað man and unriht* ('when they devise crime and injustice'): as with Ps 58,9

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(above), Mitchell, *Syntax,* §2464, argues for a causal element in *þær.*  Again, the Latin offers no help.

**Ps 63,6**  *Gangeð man manig modig on heortan oð þæt hine ahefeð hælend drihten* ('Many a one proceeds, proud of heart, and then the savior Lord lifts him up'): here it is possible to read *oð þæt* as introducing 'a new happening', one which does not imply that the action of the previous main clause is completed; see Mitchell, *Syntax,* §§2753–4.

**Ps 65,16**  *ne wite me þæt* ('do not impute that to me'): taking *ne wite* as volitional; see Mitchell, *Syntax,* §3595.

**Ps 67,14**  On correlative *Þonne hi ... toscadeð, syþþan ... weorðað* ('whenever the heavenly king separates them on earth, they afterwards become whitened with snow in Zalmon'), see Mitchell, *Syntax,* §2668.

**Ps 67,21**  *he tofylleð feaxes scadan þe her on scyldum swærum eodon* ('he will smite in pieces the long-haired crowns of those who travelled the earth in grave sin'): Krapp's addition of *þara* before *þe* is unnecessary since the latter does double duty as genitival antecedent and indeclinable relative; see Mitchell, 'Pronouns in Old English Poetry', 137, and *Syntax,* §2323.

**Ps 67,22**  *oþ þæt þin fot weorðe fæste on blode* ('until your foot is steeped in blood'): Mitchell, *Syntax,* §§2748, 2770, and 2895, takes *oþ þæt* (with subjunctive) as implying purpose ('in order that'), but the corresponding Ro *donec* (not *ut,* as stated by Mitchell) suggests a temporal clause ('until ... ').

68,23  *þæt hi geseon ne magon syþþan awiht* ('so that afterwards they cannot see anything'): Mitchell, *Syntax,* §2804, draws attention to the difficulty of determining whether purpose or result is involved in this clause; however, the corresponding Ro *obscurentur oculi eorum ne videant,* seems to indicate the former.

**Ps 70,10**  *Cweþað cuðlice: 'Wuton cunnian, hwænne hine God læte swa swa gymeleasne; þonne we hine forgripen and his geara ehtan; syþþan he ne hæbbe helpend ænne'* ('They openly declare: "Let us find out when God will abandon him like a stray; then we may seize him and easily harass him, since he will lack a helper"'.): Mitchell, *Syntax,* §2669, points to the corresponding Ro, *quia non est qui eripiat eum,* in support of his conjecture that *syþþan* is a conjunction and, consequently, that the punctuation above should be changed—presumably by replacing the semi-colon after *ehtan* with a comma.  Indeed, on the evidence of Ro *quia* and the fact that the action of the principal clause (*þonne we hine forgripen and his geara ehtan*) is ongoing, one could argue that *syþþan* in this context has more causative than temporal force; hence the translation 'since'.  See Mitchell, *Syntax,* §2676.

**Ps 70,18**  *Þines mihtes þrym* ('the force of your might'): the *-es* genitive inflection of *mihtes* is odd; see

*DOE* s.v. *godcund-miht*, for a similar inflection.

**Ps 71,8** *be sæ tweonum* ('between the seas'): on the evidence of Ro *a mari usque ad mare,* one might have expected dat. pl. *sæm*, examples of which are given in the *DOE* corpus. The present collocation is otherwise unattested.

**Ps 73,13** *Þu þæs myclan dracan mihtum forcome* ('You overcame that mighty dragon's power'): on the use of *forcuman* with dative ('to overcome something'), see Mitchell, *Syntax,* §1092, s.v.

**Ps 73,19** *Ne byð se eadmoda æfre gecyrred, þeah þe wædla and þearfa, he wyle naman þinne neode herian* ('The humble person will never be turned away; though poor and destitute, that one will eagerly praise your name'): Mitchell, *Syntax,* §3457, raises the possibility that *þeah þe wædla and þearfa* should be read as a contracted concessive clause, dependent for its verb on the previous clause, which would presumably give the following rendering, 'The humble person will never be turned away, although the poor and destitute will', followed by an independent clause. But this reading is contrary to both Ro *pauper et inops laudabunt nomen tuum* and the drift of patristic interpretation, as in Cassiodorus, *Expositio,* 683, 475–83, *Confundi autem non est humilis, sed superbi … .Contra, humiles Deum iugiter laudant … .Sequitur, pauper et inops laudabunt nomen tuum.* Note that Daniel Donoghue characterizes the meter of this verse as hopelessly 'garbled'.[6]

**Ps 74,2** *swa ic fæstlicast mæg befon wordum* ('as reliably as I can frame words'): on this idiom, see Mitchell, *Syntax,* §§3306–11.

**Ps 75,7** *Forþon ðe mannes geþoht mægen andetteð* ('For the human mind will acknowledge your power'), taking *mægen* as direct object of *andetteð* and treating *ðe* as a constituent element of the compound conjunction *Forþon ðe.* Alternatively, Krapp, *Paris Psalter,* 214, suggests that *mægen* is adverbial, thereby implying that *ðe* is the pronominal object of *andetteð*, corresponding to *tibi* of Ro *quoniam cogitatio hominis confitebitur tibi.*

**Ps 77,11** *þæs hi on wiges dæge wendon æfter* ('although they turned back on the day of battle'): Quirk[7] sees *þæs* as having a concessive meaning, but Mitchell, *Syntax,* §3494, reserves judgment, commenting that '[t]here is room for difference of opinion here'. One such opinion, presumably, would be to take *þæs* as adverbial, 'afterwards'. Unfortunately, Ro lacks a conjunction corresponding to *þæs,* and Old

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6) *Style in Old English Poetry: The Test of the Auxiliary* (New Haven, 1987), p. 193.

7) Randolph Quirk, *The Concessive Relation in Old English Poetry.* Yale Studies in English 124 (New Haven, 1954), pp. 115–6.

Testament history sheds no light on the behavior of the children of Ephraim to which the psalmist refers.

**Ps 80,13** *þonne ic hiora fynd fylde and hynde, and þæt mycle mægen minra handa heora ehtendas ealle fornam* ('then I might have cut down and crushed their enemies, and that powerful strength of my hands would have entirely devastated their persecutors'): On the use of indicative *fornam* ('devastated'), where one might have expected subjunctive, see Mitchell, *Syntax,* §3619, who suggests that it might be a case of 'suppressed apodosis', with the 'Then-clause' of a rejected condition having a preterite indicative.

**Ps 83,7** *Gehyr min gebed halig drihten, þu eart mære God ...* ('Hear my petition, holy Lord, you are a glorious God ... '): Mitchell, 'Pronouns in Old English Poetry', remarks that 'it is a nice point whether [relative] *þe* should be added after *þu*, for the sentence is equally good Old English with or without it.[8] To which one might add that the corresponding Ro *Domine Deus uirtutum exaudi precem meam* offers no support for supplying a relative. Note also that *halig drihten* serves as a *koinon* between the clauses preceding and following.

**Ps 84,9** *mihte soð* ('powerful truth'): *mihte* could be read as a weak adj. qualifying *soð* or as an adverb ('powerfully').

**Ps 87,10** *Ne huru wundur wyrceað deade, oþþe hi listum læceas weccean and hi andettan þe ealle syþþan* ('Surely the dead will not work miracles, or physicians skillfully revive them so that they may acknowledge you fully afterwards'), Ro *numquid mortuis facies mirabilia aut medici resuscitabunt et confitebuntur tibi*: taking *and* as having a quasi-consecutive force (see *DOE* s.v. B.6 for other examples), a reading supported by the 'ita' of one commentary, Julian's *Epitome*, 303, 61–3, *'Neque enim possibile est uita defunctos a medicis suscitari atque ita tibi pro omnibus praestitis grates referre'*.

**Ps 88,42** *Hwylc is manna þæt feores neote and hwæþere on ende deað ne gesceawige* ('who is there among humankind who enjoys life, yet will not ultimately face death'): Mitchell, *Syntax,* §3524, vacillates between treating *þæt* (*feores neote*) either as the relative of an adjective clause or as a conjunction introducing a clause of result, but Ro *quis est homo qui vivet* seems to support the former reading.

**Ps 89,14** *þam þe on snytrum syn swyðe getyde* ('to those who are exceedingly well instructed in

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8) B. Mitchell, 'Pronouns in Old English Poetry: some syntactical notes', *Review of English Studies* 15 (1964), 129–41 at 136–7.

wisdom'): despite its form, *syn* is probably plural indicative; see Mitchell, *Syntax,* §§651 and 2395.

**Ps 89,17** *for ðam gearum þe we on gesawon yfela feala* ('for those years in which we witnessed many evils'): Krapp (following the previous editor, Grein[9]) added *on* before *gesawon*, but this is hardly necessary since *þe* can be read as incorporating a dative relative.

**Ps 90,14** *ic ... niode hine scylde, nu he cuðe naman mine* ('I will zealously protect him, seeing that he has known my name'): as suggested by Mitchell, *Syntax*, §3099, *cuðe* is preterite in form but perfect in meaning.

**Ps 94, 3–4** *for ðon is se micla God mihtig Drihten and se micla cynincg ofer eall manna godu; for ðon ne wiðdrifeð Drihten user his agen folc æfre æt þearfe* ('... because the mighty Lord is the supreme God, and the exalted king above all humankind's gods; for our Lord will never repulse his own people in need') : while it is tempting to correlate *for ðon ... for ðon* as a 'because ... therefore' construction, it will not work, not only because the first *for ðon* is dependent on the final clause of Ps 94, 2, but also because the corresponding Ro *quoniam...quoniam* tells against it.

**Ps 103,21** *Syþþan up cumeð æðele sunne, hi of siðum eft gesamniað and hi on holum hydað hi georne* ('After the majestic sun rises, they congregate again from their forays, and they carefully conceal themselves in their dens'): According to Mitchell, *Syntax*, §2668, the corresponding Ro *Ortus est sol et congregati sunt et in cubilibus suis se collocabunt* would seem to indicate that *syþþan* is an adverb ('afterwards'); however, one could equally well argue that it is a conjunction here, since the preceding verses emphasize a habitual sequence of animal behaviors dictated by the quotidian cycle.

**Ps 104,36** *Het him of stane streamas flowan, wæter on willan, na him gewættan fot, þa hi on Iordane gengdan æfter* ('For them he ordered rivers to stream from a rock, waters welling up, which did not in the least wet their feet when later on they marched into the river Jordan'): the translator's expansion of Ro *abierunt in sicco flumina* was evidently prompted by Joshua3: 14–17.

**Ps 104,40** *Þær hi heoldan halige domas* ('In that place they observed his sacred decrees'): Mitchell, 'Pronouns'[10] and *Syntax,* §2443, argues plausibly that despite Ro *ut custodiant*, *þær* makes good contextual sense as a locative and consequently that there is no need to emend it to *þæt* as a conjunction introducing a purpose clause. Furthermore, he would treat *Þær hi heoldan halige domas*

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9) Christian W. M. Grein (ed.), *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie,* vol. 2, Göttingen, 1858. (The Paris Psalter, pp. 147–276).

10) Bruce Mitchell, 'Pronouns in Old English Poetry', 141.

as a 'subordinate *þær* clause' and run it together with the preceding verse, but this arrangement is awkward since the clause immediately preceding *þær*, *and hi folca gewinn fremdra gesæton* ('and they appropriated the labors of foreign nations'), has no locative reference.

**Ps 105,17**  *onwendan heora wuldor on þæne wyrsan had hæðenstyrces hig etendes* ('they exchanged their glory for the more depraved image of a pagan grass-eating calf'): the construction *on þæne wyrsan* is hardly an example of the "comparative absolute" since a real comparison may have been intended, if one takes it to mean 'more depraved [than any of their previous images in human form]'; see Mitchell, *Syntax,* §§183–6.

**Ps 105,26**  *hi … mengdan* ('they intermarried'): Krapp's normalization of MS *megndan* is hardly necessary, since the latter form is attested elsewhere.

**Ps 105,31**  *Heora costedan cuþe feondas* ('Familiar enemies persecuted them'): *cuþe* appears to qualify *feondas* (Ro *inimici eorum*), though it could be read as an adverb ('openly') modifying *costedan* ('persecuted').

**Ps 105,35**  *Syððan he him sealde sona miltse, þær hi on gesawon ealle ætgædere, þe ehtend him ær gestodon* ('Afterwards he soon showered mercy on them, when they who had previously been their persecutors, took notice of them all together'): *hi* could be read as referring to the Israelites, governed by the preposition *on* (*gesawon*), with *ealle* as substantival nominative plural referring to their former enemies (explained with the relative clause following, *þe … gestodon*); thus, 'when all those together, who had previously been their persecutors, took notice of them'. Alternatively, and perhaps more compatible with Ro *in conspectu omnium qui eos ceperant*, *hi* could be read as referring to the former enemies of the Israelites, in collocation with adjectival *ealle* (nominative plural) with *on* used adverbially; thus: 'when all those together, who had previously been their persecutors, took notice'.

**Ps 106,38–39**  *fram þære costunge þe him becwom æfter, sares and yfeles, þe hi syþþan begeat. Syððan hi forhogedan halige lare* ('by the ordeal of suffering and evil that afterwards befell them, afflicting them later, when they spurned sacred doctrine'): if we take *syððan* (v. 39) as correlative with *syþþan* of v. 38, then v. 38 and the first clause of v. 39 become a single syntactical unit and Krapp's period after *begeat* should be changed to a comma. However, see Mitchell's caveats (*Syntax,* §2669) about the difficulty of deciding whether initial *siþþan* is an adverb or conjunction, especially since in this case the Ro offers no clue. The clause *syððan hi forhogedan halige lare*, for which there is nothing comparable in Ro, may have been influenced by commentary such as Cassiodorus, *Expositio*, 984, 475–7, *Necesse est enim hos dolor … subsequatur, qui auctorem salutis reliquisse noscuntur*.

**Ps 108, 19**   *Wese he hrægle gelic þe her hraðe ealdað, and gyrdelse, ðe hine man gelome gyrt.* ('May he be like an earthly garment which wears thin quickly, and like a girdle with which one often girds oneself'): Krapp and others emend MS *se ðe* to *ðe*, taking *se* as a dittography of -*se* in the immediately preceding *gyrdelse*, but see the caveat of Mitchell, *Syntax*, §2340.

**Ps 117, 2**   *Þæt cwæðan ealle nu ða þe he is se goda God* ... ('Let all the Israelites declare that now, for he is the virtuous God ... '): *Þæt* is not proleptic, but refers to the sentiments of the preceding verse; and judging by Ro *quoniam bonus*, *þe* is causal; see Mitchell, *Syntax*, §1957.

**Ps 117, 8–9**   *God ys on dryhten georne to þenceanne, þonne on mannan wese mod to treowianne. God ys on dryhten georne to hyhtanne, þonne on ealdormen ahwær to treowianne* ('It is good to meditate eagerly on the Lord rather than to be trusting in the human heart. It is good to hope earnestly in the Lord rather than to trust in a prince in every situation'): these two instances of positive (rather than comparative) adjective with *þonne* are a direct imitation of the Latin (Ro *Bonum est ... quam ...* ), and unidiomatic for Old English; see Mitchell, *Syntax*, §3213.

**Ps 117, 12**   *Þa hi me ymbsealdon samod anlice ... þær me nama dryhtnes neode scylde* ('When they entirely surrounded me ... in that situation the Lord's name diligently protected me'): Mitchell, *Syntax*, §2464, sees a causal element at work in *þær* ('because'), pointing to Lat. *quia*, but the latter reading occurs only in the Gallican Psalter—Ro has *et*.

**Ps 117, 24**   *se þe com ofer bearna gehwylc* ('he who came to each person'): for this meaning of *bearn* ('people') which occurs only in poetry, see *DOE* s.v., I. D. 8.

**Ps 117, 24**   *we eow æt godes huse gearwe bletsiað, nu us drihten god deore onlyhte* ('we eagerly bless you at God's house, seeing that the Lord God had lovingly enlightened us'): *onlyhte* represents a perfect rather than a preterite, see note on Ps 90, 14 above, p. 234.

**Ps 118, 9**   *On hwam mæg se iunga on godne weg rihtran þe rædran ræd gemittan þonne he þine wisan word gehealde?* ('By what other means can a young man on the right path find more correct guidance, as it becomes more available, than by observing your wise words? '): Mitchell, *Syntax*, §3229, suggests supplying mentally *þæt* after *þonne*.

**Ps 118, 10**   *ne þu huru me ... adrife* ('do not ... drive me far away'): although not directly followed by a verb, seems *ne* to be an adverb rather than a conjunction, just as in the corresponding Ro *ne repellas*. Krapp's semi-colon to end the clause preceding *ne* seems to imply the same reading; see further Mitchell, *Syntax*, §1841.

**Ps 118, 21**   *Þu oferhydige ealle þreadest, þa þu awyrgde wistest gearuwe and þine bebodu efnan noldan*

('You thoroughly reproved the arrogant, whom you knew for certain were cursed, and who were unwilling to follow your precepts'): as noted by Mitchell, *Syntax,* §2123, the single relative *þa* serves as accusative in the second clause and nominative in the third.

**Ps 118,74**   *Þa ðe on feore forhtigað, þa me on fægere geseoð and blissiað, bu geðenceað ...* : Issues about the location of *on* ('at') and *geseoð* ('look') are discussed by Krapp, *Paris Psalter*, 223, though neither concern has much consequence for the present translation, 'Both those who fear you intensely and those who look at me favorably and rejoice, will conclude ...'

**Ps 118,80**   *þæt ic on ealdre ne wese æfre gescended* ('so that I will never for all time be confounded'): on the basis of Ro *ut non confundar*, I read it as a purpose clause, though Mitchell, *Syntax,* §2963 raises the possibility that it could also be taken as 'a consecutive clause of contingent result' .

**Ps 118,82**   *þær on þinre spræce spede eodan* ('when they ventured into the eloquence of your speech'): reading *spede* as governed by *on*, and *þinre spræce* as genitive rather than dative; Ro *in eloquium tuum* offers no clarification.

**Ps 118,112**   *Ahylde ic mine heortan ... þæt ic þin soðfæst weorc symble worhte* ('I inclined my heart ... to fulfill your just works always'): could also be read as a result clause, 'I inclined my heart, and as a result I fulfilled your just works always', as suggested by Mitchell, *Syntax,* §2804.  However, Ro *inclinaui cor meum ad faciendas iustificationes tuas in aeternum* supports the former interpretation.

**Ps 129,8**   *He Israhelas ealle alyseð*: *ealle* has been taken here as adjectival, qualifying *Israhelas*, 'all the Israelites', but reading it adverbially as instrumental ('fully') is possible, though a rare usage.

**Ps 131,12**   *þæt he weorðlicne wæstm gesette þe of his innaðe agenum cwome, ofer þin heahsetl* ('that he would set upon your high throne a distinguished lineage springing from his own body'):  Krapp, *Paris Psalter*, 127, and others emended MS *þa* to *þe,* but see Mitchell, 'Pronouns', who argues for retaining *þa*.[11]

**Ps 134,10**   *Se sloh* ('He slew'): Although it does not signify much for the meaning, *Se* may be a scribal error for *He*, caused when the rubricator supplied the initial capital later.

**Ps 135,1,3 and 28**   *þæt he to worulde byð wis and mildheort* ('that he will be wise and merciful forever'); *þæt/forþan his mildheortnes is mycel to worulde* ('that/because his mercy is great forever'): these two clauses translate the same half-verse of Ro *quoniam in aeternum misericordia eius*. However, since the latter clause occurs twenty-seven times in the psalm as a refrain to each verse, one

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11) Ibid., 131.

has to ask why it is rendered only three times. The most reasonable explanation is that the Old English translator as a matter of economy decided to translate two (vv. 1 and 3) at the beginning and another at the very end (v. 28), with the understanding that they would be mentally supplied for the other verses. A much less likely possibility is that the translator had a Latin exemplar in which, as was often the case in early medieval Psalters, this refrain was marked for the bulk of the verses by a simple 'Q~' (for *quoniam* ... ), the significance of which he failed to understand.

**Ps 137,2**  *Eac ic þin tempel tidum weorðige þæt halige hus holde mode* ('I will also regularly pay reverence with devout intent to your temple, to that holy house'): Mitchell, *Syntax*, §3794, tentatively identifies the verb *weorðige* as a *koinon*, with preceding (*tempel*) and following (*hus*) object. Alternatively, *þæt halige hus* could be simply read as appositional to *þin temple*.

**Ps 138,17**  *Blodhreowe weras, ge bebugað me, þe þæt on geþohtum þenceað cweðende* ('Move away from me, you bloodthirsty men, because in your thoughts you plot, saying'): taking *þe* as a causal conjunction (Ro *quia*), rather than a relative ('who'); see Mitchell, *Syntax,* §3131.

**Ps 138,18**  *ic ... beo facne gebolgen* ('I ... will vehemently vent my rage'), Ro *tabescebam*: here, and at Pss 106,25 and 111,9, the translator has confused *tabesco* with *tumesco*, as first noted by Bosworth Toller, s.v. *þindan* II.

**Ps 139,11**  *unsoðfæstne wer yfel gecnysseð, oþþe he on* eorðan *eall forweorðeð* ('evil will overwhelm the unjust man, until he totally perishes on earth'): evidently read as *oþþe* ('or') by Krapp who rejected (*Notes*, p. 225) the reading *oþ+þe* ('until') of Grein, the first editor;[12] in support of the latter, see Mitchell, *Syntax,* §2751, and n. 121.

**Ps 140,8**  *Forþon min gebed nu gyt becnum standeð, þæt him on wisum is wel lycendlice* ('because as yet my prayer is maintained with external forms, so as to be in conduct very gratifying to them'): read as a *þæt* clauses (with indicative) expressing a 'possible result the achievement of which is not desired'; see Mitchell, *Syntax,* §2992.

**Ps 143,12**  *Alys me and oðlæd laþum wætrum ... þa me fremde bearn fæcne syndan* ('Snatch and rescue me from hostile waters ... when alien people behave very deceitfully towards me'): Mitchell,[13] suggests that this rare use of non-relative *þa* with present indicative, where one might expect *þonne,* may point to the weakening of the distinction between them. While following Mitchell's suggestion, I translate

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12) See note 9.

13) 'Some Problems of Mood and Tense in Old English', *Neophilologus* 49 (1965), 44–57 at 46–7.

*þa* as 'when', rather than 'because', his tentative translation.

**Ps 146,11** *þeah þe weras wyrcean wræst on eorðan* ('although men on earth fashion elegant things'): taking *wræst* as a substantival (neuter) adjective.

In a previous article, 'Strategies of Translation in the Old English Versions (Prose and Metrical) of the Psalms in the Paris Psalter (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds latin, 8824)', *Bulletin of the Institute of Oriental and Occidental Studies, Kansai University* 48 (Osaka, 2015), 137–71 at 159–60, I discussed the presence in the Metrical Psalms of the syntactical construction known as *apo koinou*. I listed some fifty examples of this construction, to which I would add a few more:

**79,1** *ðu nu recene beheald* ('pay attention at once'): this imperative clause serves as a *koinon* to the preceding (*Þu þe … rædest*) and following (*þu ðe Ioseph … wiðlæddest*) clauses which have indicative verbs.

**Ps 81,8** *Aris drihten nu! Dem eorðware*: by inserting an exclamation mark after *nu* and capitalizing *Dem*, Krapp excludes the possibility that *nu* could be read as a *koinon* modifying the imperative verbs preceding and following it, serving either as a temporal adverb ('now') or, more likely—judging by the absence of a corresponding adverb in Ro *exsurge deus iudica terram*—as a particle with weakened temporal force accompanying the imperatives. On this latter usage, see online *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. *now* (adv., conj.), II.9a.

**Ps 83,7** *Gehyr min gebed, halig Drihten, þu eart mære God* ('Hear my prayer, holy Lord, you are the glorious God'): here *halig Drihten* serves as a *koinon* to the clauses preceding and following.

**Ps 85,3** *Miltsa me drihten, þonne ic mægene to ðe þurh ealne dæg elne cleopade; do þines scealces sawle bliðe* ('Lord, have mercy on me, seeing that I invoked you forcefully all through the day, make your servant's soul glad'): the clause *þonne ic mægene to ðe þurh ealne dæg elne cleopade* (translating Ro *quoniam ad te clamaui tota die*) could be read as a *koinon* to the previous clause and the one immediately following.

**Ps 104,36** *Het him of stane streamas flowan, wæter on willan; na him gewættan fot, þa hi on Iordane gengdan æfter* ('For them he ordered rivers to stream from a rock, waters welling up, did not in the least wet their feet when later on they marched into the river Jordan'): if we take *wæter* as the (plural) subject of *gewættan*, then a case can be made that *wæter on willan* serves as a *koinon*, to the preceding clause as object of *Het*, and to the clause following as subject of *gewættan*. However, if *streamas* is taken as the subject of *gewættan*, *apo koinou* is ruled out. See note on Ps 104.36 on p.234, above.

**Ps 117,11–12** *and me Godes nama on him georne gehælde. Þa hi me ymbsealdon samod anlice swa*

*beon bitere, oððe þu bærne eac þornas þyre þicce fyre, þær me nama Dryhtnes neode scylde* ('but God's name greatly protected me against them, when they surrounded me entirely, like stinging bees, or like dry thorns set ablaze by dense fire, in that situation the Lord's name carefully protected me'): although punctuated as the first two clauses of a new verse, *Þa hi me ymbsealdon samod anlice swa beon bitere, oððe þu bærne eac þornas þyre þicce fyre,* could be read as a *koinon* to the last clause of the preceding verse (*and me ... gehælde*) and the clause following (*þær me nama Dryhtnes neode scylde*) of its own verse.

Commentary:

**Ps 63,7** *Syndon hyra wita scytelum cilda æghwæs onlicost* ('The woundings they inflict are altogether [ineffective] like the darts of children'): with a similar treatment of Ro *sagittae paruulorum factae sunt plagae eorum et pro nihilo habuerunt contra eos linguae ipsorum* as a simile, compare Julian's *Epitome,* p. 239, lines 47–52, *Tam inefficaces ad perimendum sunt eorum insidiae, quam sunt infirma ad vulnerandum tela parvulorum. Omnia quaecumque locuti fuerunt aduersum nos, exprobrantes atque detrahentes, effectu non sequente cassata sunt.*

**Ps 64,9** *eorðan ðu gefyllest eceum wæstmum, þæt heo welig weorþeð wera cneorissum* ('you will fill the earth with enduring fruits, so that it will become fecund with the generations'): with this expansion of Ro *multiplicasti locupletare eam* (sc. *terram*), compare Cassiodorus, *Expositio,* 567, 228–9, *Terram hic genus humanum debemus accipere.*

**Ps 106,16** *He hi of unrihtum ealle swylce þam wraðan wege wis alædeð, þær hi wæron on woo ær wraðe besmitene* ('The wise one also guides them away entirely from iniquity, that evil path on which they had been horribly defiled by injustice'): the translation of Ro *humiliati sunt* by *hi wæron ... besmitene* may have been influenced by *abominata est anima eorum* of the next Ro verse.

**Ps 106,32** *He on westenne wynne streamas soðfæst sette, þær he sarig folc geðewde þurste þa blissade*: Tinkler, *Vocabulary and Syntax,* p. 84, argues for the influence of Cassiodorus, *Expositio,* p. 983, lines 410–11, *ad gentes quae aquas caelestes sitienter haurirent,* but its mention of heavenly waters indicates a typical allegorical interpretation, whereas the metrical translator evidently read the passage historically as referring to the Israelites crossing the desert: 'The just God established rivers of joy in the desert, where he then gladdened sorrowful peoples oppressed by thirst'.

**Ps 134,10** *Se sloh þeode folc þearle manige* ('he struck down very many allied peoples'): the addition of *þeode*, which I read as past participle plural of *þeodan* ('to associate, join'), qualifying *manige folc*

(Ro *multas gentes*), may be shorthand for the different peoples of Canaan who formed confederations to resist the Israelites' advance into their territory, as described in Johua 10–11.

Abbreviated Titles:

Bright-Ramsay = James W. Bright and Robert L. Ramsay (eds.), *Liber Psalmorum: The West-Saxon Psalms, Being the Prose Portion, or the 'First Fifty,' of the So-Called Paris Psalter* (Boston, 1907).

Cassiodorus, *Expositio* = *Magni Aurelii Cassiodori Expositio Psalmorum*. Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 97–98, ed. Marcus Adriaen (Turnhout, 1958–73).

*DOE* = *Dictionary of Old English*: *A to G* (CD-ROM), ed. Angus Cameron, Ashley Crandall Amos, Antonette diPaolo Healey *et al.* (Toronto, 2008).

Julian's *Epitome* = *Theodori Mopsuesteni Expositionis in Psalmos, Iuliano Aeclanensi Interprete in Latinum Versae Quae Supersunt.* Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 88A, ed. Lucas De Coninck (Turnhout, 1977).

Krapp = George Philip Krapp (ed.), *The Paris Psalter and the Meters of Boethius*, Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records 5 (New York, 1932).

Mitchell, *Syntax* = Bruce Mitchell, *Old English Syntax.* 2 vols (Oxford, 1985).

O'Neill = Patrick P. O'Neill (ed.), *King Alfred's Old English Prose Translation of the First Fifty Psalms*, Medieval Academy Books 104 (Cambridge, MA, 2001).

Ro = *Le Psautier romain et les autres anciens psautiers latins.* Collectanea Biblica Latina 10, ed. Robert Weber (Vatican City, 1953).

Tinkler, *Vocabulary and Syntax* = John D. Tinkler, *Vocabulary and Syntax of the Old English Version in the Paris Psalter: A Critical Commentary.* Janua Linguarum, Series Practica 67 (The Hague, 1971).