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Fabienne Toupin, Ileana Sasu, Vladimir Agrigoroaei, Katarzyna Jasinska

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**L**etamini iusti in domino: et confitemini  
in memorie sanctificationis eius. **ps**

**DAVID:**



**ANT**

**ATE**

**DOM**

**INO**

canticum nouum: quia mirabilia  
fecit.

**S**aluauit sibi dexteram eius: et bra-  
chium sanctum eius.

**N**otum fecit dominus salutare suum.

# The Musical Instruments in the Early Vernacular Translations of the Psalms (3)

## Collective Research

Contributors	Sigla
Fabienne Toupin	FT
Ileana Sasu	IS
Katarzyna Jasińska	KJ
Vladimir Agrigoroaei	VA

This study represents a continuation of two previous publications—“The Musical Instruments in the Early Vernacular Translations of the Psalms. Collective Research” (*Museikon*, 3, 2019, p. 67-140), henceforth abbreviated as *Musical Instruments* 2019; and “The Musical Instruments in the Early Vernacular Translations of the Psalms. Collective Research (2)” (*Museikon*, 4, 2020, p. 257-302), henceforth abbreviated as *Musical Instruments* 2020. The study will be finalized in the next issue of *Museikon* (6, 2022) with the addition of the last languages taken into consideration.

Based on the results of the two previous instalments of the collective article concerning the translation choices for the musical instruments in early vernacular Psalters, the teams involved in this comparative research decided to expand the scope of the current research and to prepare the theoretical discussion well before the conclusions of the current study were known.

Their decision was to explore translation clusters, translation units, and linguistic automatisms as far as possible from generativist or translational ideas, concentrating on precise case studies (often based on the translations of the sacred texts) in order to determine the organic interplay between three main situations in which common coincidences between translations occur: 1) what is common to two or more translations as a result of the transfer of textual units from one text to another (quotations, diorthoses, *formulae*); 2) what is common because of the existence of a common source text (translation clusters, based on translation units); 3) what is simply fixed, innate, and unchangeable in the target language (language automatisms, often coinciding with translation units as well). The studies will be gathered in a volume entitled *Translation Automatism in the Vernacular Texts of the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period* (eds. Vladimir Agrigoroaei and Ileana Sasu). The first workshop on this subject was organized in Poitiers (4-5 November 2021) by the CÉSCM - UMR 7302 and the Romanian team, supported by a grant of the Romanian Ministry of Research, Innovation and Digitization, CNCS/CCCEDI - UEFISCDI project PN-III-P4-ID-PCE-2020-2939, within PNCDI III.

◀ *Master of the Ingeborg Psalter* (French, floruit c. 1195-c. 1210), Initial C: David Playing Bells, after 1205, Tempera colors and gold leaf on parchment. Leaf: 31 × 21.9 cm. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, Ms. 66 (99.MK.48), f. 105v.

Courtesy of the Getty Open Content Program.



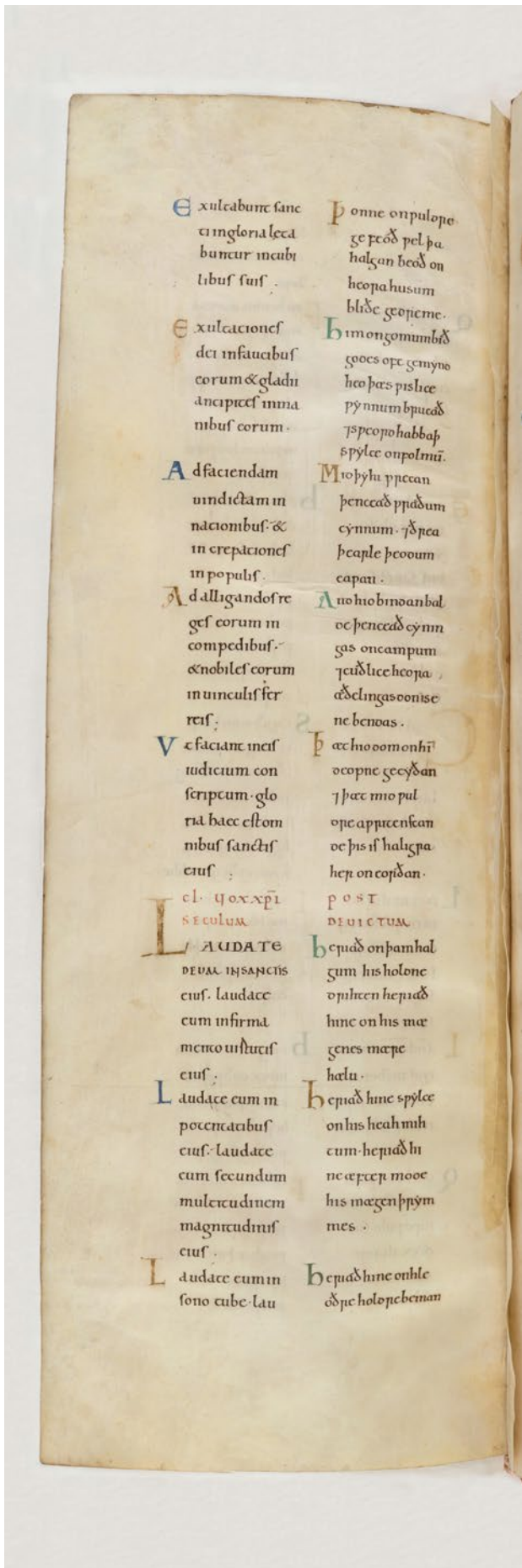
▲ Poster for the conference in Poitiers, based on the same decoration of the *Master of the Ingeborg Psalter*.

The *Paris Psalter* in Old English prose and verse. Presentation (VA)

The *Paris Psalter* is a manuscript of an unusual format, now kept in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f. lat. 8824. It is written in Caroline minuscule (with usual insular developments, in its Old English segments). The manuscript dates back to the mid-11<sup>th</sup> century, that is, before or after the battle of Hastings, and its illustrations are linked

to the tradition of the *Utrecht Psalter* (already presented in the first analysis of the *Eadwine Psalter* Old French version). The *Paris Psalter* is a bilingual manuscript whose texts are displayed in parallel columns: the Latin text of the *Romanum* is presented first, on the left column, while the Old English translation appears in a secondary posi-

	<i>Paris Psalter</i> (editions 2001+1932)	<i>Paris Psalter</i> Latin text (ms.)	SOURCES:
Ps 32:2	Heriað hine mid <b>hearpum</b> , and on þære tyn-strengean <b>heapan</b> .	Confitemini domino in <b>cithara</b> . in <b>psalterio</b> decem cordarum psallite ei;	For the prose version of the first fifty psalms, I used the edition of O'Neill 2001, p. 136 (Ps 32:2), p. 152 (Ps 42:4), p. 158 (Ps 46:6), p. 160 (Ps 48:5); which does not differ much (a single editorial intervention in the specific case of these segments of text) from the edition of Bright, Ramsay 1907, p. 69 (Ps 32:2), p. 100 (Ps 42:4), p. 111 (Ps 46:6), p. 115 (Ps 48:5).
Ps 42:4	þæt ic þonne gange to þinum altere, and to þam gode þe me bliðne gedyde on minum geogodhade. Ic þe andette, dryhten, mid sange and mid <b>heapan</b> .	Introibo ad altare dei ad deum qui letificat iuuentutem meam. Confitebor tibi in <b>cithara</b> deus deus meus.	The quotations from the Old English metrical version of the <i>Paris Psalter</i> follow the edition of Krapp 1932, p. 9 (Ps 56:9), 23 (Ps 67:26), 29 (Ps 70:22), 63 (Ps 91:4), 90 (Ps 107:3), 132 (Ps 136:2), 142 (Ps 143:9), 146 (Ps 146:7), 149 (Ps 149:3), and 150 (Ps 150:3).
Ps 46:6	Drihten astah mid wynsume sange and mid <b>bymena</b> stemne.	Ascendit deus in iubilatione. & dominus in uoce <b>tube</b> .	The Latin text was transcribed from the facsimile of the BnF manuscript, as follows: f. 34v (Ps 32:2), f. 51v-52r (Ps 42:4), f. 57v (Ps 46:6), f. 59v (Ps 48:5), f. 68v, (Ps 56:9), f. 79v (Ps 67:26), f. 84r (Ps 70:22), f. 109v (Ps 91:4), f. 130r (Ps 107:3), f. 161v (Ps 136:2), f. 169v (Ps 143:9), f. 173r (Ps 146:7), f. 175r (Ps 149:3), and f. 175v (Ps 150:3).
Ps 48:5	Ic onhyldre min earan to þam bispellum þæs ðe me innan lærd, and ic secge on þys[sum] sealme hwæs ic wylle ascian,	Inclinabo ad similitudinem aurem meam. aperiam in <b>psalterio</b> propositionem meam.	The same references can be used for the identification of the Old English manuscript version.
Ps 56:9	Aris, wuldur min, <b>wynpsalterium</b> and ic on ærmergene eac arise and min <b>heape</b> herige drihten.	Exurge gloria mea exurge <b>psalterium</b> & <b>cithara</b> exurgam diluculo.	
Ps 67:26	Pyder ealdormen ofstum coman and gegaderade gleowe sungon on þæra manna midle geongra on <b>tympanis</b> togenum strengum, and on circean Crist, drihten god bealde bletsige bearn Israela.	Preuenerunt principes coniuncti psallentibus in medio iuuenum <b>tympanistriarum</b> ; in aecclisiis benedicite dominum deum de fontibus israhel.	
Ps 70:22	Ðær þu þin soðfæst weorc sniome tobræddest, þonne þu gehwyrfdest and hulpe min, and me getrymedest þæt ic teala mihte forþon ic þe andette, ece drihten, and þe on sealmfatum singe be <b>heapan</b> , Israela god, ece and halig.	Multiplicasti iustitiam tuam & conuersus exostatus es me, nam & ego confitebor tibi in uasis psalmodum ueritatem tuam; psallam tibi in <b>cithara</b> deus sanctus israel.	
Ps 80:3	[lacuna in the manuscript]	[lacuna in the manuscript]	
Ps 80:4	[lacuna in the manuscript]	[lacuna in the manuscript]	
Ps 91:4	Hwæt, ic on tyn strengum getogen hæfde, hu ic þe on <b>psalterio</b> singan mihte oððe þe mid <b>heapan</b> hlyste cweman, forðon þu me on þinum weorcum wisum ludafest; hihte ic to þinra handa halgum dædum.	In decachordo <b>psalterio</b> cum cantico & <b>cithara</b> quia delectasti me domine in factura tua & in operibus manuum tuarum exultabo	
Ps 97:5-6	[lacuna in the manuscript]	[lacuna in the manuscript]	
Ps 107:3	Aris nu, wuldur min, þæt ic wynlice on <b>psalterio</b> þe singan mote, and ic ðe on hleoðre <b>heapan</b> swylce on ærmergen eac gecweme.	Exurge gloria mea exurge <b>psalterium</b> & <b>cithara</b> exurgam diluculo.	► Fig. 2. Complete view of the last folio of the Old English verse translation from the <i>Paris Psalter</i> , from Ps 149:5 to the incomplete verse of Ps 150:3 (ms Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f. lat. 8824, f. 175v). The following folio (f. 176r) presents the first Canticle of Isaiah (cf. Is 12). As already stated, the <i>Paris Psalter</i> is a manuscript of a rather unusual format and size (526 x 186 mm; with an average writing space of 420 x 95 mm); cf. Toswell 1996. The careful alignment of the Latin and Old English text testifies to their parallel transcription.
Ps 136:2	On salig we sarige swiðe gelome ure <b>organan</b> up ahengan.	In salicibus in medio eius suspendimus <b>organa</b> nostra.	Collage of several print-screens of the facsimile available online at the 'Gallica' site of the BnF.
Ps 143:9	Ic niwlice niwne cantic þam godan gode gleaune singe on <b>psalterio</b> , þe him swynsað oft min tyn strengum getogen hearpe, on þære þe ic þe singe swiþe geneahhe.	Deus canticum nouum cantabo tibi in <b>psalterio</b> decem chordarum psallam tibi.	Source: <a href="https://gallica.bnf.fr/">https://gallica.bnf.fr/</a> .
Ps 146:7	Onginnað ge drihte gearre andettan, singað gode urum gleawe be <b>heapan</b> .	Incipite domino in confessione psallite deo nostro in <b>cithara</b> .	
Ps 149:3	Herigen his naman neode on ðreatum, on <b>timpano</b> tidum heriað and on <b>psalterio</b> singað georne.	Laudent nomen eius in choro in <b>timpano</b> & <b>psalterio</b> psallant ei.	
Ps 150:3	Heriað hine on hleoðre holdre <b>beman</b>	Laudate eum in sono <b>tube</b> lau[...]	
Ps 150:4	[lacuna in the manuscript]	[lacuna in the manuscript]	
Ps 150:5	[lacuna in the manuscript]	[lacuna in the manuscript]	



tion, to its right. The two texts are aligned by segments of text corresponding to biblical verses, and it is highly likely that the manuscript reached France during the Middle Ages, as it probably belonged to John, Duke of Berry (1340-1416), according to Ker 1957, p. 440. Fourteen folios are missing or have been cut out, thus explaining the occasional lacunae.

All texts were probably written by the same scribe (*Wulfwinus* <cognomen> *Cada*, as he presents himself in the colophon), yet the Old English version is made up of two very different translations. The first segment, from Ps 1 to Ps 50 (included), is a prose translation also known as ‘King Alfred’s Prose Translation of the First Fifty Psalms’. It is followed by a second segment of text which adapts the rest of the biblical book, from Ps 51:6 to Ps 150:3. This other translation (in verse) presents a metrical version which occasionally resembles the metrical segment of the Old English gloss from the *Eadwine Psalter*. Its literary qualities have often been criticized, as its verses would represent a decay of metrical abilities in the language (cf. Griffith 1991).

The psalms are preceded by Old English introductions set out across both columns, thus suggesting that the intended reader could be more accustomed to reading in the vernacular (cf. Emms 1999). Different Old English introductions to the psalms appear in the *Vitellius Psalter*, which was compiled in the same timeframe, but contains a copy of the Latin *Gallicanum*. At the end of the psalms, the *Paris Psalter* also includes the Old Testament canticles, a litany, and various prayers.

### The *Paris Psalter*. Linguistic analysis (FT)

The Latin part of the *Paris Psalter* contains the names of four musical instruments and what appears to be a generic name for a whole category of instruments.

The latter is Lat. *organum*, occurring in Ps 136:2 in the phrase *organa nostra*, and translated into *ure organan*. The English word is obviously borrowed from Latin, and its nominative singular form is unclear, *organe* or *organa*. It is supposed to refer to any musical instrument, but the following passage quoted in Bosworth & Toller’s *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* suggests that it might have specifically designated stringed instruments: *Da organa wæron getogene, and ða bîman geblāwene* (Th. Ap. 25, 15), ‘The (stringed?) instruments were struck, and the trumpets blown’—from the Anglo-Saxon version of the story of *Apollonius of Tyre*, edited by Thorpe.

The Latin names of the four musical instruments referred to are *cithara*, *psalterium*, *tuba*, and *tympaniolum*.

*Cithara* occurs in seven psalms. In Ps 32:2, 56:9, 70:22, and 146:7, the translation is relatively straightforward, the corresponding English item being the feminine noun *hearpe*. *Hearpe* itself appears to have a somewhat generic meaning: “[...] many OE texts allude to stringed instruments of more formal, primarily household, indeed courtly character, both under the generic title *hearpe* and by means of such kennings as *gomen-wudu* (joy-wood) and *gleo-beam* (glee-beam).” (Lapidge *et al.* 2001, 329; emphasis ours). According to the *Thesaurus of Old English*, *hearpe* could refer to a harp or a lyre, although the triangular harp (imported shortly before 900) and the lyre are two distinct instruments. So are the lyre and the zither. Further evidence of the generic meaning of *hearpe* is to be found in Ps 32:2, where OE *on þære tynstrengian hearpan* (“on the ten-stringed harp”) translates the Latin phrase in *psalterio decem cordarum*, while elsewhere, as will be seen below, the translator resorts to the loan word *psal-*



*terium*. In Ps 91:4, although the translator wanders away from and expands the Latin original, the *cithara*–*hearpe* correspondence still holds. Finally, Ps 42:4 and 107:3 present two forms of expansion, *cithara* being rendered respectively by *mid sang and mid heorpan*, “with singing and a harp”, and by *on hleoðre hearpan swylce*, “with (lit. in) the sound of the harp that has been already described”.

*Psalterium* refers to a psalter, a particular kind of zither. Although semantically much more specific, *psalterium* occurs as frequently as *hearpe* in the *Paris Psalter*. In four psalms (91:4, 107:3, 143:9 and 149:3) the Old English text has the loan word *psalterium*, and it is interesting to observe the actual scope of the borrowing process: in all four cases the prepositional phrase *on psalterio* is used, which can be analysed as the English preposition *on*, governing the dative case, followed by the loan word *psalterium* in its Latin dative form. In other words, a Latin inflectional pattern is borrowed alongside a Latin lexeme—this bears testimony to *psalterium* not being fully integrated in the English word stock by the mid-11<sup>th</sup> century. We have already underlined in the previous paragraph that in Ps 32:2 it is the rather generic term *hearpe* that translates Latin *psalterium*. Let us just note that in this very psalm the Old English noun is premodified by the compound adjective *tynstreng* translating the Latin post-modifier *decem cordarum*; the adjective represents the welding together of the numeral *tin* (“ten”) and of the noun *streng* (“string of an instrument”). In Ps 56:9 we come across the heterogeneous compound *wynpsalterium*, “a joyous psalter”, which can be analysed into OE *wyn(n)*, “delight, pleasure”, and Latin *psalterium*. In Ps 48:5 *on psalterio* is rendered by *on þys[sum] sealme*, “in these songs/psalms”, a metonymic shift in meaning from the musical instrument to the song usually sung when playing the instrument in question.

*Tuba*, “trumpet”, occurs twice in exactly the same morphosyntactic pattern, i.e. in its genitive form in a prepositional phrase: Ps 46:6 *in uoce tube* and Ps 150:3 *in sono tube*. The two Latin phrases appear to be mere variants of each other. Old English too had (at least) two lexemes expressing the idea of a sound, whether emitted by a human being or by another source, viz. *stemn* (and its variant *stefn*), a feminine noun, and *hleoðor*, a neuter one. The item designating a trumpet was the feminine noun *byme* (and its allomorph *bem*). Ps 46:6 reads *mid bymena stemne* in English, a straightforward translation of the Latin phrase, while Ps 150:3 offers the expanded translation *on hleoðre holdre beman* (“with (lit. in) the sound of a gracious trumpet”).

▲ Fig. 3. Illustration for the verse Exodus 15:20 (cf. Vulgate: *Sumpsit ergo Maria prophetissa, soror Aaron, tympanum in manu sua: egressaeque sunt omnes mulieres post eam cum tympanis et choris*) in the ‘Old English Hexateuch’. London, British Library, Cotton ms Claudius B iv, f. 92v (2<sup>nd</sup> quarter of the 11<sup>th</sup> century–2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century). Collage of several print-screens of the facsimile available online.

Source: <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts>.

*Tympaniolum* designates a kind of tambourine that could be held up in the hand. There are two references to that musical instrument in the *Paris Psalter*, in Ps 67:26 (*in medio iuuenum tympanistriarum*) and in Ps 149:3 (*in timpano & psalterio*). Only the second occurrence can be regarded as a direct reference to the instrument, despite what appears to be morphological compression of the word, *tympaniolum* > *tympanum*; here again the English translation is based on the use of a loan word, *on timpano* ... and *on psalterio*, in which both *tympanum* and *psalterium* appear in their Latin dative forms. By contrast, the first occurrence is a reference to players of the instrument, *iuuenum tympanistriarum*, “young female drummers or players on the tambourine”; the corresponding psalm in the King James Bible reads *in the midst of young damsels playing on timbrels*.

To conclude, we observed in the *Paris Psalter* several forms of expansion, which are found mostly in the verse part of the manuscript, and can therefore be related to metrical requirements. We also observed the use of three loan words from Latin, *psalterium*, *tympanum*, and the dubious form *organe*. We hypothesize that borrowing from Latin, a very common practice in medieval England, was made easier in the case of musical instruments as there existed similar Roman precursors with which the Angles and the Saxons must have been familiar: “From similarities in instrument forms an element of continuity from earlier Roman and native popular traditions seems increasingly likely.” (Lapidge *et al.* 2001, 327).

## Discussion

VA: As you already proved, the prose translation from the first part of the OE *Paris Psalter* is usually straightforward and generic. Odd compounds or translation choices appear only in the second (metrical) part of the OE text, probably for prosodic reasons. Is it safe to assume that these choices are largely irrespective of the translation strategy (cf. Nida 1964)—formal in the prose section and dynamic in the metrical part?

The Old English *Vitellius Psalter*. Presentation (VA)

The *Vitellius Psalter* takes its name from the manuscript that preserves it—London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius E. xviii. Based on its calendar and on several marginal notes (e.g. f. 9r, which contains a note concerning a list of monastic list of houses; yet there is also a mention of Ælfwine, abbot of New Minster; etc.), the manuscript was probably copied in Winchester, in a Benedictine context, and belonged either to the abbey of New Minster or to the cathedral priory of St Peter, St Paul, and St Swithun. It dates back to the period immediately before or after the Norman Conquest (third quarter of the 11<sup>th</sup> century), perhaps to c.1060, as the Easter table on f. 13v is accompanied by a cross above the column corresponding to 1060-1087, with a specific dot for the year 1062 (for more details about the dating, see e.g. Pulsiano 1998a).

The manuscript was severely destroyed in a fire in 1731 and the remnants of its folios present a bilingual text, Latin and Old English, with the Latin *Gallicanum* as the main version of the manuscript and the Old English translation copied in between the lines or in the margins, as a gloss, perhaps written by a different scribe (cf. Ker 1957, p. 301). The Psalms (f. 18r-131r) has Old English introductions (cf. Pulsiano 1991) and is preceded by a calendar

(f. 2v-7v) and a mixed array of Easter, Advent, and Septuagesima calculations, as well as other computistical or prognosticative texts, Easter tables and all sorts of texts for personal use, including medical recipes, riddles, and charms (f. 8r-16v; cf. Pulsiano 1998b). At the end of the psalms, we find the supernumerary Ps 151, without vernacular translation, (f. 131r-131v); the Old Testament Canticles, where the Old English translation reappears (f. 131v-138v) and continues for the Lord's Prayer, Apostles' Creed, *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, and the Athanasian Creed (f. 138v-140v). There is no vernacular gloss translation for the last texts, a litany of saints and lections (f. 140v-146r).

Even though this is a matter of dispute, the *Vitellius Psalter* could be related to the *Arundel OE Psalter*, especially since both of them were probably copied in Winchester, alongside the *Tiberius Psalter* and *Stowe Psalter* (see for this the edition of Rosier 1962, p. xxxii-xxxv).

## SOURCES:

For the references to the two edited texts (Latin and Old English) of the *Vitellius Psalter*, see the Rosier 1962, p. 72, 104, 113, 116, 135, 158, 169, 202 (x2), 230, 242 (x2), 275, 337, 352, 358, 362, 363 (x3).

*Gallicanum* in *Vitellius Psalter* (ed. Rosier 1962)

Confitemini domino in **cithara** in **psalterio** decem chordarum psallite illi.

Et introibo ad altare dei ad deum qui laetificat iuuentutem meam. Confitebor tibi in **cythara** deus deus meus

Ascendit deus in iubilo et dominus in uocae **tubae**.

Inclinabo in parabolam aurem meam aperiam in **psalterio** propositionem meam.

Exsurge gloria mea exsurge **psalterium** et **cythara** exurgam diluculo.

Praeuenerunt principes coniuncti psallentibus in medio iuuenularum **tympanistriarum**.

Nam et ego confitebor tibi in uasis salmi ueritatem tuam deus sallam tibi in **cythara** sanctus israhel.

Sumite psalmum et date **timpanum psalterium** iocundum cum **cythara**.

Bucinate in neomenia **tuba** in insigni die sollempnitatis nostrae.

In decacordo **psalterio** cum cantico in **cythara**.

Psallite domino nostro in **cythara** in **cythara** et uoce psalmi in **tubis** ductilibus et uoce **tube** corneae. Iubilate in conspectu regis domini

Exsurge **psalterium** et **cithara** exurgam diluculo.

in salicibus in medio eius suspendimus **organa** nostra.

Deus canticum nouum cantabo tibi in **psalterio** decachorda psallam tibi.

Praecinite domino in confessione psallite deo nostro in **cithara**.

Laudent nomen eius in choro in **tempano** et **psalterio** sallant ei.

Laudate eum in sono **tubae** laudate eum in **psalterio** et **cythara**.

Laudate eum in **tymphano** et choro laudate eum in cordis et **organo**.

Laudate eum in **cymbalis** bene sonantibus laudate eum in **cymbalis** iubilationis

Old English *Vitellius Psalter* (ed. Rosier 1962)

andettað driht on **hearpan** on **salte** tyn strenga singað him. Ps 32:2

7 ic inga to weofode godes to gode þe blissað geoguð mine. anddette þe on **hearpan** god god min Ps 42:4

[..]h god on wyndreama 7 drihten [...] stefne **byman**. Ps 46:6

on ic ahyld on bispelle earan mine ic atyne on **saltere** (forsetennesse race) min[...] Ps 48:5

aris wuldor min aris sealmleoð 7 **hearpan** ic arise on dægred. Ps 56:9

forecomon ealdras geþeodde singendem on midlene gingrena **timpana hearpigendra plegendra**. Ps 67:26

witodlice 7 ic andette þe on fatum sealmes soðfæstnesse þine god ic singe þe on **hearpan** halig israhela. Ps 70:22

nimað sealm 7 syllað **gligbeam saltere** wynsumne mid **hearp**[...] Ps 80:3

bymiað on niwan monðe of **byman** on mærum dæges simbelnesse ure. Ps 80:4

on tynstregendum **saltere** mid cantic on **hearpan** on **citran** Ps 91:4

singað driht on **hearpan** on **hearpan** 7 stefne sealmes Ps 97:5

on **bymum** gelædendlicum 7 stefne **byman** hyrnenre drymað on gesihðe cyninges drihtnes Ps 97:6

aris **saltere** 7 **hearpan** ic arise of dægrede Ps 107:3

on sealmum on middele his we ahengon ahoð [...] ure. Ps 136:2

god sang niwne ic singe þe on **saltere** tintrega ic singe þe. Ps 143:9

aginnað driht on andetnesse singað gode urum on **hearpan**. Ps 146:7

he herige naman his on choro on **glibe**:[...] 7 **saltere** hy singen him. Ps 149:3

heriað hine on swege **byman** heriað hine on **saltere** 7 **hearpan**. Ps 150:3

heriað hine on **glybeame** 7 chore heriað hine on heortan 7 **organadreame**. Ps 150:4

heriað hine on **cymbalum** wel swegendum heriað hine on **cimbalum** windreamas Ps 150:5

The Old English version of the *Stowe Psalter*. Presentation (VA)

The *Stowe Psalter*, also known as the *Spelman Psalter*, after the name of its first modern editor (John Spelman, *Psalterium Davidis Latino-Saxonicum vetus...*, London, R. Badger, 1640) is a mid-11<sup>th</sup> century manuscript now London, British Library, Stowe 2. It was probably copied in Winchester and it probably belonged to the Benedictine abbey of the New Minster. It shares several features with the *Tiberius Psalter*, such as identical prayers added to the end of each psalm, and it is written in a polished Caroline minuscule. The Old English gloss was copied at a later date, sometime in the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, and some glosses have been erased as well. Latin notes and musical notations were also added in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, followed by more 14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> and modern marginal notes which are beyond the scope of the present study. The manuscript begins with a copy of the psalms (f. 1r-168v), without any preceding calendar, and continues with the Old Testament canticles, in an acaudate version (f. 168v-180v). The manuscript is famous for its ornate initials painted in unusual colours: pink, red, orange, white, yellow, green, and blue. Modern authors also referred to it as *King Alfred's Psalter*, but this was based on a misinterpretation of Thomas Astle (1735-1803), one of the modern owners of the manuscript.

The Latin text of the *Gallicanum* presents many corrections. They are difficult to date, but most of them seem to have been made in the same timeframe as the main text of the manuscript. The OE gloss, written in an insular variant of the Caroline minuscule, was transcribed by a single scribe, with the exception of f. 57r, which was glossed by a second scribe. The editor of the text considers that the scribe “knew little Latin, and relied heavily on his exemplar, the source of all the Roman readings” (Kimmens 1979, p. xx). The *Stowe Psalter* would therefore present us with an Old English translation initially based on the Latin text of a *Romanum* psalter, adapted to the text of the *Gallicanum* for the specific use of this particular manuscript. However, the editor also notes many mistakes originating in a method of mechanical translation, that is, errors that the scribe had made “particularly near the beginning of the manuscript”, thus demonstrating “the scribe’s superficial knowledge of Latin” (Kimmens 1979, p. xx).

## SOURCES:

For the references to both version (Latin and Old English) in the *Stowe Psalter*, see Kimmens 1979, p. 56, 81, 88, 91, 106, 124, 132, 157 (x2), 178, 187 (x2), 212, 260, 271, 276, 279, 280 (x3).

Latin *Stowe Psalter* (ed. Kimmens 1979)

- Ps 32:2 Confitemini domino in **cithara** in **psalterio** decem chordarum psallite illi
- Ps 42:4 Et introibo ad altare dei ad deum qui laetificat iuuentutem meam. Confitebor tibi in **cithara** deus deus meus...
- Ps 46:6 Ascendit deus in iubilo et dominus in uoce **tubae**.
- Ps 48:5 Inclino in parabolam aurem meam aperiam in **psalterio** propositionem meam
- Ps 56:9 Exsurge gloria mea exsurge **psalterium** et **cythara** exurgam diluculo
- Ps 67:26 Preuenerunt principes coniuncti psallentibus in medio iuuenularum **tympanistriarum**.
- Ps 70:22 Nam et ego confitebor tibi in uasis psalmi ueritatem tuam deus psallam tibi in **cithara** sanctus israel.
- Ps 80:3 Sumite psalmum et date **tympanum psalterium** iocundum cum **cythara**
- Ps 80:4 Buccinate in neomenia **tuba** in insigni die sollempnitatis nostrae
- Ps 91:4 In decachordo **psalterio** cum cantico in **cithara**
- Ps 97:5 Psallite domino in **cythara** in **cythara** et uoce psalmi
- Ps 97:6 in **tubis** ductilibus et uoce **tubae** corneae Iubilate in conspectu regis domini
- Ps 107:3 Exurge **psalterium** et **cythara**, exurgam diluculo...
- Ps 136:2 In salicibus in medio eius suspendimus **organa** nostra
- Ps 143:9 Deus canticum nouum cantabo tibi in **psalterio** decachordo psallam tibi
- Ps 146:7 Precinite domino in confessione psallite deo nostro in **cythara**
- Ps 149:3 Laudent nomen eius in choro in **tympano** et **psalterio** psallant ei
- Ps 150:3 Laudate eum in sono **tubae** laudate eum in **psalterio** et **cythara**
- Ps 150:4 Laudate eum in **tympano** et choro laudate eum in chordis et **organo**
- Ps 150:5 Laudate eum in **cymbalis** bene sonantibus laudate eum in **cymbalis** iubilationis

OE *Stowe Psalter* (ed. Kimmens 1979)

- andettað drihtne on **hearpan** on **saltere** tynstrenga singað him
- ic infare to weofode godes to gode þe geblissað on iuguðe mine. ic andette ðe on **hearpan** god min
- astah god on wyndream 7 driht on stefne **byman**
- ic ahyld on bigspelle eare min ic atyne on **saltere** forgesettensysse mine
- aris wuldor min aris **saltere** 7 **hearpa** ic arise on dægred
- forcomon ealdras geþeodd syngendum on middele mædena **glywiendra**
- soðes 7 ic andette þe on fatum sealmes soðfæstnysse þine god ic singe þe on **earpan** halig israhele
- nimiað sealm 7 syllað **gligbeam saltere** wynsume mid **hearpan**
- blowað on heomon of **byman** on mærum dæge symelnysse eowre
- on tynstrengum **saltere** mid cantice on **hearpan**
- singað drihtne on **hearpan** 7 stefne sealm.
- on **byman** aslagenum 7 stemne **byman** hyrnendre drymað on gesihðe cyninges drihtnes
- aris **saltere** 7 **earpan** ic aryse ondægred 7...
- on sealmum on middele his we ahengon **dreamas** ure
- god sang nywne ic singe þe on **saltere** tynstrengum ic syng þe
- anginnað on andetnysse singað gode ure on **hearpan**
- herian hi naman his on werode on **gligbeame** 7 **saltere** hi singan him
- heriaþ hine on swege **byman** heriað hine on **saltere** 7 **hearpan**
- heriað hine on **gligbeame** 7 werode heriað hine on strengum 7 **organadream**
- heriað hine on **cimbalum** wel swegendum heriað hine on **cimbalum** wyndreamas



The Old English version of the *Tiberius Psalter*. Presentation (VA)

*Tiberius Psalter* is the name given to an incomplete or acaudate manuscript dating back to the 11<sup>th</sup> or 12<sup>th</sup> century, now London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius C vi. It was damaged when the Cotton Library was partly destroyed by fire in 1731. Parts of the folios were removed when the manuscript was rebound in 1894 and each leaf was mounted into the pages of a modern book. Several quires of the manuscript are also missing at the end.

As already stated in the previous manuscript descriptions, the Old English gloss of this codex shares many readings with those of the *Stowe* and *Vitellius Psalters*. However, the interlinear gloss is incomplete, as it skips many words of the Latin text. The main difference is that the Latin version of the *Tiberius Psalter*, its main text, is a copy of the *Gallicanum*. This could explain the scribe's reluctance to transcribe words which did not correspond to what he probably read in his source (most certainly a copy of a *Romanum* version). In other situations, he transcribed "the Roman gloss over the Gallican variant", leading to a number of errors, and he was also "careless in his copying", initiating many errors as well (cf. Campbell 1979, p. xxii-xxiv).

The manuscript is a common psalter (without the end matter—Old Testament Canticles, prayers and litany—, as it is either incomplete or acaudate). It starts with lunar and paschal tables, as well as a diagram of Life and Death (f. 2r-7r); it continues with the prefatory image cycle with scenes drawn from the Old and New Testa-

ments (f. 7v-16r). The particular nature of this manuscript is that the next folios (f. 16v-18r) contain drawings of musical instruments with descriptions in Latin. They are followed by the prefaces to the psalter, prayers and an *Ordo Confessionis* (f. 19r-27v); a Latin sermon, *De septiformi spiritu* accompanied paragraph by paragraph by its Old English version (f. 28r-30r); two Latin prayers (f. 30r); and finally the *Gallicanum* text of Psalms proper (f. 31r-129v), which ends at Ps 113:11. The Old English gloss is transcribed as an interlinear gloss, in a smaller hand, above the Latin text.

The manuscript is well-known to art historians for its prefatory cycle of images. Nevertheless, the most interesting images for the present study are the depictions of biblical musical instruments painted on f. 16v-18r: the *nabulum*, that is 'nabla' (also identified as *psalterium*); the psaltery (again *psalterium*), separate from *nabulum*; the *tympanum*; the *cythara*; the bell (*tintinabulum*), the *sabuca*; the *pennola*; the bagpipe (*corus*); the *bumbulum*; and another type of *corus*; with a depiction of David playing the psaltery in between them (f. 17v).

SOURCES:

For the references to both version (Latin and Old English) in the *Tiberius Psalter*, see Campbell 1974, p. 75, 108, 118, 121, 142, 167, 178-179, 212 (x2), 241, 254 (x2), 289.

Latin *Tiberius Psalter* (ed. Campbell 1979)

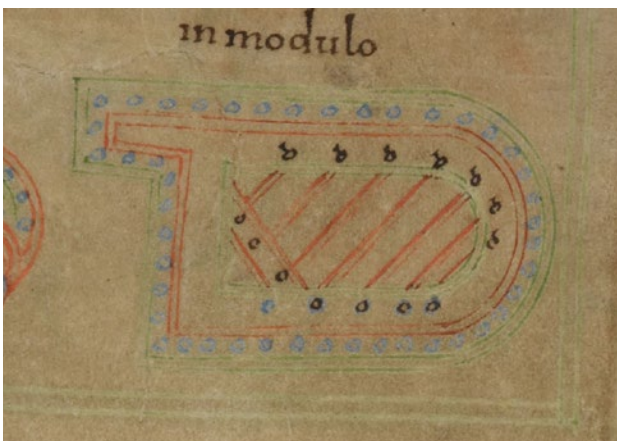
Confitemini domino in **cythara**; in **psalterio** decem cordarum psallite illi  
 Et introibo ad altare dei; ad deum qui letificat iuuentutem meam. Confitebor tibi in **cythara** deus deus meus;  
 Ascendit deus in iubilo; dominus in uoce **tubae**.  
 Inclino in parabola aurem meam; aperiam in **psalterio** propositionem meam.  
 Exurge gloria mea, exurge **psalterium** et **cythara**; exurgam diluculo.  
 Preuenerunt principes coniuncti psallentibus; in medio iuuen-  
 cularum **tympanistrarum**.  
 Nam et ego confitebor tibi in uasis psalmi ueritatem tuam deus; psallam tibi in **cythara** sanctus israel.  
 Sumite psalmum, et date **tympanum**; **psalterium** iocundum cum **cythara**.  
 Bucinate in neomenia **tuba**; in insigni die solennitatis nostrae.  
 In decacordo **psalterio**; cum cantico in **cythara**.  
 Psallite domino in **cythara**, in **cythara** et uoce psalmi;  
 in **tubis** ductilibus et uoce **tubae** corneae. Iubilate in conspectu regis domini;  
 Exurge **psalterium** et **cythara**; exurgam diluculo.  
 [acaudate manuscript]  
 [acaudate manuscript]  
 [acaudate manuscript]  
 [acaudate manuscript]  
 [acaudate manuscript]  
 [acaudate manuscript]  
 [acaudate manuscript]  
 [acaudate manuscript]

OE *Tiberius Psalter* (ed. Campbell 1979)

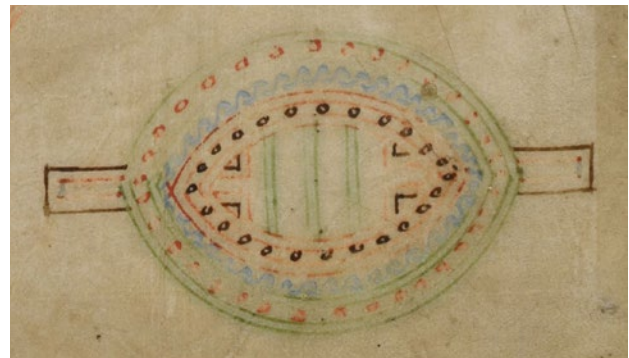
andettað on **heapan** tyn strenga singað Ps 32:2  
 ic inga to weofede godes to gode þe geblissað geogoðe mine ic andette þe on **heapan** god god min Ps 42:4  
 astah <in celos> on wyndream drihten on stæfne **byman** Ps 46:6  
 ic ahyld eare min ic atyne **saltere** race mine Ps 48:5  
 aris wuldor sealmleoð 7 **hearpweg** ic arise on dægred Ps 56:9  
 forecomon ealdras geþeodde singendum on middele **gliw-** Ps 67:26  
 mædena  
 ic andette þe on fatum soþfæstnisse þine; ic singe þe on **hear-** Ps 70:22  
**pan** halig.  
 nimaþ psealm 7 sellað **gligbeam salter** wynsumne mid **hear-** Ps 80:3  
**pan**.  
 of **byman** on mærum dæg simbelnesse. Ps 80:4  
 on tynstrengendum **saltere** mid cantice on **heapan**. Ps 91:4  
 on **heapan** 7 stefne sealmes. Ps 97:5  
 on **bymun** geglædendlicum 7 stefne **byman** hyrnenre drymaþ Ps 97:6  
 on gesihþe cyninges;  
 aris **saltere** 7 **heapan** ic arise of dægred. Ps 107:3  
 [acaudate manuscript] Ps 136:2  
 [acaudate manuscript] Ps 143:9  
 [acaudate manuscript] Ps 146:7  
 [acaudate manuscript] Ps 149:3  
 [acaudate manuscript] Ps 150:3  
 [acaudate manuscript] Ps 150:4  
 [acaudate manuscript] Ps 150:4

▼ Fig. 4-8. Drawings of musical instruments in *ms. London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius C vi*: tympanum (f. 16v); psalterium (f. 16v); cythara (f. 16v); corus (f. 17r); and chorus with four strings (f. 18r).

Source: print-screens after the online facsimile of the *Tiberius Psalter*, <http://www.bl.uk/>



Several instruments from this list are mentioned in the text of the *Gallicanum*. Leaving aside the *nabulum*, which is almost redundant given the presence of the *psalterium* next to it—*Nabulum est quod grece dicitur psalterium quod a psalendo dicitur ad similitudinem delidae id est in modum delidae littere ad similitudinem cythare* (f. 16v), the first instrument that interests us here is the *tympanum*—*Hoc est tympanum hoc est forma tympani tympanum pellis pillacis est inflata abens calamos .ii.<sup>os</sup> in labiis & unum in collo* (f. 16v). At the beginning of the second column of the same leaf the psalterium is described and depicted—*Psalterium est quasi in modum clypei quadrati & corde eius contrariae sunt ab imo in altum* (f. 16v) —, while the *cythara* appears in the lower segment in an incoherent and corrupted text probably mentioning Tubal-Cain and his parents Zillah and Lamech—*Hoc est forma cythare qui prius fuit cytharista. id est toba[1] filius s<t>ellae & iemres & psalterium ab eis ortum distat ut in modulo*. On f. 17r, the bagpipe is also mentioned—*Corus est pellis simplex cum duabus cicutis*. Finally, there is another type of *chorus* which does not have anything in common with the first one—*Haec est forma eiusdem chori quattuor chordas habet de ligno modulatus chorus est* (f. 18r). The descriptions are adapted from the Pseudo-Hieronymian letter *Ad Dardanum de diversis generibus musicorum* (early 9<sup>th</sup> century). See for instance the description of the instrument *chorus* in this other text, as it specifies that in the old times, it used to be a simple type of bagpipe, made out of skin with two pipes (one for inflation, the other for the emission of sound), being used in synagogues (*Synagogae antiquis temporibus, fuit chorus quoque simplex, pellis cum duobus cicutis aeris, et per primam inspiratur, secunda vocem emittit*). The images are by no means real, nor do they correspond to an actual instrument. They are “fanciful and unworkable”, as this was an attempt at a sort of “biblical archaeology” (Page 1981, p. 111; cf. Hammerstein 1959).



Comparative linguistic analysis of the *Vitellius*, *Stowe*, and *Tiberius Psalters* (FT)

The Latin and English texts of the three psalters are very similar, and for that reason we will treat them together, commenting on occasional divergences.

The three psalters contain more names of musical instruments, both in Latin and in English, than the *Paris Psalter*. Here again our starting point will be the Latin sections, which contain the names of six musical instruments (but only four in the *Tiberius Psalter*), and a generic name for a whole category of instruments.

As in the *Paris Psalter*, the generic name in question is Lat. *organum*, occurring in Ps 136:2 in the phrase *organa nostra*. It is translated into *dreamas ure* in the *Stowe Psalter* (henceforth *SP*), and not translated in the *Vitellius Psalter* (*VP*) nor in the *Tiberius Psalter* (*TP*), but for different reasons that we will briefly go into. *TP* is an incomplete or acaudate manuscript, whose last psalm containing a reference to a musical instrument is Ps 107:3. This is why other segments of the English text of *TP* will be mentioned below as missing. Corresponding to *suspendimus organa nostra*, *VP* has the nonsensical passage *we ahengon oððe ahoð [...] ure*. The noun of interest to us, determined by the possessive *ure*, is missing, perhaps because of the damage suffered by the manuscript in the 1731 Cottonian fire, and the verbal form *ahoð* has no justification. Compared with OE *aho*, “suspendo”, *ahoð* looks like a variant of the third person singular form of *ahon* in the present tense (*ahēhp*), but it lacks a syntactic subject, its present tense is not adequate, and it is made semantically redundant by the preceding *ahengon* (the right verb form corresponding to the perfect *suspendimus*). We could conclude that the scribe who translated the Latin text in *VP* had only superficial knowledge of Latin, like the translator who produced the English gloss in *SP*.

To go back to *dreamas ure* (“our instruments of music”) in *SP*, we observe that the translator chose a generic item to render Lat. *organum*: *dream* is a polysemic masculine noun meaning i) “joy, pleasure, gladness, mirth”, and with metonymic shift ii) “what causes mirth; an instrument of music, music, rapturous music, harmony, melody, song” (Bosworth & Toller 1954, s.v. *dream*). Lat. *organum* also occurs in Ps 150:4 (in *VP* and *SP*) in the phrase *in cordis et organo*. In both instances *organum* is translated into OE *organadream*, a heterogeneous compound that seems heavily redundant (< Latin loan *organe* or *organa*, “instrument of music” + OE *dream*, “instrument of music”). Unlike the authors of *A Thesaurus of Old English*, we cannot interpret OE *organadream* as meaning “the sound of a musical instrument” in the context of Ps 136:2 (the corresponding psalm in the King James Bible reads *On the willows in the midst thereof we hung up our instruments*).

The Latin names of the six musical instruments referred to in the three psalters are *cymbalum*, *c(h)orda*, *cithara*, *psalterium*, *tuba*, and *tympanum* (vide supra: *tympaniolum*), but the first two are missing in acaudate *TP*. By comparison with the *Paris Psalter*, only the first two nouns are new, and we will therefore deal with the others first. As in the *Paris Psalter*, these items do not have the same frequency at all.

Latin *cithara* is the most frequent item—there are ten instances of it in *VP* and *SP*, and eight in *TP*. On all occasions (32:2, 42:4, 56:9, 70:22, 80:3, 91:4, 97:5, 107:3, 146:7, 150:3), *cithara* is rendered by OE *hearpe*, a high-frequency item with a rather generic meaning (“a stringed instrument”, cf. previous section). The noun occasionally misses an <r> (Ps 32:2 in *TS*) or an <h> (Ps 70:22 in *SP*), but is almost always part of the prepositional phrase *on*

*hearpan*, which thus seems to have a formulaic status in the Psalters considered. Latin *in cythara* is once (Ps 91:4 in *VP*) expanded into *on hearpan on citran*, in which we identify the feminine Old English noun *cit(e)re*, “a harp, lyre”; given the semantic overlapping, and given the absence of any metrical requirements, it is almost impossible to account for this singular translation choice.

*Psalterium*, also a high-frequency item, occurs nine times in *VP* and *SP*, and six times in *TP*. By contrast with the *Paris Psalter*, not once is the loan word *psalterium* used. The Old English glosses always have *saltere*, a masculine noun whose written form is evidence that the consonant cluster /ps/ was already impossible word-initially in Old English. In Ps 32:2 *in psalterio decem chordarum* is rendered by *on salte(re) tynstrenga*, where *saltere* is postmodified by a phrase in the genitive plural, lit. “a psalter of ten strings” (by contrast, a compound adjective is used in the *Paris Psalter*, which has *on þære tynstrengan hearpan*, lit. “a ten-stringed psalter”, cf. section 1). A quite unexpected translation of *psalterium* is found in Ps 56:9, where *VP* and *TP* both have *sealmleod*, another semantically redundant compound (< *sealm*, “a psalm, a song” + *leod* “a song, a poem”). *Sealmleod*, “a psalm”, is premodified by the noun *wuldor*, “glory”, in *TP* – where *psalterium* is thus translated into a phrase meaning “glorious psalm”. This translation choice is somewhat reminiscent of Ps 48:5 in the *Paris Psalter*, where *in psalterio* is rendered by *on þys[sum] sealme*, “in these songs/psalms”. The same metonymic shift in meaning from the musical instrument to the song usually sung when playing the instrument in question is attested in *VP* and *TP*. (Incidentally, the shift is also at work in the verb *sealmian* (not used in the psalters), one of the seven OE verbs meaning “to play a harp”).

The nouns *tuba* and *tympanum* are less frequent. There are four occurrences of *tuba* in *VP* and *SP*, against three in *TP*. The prepositional phrases already encountered in the *Paris Psalter*, viz. *in uoce tubae* and *in sono tubae*, are also present in Ps 46:6 and Ps 150:3 (the latter missing in *TP*); they are rendered straightforwardly by OE *on stefne byman* and *on swege byman* respectively. *Stefn*, a variant form of *stemn*, has already been described (vide supra); *swege* is a masculine noun referring here to the kind of regulated sound made by means of a musical instrument. In Ps 80:4 *tuba* translates into *of byman* in the three psalters, the preposition *of* being required by the preceding verbs *bymian* (*VP*) and *blawan* (*SP*), “to blow, make a sound with a trumpet”, but as there is no verb at all in *TP*, that part of the English psalm becomes nonsensical. Finally, let us observe the translations of the more complex *in tubis ductilibus et uoce tube corneae* (Ps 97:6), where two wind instruments are designated: *tuba ductilis* is taken to be the Latin expression for trombone (Herbert et al. 1997, 70), while *tuba cornea* refers to a wind instrument made of horn or resembling a horn (“a cornet”, but not in the present sense of the word). The latter part of the Latin segment is unsurprisingly translated into *stefne byman hyrnen(d)re* in the three psalters (“in the sound of trumpets made of horn”), but one scribe was apparently less successful in rendering the former part, *in tubis ductilibus*, into English. The adjective *ductilis* means “that may be led, guided, or conducted”, hence, with reference to a brass instrument, “that may be hammered out thin”. That segment in *SP* reads *on byman aslagenum*; since *aslagen* is the past participle of *aslean*, “to strike, beat, hammer”, this option can be regarded as a perfectly acceptable semantic calque of Latin. So can the translation choice in *VP*, *on bymum gelædendlicum*, based on the equivalence

between Latin *ducere* and OE *lædan*. But quite obviously, *on bymun geglædendlicum*, found in TP, can be attributed to a misreading of *gelædendlicum* in VP: *gelædendlic* means “what is easily led or beaten out”, whereas *geglædendlic* is probably a neologism derived from *geglædian*, “to make glad, to gladden, to appease”. Such misreading must have been favoured by the kind of metonymic shift already observed with OE *dream* (“mirth” > “what causes mirth; an instrument of music, music”), and which can be further exemplified by OE *gliw* (“glee, joy, mirth” > “music”). *Gliw* gives rise to a whole lexical field—*gliwbeam*, “a musical instrument”, *gliwcræft* “art of playing an instrument”, *gliwian*, “to play an instrument”, *gliwmæden*, “a female instrumentalist”, etc. – and we find it hard not to analyse the misreading *geglædendlic* in TP in the light of the pervasiveness of the theme of joy and mirth.

*Tympanum* occurs four times in VP and SP, and only once in TP (Ps 67:26). By contrast with the *Paris Psalter*, where the translator simply borrows the word from Latin (*vide supra*), in the three psalters examined here the native compound *gliwbeam* (and its variant *gligbeam*) is systematically used. The term is presented as having the generic meaning “a musical instrument” by Roberts *et al.* (2000), but according to Bosworth & Toller (1954) it specifically designates a timbrel: the evidence gathered in VP, SP, and TP tends to prove Bosworth & Toller right. As in the *Paris Psalter*, we find a passage in Ps 67:26 indirectly referring to the instrument by way of those who play it: the Latin phrase *in medio iuencularum tympanistriarum* (“in the midst of young female players on the tambourine”), which is formed with the two nouns *iuencula*, “maiden”, and *tympanistria*, “a female drummer”,

translates into the quite precise but clumsy *on midlene gingrena timpāna hearpigendra plegendra* in VT, and into the more effective but vaguer *on middele mædena glywiendra* in SP and *on middele gliwmædena* in TP (both probably meaning “in the midst of young female instrumentalists”).

The two nouns we are left with, *cymbalum* and *c(h)orda*, are not found in the *Paris Psalter* nor in acaudate TP. They are low-frequency items in VP and SP: *cymbalum* occurs twice in the same psalm (Ps 150:5), while *c(h)orda* occurs once only (Ps 150:4). The Latin phrase *in cymbalis* is straightforwardly rendered by *on cymballum*, thanks to the borrowing of the Latin term (but the dative plural inflection *-um* is native). There seems to have existed two forms of the Old English noun designating a cimbal, viz. *cimbal*, *-es* (masculine) and *cimbala*, *-an* (masculine). We come across Latin *c(h)orda* in Ps 150:4, which in isolation means “a string of an instrument of music”, but whose meaning in context could sometimes be interpreted as “a lyre”, if Gaffiot (1934, s.v. *chorda*) is to be trusted. The equivalent of Latin *in c(h)ordis et organo* reads *on strengum and orgenadream* in SP (with OE *streng* “a string of an instrument of music”), but *on heortan and organadream* in VP – a translation that can only be accounted for by scribal confusion between feminine *corda*, *-ae* (“a string”) and neuter *cor*, *cordis* (“the heart”). Here again we must conclude that the scribe who translated the Latin text in VP knew little Latin and had insufficient proficiency in that language for the task he had engaged in.

To briefly conclude, the texts of VP, SP, and TP are strikingly close to one another. They contain more names of musical instruments, both in Latin and in English, than the *Paris Psalter*. And yet, not all the instruments depicted in TP’s prefatory cycle of images (f. 16v-18r) are represented linguistically in the three psalters: the *nabulum*, the *tintinabulum* (bell), the *sabuca*, the *pennola*, the *corus* (bagpipe), the *bumbulum* are, regrettably, absent from the texts, and therefore the early English names designating them cannot be commented on.

## Discussion

**IS:** Even though there are no direct connections between the drawings of the *Tiberius Psalter* and the translation choices from the OE text of the Psalms, the presence of the instrument *c(h)orus* among those drawings can account for a specific cultural phenomenon restricted to the insular milieu. In the previous instalments of the current article (cf. *Musical Instruments* 2019, p. 96, 97, and 2020, p. 263, 281-283), it was already noted that the same word *c(h)orus* was rendered as ‘crwth’ in some Old Irish and Middle English translation choices (*Surtees Psalter* and Richard Rolle). In French, the Latin word was assimilated to *carole* (“a carol”), i.e. a dance and music performance, and led to various confusions, such as *tous les enstrumens de cordes* (Pierre de Paris), similar to *cordes* from MEGPP, which follows its French source (*corde*). Since the Old Irish word *croth* is a generic designation of the category of stringed instruments (including ‘harp’ and ‘lyre’), could the use of the Old English word fall into the same category, being influenced by the fact that the Latin word *chorus* could refer to musical instruments in general, as well (cf. *Musical Instruments* 2020, p. 263, s.v. Jacopo Bisagni)? There are two more options to take into account: a loan from the Welsh language or an internal development of the English language.

◀ Fig. 9. A modern *crwth*.

Source: Amgueddfa Cymru—National Museum Wales.



The Old English gloss of the *Eadwine Psalter*. Presentation (vA)

The complex structure of the trilingual manuscript known as the *Eadwine Psalter* was already presented in the first instalment of the current paper (see *Musical Instruments...* 2019, p. 80-81), where special attention was given to the Old French version transcribed as a gloss of the last column of text in that manuscript, the Latin *Hebraicum*. The Old English text was transcribed as a gloss of the Latin *Romanum*, which occupies the middle column of the same manuscript (Cambridge, Trinity College, ms. R.17.1, dated to c.1155-1160 and probably compiled at the local Cambridge priory of Christ Church).

Similar to the odd situation of the Old French text, which was transcribed by five different scribes, the Old English text is also composite. Research agrees that at least five different scribes copied the Old English gloss of the *Hebraicum*, out of the thirteen scribal hands identified in the entire manuscript (Webber 1992): *OE scribe 1*—f. 7r-44v, f. 164r/25-170v/11, f. 164r-170v, f. 173r-252v, f. 261r-262r, f. 262v-266r, f. 266v/35-271r/23, f. 271v/23-275r/15, f. 275v-276r; *OE scribe 2*—f. 141r, f. 143r/13-32, f. fol. 149r, f. 151v/9-16, f. 280va/1-5-281r, f. 282rv; *OE scribe 3*—f. 141v-143r/12, f. 143v-148v, f. 149v-151v/8, f. 152r-164r/24, f. 170v/12-172v, f. 253r-260v; *OE scribe 4*—f. 276v-277v, f. 278va/5-280vb/19; *OE scribe 5*—f. 266v/1-34, f. 271r/23-271v/22, f.

274r/15-34, f. 277v-278rb/7. The vernacular English hands rely on a mix of Caroline and insular minuscule typical of the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century Old English scribes (Webber 1992; cf. Pulsiano 1989). It is hard to identify the links between the Old English text of the *Eadwine Psalter* and its possible sources or models in other insular vernacular translations, but a certain segment of text (from Ps 90:15-95:2) presents a metrical translation that can be related to the one copied in the second part of the *Paris Psalter*. For more aspects of the entire translation, see O'Neill 1992. One should also note the presence of an Old English translation for the supernumerary Ps 151.

## SOURCES:

For the references to both manuscript texts (Latin and Old English) in the *Eadwine Psalter*, see the f. 54v, 75v, 82r, 84v, 99v, 116r, 123r-v, 145r, 165r, 173v-174r, 195v, 243v, 254r, 258r, 261r, 262r.

The Old English text of the manuscript was already presented in *Musical Instruments...* 2019, p. 81. The text transcribed below follows the Harsley 1889, vol. 2, p. 50, 74, 80-81, 83, 96, 113-114, 122, 146 (x2), 162, 171 (x2), 190, 228, 237, 241, 243, 244 (x3).

Latin *Romanum* in the *Eadwine Psalter* (ms.)

Confitemini domino in **cythara**. in **psalterio** decem cordarum psallite ei.

Introibo ad altare dei addeum qui laetificat iuventutem meam. Confitebor tibi in **cythara** deus deus meus.

Ascendit deus iniubilatione. & dominus in uoce **tube**.

Inclinabo adsimilitudinem aurem meam. aperiam in **psalterio** propositionem meam.

Exurge gloria mea exurge **psalterium** & **cythara**. exurgam diluculo.

Preuerunt principes coniuncti psallentibus. IN medio iuuenum **timpanistriarum**.

& ego confitebor tibi in uasis psalmodum. ueritatem tuam psallam tibi in **cythara** deus sanctus israel.

Sumite psalmum & date **timpanum**. **psalterium** iocundum cum **cythara**.

Canite initio mensis **tuba**. indie insignis sollempnitatis uestrae.

In decachordo **psalterio** cum cantico & **cythara**.

Psallite deo nostro in **cythara**. in **cythara** & uoce psalmi.

IN **tubis** ductilibus & uoce **tube** cornee. iubilate in conspectu regis domini.

exurge **psalterium** & **cythara**. exurgam diluculo.

IN **sallibus** in medio eius. suspendimus **organa** nostra.

Deus canticum nouum cantabo tibi. in **psalterio** decemcordarum psallam tibi.

Incipite domino in confessione. psallite Deo nostro IN **cythara**.

Laudent nomen eius in choro in **tympano**. & **psalterio** psallant ei.

Laudate eum in sono **tube**; laudate eum in **psalterio** & **cythara**.

Laudate eum IN **tympano** & choro; laudate eum in cordis & **organo**.

Laudate eum in **cymbalis** benesonantibus; laudate eum in **cymbalis** iubilationis

OE *Eadwine Psalter* (ed. Harsley 1889)

Ondettæþ drihtne on **eærpungum** 7 on **psalterum** tyen strenga singæþ him Ps 32:2

Ic ingonge to wifode godes to gode þe geblissæd giogoðe mine. Ic ændete ðe on **heærpæn** god god min Ps 42:4

Æstigæþ god on winsumnesse dræme 7 drihten on stefne **bimæn** Ps 46:6

Ic Onhilde to gelicnesse eære min ic ontine on **spaltere** foregesetenesse minre Ps 48:5

aris wuldor min aris **Saltere** 7 **hearperas** ic arise on morgen. Ps 56:9

Forecomon ealdermæn togeþiedde singendum on midle gingra **gliewmedene** **plegiendra** mid **timpanan**. Ps 67:26

7 ic ændette þe on fatum salmesængæ soðfestnesse þine ic singe þe on **heærpæn** god hæglic isræhele Ps 70:22

Nimad sealm 7 sellað swieg **salter** wynsum mid **hearpan**. Ps 80:3

Singoð on frumon monþum **byman** on dege fyr symbelnesse eowre. Ps 80:4

þet ic on tin strengum getogen hefde | hu ic ðe on **sæalterio** singæn meæhte | oðð þe mid **heærpæn** hliste cwemæn... Ps 91:4

Singæþ gode ure on **hearpæn** on **hearpæn** 7 stefne psealmæ. Ps 97:5

on **bymæn** geleddon 7 stefne **byme** horn wynsumiaþ on gesihþe kynges Ps 97:6

Aris wuldor min ærise **sæltære** 7 **hearpæn** ic arise on morgen Ps 107:3

On singendum on middæn his we hengen swegas ure. Ps 136:2

god sang niwne ic singe þe on **salte** tien strengan ic singe þe. Ps 143:9

Onginnað dryhtene on andetnesse singað gode ure on **hearpan**. Ps 146:7

Hergæð nomæn his on þrete on swege 7 **sæltære** singæþ him. Ps 149:3

herigæð hine on swege **bymæn** hergæþ hine on **psaltere** 7 **herpe**. Ps 150:3

hergæð hine on **hylsongæ** 7 ðrææt hergæð hine on heortan 7 **orgænum**. Ps 150:4

hergæð hine on **cymbalum** wel cwegendum hergæð hine on **cymbalum** wynsumnesse Ps 150:5

The Old English gloss of the *Eadwine Psalter*. Linguistic analysis (FT)

Unlike the Old English gloss in the three psalters just examined, the *Eadwine* gloss is not the work of one man—it was copied by at least five different scribes out of the thirteen scribal hands identified in the entire manuscript. However, it contains the same names of musical instruments, both in Latin and in English, as *VP* and *SP*. In terms of frequency, a comparison with these psalters and with the *Paris Psalter* is also adequate, *cithara* and *psalterium* being clearly the commonest items.

The Latin section of the *Eadwine Psalter* thus contains the names of six musical instruments, *cymbalum*, *corda*, *cithara*, *psalterium*, *tuba*, and *tympanum*, plus a generic name for a whole category of instruments, *organum*.

*Organum* shows up in Ps 136:2 as part of the sentence *suspendimus organa nostra*, which translates into *we hergon swegas ure* (where *SP* has *dreamas ure*). Here yet another generic name is used, the masculine noun *sweg*. We have already come across *sweg* in section 2 (*on swege byman*, Ps 150:3) with the meaning of “sound made by a musical instrument”; but the noun refers here to any musical instrument (Roberts *et al.* 2000, p. 718). Lat. *organum* also occurs in Ps 150:4 in the phrase *in cordis et organo*, glossed as *on heortan and orgænum*, where we identify the same scribal confusion as in *VP* between *corda*, *-ae* (“a string”) and *cor*, *cordis* (“the heart”).

Latin *cithara* is almost always found in the prepositional phrase in *cythara*, corresponding to *on hearpan*. Unsurprisingly in such a late text (second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century), the dative inflexion *<-an>* is more often spelt *<-æn>*, which we interpret as a sign of a merger to come—the two Old English short vowels /æ/ and /a/ were to fall together in Middle English. In *cythara* is once translated into *on æarpungum* (Ps 32:2), where it is not so much the dative plural inflexion *<-um>* that attracts our attention as the preceding derivational suffix *<-ung>*. Indeed, *hearþung* does not refer to a harp but to the act/activity of playing the harp; absent any metrical requirements, we find it difficult to account for the metonymic shift “on/with the harp” > “in (the) acts of playing the harp”. Another translation choice involving metonymic modulation is found in Ps 56:9, where *exurge psalterium & cythara* is rendered by *aris saltere and hearperas*: the second noun, *hearper*, does not designate the harp but the harpist. This is all the more unsettling as it can be compared to Ps 107:3, where the translation *ærise sæltere and heærpæn* is quite straightforward. We assume that the agentive suffix *<-er>* in *hearperas* is due to contamination, i.e. “the blending of forms, words, or phrases of similar meaning or use so as to produce a form, word, or phrase of a new type” (OED, s.v. contamination). The preceding noun *saltere* (“psaltery”) must have been wrongly interpreted as ending with the agentive suffix *<-er>*, thus bringing the similar *hearper* to the mind of the glossator. If contamination is indeed at work, it should be noted that it is a particular form of contamination which does not produce a novelty in terms of form, *hearper* (“a harpist”) being already available in the Old English word stock.

As regards the translation of *psalterium*, we observe here again the use of the noun *saltere*, the loan word *psalterium* being absent. In Ps 32:2, 48:5 and 150:3 the native word is spelt with the initial *<sp>* cluster, a characteristic that had not been noted in the other texts, and metathesis can be observed in the form *spaltere* in Ps 48:5. Corresponding to the phrase *in psalterio*, the Old English text alternates between a singular form (Ps 48:5,

*on spaltere*), and a occasional plural one (Ps 32:2, *on psalterum*), as already observed with *in cythara*. To refer to the ten-stringed psaltery, two translation strategies are used: postmodification by a phrase in the genitive plural, (*on psalterum*) *tyen strenga*, in Ps 32:2, or by a compound adjective, *on saltre tien strengan* in Ps 143:9, as evidenced by the dative singular inflectional suffix *<-an>* (*<-ean>* in the *Paris Psalter*).

Let us now turn to Latin *tuba*, corresponding to OE *byme*. The prepositional phrases present in the four psalters examined so far, viz. *in uoce tubae* and *in sono tubae*, are also to be found here; they are rendered by OE *on stefne byman* (Ps 46:6) and *on swege byman* (Ps 150:3) respectively, which are exact translations of the gloss in *VP* and *SP*. The translation of the more complex *in tubis ductilibus et uoce tube corneae* (Ps 97:6), as we have seen, involves reference to the trombone and to a wind instrument made of horn or resembling a horn (“a cornet”, but not in the present sense of the word): the result is OE *on bymæn and stefne byme horn*. Whoever glossed the former part of the Latin segment has shunned difficulty thanks to omission, i.e. by simply not translating *ductilis* into English. The latter part, to be compared with *stefne byman hyrnen(d)re* in *VP*, *SP*, and *TP*, is rendered by *stefne byme horn*, an ungrammatical sequence due to *byme* lacking a genitive inflection and to *horn* lacking an adjectival suffix (lit. “in [the] sound trumpet horn”). This strongly suggests that here, maybe to a greater extent than in other parts of the *Eadwine Psalter*, the English text was viewed not so much as a translation properly speaking as a gloss with essentially a mnemonic function. This is reminiscent of much of Ælfric’s grammatical terminology.

*Tympanum*, rendered in the *Paris Psalter* by a loan word from Latin, and by the native compound *gliwbeam* in *VP*, *SP*, and *TP*, translates here in three different ways: i) in Ps 67:26 the loan word *timpanum* is resorted to; ii) in Ps 150:4 the noun *hylsong* (“a timbrel”) is used, a newcomer in this description; iii) in Ps 80:3 and 149:3 the noun *sweg* is used, which we have already come across. From a semantic perspective, the latter is an instance of underspecification, in so far as *sweg* refers either to unregulated, confused sound (“noise, din, crash”) or to “regulated, modulated or articulate sound” as uttered by a human being or as emitted by an instrument of music (Bosworth & Toller 1954, s.v. *sweg*). Finally, as in the four psalters examined so far, we find a passage in Ps 67:26 indirectly referring to the instrument by way of those who play it: the Latin phrase *in medio iuuenum timpanistiarum* corresponds to the precise but awkward *on midle gingra gliwmedene plegiendra mid timpanan*, which is somewhat reminiscent of *on midlene gingrena timpana hearpigendra plegendra* found in *VT*. From a syntactic point of view, the sequence in the *Eadwine Psalter* is clearer and involves a participial clause, *plegiendra mid timpanan*. (For the noun *gliwmeden*, “(young) female instrumentalist” cf. *TP*.)

As in *VP* and *SP*, *cymbalum* occurs twice in the same psalm (Ps 150:5), while *corda* occurs once only (Ps 150:4). The Latin phrase *in cymbalis* is straightforwardly rendered by *on cymballum*, thanks to the borrowing of the Latin term (but here again the dative plural inflection *-um* is native). With respect to the translation of *corda*, we note the very same scribal confusion between feminine *corda*, *-ae* (“a string”) and neuter *cor*, *cordis* (“the heart”) as in *VP*—Latin *in cordis et organo* corresponds to OE *on heortan and orgænum*.

## General conclusion for the Old English section (FT)

This paper investigates the names of musical instruments found in translations of the psalms from Latin into late Old English, i.e. the state of the English language in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, based on evidence from five psalters—the *Paris*, *Vitellius*, *Stowe*, and *Tiberius Psalters*, and the OE gloss of the *Eadwine Psalter*. As the paper is a contribution to a collective research project based on comparative philological study of early Bible translations (cf. *Museikon*, 3, 2019, p. 67), our focus was on translation choices, and more occasionally on morphological analysis of the nouns concerned.

The evidence we have of the existence and diversity of musical instruments in Anglo-Saxon England comes both from documentary sources (i.e. literary and historical records) and from archaeological finds that have uncovered “a remarkable diversity, from small, tinkling metal bells and shrill pipes made from bird-bones, to large stringed instruments of elaborate and sophisticated design.” (Lapidge *et al.* 2001, p. 328). In other words, there is ample archaeological evidence that instrumental music was quite a popular activity in everyday life in Anglo-Saxon England, and translators can therefore be expected to have been familiar with a fairly wide array of musical instruments.

Examination of the three pages in the *Thesaurus of Old English* (Roberts *et al.* 2000) dedicated to music and musical instruments reveals that the latter fell into three main categories: 1) percussion instruments such as cymbals, timbrels and drums; 2) wind instruments ranging from pipes and flutes to the more resonant trumpets; 3) stringed instruments, a category in which lyres, harps and zithers figured strongly, but which also included fiddles. We could assume that the context of the early vernacular translations of the psalms would make it necessary for us to distinguish between that rich secular tradition and the sacred tradition, but “[t]he division between the religious and the popular is to some extent an arbitrary one for, as Bede’s account of Cædmon illustrates, the evolution of Christian musical expression must from the outset have benefitted greatly from the vigour and diversity of indigenous popular music.” (Lapidge *et al.* 2001, p. 327).

Logically enough, the evidence gathered from the five psalters shows that not all the names of instruments of music attested in Old English are used. Only those corresponding to Latin names found in the Biblical text are. This is why, for instance, pipes and flutes are missing in the category of wind instruments, or fiddles in that of stringed instruments.

The English texts examined here differ in terms of idiomaticity. Undeniably, the English version of the *Paris Psalter*, whether the prose translation known as “King Alfred’s Prose Translation of the First Fifty Psalms” or the verse translation that follows, tends to be more idiomatic than the other four texts, which are glosses. (As we went along, we occasionally pointed out translations whose result was unidiomatic English. See also the verbless sentences in the *Tiberius Psalter*, among others.) Hardly a coincidence. Alfred’s prose translation and the metrical translation that follows are audience-oriented texts (Alfred’s prose was meant to educate, and the verse was meant to be listened to), while glosses are not. This is why we would like in conclusion to relate the differences observed in terms of idiomaticity to the notions of formal and dynamic equivalence as outlined by Eugene Nida (1964). Dynamic equivalence is defined as a translation

that has the same effect on its audience as the original text had on its audience, and the *Paris Psalter* belongs to that category. But formal equivalence implies a correspondence of linguistic units: word, phrase, clause, and sentence. Word-by-word glossing represents the logical extreme of formal equivalence, and its result can be unidiomatic Old English as we have observed.

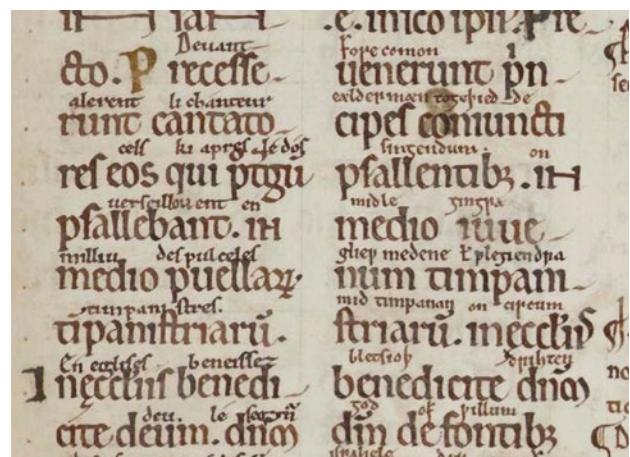
## Discussion

**VA:** Given the composite nature of the Old English gloss of the *Eadwine Psalter* and the rare occasions in which its scribes made a direct translation from the Latin text, uninfluenced by previous translations (cf. the supernumerary Ps 151), the links with the neighbouring Old French gloss (transcribed between the lines of the *Hebraicum*) are very rare, but they do include the odd translation choices for *organa* in Ps 136 and in the same supernumerary psalm (cf. *Musical Instruments* 2019, p. 83, 90). This suggests that some translation choices should be re-evaluated from a comparatist point of view.

However, these mutual influences between the Old French and the Old English text do not appear in the segments of English text which are derived from other sources. From this particular point of view, the most interesting situation is that of the translation choice for the Latin word *tympanistriae*. The English scribes of the *Eadwine Psalter* seem to ignore what was written in the French text in the neighbouring column (or perhaps that other text was not yet written at the time of the transcription of the English text) and created an elaborate repetition of verbs which resembles the one from the *Tiberius Psalter*. From a purely linguistic point of view, your opinion was that the Eadwine sequence was clearer and that the Tiberius one was clumsy. However, since Tiberius precedes Eadwine, and since the Eadwine gloss is interlinear, the simplification in the *Eadwine Psalter* can be an accident determined by the limited space available (*vide infra*). If the *Tiberius Psalter* sequence precedes that of the *Eadwine Psalter*, what could be the reason for the elaborate and almost tautological repetition of words in this segment of the text?

▼ Fig. 10. Detail of the online facsimile of the Eadwine Psalter, f. 116r (Ps 136). Left column (Hebraicum) with the Old French text; right column (Romanum) with the Old English gloss. Print screen of the image available at the Trinity College Library, Cambridge, website.

Source: <https://mss-cat.trin.cam.ac.uk/>.



Old Polish Psalters of the Middle Ages. *Saint Florian Psalter* and *Pulawy Psalter* (κγ)

**THE SAINT FLORIAN PSALTER.** The earliest (preserved) psalter translation into Polish dates back to the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century or to the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. It probably originated in Silesia (in Kłodzko), and it was written by several scribes, some of which also worked in Kraków. The Psalter is linked to the person of queen Jadwiga of Poland (1373/1374-1399; r. 1384-1399). In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the manuscript was taken out of Poland. It ended up in the library of a monastery of canon regulars, namely in the Abbey of St. Florian near Linz (Austria) where it was kept until 1931. This is where its name comes from—the *Saint* (or *Sankt*) *Florian Psalter*. It was returned to Poland in 1959 and is currently kept in the National Library of Poland in Warsaw (MS 8002 III).

The manuscript is an in folio of 298 leaves, written in Gothic Textura (Blackletter). In addition to the text of the Psalter, it also contains an introduction in the form of two prologues by Ludolph of Saxony, the Athanasian Creed (within the text of Ps 118, between verses 16 and 17) and the Canticles of the Old Testament. The manuscript is richly illuminated with ornate initials and miniatures.

The work belongs to the so-called Ferial Psalter type, i.e. those to be recited during the following days of the week. Its layout is octagonal—from Sunday to Sunday. The text itself is trilingual: after each Latin verse, a Polish translation is added, followed by the German one. This suggests that it was made for a comprehensively educated person.

The Psalter was translated in accordance with St. Jerome's principle of literal translation of the Bible. This is why the language may often seem incomprehensible and its syntax illogical. However, the desire to maintain the parallelism to the source text and its message directly translates into the artistic form of the work, which is the nucleus of the Polish biblical style. There are many lexical, inflectional, and syntactic archaisms in the text. However, the text presents Czech influences in the form

► Fig. 11. *Saint Florian Psalter*, folio 18r, MS 8002 III, National Library of Poland, Warsaw. Illumination of a naked man playing a stringed instrument, next to the illuminated initial of Ps 13 (Dixit insipiens in corde suo: non est Deus).

Courtesy of the POLONA Open Access Policy.

## SOURCES:

For the references to the *Saint Florian Psalter* manuscript version, see f. 51vb, 76ra, 83va, 85vb, 100va, 117va, 126vb, 151vb, 173va, 182vb, 209vb, 266ra, 278rb, 283vb, 288ra, 288rb. For the transliterated and transcribed text, see: Twardzik *et al.* 2006. For the references to the *Pulawy Psalter* manuscript version, see p. 123, 176, 191, 196, 227, 264, 282, 329, 370, 388, 437, 541, 564, 575, 581, 583. For the transliterated and transcribed text, see: Twardzik *et al.* 2006.

*Saint Florian Psalter* (ed. Twardzik *et al.* 2006)

- Ps 32:2 Spowiadajcie sie Gospodnu w **gęśloch**, w **załtarzu dziesiąci strun** śpiewajcie jemu
- Ps 42:4 Spowiadać ci sie będę w **gęśloch**, Boże, Boże moj. Przecz jeś smętna, dusze moja, i przecz mie mącisz
- Ps 46:6 Wstąpił jest Bog w pieniu a Gospodzin w głosie **trąby**
- Ps 48:5 Nakłonię w podobieństwo ucho moje, otworzę w **załtarzu** położenie moje
- Ps 56:9 Wstań, sławo moja, wstań, **załtarzu** i **gęśli**! Wstanę na świtanium
- Ps 67:26 Przeszli są książęta przyłączeni śpiewającym pośród młodziczek **bębennic**
- Ps 70:22 Bo i ja spowiadać ci sie będę we sędziech psalmowych, pra<w>de, Boże, śpiewać będę tobie na **gęśloch**, święty Israhel
- Ps 80:3 Weźmiecie psalm a dajcie **bęben**, **załtarz** wesoły z **gęśłmi**
- Ps 80:4 Trębiecie w godną **trąbę** we znamienity dzień świecenia waszego
- Ps 91:4 w **dziesiąci strun** **załtarzu**, z pienim i z **gęśłmi**
- Ps 97:5 Pojcie Gospodnu w **gęśloch**, w **gęśloch** i we głosie psalmowem
- Ps 97:6 w **trąbach** giących i głosem **trąby** rogowej! Śpiewajcie w obeźrzeniu kroła Gospodna
- Ps 107:3 Wstań, **załtarzu** i **gęśli**, wstanę na świtanium
- Ps 136:2 Na wirzbach w pośrodku jej zawiesieli jesmy **organy** nasze
- Ps 143:9 Boże, pienie nowe piał będę tobie, na **załtarzu dziesiąci-cistruny**<m> piał będę tobie
- Ps 146:7 Śpiewajcie Panu w chwale, pojcie Bogu naszemu w **gęślach**
- Ps 149:3 Chwalcie imię jego w **gęślach** albo w korze, w **bębnie** <i> w **załtarzu** gędzicie jemu
- Ps 150:3 Chwalcie ji w zwięce **trąby**, chwalcie ji w **załtarzu** i w gęślich
- Ps 150:4 Chwalcie ji w **bębni**<ni>e i w **gęślich**, chwalcie ji w **strunach** i w **organiech**
- Ps 150:5 Chwalcie ji we **zvonkach** dobrze wz<ni>ących, chwalcie ji we **zvonkach** wiesiela albo radostnych

*Pulawy Psalter* (ed. Twardzik *et al.* 2006)

- Chwalcie Gospodna w **gęślech** i w **załtarzu o dziesiąci strun** śpiewajcie jemu
- Chwalić cie będę w **gęślech**, Boże, Boże moj. Przecz jeś smętna, dusza moja, i przecz mie mącisz
- Wstąpił jest Bog w pieniu <i> Gospodzin w głosie **trąby**
- Nakłonię w podobieństwo ucho moje, otworzę w **załtarzu** umysł moj
- Wstań, chwało moja, wstań, **załtarzu** i **gęśli**! Wstanę na świtanium
- Uśpieszyli sie książęta przytowarzyszeni śpiewającym pośród młodziczek **bębennic**
- Bo i ja chwalić cie będę w sędach psalmowych, prawdę twoję, Boże, śpiewać ci będę na **gęśloch**, święty Israhel
- Weźmiecie psalm a dajcie **bęben**, **załtarz** wesoły z **gęśłmi**
- Trębiecie w godną **trąbę** w znamienity dzień god waszych
- w **dziesiąci strun** **załtarzu**, z pienim, w **gęśloch**
- Gędźcie Gospodnu w **gęśli**, <w **gęśli**> i głosem psalmowym
- w **trąbach** giących i głosem **trąby** rogowej! Śpiewajcie przed krolem Bogiem
- Wstań, **załtarzu** i **gęśli**, wstanę na świtanium
- Na wirzbach pośrodku jej zawiesilimy **organy** nasze
- Boże, pienie *nowe* piał będę tobie, na **załtarzu dziesiąci strun** gąć będę tobie
- Śpiewajcie Gospodnu w chwale, pojcie Bogu naszemu w **gęślach**
- Chwalcie imię jego w korze, w **bębnie** i **załtarzu** pojcie jemu
- Chwalcie ji w zwięce **trąby**, chwalcie ji w **załtarzu** i w **gęśloch**
- Chwalcie ji w **bębnie** i w korze, chwalcie ji w **strunach** i w **organiech**
- Chwalcie ji w **zvonkach** dobrze brzniących, chwalcie ji we **zvonkach** wiesiela





bunt si motus fuero ego au-  
tem in misericordia tua spe-  
raui

**A**ls mozo mme weselich  
se boto acz poruszon boto  
ale ia wunloserdzu twoie  
in ymal iesu nadzeio

**D**y to betruhen mich dy  
frewin sich abich erwegit  
werde ich werlich in dyne  
barmeherzikeit hofte

**P**ultabit cor meum in sa-  
lutarum tuo cantabo domino  
qui bona tribuit michi et  
psallam nomini domini al-  
tissimi

**W**eselich se bodze serze mo-  
ie wezbawemu twoiem pacz  
boto gospodini iensze dobro-  
ty dal iest mme ypacz boto  
ymemu gospodnowemu kar-  
zo wisokennu

**S**ich frewit min herze in  
diner exlosunge ich singe  
gote der di guten gegeben h-  
at mir vnde singe dem namenu

gods dem obirsten

**O**rit insipiens in cor-  
de suo non est deus  
**E**zekiel iest skaloni naserzu  
kwoiem ue boga

**I**s sprach der vnuisse in si-  
nem herzen nicht ist got

**C**orrupti sunt et abhomi-  
nabiles facti sunt in studijs  
suis non est qui faciat bo-  
num non est usque ad unum

**K**akem so ykadanoci so  
se herzmi wnaikach swogi-  
ch ne iest kto bi vztul dob-  
rego ne iest als toiednego

**C**ru brochm sint sy vnde  
vmmenschlich wordin sint  
sy in irem flise nicht ist der  
do tut gut nicht ist bis zu  
eyne

**D**ominus prosperit super  
filios hominum ut videat  
si est intelligens aut requi-  
rens deum

**G**ospodzin zueba wesizat  
iest nalsu kuzske bi widzal

of Bohemianisms. Moreover, dialectal features characteristic of Lesser Poland also occur, shedding more light on the sources of the translation.

EDITIONS: Ganszyniec *et al.* 1939; Wydra, Rzepka 2004 (fragments); Twardzik *et al.* 2006.

ONLINE FACSIMILE: <https://polona.pl/>.

**THE PULAWY PSALTER.** The second of the extant translations of the Book of Psalms into Old Polish was written at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> or the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and is the work of a single scribe. The place and circumstances of its creation are unknown. After changing owners several times in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, it became part of the Czartoryski family collection in Puławy. Its name is associated with this town. Today it is kept in the Princes Czartoryski Library in Kraków (MS 1269 1).

The manuscript consists of 312 leaves, is relatively small, and has 16 lines per folio, with one folio having only 14. After the Psalter follow the Old Testament Canticles and the Athanasian Creed. The manuscript is partially illuminated, and its typical decorations include large initials.

The *Pulawy Psalter* also contains a breakdown of the Psalms by *feriae*. Each psalm is preceded by a Latin incipit and a Polish commentary (*argumentum*) explaining the allegorical meaning of the psalm. These explanations were taken from the typological lecture of the psalms by Ludolph of Saxony. It was probably a prayer book for a lay person or a cleric (of a lower rank).

The text is very similar to the *Saint Florian Psalter*. It is believed that both translations derived from a common archetype, perhaps from the so-called *Kinga's Psalter*. The differences between them concern mainly syntax and the lexicon. Compared to the first translation, the *Pulawy Psalter* is, however, much more modern in its linguistic aspect. Thus, it is closer to the standards of the spoken Polish language of the times.

EDITIONS: Słoński 1916; Wydra, Rzepka 2004 (fragments); Twardzik *et al.* 2006.

ONLINE FACSIMILE: <https://polona.pl/>.

**GENERAL REFERENCES:** For more information about the scribes of the Psalter and basis of the texts, see the previous article (*Musical Instruments...* (2), 2020). For general information about the *Saint Florian Psalter*, see: Gębarowicz 1965, Michałowska 2011. For the language of the *Saint Florian Psalter*, see: Cybulski 1988, 1992. For the illuminations of the *Saint Florian Psalter* see: Śnieżyńska-Stolot 1992. For general information about the *Pulawy Psalter*, see: Kuraszkiwicz 1986, Michałowska 2011. On the Old Polish musical terms, see: Szydłowska-Ceglowska 1977. On the analysis of the word *zoltarz*, see: Nitsch 1948.

### Old Polish equivalents of the Latin *psaltērium*

The lexical choices for the names of musical instruments in the *Saint Florian Psalter* and the *Pulawy Psalter* are almost identical. These are respectively: *geśle* (Latin *cithara*), *zaltarz* || *zoltarz* (Latin *psaltērium*), *trąba* (Latin *tuba*), *bęben* (Latin *tympanum*), *zvonki* (Latin *cymbalum*), *organy* (Latin *organa*). This may be the result of several factors: automatic translation, limited vocabulary within this semantic group, or a common text source base. The hypothesis that the *Saint Florian Psalter* and the *Pulawy Psalter* were derived from the same, unpreserved text – the so-called *Kinga's Psalter* – is quite popular. Furthermore, the Czech influence on the Old Polish translations is often considered as a possibility (for a concise comparative analysis of Czech and Polish translations of the Psalms, see the previous article (*Musical Instruments...* (2), 2020).

Selected text material confirms the close relation between the two oldest Polish translations of the Book of Psalms. Among the Old Polish names of musical instruments presented above, I would like to focus on the equivalents of the Latin *psaltērium*. These are: *zaltarz* (attested in the *Saint Florian Psalter*) and *zoltarz* (attested in the *Pulawy Psalter*). Both words derive from the Old Greek *ψαλτήριον*, which was first adopted into Latin (*psaltērium*) and then into Old High German (*saltāri*). It was subsequently borrowed from Old High German into Czech (*žaltář*), and Czech was a direct source for the Old Polish words in the process of borrowing (for the etymology of Czech *žaltář* and Polish *zaltarz*, see the previous articles: *Musical Instruments...* (1), 2019; (2), 2020). The difference at the beginning of words: *-ža-* || *-zo-* is explained in various ways. For example, *o* in the word *zoltarz* could be analogous to the similar word *oltarzyk* ‘prayer book’ (Brückner 1927, p. 661). It can also be related to a phonetic variation during the adaptation phase of the loanword. The possibility of two different direct sources of the borrowing (Czech and German) should also be taken into consideration. For the sake of simplicity, I treat both forms as phonetic variants of the same word.

The most significant phase in the development of the word *zaltarz* || *zoltarz* occurs precisely during the Old Polish period. In the *Old Polish Dictionary* it is noted that the word under discussion had three meanings: 1) ‘stringed musical instrument, type of harp, lyre’ (primary meaning), 2) ‘one of the books of the Old Testament, a book of Psalms’ (secondary meaning, numerous attestations), 3) ‘e-xequiae’ (secondary meaning, occasionally attested, OPD XI, p. 590–591). This loanword appears to serve translation purposes only, as it was found only in the biblical texts (in relation to the musical instrument). In addition to the translations of the psalters, it was also recorded in the earliest Polish translation of the Old Testament—*Bible of Queen Sophia*, and in a medieval Polish prayer book.

It is worth noting that another loanword borrowed directly from Latin—*psalterz* (< *psaltērium*)—also appears in Old Polish. However, it only referred to the Book of Psalms (OPD VII, p. 390). However, the word is only attested on one occasion in the *Old Polish Dictionary* (from 1484). In the later stages of the development of the Polish language, the word *psalterz* will completely supersede the word *zaltarz* || *zoltarz* in the sense of ‘collection of psalms’. Further direct Polish borrowings (from Greek *ψαλτήριον* and Latin *psaltērium*): *psalterion* || *psalterion* || *psalterium* for the designation of a multi-stringed instrument appeared much later (19<sup>th</sup> century) and are used in specialist jargon to this day (Szydłowska-Ceglowska 1977, p. 79).

Distinctly, *zaltarz* || *zoltarz* is the most common equivalent of the Latin *psaltērium*. Other words appear very occasionally in its stead, e.g. the Bohemism *žalm* (< Latin *psalmus* < Old Greek *ψαλμός*; in Polish, another word of the same origin was more widely used—*psalm*, see: Basaj, Siatkowski 2006, p. 494). It had three meanings in Old Polish: 1. ‘part of the Book of Psalms, psalm’, 2. ‘musical instrument’, 3. ‘person who sings psalms’ (OPD XI, p. 543). All of them, however, are rarely attested in the text sources. Another example, the Old Polish word *geśle*, refers only to the ‘stringed musical instrument, the type of zither’ (OPD II, p. 412). Typically, this word was most often used as an equivalent of the Latin *cithara* (cf. also presented psalms in which *geśle* appears), but exceptionally appears as a translation of the Latin *psaltērium*.

With the new translations of the Bible (especially from the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century), the Latin *psaltērium* began to be translated using other words such as: *harfa*, *skrzypce*, *lutnia*. Thus, translators began to depart from the medieval methods of translation which consisted in

rendering the Latin text as closely as possible. Thus, one can speak of a change towards modern names (Szydłowska-Cegłowa 1977, p. 78). *Żaltarz* || *zoltarz* has fallen into

disuse. First, its meaning for a musical instrument disappeared, and then it was completely replaced by the related word *psalterz* – ‘Book of Psalms’.

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