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LEXICAL SUBSTITUTIONS IN THE OLD ENGLISH GLOSS TO THE *EADWINE PSALTER* AND ITS PLACE IN THE OLD ENGLISH GLOSSING TRADITION

The paper presents the results of a study into lexical substitutions found in the Old English gloss to psalms 2-50 in the *Eadwine Psalter*. The major objectives to determine the possible sources of this manuscript, which clearly go beyond the traditional explanation that originally the gloss was derived from a *Vespasian Psalter*-type gloss, later revised by the corrector based on a *Regius Psalter*-type gloss. The analysis shows that the affiliation of the gloss is indeed highly complex for such a resource. Moreover, the paper shows that despite its numerous corrections, the Old English gloss to the *Eadwine Psalter* is in fact a valuable source of information on the twelfth-century scribal practice of the post-Conquest England.

Keywords: *manuscript studies, gloss, Old English, Eadwine Psalter, Norman Conquest*

1. Introduction

The *Eadwine Psalter* is a mid-twelfth century, post-Conquest manuscript from Christ Church, Canterbury. It is a *deluxe* edition of the psalter¹, characterized by lavish decorations and generous use of silver and gold. The manuscript is also complex language-wise, as it contains all three Latin versions of the psalter by St. Jerome – Romanum (with an Old English gloss), Gallicanum

¹ In fact, it is the most richly illustrated surviving psalter from the twelfth century, with 166 colorful outline drawings, as well as several hundred fully painted initials, out of which 62 are highlighted in gold (Heslop 1992: 25).

(with a Latin gloss), and Hebraicum (with an Anglo-Norman gloss). As such, it is a testimony to the literary and religious traditions which permeated one another as a result of the Norman Conquest.

The Old English (OE) gloss to Palms 2-77 contains numerous heavy corrections, and as such it has been considered a poor data source for historical linguistics research. The corrections raise questions concerning the history, the organization of work, and the reason behind the production of this manuscript, its source(s), function(s) and contemporary significance. The generally accepted (if unsatisfactory) explanation is that the original OE gloss was based on the *Vespasian Psalter*² (an A-type psalter), and the corrections were based on the *Regius Psalter*³ (a D-type psalter) (O'Neill 1992: 126). However, there are also numerous examples of glosses which do not belong to either of these two glossing traditions.

This paper focuses on the analysis of lexical substitutions found in the corrected part of the OE gloss to the *Eadwine Psalter*, i.e. situations, in which the corrector erased a word chosen by the original scribe(s) and changed it for a word of his choice. In the course of the study, 232 such lexical substitutions were identified and analysed in order to determine their possible source(s). The results may shed new light on at least some of the baffling questions inspired by the OE gloss to the *Eadwine Psalter* by examining the glossing practices of the original scribe(s) and the corrector.

2. The Old English gloss to the *Eadwine Psalter*

The *Eadwine Psalter* was produced in the mid-twelfth at Christ Church, Canterbury. It contains the three Latin versions of the psalter: *Gallicanum* (glossed in Latin), *Romanum* (glossed in OE), and *Hebraicum* (glossed in Anglo-Norman). Considering its rather impressive size (460 mm x 330 mm), highly artistic illuminations, and decorative initials characterized by a generous use of gold and silver, it was likely a display psalter (Pickwood 1992: 4). Its OE gloss is notorious for being heavily corrected (psalms 2-77); the reason for introducing those corrections is unknown.

The OE gloss is unique compared to other known OE psalter glosses. First of all, there is the question of the corrections, which mostly concern lexicon, but also morphology, phonology, and orthography/phonology, whereas the second, uncorrected part (Psalms 78-151) is more modern, both in terms of language and content (O'Neill 1992: 124). The generally accepted explanation is that originally

² A *Romanum* psalter from the mid-eighth century with the oldest OE psalter gloss (mid-ninth century), the most influential OE *Romanum* gloss until the *Regius Psalter*.

³ A *Romanum* psalter with the most influential OE gloss after the *Vespasian Psalter*.

the OE gloss was based on the *Vespasian Psalter*, and the corrections were derived from the *Regius Psalter* (Lindelöf 1904, Heinzel 1926, Sisam and Sisam 1959, O'Neill 1992). On the other hand, using an A-type psalter gloss as an exemplar for a mid-twelfth century manuscript is rather surprising, especially that there is evidence that a more modern and up-to-date version, the D-type psalter, was present in Christ Church at the time of the production of the *Eadwine Psalter* (O'Neill 1992: 132). Logically it would thus seem that the choice of type A was deliberate. What is more, there are numerous glosses of some unknown source, which is peculiar considering that all the surviving OE psalter glosses tend to display a clear affiliation, as well as a lot of lexical similarity to one another (Toswell 2012: 242).

The second major problem is the number of hands responsible for copying the OE gloss; previous research suggests numbers from five to as many as 14⁴. Theresa Webber believes there were five scribes responsible for the OE gloss (1992: 18-20), and since she is a prominent codicologist, whose estimates are most commonly accepted amongst scholars studying the *Eadwine Psalter*, this number is also assumed here. Only scribes identified by her as OE1 and OE4 are relevant for this study, as the former copied psalms 2-25 (fols 7r-44v), and the latter introduced corrections to psalms 1-77. As for psalms 26-77 (fols 45r-140v, except for parts of psalm 40), Webber refrains from stating definitely whether psalms 26-77 were glossed by OE1 or some other scribe, as the data are inconclusive.

As a result of these issues, there is a general agreement that the OE gloss to the *Eadwine Psalter* is a worthless source for linguistic analysis, irrelevant for the discussion on the OE glossing tradition (O'Neill 1992: 123), "a hodgepodge of morphological and phonological features" (Pulsiano 2000: 154), inappropriate for historical investigations due to the "very shabby" state of Old English (Brown 1995: 137), and useless for analyzing other glosses (Sisam and Sisam 1959: 56-57).

3. The study

3.1. Materials and methods

The primary interest of this paper concerns lexical substitutions introduced by the corrector to the OE gloss to psalms 2-50 in the *Eadwine Psalter*. The aim of the study is to investigate the affiliation of the gloss, and – ultimately – to

⁴ For example, Karkov (2015: 289) estimates the number of OE hands at no fewer than six, Pulsiano (1989: 236) at seven, whereas Webber (1992: 18-20) at five, as opposed to two-three scribes for the other parts of the psalter.

show that the OE gloss to the *Eadwine Psalter* is in fact a highly useful data source for the twelfth-century, “transitional” English. In order to meet this objective, the lexical substitutions found in the OE gloss will be compared to other known OE psalter glosses. The study is based on the following sources:

- 1) A high-resolution electronic facsimile of the *Eadwine Psalter*, available online;
- 2) Harsley’s 1889 edition of the *Eadwine Psalter* (as a reference for verifying the results);
- 3) Pulsiano’s 2001 *Old English glossed psalters* (for the comparative analysis).

Only glosses written by the hands identified by Webber as OE1 and OE4 were included in the study. Because the results need to be compared to other known OE psalter glosses, the scope of Pulsiano’s work (which covers only the first 50 psalms) necessarily limits the scope of this study. Additionally, psalm 1 is excluded as a contemporary translation. There are 14 complete continuous Old English glosses that have survived until the present day (Sisam and Sisam 1959, Pulsiano 2001):

- 1) A London, BL, Cotton Vespasian A, so-called *Vespasian Psalter*, produced probably in the 8th century in Canterbury. *Romanum*;
- 2) B Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 27, so-called *Junius Psalter*, produced in the first half of the 10th century in Winchester. *Romanum*;
- 3) C Cambridge University Library, Ff 1.23, so-called *Cambridge Psalter* or the *Winchcombe Psalter*, written in the first half of the 11th century, *Romanum*;
- 4) D London, BL, Royal 2 B. v, so-called *Regius Psalter*, produced in the 10th century, most probably in Winchester. *Romanum*;
- 5) **E Cambridge, Trinity College R.17.1 known as *Eadwine’s (or Eadwine) Canterbury Psalter. Romanum, Gallicanum, Hebraicum*;**
- 6) F London, BL, Stowe 2, so-called *Stowe Psalter* or *Stelman Psalter*, mid-11th century (Ker) or 1050-1075 (Sisam and Sisam). *Gallicanum*;
- 7) G London, BL, Cotton Vitellius E. xviii, so-called *Vitellius Psalter*, written around 1060 in Winchester. *Gallicanum*;
- 8) H London, BL, Cotton Tiberius C. vi, so-called *Tiberius Psalter*, written in mid-11th century (Ker), or 1050-1075 (Sisam and Sisam) in Winchester. *Gallicanum*;
- 9) I London, Lambeth Palace, 427, so-called *Lambeth Psalter*, written in the first half of the 11th century in Winchester. *Gallicanum*;

- 10) J London, BL, Arundel 60, so-called *Arundel Psalter*, written in the second half of the 11th century, probably in Winchester. *Gallicanum*;
- 11) K Salisbury, Cathedral Library, 150, also known as *Salisbury Psalter*, written around 975, probably at Shaftesbury. *Gallicanum*;
- 12) L London, British Library, Additional 37517, known as the *Bosworth Psalter*, written around second half of 10th century in Cambridge. *Romanum*;
- 13) M New York, Pierpont Morgan Library 776, so called *Blickling Psalter* or *Lothian Psalter*, originally written in 8th century with later 9th and 11th century additions. *Romanum*;
- 14) O Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds Latin 8824, so-called *Paris Psalter*, written towards the end of the 12th century in Canterbury; *Romanum*, *Gallicanum*, and *Hebraicum*.

Additionally, since Webber (1992: 18ff) suggests a possibility that two scribes were responsible for the OE gloss in psalms 2-77 (as mentioned in the previous section), in this study the glosses to psalms 2-25 and 26-50 are analysed separately in order to test whether it is possible to tell the number of hands based on linguistic, rather than palaeographic evidence.

3.2. Results and discussion

In total, 232 lexical substitutions, i.e. corrections in which the corrector changed the glosses employed by the original scribes, have been found in psalms 2-50: 98 in psalms 2-25, and 134 in psalms 26-50. Unfortunately, these corrections were inserted so skilfully that in most cases it is impossible to recover the original glosses.

The substitutions were tested for their affiliations, i.e. compared with A and D. Although there are some clear tendencies, the results show that the source of the substituted glosses is often unclear, which may allow to draw some conclusions regarding the substituted vocabulary, and ultimately – the glossing practice of the original scribe(s). This is important as it can provide linguistic evidence that would clarify the issue of the number of hands (Webber 1992: 18ff), as well as the scribal practice and intentions behind the production of the manuscript, especially the change of exemplar halfway through the project. The results are summarized in the table below:

Table 1. Affiliations of the corrector's lexical substitutions in psalms 2-25 versus 26-50

Tendency	2-25		26-50	
	tokens	%	tokens	%
A = D ⁵	53	54.08	76	56.72
D ⁶	32	32.66	50	37.31
A ⁷	5	5.10	5	3.73
Independent ⁸	8	8.16	3	2.24
TOTAL	98	100.00	134	100.00

The two graphs below present a comparison between the results in the two analysed parts of the psalter. Figure 1 below presents the tendencies displayed by the corrector in the first versus the second analyzed part of the psalter – as can be seen, the tendencies are similar, and the major difference lies in the number of corrections. To show this difference more clearly, Figure 2 offers a more detailed presentation of the differences in these numbers.

Since the main difference between the tendencies displayed by the corrector indeed lies in sheer numbers, Figure 3 and Figure 4 below present a comparison between relative percentage values of the corrections in both of the analysed parts of the psalter:

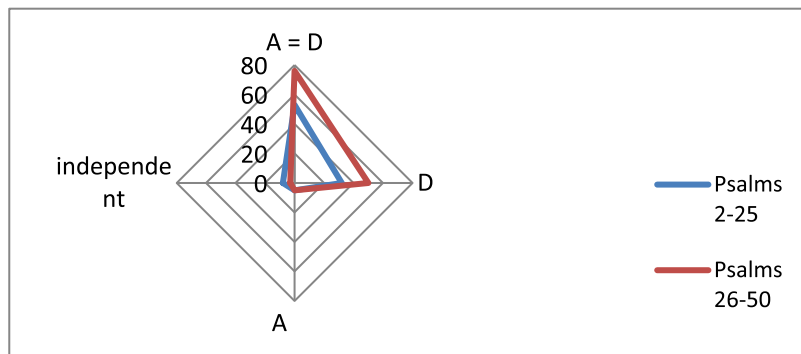


Fig. 1 Affiliations of the corrector's lexical substitutions in psalms 2-25 versus psalms 26-50.

⁵ The substituted word is the same as the translation of the lemma in both A and D.

⁶ The substituted word is the same as in D.

⁷ The substituted word is the same as in A.

⁸ The substituted word cannot be found in either A nor D.

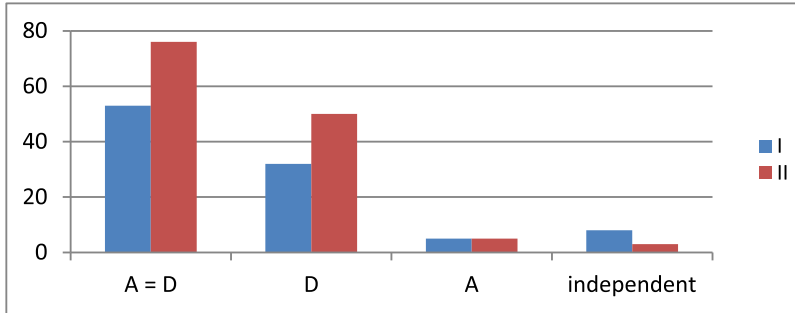


Fig. 2 A comparison of tendencies displayed by the corrector in part I (psalms 2-25) versus part II (psalms 26-50).

First of all, although there are about 30% more lexical corrections introduced to the Old English gloss in psalms 26-50 than to psalms 2-25, the average frequency of occurrence (2.11 substitutions per 100 words of the Latin text in psalms 2-25 and 2.32 in psalms 26-50, cf. Table 2) and the affiliation distribution in relative percentage values is still remarkably similar, which unfortunately renders the issue of the number of hands inconclusive. What begs the question is the source of the lexicon of the original scribe(s); since the glosses that the original scribe(s) used were so frequently substituted with glosses which can be found in both A and D, the original glosses apparently did not belong to the established glossing tradition, and therefore they had to be substituted with attested psalter gloss lexicon by the corrector⁹. As has been stated, the generally

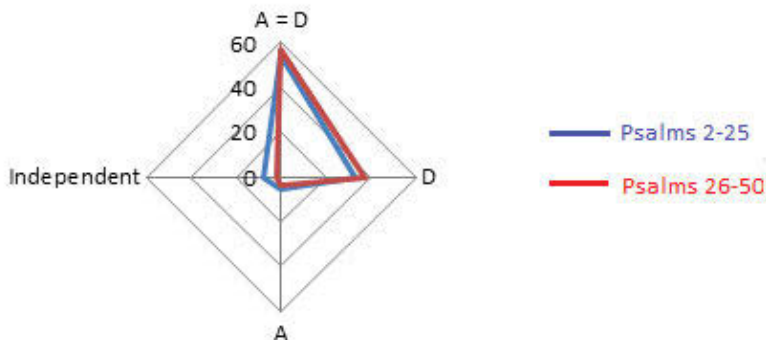


Fig. 3 Lexical substitutions: tendencies displayed by the corrector in psalms 2-25 versus psalms 26-50 expressed in relative percentage values.

⁹ The present project analyzes corrections only. The question of the affiliation of all retained original glosses, though in itself obviously an interesting topic that deserves a separate study, is beyond the scope of the present paper.

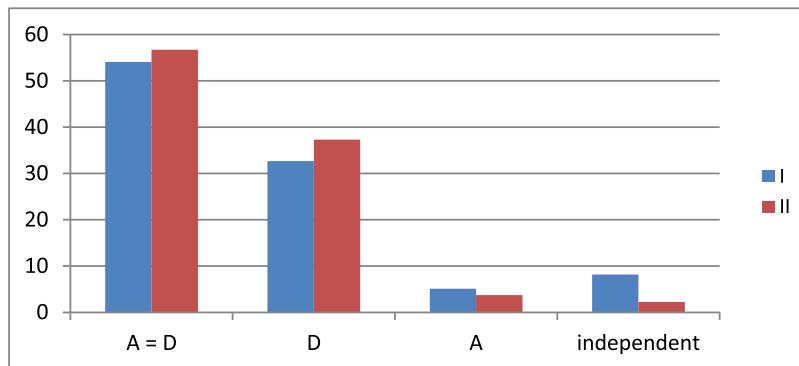


Fig. 4 A comparison of tendencies displayed by the corrector in part I (psalms 2-25) versus part II (psalms 26-50) expressed in relative percentage values.

accepted theory regarding the source for the Old English gloss for the *Eadwine Psalter* is that the original scribes used an A-type psalter for psalms 2-77, and the corrector used a D-type psalter as the source of corrections. However, as can be seen from the data, this was not always the case, as it seems that the original scribes employed unaffiliated glosses quite frequently. Moreover, the corrector did not refrain from using glosses that did not belong either to A or D, or to any known psalter gloss.

The second major observed tendency of the corrector is that he substituted the original vocabulary with that in line with a D-type psalter; there are 32 such examples in psalms 2-25 and 50 in psalms 26-50, which supports the hypothesis that a D-type psalter indeed was the major source of lexicon for corrections. On the other hand, there are also five glosses substituted by the corrector in each of the analysed parts of the psalter which are consistent with an A-type psalter. Although at first sight this finding seems to be surprising, especially in the light of the previous scholarship on the *Eadwine Psalter*, out of these 10 glosses, the corrector changed the original word to a gloss which is consistent with A rather than D only in three cases:

- | | | |
|-----|-------------|---|
| (1) | 13.5 (22v) | A <i>god</i> , D <i>drht</i> , E <i>gode</i> |
| (2) | 26.1 (45r) | A <i>dryht</i> , D <i>dominus</i> , E <i>drihten</i> |
| (3) | 36.26 (64v) | A <i>mildsað</i> , D <i>feormað</i> , E <i>miltseop</i> |

One possible explanation is that these glosses are examples of cross-contamination from other known psalter glosses; in (1) B and C also have *god* for this lemma, yet considering the fact that these are copies of A, this lexical consistency is expected. However, in (2) C, F, G, H, I and J also have *dryht* (including different forms of this word), and in (3) A, B, C, F, I and K all have the same word as in A and E (including spelling and formal variations). The fact

that D has different glosses for these lemmata means that the corrector may have used or known a copy of D containing contaminations from different known Old English psalter glosses. Although the remaining examples are indeed in line with A, the same glosses cannot be found in D at all, i.e. these lemmata are not glossed in this psalter. Hence, one possibility is that the corrector referred to an A-type psalter simply because he could not use a D-type psalter for these lemmata. Still, the question remains what words were used by the original scribe(s); since he (or they) failed to copy these glosses from an A-type psalter, he (they) might have used another exemplar, or decided to translate the lemmata spontaneously, and so these glosses were subsequently changed to words which belonged to the established glossing tradition by the corrector. The original scribe(s) may have considered some lexical items found in the original exemplar to be archaic – especially bearing in mind that if A (or a copy of A) indeed was the source of the original gloss, it was already about 300 years old at the time of *Eadwine's* production – and thus decided to modernize the gloss. Alternatively, the original gloss – just as D – may have had some individual glosses missing, which would require spontaneous translation.

Moreover, in 11 cases the corrector substituted the original words with ones which do not belong to either the *Vespasian* or the *Regius Psalter* glossing tradition. As these two psalters have been identified as exemplars used as a source of the Old English gloss, the fact that on several occasions the substituted vocabulary is inconsistent with them is surprising. For this reason, other known psalter glosses have been tested in order to see whether these seemingly independent glosses can be found elsewhere. The results are presented in the table below.

Table 2. Possible affiliations of glosses outside A- and D-type psalter

Psalm.verse /Folio	Correction	A-type	D-type	Other matches	Latin
3.8/8v	<i>abrutedest</i>	<i>forðræstes</i>	<i>forbryttest</i>	-	<i>contrivisti</i>
5.12/11r	<i>hyo fagniaeð</i>	<i>gefioð</i>	<i>hy ahebbað</i>	-	<i>exultabunt</i>
7.6/13r	<i>fulfylgæt</i>	<i>oehteð</i>	<i>ehte</i>	-	<i>persequatur</i>
7.2/13r	<i>gehopede</i>	<i>gehyhte</i>	<i>gehyhte</i>	I ic gehihte † hopode F ic hopie	<i>speravi</i>
9.25/17v	<i>gremedæ</i>	<i>bismerað</i>	<i>hyspeð</i>	I gehyhste † gremede	<i>irritavit</i>

12.5/21v	<i>þeð nefre</i>	<i>ne æfre</i>	<i>ðules hwonne</i>	-	<i>ne quando</i>
16.11/26v	<i>aheldene on erasure</i>	<i>eorðan</i>	<i>eorðan</i>	-	<i>terram</i>
17.31/30r	<i>gehopan</i>	<i>gehyhtendra</i>	<i>gescyldend</i>	-	<i>sperantium</i>
44.08/79r	<i>enflinge</i>	<i>gefoerrae- dennum</i>	<i>gehlyttum</i>	-	<i>consortibus</i>
47.03/83r	<i>hyhtes</i>	<i>wynsumnisse</i>	<i>upahefednis- sa</i>	-	<i>dilatans exultationes</i>
49.03/86v	<i>openliche</i>	<i>seotullice</i>	<i>eawunga</i>	<i>K openlice</i>	<i>manifeste</i>

As can be seen, the *Eadwine Psalter* glosses have been found in other known psalter glosses only in three cases: two in *Lambeth Psalter* (I: London, Lambeth Palace, 427; *Gallicanum*), one in *Stowe Psalter* (F: London, BL, Stowe 2, *Gallicanum*), and one in *Salisbury Psalter* (K: Salisbury, Cathedral Library, 150, *Gallicanum*). Interestingly, these are all glosses to the *Gallicanum*, and so their presence in *Eadwine* could be an example of cross-contamination. The fact that only three of the glosses which are unaffiliated with either A or D can be found in other Old English psalter glosses indicates that apparently the rest of them do not belong to the established glossing tradition. If that is indeed the case, there are two other possible explanations: one is that they were spontaneous translations by the corrector, and the other one is that they are idiosyncrasies of the exemplar used for correcting the *Eadwine* gloss. Admittedly, the fact that there are only several surviving complete Old English glosses means that we do not have a full insight into the Old English glossing practice, which in turn means that the seemingly independent vocabulary may actually belong to some unknown, lost glossing tradition. However, the overall number of glosses which are consistent with a D-type psalter suggest that this was indeed the major source of corrections, yet the version used for *Eadwine* may have been slightly different from D, hence the presence of glosses which do not match the *Regius Psalter*.

4. Summary and conclusions

The solution proposed by the previous scholarship does not provide satisfactory answers to the question of the sources of the Old English gloss to *Eadwine*. First of all, there is the problem of the exemplar used by the original scribe(s); since there were so many glosses that the corrector substituted with glosses belonging to the general glossing tradition, even if the original scribe had

relied on an A-type psalter as the main exemplar, apparently he did not refer to it consistently. Secondly, several instances of the use of an A-type psalter by the corrector also indicate that the original glosses may have had some other source. Thirdly, there is the question of unaffiliated glosses; since they have not been found to belong either to the A- or D-type tradition (which was expected on the basis of the previous scholarship), or to any other known Old English glossing tradition, these glosses could be spontaneous, twelfth-century translations. As has been stated, the reason for not following the A-type psalter consistently may have been that some glosses were missing from the exemplar. However, since lexical substitutions are applied so extensively, this would suggest that a highly damaged copy was used, and admittedly it would be highly impractical to use a copy with so many missing glosses as the original exemplar. It would also be surprising – especially in such an expensive and prestigious project as the *Eadwine Psalter* manuscript. Another possibility is that the original scribe(s) might have found the original exemplar archaic, especially that the *Vespasian Psalter* is the oldest known complete Old English gloss and as such, its language must have been out-dated by the mid-twelfth century. Hence, they may have decided to modernize the gloss by changing the exemplar's lexicon to that with which they were more familiar, thus adapting the gloss to the twelfth-century linguistic reality, perhaps aiming at providing a more understandable, pragmatic gloss. On the other hand, the corrector displays a completely different tendency, replacing these possible modernizations with vocabulary which belongs to the established Old English glossing tradition. Thus, the problem of the change of the exemplar may reflect and be explained with the conflict of attitudes towards the Old English gloss in *Eadwine*, which raises questions concerning the purpose behind the production of this manuscript. All in all, despite the fact that it does not provide a clear answer to the question of the number of scribes behind the OE gloss, the study has shown that the corrections introduced to the OE gloss to the *Eadwine Psalter* offers an insight into the linguistic complexity of this manuscript and its production.

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