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Strategies of Translation in the Old English Versions
（Prose and Metrical） of the Psalms in the Paris Psalter

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Patrick P. O'Neill

パリ詩篇（フランス国立図書館所蔵の写本 Fonds latin, 8824）に
収録されている古英語で書かれた散文と韻文による詩篇の翻訳について

ウェセックスのアルフレッド王の作とされる古英語散文の詩篇と10世紀に書かれた作者
不詳の韻文の詩編を比較し、どのような方法で翻訳が行われているのか、詩篇の解釈に
どれほど準拠しているのか、解釈の焦点をどこに合わせているのか、について論じる。特
に韻文の詩篇の文体的および修辞的特徴について考察する。

Among the early written vernaculars of Western Europe Old English is unique in its rich tradition of Scriptural translation, with compositions ranging chronologically from *Cædmon's Hymn* in the seventh century to Ælfric's renderings in the early eleventh century of Old Testament works in alliterative prose. A defining point in this chronological spectrum was the contribution of King Alfred who in the late ninth century ventured into the perilous field of translating the Scriptures, first with his Introduction to the Laws of Alfred, which incorporate three chapters from the book of Exodus in translation, and later, towards the end of his life, when he embarked on a prose translation of the psalms. I say 'perilous' because for early medieval Christians the Scriptures were regarded as the very words of God, transmitted by the Holy Spirit through human intermediaries so directly that, to quote St Jerome, "even the order of the words is a mystery"[1] — consequently, to tamper with the sacred text, *a fortiori* to engage in the messy business of translating it, left one open to charges of sacrilege and heresy. Despite these reservations, Alfred seems to have been encouraged in his task by the recollection (found in the Preface to his translation of the Pastoral Care)[2] that the original Scriptures had already undergone two rounds of translation (from Hebrew into Greek and from Greek into Latin, as well translations into other languages). His pioneering example may have inspired at least two anonymous translators in the tenth century, one who rendered the psalms in Old English verse, the other who produced a prose version of the Gospels.

Of these two biblical works, the Gospels with their New Testament message of Christian salvation obviously stood pre-eminent, yet it was the Old Testament psalms that most engaged Anglo-Saxons as readers, reciters and translators. The Psalter had several different claims on them. It was a wisdom book, a genre which they revered, as evident from Old English poems such as *Maxims*, *Fortunes of Men*, and *Precepts*; it was also the basic classroom text used to teach clerical students how to read and write Latin, a process (traditionally begun at the age of 7) which would have entailed memorizing large chunks of the psalms. Most importantly, the Psalter provided the central text of the Divine Office, the second most important ritual of Christian liturgy after the Mass, which involved reciting the psalms at seven mandated times (Hours) of the day. This practice was obligatory for ecclesiastics, but it found its way into the lives of the secular elite also as a private devotion; we find it used in France by the late eight century and in England by the ninth, as

attested by Bishop Asser in his Life of King Alfred of Wessex.[3]

By a happy co-incidence the Old English prose and metrical versions of the psalms were copied in sequence into the same manuscript (from *c.* 1030), the so-called Paris Psalter,[4] in a complementary relationship of text, whereby the prose version provides Pss 1-50 and the metrical the remainder, Pss 51-150. The most likely explanation for this arrangement is that only the first fifty psalms of the prose were available (it is generally thought that Alfred died before he could complete the full translation), so for the remaining psalms the metrical version was supplied *faute de mieux*.[5] Besides their physical proximity in the Paris manuscript, the two versions were likely quite close in time and perhaps even place of composition. The prose certainly, and the metrical version probably, originated in Wessex, broadly speaking within the period bounded by the late ninth and first half of the tenth century.[6]

The approach adopted here in comparing them will be pragmatic, identifying first the challenges that their respective authors faced in translating a central biblical text and how they dealt with them; and then on the basis of these findings tentatively re-constructing their respective agendas of translation. The immediate issue that both translators faced, perhaps the easiest one, was deciding which version of the Latin psalms to use. In theory there were three choices. First, the *Romanum* (Ro), a revision of an Old Latin version of the psalms, which may have been made by Jerome *c.* 384; it gets its name from the fact that it was current in Rome (and southern Italy). From Rome this version was brought to England by the first missionaries who arrived in 597 (the Vespasian Psalter may well represent an 8th century copy of this Psalter).[7] By the eighth century the *Romanum* had become the official version of the Psalter used in the liturgy of the Divine Office throughout England and would remain the Psalter par excellence of the Anglo-Saxon Church until the end of the tenth century. From a textual point of view the *Romanum* is the least satisfactory of the three versions; it has many problematic and difficult readings. Yet in spite of its drawbacks, the Anglo-Saxon Church maintained an extraordinary loyalty to it for over three centuries.

A second available version of the Psalter was the *Gallicanum* (Ga), which gets its name from the fact that it was widely used in Gaul. It is a translation from the Greek Septuagint by Jerome (*c.* 390), providing a critical text of the psalms much superior to the *Romanum*.

Despite this, the *Gallicanum* did not take hold in England until it was introduced from the Continent (*c.* 960) by advocates of the Benedictine Reform; thereafter it gradually replaced the *Romanum*, so that by the early decades of the eleventh century it was well on the way to becoming the official version in Anglo-Saxon England and would remain so throughout the medieval period.

The third version was the *Hebraicum* (He), composed *c.* 392, so called because it was Jerome's direct translation from the Hebrew text of the psalms. Paradoxically, its very superiority as a scholarly text condemned it to relative obscurity; it became the version reserved for scholars and those pre-occupied with fidelity to the original. Consequently, it never gained wide acceptance, nor was it sung in the liturgy or glossed in the vernacular.

Both the prose and the metrical translators used the *Romanum* as their base text, a choice consonant with their dates of composition, and one that put them in the mainstream of Anglo-Saxon usage. The prose translator did admit quite a number of *Gallicanum* readings into his work, and even a few *Hebraicum* ones, but in virtually all cases he seems to have done so because these readings made better contextual sense than those of the corresponding *Romanum* text;[8] e. g. Ps 38.7 *mid þe is eall min æht*:[9] Ga "substantia mea apud te est" (Ro "substantia mea tamquam nihil ante te est"); Ps 15.11 *beforan þinre ansyne*:[10] He "ante uultum tuum" (Ro/Ga "cum uultu tuo"); Ps 34.15 *hi blissedon...on minum ge-limpe*:[11] He "in infirmitate mea laetabantur" (Ro/Ga "aduersum me laetati sunt"). In other cases *Gallicanum* readings are provided side by side with the corresponding *Romanum*; for example, Ps 11.3 *þa oferspræcan and þa yfelspræcan*:[12] Ga "magniloquam" + Ro "maliloquam;" Ps 47.2 *he tobrædde...is aset*:[13] Ro "dilatans" + Ga "fundatur."

The metrical translator, by contrast, very faithfully adheres to the *Romanum*, notably so in translating its most egregious textual infelicities; e.g. 54.20 *word hira* ("their words") (Ro "sermones suos," Ga "s. eius"); 55.4 *ege mannes* ("fear of man") (Ro "homo," Ga "caro"); 67. 22 *oþþæt* ("until") (Ro "donec," Ga "ut"); 67.26 *gyfe lædað* ("they bring gifts") (Ro "offerent," Ga "adferent"); 70.15 *grame ceapunga* ("troublesome commercial negotiations") (Ro "negotiationes," Ga "litteraturam"); 70.20 *getrymedest* ("you strengthened") (Ro "exortatus es," Ga "consulatus es"); 70.22 *þin soðfæst weorc* ("your truthful works") (Ro "iustitiam tuam," Ga "magnificentiam tuam"); 71.17 *byð his setl ær...mona* ("his seat exists before the moon did") (Ro "ante lunam sedis eius," omitted Ga); 73.21 *þa þe seceað þe*

("those who seek you") (Ro "quaerentium te," Ga "inimicorum tuorum"); 91.10 *eage þin* ("your eye") (Ro "oculus tuus," Ga "o. meus"); 94.4 *Forðon ne wiðdrifeð drihten...æt þearfe* ("Because our Lord will never repulse his own people in need") (Ro "quoniam non repellet Deus plebem suam," om. Ga); 94.10 *ic...wunade neah* ("I lived near....") (Ro "proximus;" Ga "offensus"); 100.2 *ðin hus* ("your house") (Ro "domus tuae," Ga "d. meae"); 103.11 *of þam eorðan* ("from the earth") (Ro "potabunt ea," Ga omits "ea"); 108.7 *Gewurðe him weste... awiht lifigendes* [14] (Ro "fiat habitatio eius deserta et non sit qui inhabitet in ea," om. Ga); 134.17 *nose habbað...hlude ne cleopiað* [15] (Ro "nares habent et non odorabunt manus habent et non palpabunt pedes habent et non ambulabunt non clamabunt in gutture suo," om. Ga). Very rarely is the influence of the *Gallicanum* discernible, and even then it often admits of other explanations; thus, 59.4, *leofe þine* ("your beloved ones"), which corresponds to Ga "dilecti tui" (Ro "electi tui"), is also attested in certain Ro Psalters (M*KT*); and at 67.10, while *ascadeð* ("God will set aside") is closer grammatically to Ga "segregabis" than the corresponding Ro "segregans," semantically there is little difference between them. Two likely instances of Ga influence are: 64.11, *blowað and growað* ("they will grow and flourish") (Ga "germinans," Ro "dum exorietur"); and 72.11 *leawfinger* ("the finger of accusation") which may be a conflation of Ro "index meus" and the corresponding Ga "castigatio mea."

This evidence suggests a translator thoroughly at home with the *Romanum*, as indicated not only by his faithful adherence to that version but also by the fact that there is no evidence of silently intrusive influence from *Gallicanum* readings, such as might occur if the latter was his Psalter of daily use. Moreover, his translation may offer some insight into the type of *Romanum* that he used. The evidence comes in the form of certain renderings which appear to be based on variants, that is, readings diverging from the main textual tradition of the *Romanum*.[16] Thus, 58.4 *Gif ic on unriht bearn* [17] (M* "si iniquitatem cucurri," where the main tradition has "sine iniquitate cucurri"); 59.4 *leofe þine* ("your beloved ones") (M*KT* and Ga "dilecti tui," as against Ro "electi tui"); 67.12 wlites wealdend ("ruler of splendor") (Ga, N* *specie*, but Ro *rex...species*); 67.14 *se heofonlica kynincg* ("that heavenly king") ("regis" AHN*K, but Ro "reges"); 71.9 *Sigelwearas seceað* ("the Ethiopians seek him") (VL and H "precedent," but Ro "procident"); 71.12 *he alyseð* ("he will free") ("liberabit" A²NBCD, but Ro "liberauit"); 71.16 *his yþa* ("his waves") ("fluctus" H*C,* but Ro "fruc-

tus"); 73.14 *on Æthane* ("in Ethan") ("Aethan" M, but Ro "Aetham"); 73.20 *hu...unwise* ("how the ignorant") ("quia insipientes" A*H²N*, but Ro "qui ab insipiente"); 80.15 *hi sæde wæron* ("they were sated") ("satiauit" AH²M²N² , but Ro "saturauit"); 88.11 *Tabor* ("Tabor" N*KC, but Ro "Thabor"); 106.2 *secge* ("I will declare") ("dicat" H*U, but Ro "decant"); 118.29 *on þinre æ* ("in your law") ("in lege tua" NKT*, but Ro "de lege tua"); 118.47 *ic... bealde mote gemetegian* ("may I boldly consider") ("meditabar" NST², but Ro "meditabor"); 118.159 *ic sylf geseah* ("I myself saw") ("uidi" A*N*, but Ro "uide"); 131.2 *ic...geswor* ("I swore") ("iuraui" D*, but Ro "iurauit").

With one exception all of these putative variants belong to the early *Romanum* family (AHMNS), which dates before *c.* 800, and while some of them are also found in the inter-mediate family (KT) of the ninth and early tenth century, none are particular to the latter; conversely, readings from the late family, dating to the late-tenth century and after, are strikingly absent. While this evidence hardly admits of close dating, it does suggest that the *Romanum* used by the metrical translator was a type that would have been current in England in the eighth and ninth centuries and certainly well before the Benedictine Reform of the 960s. Interestingly, the metrical version shares a broadly similar textual profile with the prose version whose exemplar probably also belonged to the early family of English *Romanum* Psalters.[18] However, as argued above from his pragmatic use of the *Gallicanum*, Alfred demonstrated a receptivity to the other versions of the Psalter (and to commentaries), which seems to have been lacking in the metrical translator. Possibly, the latter's approach to the *Romanum* text was less about innate conservatism than authorial awareness of his audience, for whom this was the only version of the psalms that they knew and used.

Beyond choosing the 'right' Psalter version and adopting a particular approach to its text, other challenges awaited a would-be translator. The Psalter is the longest book of the Bible, comprising 150 discrete poems, each with its own historical context, generic conventions and distinctive tone. Although superficially straightforward, its Latin disguises numerous problems of comprehension. The style is often cryptic, while on the syntactic level verses are expressed in asyndetic parataxis, so that relationships between clauses (whether causative, adversative, concessive, etc.) within the larger syntactical unit of the verse have to be inferred; even more so between verses. Perhaps most challenging for Western Christians, the Latin psalms preserved (even after several rounds of translation) charac-

teristic features of the original Hebrew poetry from which they derive, replete with highly idiomatic language, anthropomorphisms and images evocative of Hebrew culture.

For example, the psalms frequently contain nouns denoting body parts, such as heart (*cor*), hand(s) (*manus*) and horn (*cornu*). In the original Hebrew these were intended to be read figuratively so that *manus* would mean "action or power," and *cornu* "strength." How did the two translators handle such words? In virtually all occurrences Alfred takes his cue from the commentators and supplies the figurative meaning. By contrast, the metrical author, while very occasionally adverting to the figurative meaning of *manus* by rendering it with *mægen* ("might, power"),[19] translates both of these words literally most of the time, so that, for example, *cornu* is either rendered by *horn* or simply left untranslated. In matters of Hebrew idiom, both translators (like their Western counterparts elsewhere), miss the point and translate literally; thus

> (Alfred) Ps 17.43, *Ac þa ælðeodgan bearn me oft lugon*[20]
>
> (Ro "filii alieni mentiti sunt mihi"),
>
> where the verb *mentiri* actually means "to submit" in accordance with Hebrew usage.
>
> Likewise, (metrical translator) Ps 131.2-3,
>
> *Swa ic æt frymðe geswor ferhðe wið drihten ....*
>
> *Þeah þe ic on mines huses hyld gegange*
>
> (Ro "sicut iuraui(t) Domino...si introiero in tabernaculum domus meae"), where the idiom of *iurare* followed by a dependent clause introduced by *si* expressing a strong negative is Hebrew.[21] The translator, misunderstanding it, used *þeah þe* ("although") to translate *si* where a more appropriate rendering would be *þæt... ne* ("that...not"). The correct Modern English translation would then be, "So at the beginning I swore with my soul to the Lord that I should not enter into the protection of my house."

Another challenge was how to address the verse divisions of the *Romanum* source. The earliest (and best) English manuscript copies of the *Romanum* reveal, instead of the numbering system for verses found today in printed editions of the Psalter (an invention of early printers designed to facilitate quick reference), a system of divisions based on ex-

tended units of meaning, consisting typically of two or three parallel members（loosely re-
ferred to as *stichoi*）. However, the boundaries of these units seem to have changed over
time, as evident from manuscripts such as the Paris Psalter which has a *Romanum* text
（parallel to the Old English though not related to it）, the verses of which do not always
agree with those in, say, the Vespasian Psalter, a manuscript some three centuries earlier
and the best textual representative of the *Romanum*. It appears — though only a full-scale
investigation can tell for sure — that both the prose and the metrical versions follow a sys-
tem of verse divisions such as that found in the Paris Psalter rather than the Vespasian
Psalter.[22] Take for example, Psalm 6: the prose version has eight verses but the Ro（criti-
cal text）has ten; additionally the second verse of the prose equates to the second verse
plus the first half of the third verse of the Ro（critical text）. Likewise, Ps 54: the Metrical
Psalms has 23 verses where the critical Ro text has 31. It would appear that translators
（and perhaps even copyists）read the Latin psalms in a syntactically different way than
that indicated by the earliest manuscripts. In any case, these two examples are typical in
illustrating that for the most part the two vernacular translations have significantly fewer
verses than their Latin original. This tendency to cluster the Latin verses into larger syn-
tactical units of Old English[23] may accord with the view of Bruce Mitchell and others that
the basic syntactical unit of Old English poetry is "the verse paragraph."[24]

At the level of clauses, however, a more equal balance between Latin and vernacular is
generally maintained. According to J. Toswell, "generally, the translation of the first mem-
brum [or clause] finishes either at a caesura or, more preferably, at the end of a line（usu-
ally the second）, and the second membrum is rendered to the end of a third or fourth
line."[25] Certainly, where the Latin verse has two parallel clauses, this generalization holds
true more often than its alternative of two lines in the metrical rendering. That said, it is
not uncommon to find distischal verses of the Latin, such as Ps 77: 64, "sacerdotes eorum in
gladio ceciderunt et uiduae eorum non plorauerunt"（"Their priests fell by the sword and
their widows did not mourn"）, replicated in the metrical version with two clauses, *wæran
sacerdas heora sweordum abrotene;／ ne þæt heora widwan wepan mostan*（"their priests
were killed by the sword, nor were their widows allowed to lament that"）, occupying just
two lines.

Syntactic linking between verses within the same psalm, such as occurs in the Prose

Psalms,[26] has been ruled out by Toswell for the Metrical Psalms: "[n]ever does the translation of one verse carry over into the next; each psalm verse is a self-contained unit."[27] However, the evidence tells a different story. Not infrequently one finds metrical verses which are syntactically linked to each other, including instances that were not prompted by the Latin source. The linking can be co-ordinating, as in 77.52-3: [2]"Then he gathered up his people like trusty sheep, guiding them…through unfamiliar paths, [3]and (OE *and*) leading them…." It can be causal, as in Ps 58.2-3, [2]"Redeem me…and save me from the wickedness of the bloodthirsty man, [3]because (*þi*) my enemies…have oppressed my soul….;" and Ps 94.6-7, [6]"Enter into his presence and bend the knee…, [7]because (*forðon*) he is the Lord God, our judge…." It can be temporal, as in Ps 106.38-9, [38]"Often they were harassed by enemies…, [39]when (*syððan*) they spurned holy teachings…." It can be relative (adjectival), as in Ps 134.7-8, [7]"He directs from the end of this earth curiously wrought clouds and he speedily converts them into rain, [8]which (*þe*) produces pleasant winds….;" and 143.8-9, [8]"…save me from the heinous hands of alien and dangerous people, [9]whose (*þara*) mouths utter perjury…." It can be conditional (and correlative), as in Ps 88.28-30, [28]"If (*gif*) my children will not carry out my commands…, [29]if (*gif*) they shamefully profane my laws…, [30]then (*þonne*) I will punish their iniquity…." It can even be both concessive and co-ordinate, as in Ps 77.20-22, [20]"…we do not expect that the wise God is able to bring us to a prepared table in this desert…, [21]even though (*þeah þe*) he caused streams to flow from a rock…, [22]nor (*ne*) do we expect…that he is able to provision this people here with bread." Of these eight examples, three were probably prompted by the Latin source (Ps 77.53, Ro "et;" 94.7, Ro "quia;" 143.8, Ro "quorum"), two were not (58.3 and 106.39), another two exemplify both trends (77.21-22 Ro "quoniam," "because," but no equivalent for OE *ne*; 88.28-30, where Ro has "si" twice but nothing corresponding to *þonne*), while the eighth is uncertain (Ps 134.8, Ro "qui" refers to God, whereas OE *þe* has "rain" as its antecedent).

But the biggest challenge confronting the two Old-English translators of the Psalter was that the text virtually demands some kind of interpretation or at the very least paraphrastic clarification. A purely literal rendering would not only produce frequent unidiomatic English, it would also perversely transfer all the stylistic and textual difficulties of the Latin original unaltered to the vernacular rendering. Alfred adroitly tackled this problem by having recourse to Psalter commentaries, specifically those that treated the psalms as histori-

cal, literary, texts. The difference between his approach and that of the metrical poet is evident in the following example.

> Ps 5.5 "Mane adstabo tibi et uidebo" ("In the morning I will stand before you and will see").
>
> Metrical: *Ic þe æt stande ær on morgen/ and ðe sylfne geseo* ("I shall stand near to you early in the morning and I shall see you.")[28]
>
> Prose: *Ic stande on ærmergen beforan ðe æt gebede and seo þe* (*þæt is, þæt ic ongite þinne willan butan tweon and eac þone wyrce*). ("I shall stand in the early morning in your presence in prayer and shall see you — that is, so that I may understand your will without any doubt and, moreover, fulfil it.")

Whereas the metrical version gives a literal translation—the additions of *aer* and *sylfne* (which add nothing to the meaning) were probably supplied for alliterative purposes—the prose version clarifies the context with the addition of *æt gebede*, while supplying a literal translation followed by an allegorical interpretation of "uidebo" as both perceiving and fulfilling God's command. This combination is characteristic of Alfred's approach; presumably its purpose was to allow the reader first to grasp the obvious meaning before apprehending the hidden allegorical meaning, here revealed in equally clear and idiomatic prose.

As suggested by the example above, such was not the *modus operandi* of the metrical translator. On the whole he follows the content of his source quite faithfully. Indeed, where the meaning of the Latin is opaque he often simply ignores it or transfers the difficulty with a literal rendering. For example, Ps 54:21 (Ro) has the clause "extendit manum suam in retribuendo illis" ("He [God] extended his hand against them [the wicked] in punishment") is simply not translated (at 59.19), presumably because it would have broken the narrative flow between the clauses preceding and following it, which have God's enemies, rather than God, as their common subject. At Ps 59:10 Ro "allophilas" ("foreign peoples") was misunderstood by the translator as a place-name, giving rise to the translation "make Allophilas totally subservient to me" (59.7). Likewise at 107.6 he read Ro "metibor" ("I will apportion") as a place-name ("the tents which now stand splendid...in Metibor"). At Ps 77.66, Ro "et percussit inimicos suos in posteriora obprobrium sempiternum dedit illis ("and
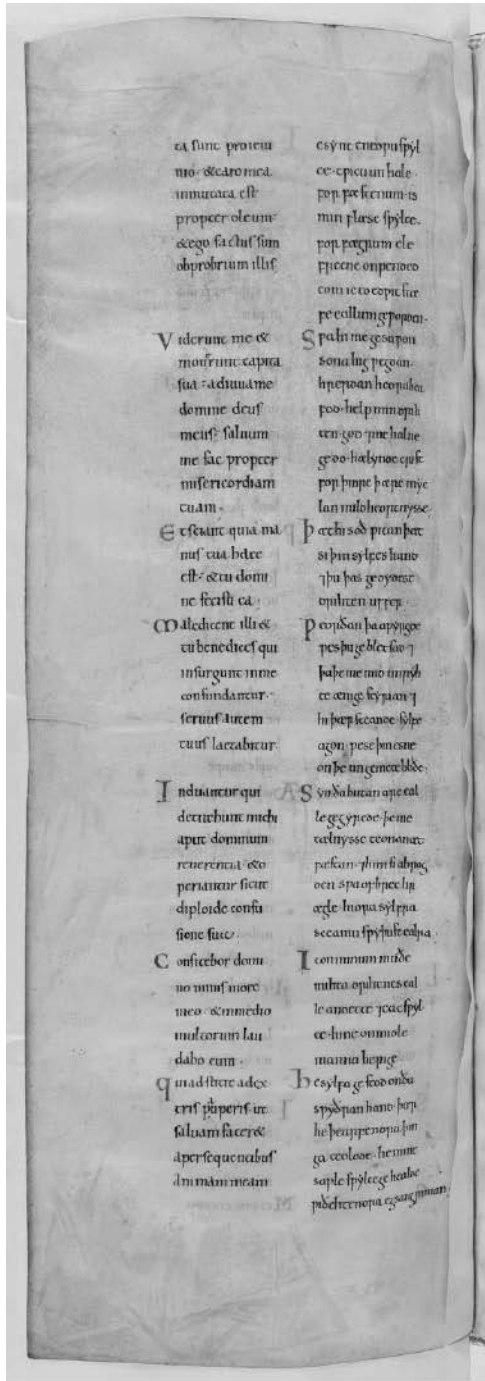
he smote his enemies in their posteriors, he delivered to them an everlasting reproach")
seems to be a reference to I Kings 5:6 where God inflicted the Azotians with haemorrhoids
for stealing the ark. The translator blandly translates, "he attached to them a perpetual re-
proach, forever and ever," presumably because he did not wish to draw attention to an
awkward anatomical condition. On the infrequent occasions when he attempted personal
interpretation, one might wish that he had not. For example, Ps 108.28, Ro "induantur qui
detrahunt mihi reuerentiam et operiantur sicut deploide confusionem suam" ("let those
who speak ill of me be clothed with shame, and let them be covered with their own confu-
sion as with a mantle"), is translated

> Syn ða butan are ealle gegyrede
> þe me tælnysse teonan ætfæstan,
> and him si abrogden swa of brechrægle
> hiora sylfra sceamu swyþust ealra. (See Plate 1, column 2, lines 28-34)

("Let all those who attach to me the pain of reproach be clothed with ignominy, and most
of all may their very own genitals be exposed on them, as if from out of their breeches.").

The problem for the translator was evidently the second clause, beginning with Ro
"operiuntur," which he may well have misread as "aperiantur"[29] ("let them be revealed"); if
so, he would then be confronted with the problem of how to reconcile this latter verb and
Ro "diploide" (dative of "diplois," "a cloak") with the context of shame indicated by the Ro
verse. His ingenious solution was to imagine the shame as similar to the exposure of one's
genitals and, in conformity with that interpretation, to read "diplois" as a pair of breeches
guarding that shame. In his defence, one can point out that even though he mistreated the
semantics of "displois," he at least understood that the word denoted some kind of garment
that was doubled.[30]

What stands out about the metrical rendering—in marked contrast to the prose version
— is the general absence of influence from the commentaries, of which there were many
available in the early medieval West, notably, Augustine, Jerome, Cassiodorus and the
anonymous *Glosa psalmorum ex traditione seniorum*. The metrical translator simply seems
to take what he finds of literal meaning in the Latin text and make the most of it, as evi-

PLATE 1 : Ps 108.28 (Metrical Version)

dent, for example, in his translation of Ps 5.5.[31] This absence could be explained in part at least by the choice of medium: the half-line, the structural unit of Old English poetry, does not lend itself to the kind of paraphrastic and expository expansion exercised in the prose version. But a more plausible explanation is that he deliberately eschewed commentary in order to focus on what might simplistically be called the 'immediate' meaning of the psalms — what they would mean for contemporary Christians who read and sung them as prayers.[32] Alfred had also entertained a similar concern about the same audience—even as he pursued a historical/literal approach to interpreting the psalms — which he addressed by formally incorporating in his Introductions an interpretation of each psalm, expressly designed, as he phrased it, for "every just person who sings this psalm either on his own behalf or on behalf of another person." Thus, the Introduction to Ps 29 contains the following clause

> *And þæt ylce he witegode be ælcum rihtwison men þe þysne sealm singð oþþe for hine sylfne oþþe for oðerne, Gode to þancunge þære blisse þe he þonne hæfð.*[33] ("And he [David] prophesied the same thing about every sincere person who sings this psalm, either on his own behalf or for some other person, in gratitude to God for the joy which he then experiences.")

Note the verbs *singð* and *hæfð*, whose present tense serves as a reminder for contemporary Anglo-Saxon readers that the psalms were not just records of Jewish history but had immediate relevance for them as efficacious prayers to be sung in the Divine Office or in private devotion.

But where Alfred envisaged this role for the psalms as subordinate to his task of literal/historical explication, the metrical translator, arguably, envisaged the precatory function of the psalms as primary. He may have been prompted (or, more likely, supported) in this approach by the so-called 'Christian *tituli*,' brief headings in Latin that are often found in early medieval Psalters, entered before individual psalms.[34] These *tituli* ("titles") are characteristically couched in formulaic terms, "Vox X ad Y" ("the utterance of X to Y"), where the speaker (X) is usually Christ, the Church or any Christian, and the recipient (Y) is the deity. Such *tituli* are found in the Paris Psalter before individual psalms as in, "Vox Christi ad

Patrem de Iudaeis," ("the words of Christ to God the Father about the Jews;" Ps 71), "Vox apostolorum" ("the utterance of the apostles;" Ps 123); or "Uox aecclesie de Cristo ad dominum" ("the voice of the Church to the Lord about Christ;" Ps 70).[35] The effect of these directives is, first of all, to remove the psalm so described from the realm of King David and the Old Testament (thereby obviating the need for commentary of the kind applied in the prose version) and place them firmly in a contemporary Christian context. Secondly, the characterization of each psalm as the "Vox" ("words" or "utterance") of a Christian entity served to forcefully remind contemporary Anglo-Saxons that it was a Christian prayer, generally of supplication or praise.

Even if it cannot be proved that the metrical translator actually used these Christian *tituli*, his method of translation accords very closely with their approach; and it can be discerned in certain modifications that he made in translating the *Romanum* text. The modifications in question are subtle in that they are effected without compromising the contents of the original in any way that might significantly alter their meaning. The most obvious of these alterations was to embellish what were originally simple references to the Godhead in the Latin. For example, Ro "Dominus" becomes *halig Drihten* ("holy Lord") (Ps 52.3) or *Drihten user* ("our Lord") (54.8; 64.1; 67.19); Ro "Deus" becomes *halig God* ("holy God") (50.12); Ro "rex meus" ("my God") is rendered *deore cynincg* ("beloved King") (83.3); Ro "in te sperabo Domine" ("I will hope in you, Lord") is rendered by *ic me on minne Drihten deorne getreowige* ("I will trust myself to my beloved Lord") (54.23), with the bond between the human suppliant and God fortified by the additions of possessive *minne* and adjectival *deorne*; Ro "dilexi" ("I have loved (the Lord)") becomes *Ic lufie þe leofa Drihten* ("I love you, dear Lord") (114.1), with implied "Dominus" changed into a vocative of endearment (*leofa Drihten*), *þe* added as the object of love, and perfect "dilexi" converted into the more immediate present tense, *ic lufie*. In one instance, with no support from the Ro, the metrical translator adds *nu we biddað þe* ("we beg you now") (79.2), a supplication which, coming at the beginning of the psalm, imparts the quality of Christian prayer to what follows.

With the same objective in view, Latin verbs are made more personal by changing their number and person in the Old English rendering, generally from plural to singular number, and from 3rd to 2nd or 1st person. For example, Ro "quoniam bonum est" ("because his name

is good"）is personalized in translation with the addition of 1ˢᵗ person pronoun, *ic hine goodne wat*（"I know it（or him）to be good"）（53.6）; Ro "Confitemini Domino...quoniam in saeculum misericordia eius"（"Let us acknowledge the Lord...because his mercy is for the ages"）is rendered *Ic andette eceum dryhtne/...ic ful geare wat/ þæt þin mildheortnyss ys mycel to worulde*（"I will acknowledge the eternal Lord...I truly know that your mercy is great forever"）（117.28）, where the 2ⁿᵈ pl impv "confitemini" is changed to 1ˢᵗ person sg pres/fut, *ic wat ful geare* is added and 3ʳᵈ person "eius" is changed to the more immediate 2ⁿᵈ person *þin*; other examples of the rendering of Ro "confitemini"（"let us acknowledge"）by *ic andette*（"I will acknowledge"）occur at 105.1, 106.1, and 135.1.[36] A more ambitious example, covering several verses, occurs at Ps 103.13-16 where a series of Ro verbs in the 3ʳᵈ person are all rendered in translation by 2ⁿᵈ person sg; thus *þu lætest alædan...þu ge-worhtest*（Ro "producens"）; *þu...ut alæddest*（Ro "educat"）; *þu gefyllest*（Ro "satiabuntur"）.[37] The intended effect was, no doubt, to emphasize God's personal intervention in providing for mankind so as to evoke feelings of gratitude from the latter. Overall, these adaptations help to re-cast the psalms as personal appeals to God, made by contemporary Christians.

That the translator had this community in mind is evident, for example, from his treatment of Ro *ecclesia*. In the psalms the word merely denotes "an assembly of the people," but in the metrical version it becomes "the Christian community of believers," as indicated by the addition of the qualifier *Crist/cristene*).[38] Thus,

> Ps 67.24 *on ciricean Crist...bletsige*（Ro "in ecclesiis benedicite Dominum"）;[39]
> 106.31 *on cyrcean cristenes folces*（Ro "in ecclesia plebis"）;[40]
> 133.2（and 134.2）*on cafertunum Cristes huses*（Ro "in atriis domus Dei"）.[41]

In the same spirit references to Christ that have no basis in the *Romanum* appear occasionally, reminders that the translator is thinking of the individual psalm as a prayer to Christ. Thus,

> Ps 84.5 *gecyr us georne to ðe, Crist ælmihtig*（Ro "Deus tu conuertens"）;[42]
> 108.25 *me halne gedo, hælynde Crist*（Ro "saluum me fac"）;[43]
> 118.146 *do me cuðlice halne...hælende Crist*（Ro "saluum me fac"）.[44]

152

The final two examples, where Christ's name is added in the same formula, *hælende Crist* ("saviour Christ"), within the same context of appealing for divine help, suggest the translator's awareness of these verses as suitable occasions of appeal to Christ. Even more significant is the first example: in its Latin form (Ps 84:7 in the Ro) it was one of the most frequently used verses of the psalms, because of its function as a versicle, a short sentence of appeal to the deity recited or sung at important points in the Divine Office and other ecclesiastical services. Arguably, it was the translator's familiarity with this verse in liturgical contexts that caused him to alter its generalized invocation of the deity (Ro "Deus") to an appeal to Christ specifically. The cumulative evidential weight of these modifications of the *Romanum*, and their broad spread throughout the metrical version lead to the conclusion that for the metrical translator the psalms were primarily Christian prayers.[45]

Perhaps the most obvious example of his approach to translation is his treatment of Ps 50, for which we have (at least in part) the witness of both the prose and the metrical versions, thus allowing for comparison. Most medieval biblical commentators (and the biblical *titulus*) attributed this psalm to David in his role as a penitent expressing contrition for his adultery with Bethsabee and the killing of her husband—a historical situation, which called for a historical interpretation. That is how Alfred treated it, making mention of David's particular sin in an addition to v. 3, *þonne ic ær ðysse scylde wæs* ("than I was before this particular sin").[46] (See Plate 2, column 2, lines 4-5 of final verse.) But for pious Anglo-Saxon laity, Ps 50 was less about David than it was about themselves, for it was familiarly known to them as the *Miserere* (from its opening word), one of the Seven Penitential Psalms which were recited as a private devotion of repentance. And that, significantly, is how the metrical translator interpreted the psalm, judging by the surviving fragments of his translation.[47]

Mildsa me, mihtig drihten, swa ðu manegum dydest, (Miserere mei deus)
æfter ðinre þære miclan mildheortnysse.   (secundum magnam misericordiam tuam)
Awend þine ansyne a fram minum   (Auerte faciem tuam)
fræcnum fyrenum, and nu forð heonon   (a peccatis meis)
eall min unriht adwæsc æghwær symle.   (et omnes iniquitates meas dele)
Syle me, halig God, heortan clæne,   (cor mundum crea in me Deus)

and rihtne gast, God, geniwa	(et spiritum rectum innoua)
on minre gehigde huru, min Drihten.	(in uisceribus meis)
Ne awyrp þu me, wuldres ealdor,	(Ne proicias me)
fram ðinre ansyne æfre to feore,	(a facie tua)
ne huru on weg aber þone halgan gast,	(et spiritum sanctum tuum
þæt he me færinga fremde wyrðe.	(ne auferas a me)
Syle me þinre hælu holde blisse,	(redde me laetitiam salutaris tui)
and me ealdorlice æþele gaste	(et spiritu principali)
on ðinne willan getryme, weroda drihten.	(confirma me)

("Have pity on me, mighty Lord, as you have done for many, in accordance with that great mercy of yours. Turn away your face always from my terrible crimes, and from now on blot out all my iniquities entirely. Grant me, holy God, a pure heart and renew a proper spirit in my thoughts, truly, my Lord. Do not ever turn me away, prince of glory, from your presence at any time, or indeed remove that Holy Spirit, so that he suddenly becomes a stranger to me. Grant me the solid joy of your salvation, and vigorously fortify me in doing your will, Lord of hosts, by means of that excellent Spirit.")

Prominent here are embellishments characteristic of the metrical translator, as discussed above: epithets for the deity, such as *mihtig drihten* (Ro "Deus"), *halig drihten* (Ro "Deus"), *wuldres ealdor* (no Latin) and *weroda Drihten* (no Latin); the personalized additions of *min Drihten* (no Latin) and *on ðinne willan* (no Latin); and the asseverative *huru* (added twice), which evokes the intensity of a penitential prayer. Also supplied, evidently on the translator's own initiative, are temporal adverbs that serve to imply divine forgiveness for sin at all times (and thus for all humanity) rather than on the single, historical, occasion of David's transgression. Thus, *a* ("always"), *nu forð heonan* ("from now on"), *æfre to feore* ("ever at any time") suggest timeless applicability while, correspondingly, specific reference to David and his sin are entirely absent. Moreover, the interpretation of Ro *spiritum sanctum tuum* as the Holy Ghost (*þone halgan gast*), and the appeal to that spirit as the agent (*æþele gaste*, "by means of that eminent Spirit") for strengthening the sinner's resolve to repent, is consonant with Christian, rather than Jewish, penitential practice. Overall, the metrical rendering conveys a sense of universal applicability to repenting Christians, with additions about God's disposition to pardon mankind generally (*swa ðu*
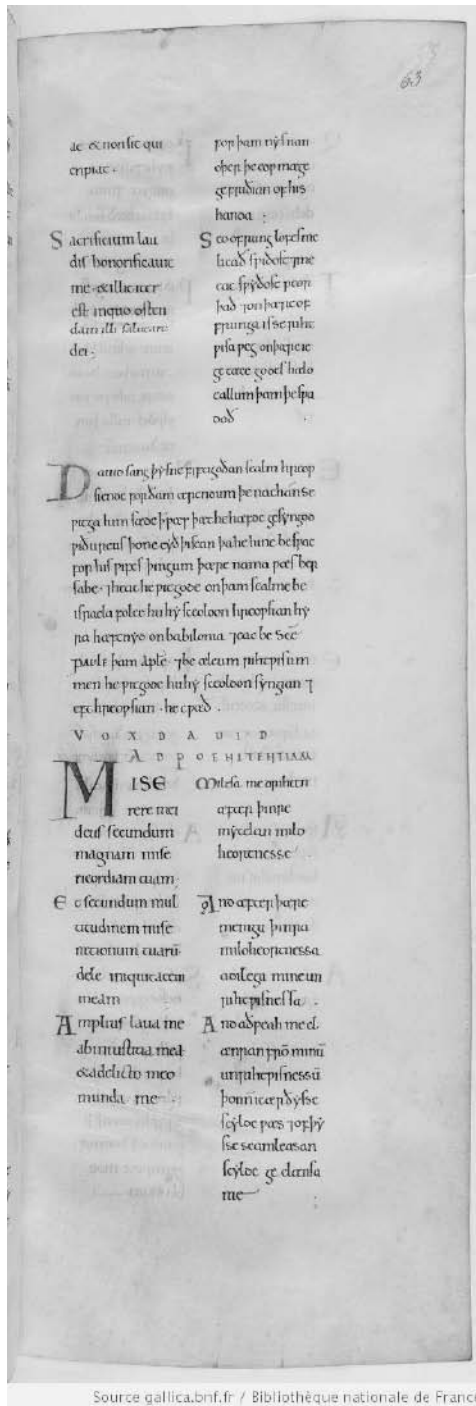
PLATE 2: Ps 50, Introduction and vv. 1-3 (Prose Version)

manegum dydest) rather than David in particular. In other words, the translator has transformed this historically grounded Davidic psalm into a penitential prayer that better accords with its medieval Christian use.

The example of Ps 50 highlights the stark difference between Alfred's prose version, primarily exegetical in approach, and thus objective, and the metrical version, which favors (in broad terms) a devotional treatment of the psalms, presenting them primarily as prayers (with their inevitable emotional colouring) for everyday Christian living. Admittedly, both generalizations need some qualification. As already noted, the prose version does provide in most of its Introductions a formal interpretation that points out the relevance of the psalms for contemporary Christians, but in doing so it makes clear that this clause is normally subordinated to (and modelled on) the main historical interpretation, and in the paraphrase proper it scarcely allows a devotional note. On the other side, the metrical version, for all its devotional emphasis occasionally betrays influences from the commentary tradition. Its composer was evidently well acquainted with the conventional allegorical interpretations of the Western churches, such as those found in Cassiodorus's *Expositio psalmorum*, as suggested by his occasional recourse to them, introduced almost casually, when it suited his immediate purpose. For example, with the interpretation of Ro "terram" as *wera cneorissum* in Ps 64.9, *eorðan ðu gefyllest eceum wæstmum/ þæt heo welig weorþeð wera cneorissum*[48] (Ro "multiplicasti locupletare eam" (*sc.* "terram")), compare Cassiodorus, *Expositio psalmorum*, "*Terram* hic genus humanum debemus accipere;"[49] at Ps 76.9, *nu ic sona ongann...wenan ærest*,[50] the verb *wenan* ("to consider") has been supplied to complement Ro "coepi" ("I have begun"), as recommended by Cassiodorus, *Expositio*, "*nunc coepi*, quasi sapere, quasi intellegere;"[51] in Ps 97.8, *beorgas blissiað, beacen oncnawað*[52] (Ro "montes exultauerunt"), the idea that the mountains represent the just who recognize the signs of God's coming, may derive from Cassiodorus, "*Montes*.... Mansueti...spe futurae beatitudinis in summitates solidissimas eriguntur;"[53] in Ps 118.130, *and þu bealde sylest/ andgit eallum eorðbuendum*[54] (Ro "et intellectum dat paruulis"),[55] the odd translation of *paruulis* by *eallum eorðbuendum* has a close parallel in Augustine, *Enarrationes in psalmos*, "sint omnes paruuli, et reus fiat omnis mundus tibi;"[56] and with the expansion of Ps 149.6, *Him on gomum bið godes oft gemynd/ heo þæs wislice wynnum brucað*[57] (Ro "exultationes Dei in faucibus eorum"), compare Cassiodorus, *Expositio*,

"Domini exsultationes in eorum faucibus constitutas, significans, quoniam siue cogitatione, siue lingua laudare non desinunt, a quo aeterna dona percipient."[58]

What is remarkable about these examples is not that the metrical translator had access to the allegorical exegesis of the psalms current in his time, but that he never systematically committed to that approach in his rendering; he may borrow a particular interpretative insight from a patristic source to explain an individual word, but he never implements the overarching interpretation for the psalm as a whole laid out in that source, especially one so exegetically clear as Cassiodorus. Given on the one hand the evidence adduced above for a devotional emphasis in his rendering of the psalms, and on the other hand the striking absence of any particular line of interpretation, one can tentatively conclude that he made a deliberate decision to eschew the conventional allegorical exegesis current in his time in favour of a literal (though not necessarily historical) translation with a devotional emphasis.

It may seem unfair, then, or at least impracticable, to compare the prose and metrical versions, since their respective authors evidently had very different goals for their translations and employed different mediums. However, these considerations did not prevent eleventh-century Anglo-Saxons from deciding between them. We have at least one tacit verdict from the scribe Wulfwinus who, in copying the two works into the Paris Psalter in the first half of the eleventh century, took the first fifty psalms from the prose version and the remaining psalms from the metrical. Since we are reasonably sure that the prose version did not extend beyond Ps 50, while the metrical covered all 150 psalms, it seems safe to conclude that Wulfwinus judged the prose to be a superior version, using all of it that was available to him, and only then having course to the metrical version to complete the full vernacular translation.

But to judge by the surviving manuscript evidence — an uncertain business given the vagaries of preservation — the Metrical Psalms seems to have enjoyed a much wider diffusion and use than its prose counterpart. Whereas the latter is attested only in the Paris Psalter and in the Vitellius Psalter (Introductions only), the metrical version was quite widely used. Passages from it were taken verbatim into the so-called Old English Benedictine Office[59] (which is neither specifically Benedictine nor an Office since it lacks the psalm readings required for liturgical use); it was also cited in the *Menologium*, an OE

poem on the liturgical feastdays; while two further passages (one of them substantial) from it were entered to fill a lacuna in the OE interlinear gloss of the Eadwine Psalter, indicating that a copy of the work was available at Christ Church Canterbury a century after the Norman Conquest.

Modern assessments of the two works render a different verdict, one which favours the prose over the metrical version. Thus, the Prose Psalms has been praised for its skillful blending of literal paraphrase with a bold approach to historically oriented interpretation;[60] as well as its conscious attempt to convey the psalms' poetic qualities in syntax, diction and rhythm.[61] The Metrical Psalms have not fared so well, at least among modern scholars, whose critical verdict can at best be described as muted. Thus, Kenneth Sisam opined that the poet's "style has no poetic quality; rather, a distinctive flatness;"[62] and in the same critical vein Bruce Mitchell refers to "the uninspired poetry of the *Paris Psalter*," characterizing the work as "poetry which had already divorced itself from 'its traditional vocabulary'" (*sc*. the vocabulary of classical OE poetry).[63] Somewhat more politely, Stanley Greenfield and Daniel G. Calder described its verses as "not very distinguished as poetry: meter and alliteration, however regular, are mechanical and uninspired...."[64] Perhaps the most damning assessment, based as it is on a thorough investigation of the poem, is the verdict of M. S. Griffith who characterizes the author of the Metrical Psalms as someone who "knows much of the poetic vocabulary but refuses to use most of the formulae linked with these words." The use of "refuses" here implies, of course, a deliberate authorial choice, what Griffith surmises was the poet's "decision to distance his composition from the [OE] tradition, and to produce a translation which had only the faintest echoes of the heroic."[65] A simplistic but telling example is the noun *metod*, an epithet for the deity and a mainstay of the vocabulary of traditional Old English religious poetry. In a verse translation of the psalms (with their constant references to God), one might have expected numerous occurrences of this word in half-line formulae, yet it occurs only once, at Ps 127.5.

Indeed, the discordance between what an Anglo-Saxon audience might have expected and what the metrical translator actually provided in poetic vocabulary (and the elaborate rules governing its use) is such that one is led to ask whether the same dissonance may not also be evident in his syntactical usage. In a discussion of OE poetic syntax, Bruce Mitchell laid out a set of criteria against which to measure how well a particular work con-

formed to what he called "'traditional' OE poetry." [66] He recognized two extremes of usage, at one end works of classical Old English poetry (of which *Beowulf* is the supreme example), at the other end those composed in the so-called "alliterative prose" (best represented by Ælfric's works in the late tenth century).[67] Within that spectrum Mitchell decidedly regarded the Metrical Psalms as significantly closer to Ælfric than *Beowulf*, describing it as "not what I would call 'traditional' OE poetry," and elsewhere characterizing it as having a 'feel' "even more different" than certain works which he had labelled as "closer in feeling to prose." [68]

One of Mitchell's criteria of traditional usage was the occurrence of "clauses or sentences or verse paragraphs [that] often begin in mid-line." [69] An example is Ps 103.16

> Swylce þu gefyllest fægrum blædum
>
> telgum treowæstme; tydrað ealle,
>
> þa on Libanes lædað on beorge...

("You will also make full the growth of the trees with beautiful fruits on their branches; all those [cedars] growing on Mount Lebanon will propagate...."), where *tydrað*, in the b-verse of the second line, begins a new sentence (with a new subject).[70] One could argue that some of these occurrences may be explained simply by a longer-than-usual Latin clause, which required three half-lines of translation, thus leaving a b-line to be filled with a rendering of the beginning of the next Latin clause. That explanation seems unlikely, however, since the translator shows remarkable adeptness at 'filling' b-lines with formula that are metrically valid but almost devoid of semantic value. In any case, the limited frequency of this device of mid-line beginning in the Metrical Psalms, by contrast, say, with *Beowulf*, suggests selective use.

Mitchell also notes that in classical OE poetry the half-line tends to have fewer unstressed syllables by comparison with lines from the so-called alliterative prose; for example, *Beowulf* averages slightly under five as against just over six for Ælfric and Wulfstan.[71] Unfortunately, no study of syllable counts per half-line has been conducted for the Metrical Psalms, thus precluding a firm conclusion about where that work can be positioned in relation to the two poles mentioned above; but even a cursory reading of the poem surely indi-

cates that while the a-lines are often heavy with unstressed syllables, the b-lines are decidedly light. However, these b-lines, while formally adhering to the traditional model in their syllabic brevity, are hardly 'normal;' they often contain fillers (especially adverbs) with little semantic content, whose primary function is to supply the required linking alliteration with the a-line.[72] Not surprisingly, as noted by Griffith, such mechanical diction causes "the erosion of the system of rank, and the substantial destruction of the formulaic system." [73] Again, we witness the poet selectively (and destructively) employing features of traditional OE poetry with little regard for the rules.

A third traditional trope of OE poetic syntax is the construction *apo koinou*, whereby "a word or closely related group of words, occurring between two portions of discourse, contains an idea which completes the thought of the first part, to which it is grammatically related, at once supplies the thought essential to the following part, to which it may also be grammatically related, and is not felt to belong more closely with the first part than with the second." [74] For example, at Ps 118.52,

> Ic wæs gemyndig *mærra doma*
> *þinra* geþancol, ðeoden dryhten,

the genitival noun phrase, *mærra doma þinra*, is a *koinon* to both *wæs gemyndig* of the preceding clause and (*wæs*) *geþancol* of the clause following, so that one might translate, "I remembered your excellent judgments, ruling Lord, I was mindful of them (your excellent judgments)." Likewise, Ps 136.3,

> Forþon us þær frunon *fæcnum wordum,*
> woh meldedan, ða us on weg læddan

Here the phrase *fæcnum wordum* serves as a *koinon* to the preceding clause (*Forþon us þær frunon*) and the one following (*woh meldedan*), thus, "For in that place (Babylon) those who abducted us interrogated us with cunning words; said perverse things to us with cunning words." Altogether the Metrical Psalms has more than 50 instances of this construction,[75] admittedly not a large number relative to its considerable length, but sufficient

to indicate that the poet was perfectly familiar with the usage, presumably from his reading of traditional OE poetry.

But other features of his syntax suggest the influence of a very different stylistic tradition, that of Latin rhetoric. One such is the rhetorical trope known as *figura etymologica*, the deliberate placing of words that are etymologically related in syntactical proximity to each other. In the case of the Metrical Psalms that proximity can be defined by location within the same verse. For example:[76]

> Pss 71.6 swa fæger **dropa**/...**dreopað**; ("as a pleasant shower...rains down")
>
> 108.19 gelic...**gyrdlse**, ðe hine man gelome **gyrt**; ("like a girdle with which one often girds oneself")
>
> 138.17 þe þæt on **geþeahtum þenceað** ("because you think that in your thoughts")

Another trope from the Latin rhetorical tradition present in the Metrical Psalms is antanaclasis, whereby the same word is repeated within the larger syntactical unit (in the present case, the verse), but with a different meaning from the first occurrence. Thus,

> Ps 94.9   fæderas eowre
>
> þisse cneorisse   cunnedan georne,
>
> þær hi cunnedan....[77]

where the first *cunnedan* means "tested," the second "found out."

Likewise, Ps 100.4   wið heora þam nehstan nið ahofan;
                          þara ic ehte ealra mid niðe,[78]

where the first *nið* denotes "hostility," the second "affliction." [79]

We find various forms of verbal parallelism, sufficiently common to warrant the conclusion that they are deliberate and intended to enhance rhythm and style. A striking example is Ps 62.2,

> Min sawl on ðe swyðe þyrsteð
>
> and min flæsc on ðe fæste getreowað
>
> ("My soul thirsts for you exceedingly and my flesh firmly trusts in you"),

in which the two lines exactly mirror each other verbally, while also rhyming, whereas their Ro source, "sitiuit in te anima mea quam multipliciter et caro mea," while conveying the same matter, does not. Other examples are: Ps 55.10 *aweredest…beweredest* ("you shielded…guarded") (Ro "eripuisti"); 68.32 *geseoð…gefeoð* ("see…rejoice") (Ro "uideant…laetentur"); 73.21 *þa þe seceað þē…ða þe feogeað þē* ("who seek you…who hate you") (Ro "quaerentium te…qui te oderunt"); 75.1 *cuð mid Iudeum…mid Israelum* ("known among the Jews…among the Israelites") (Ro "notus in Iudea…in Israel"); 77.42 *werede and ferede* ("protected and carried along") (Ro "liberauit"); 117. 8 *to þenceanne…to treowianne* ("to meditate…to trust") (Ro "confidere…confidere"); 118.33 *þæt ic on soðfæste wegas symble gange/ and ic þa secan symble mote* ("so that I may constantly walk in truthful ways and be allowed to seek them always"); 118.44 *ic æ þine efne and healde…efnan and healdan* ("I will fulfil and observe your law…and may I be allowed to fulfil and observe [it]") (Ro "custodiam legem tuam semper in aeternum et in saeculum saeculi"). Occasional puns occur, as in 122.3 *urum þam godan gode* ("to that virtuous God of ours") (Ro. ad Dominum Deum nostrum") and 123.2 *manfulle men* ("wicked people") (Ro "homines").

To sum up: we have the evidence (from Griffith's study) that the poet of the Metrical Psalms was highly selective in his use of the special vocabulary (and the rules that governed its use) proper to traditional OE poetry. As argued in the present paper, he also displays the same selectivity in syntactical usages and, for at least one usage, superficially observed the formalities though violating the underlying rules. Finally, juxtaposed to this is the evidence that the poet also deployed certain syntactical features of the Latin rhetorical tradition.

The cumulative evidence suggests, first, that the 'mixed' style of the Metrical Psalms, rather than reflecting its author's artistic failure, was probably deliberately planned as such, dictated by the imperative of providing a literally-based translation that followed the syntactic flow of the Latin original rather than the "repetition with variation and advance" characteristic of OE poetry. Secondly, conscious on the one hand of his deviance from tradi-

tional OE poetic norms in vocabulary and syntax and, on the other hand, anxious to convey something of the poetic qualities of the Latin psalms, the poet introduced rhetorical tropes to adorn his work by way of compensation.

Unfortunately, unlike King Alfred, his earlier counterpart in Psalter translation, the author of the Metrical Psalms remains anonymous. Yet he shared with that king an intimate familiarity with Old English poetry and its conventions, even if he rejected their use in sacred poetry.[80] Almost certainly he was an ecclesiastic since he had a reasonably good command of Latin, as well as some knowledge of biblical commentaries on the psalms (which he used sparingly). He was quite well versed in the Old Testament, as suggested by several instances where he recognized in the contents of the psalms references to other biblical books. For example, at Ps 104.35 his rendering of Ro "coturnix" ("a quail") with OE *ganetas* ("gannets") may owe something to Num 11:31 which mentions that the quail came from the direction of the sea;[81] likewise, at Ps 104.36, Ro "in sicco flumina" ("rivers in the dry land") prompted his comment that "those waters did not in the least wet the feet of the Israelites when they later marched into the river Jordan," a reference to the miraculous crossing of that river by the Jews in Jos 3:14-17. At Ro 105:30, "stetit Finees et exorauit et cessauit quassatio" ("Phineas stood up and pacified [God] and the slaughter ceased"), which is translated "Phineas protected them from eating food dedicated to false gods, when he shattered the idol among the people" (105.24), he mistakenly attached to Phineas (who averted a plague in Num 25) an episode proper to Moses (Ex 32:20).[82] The metrical poet was also accustomed to observing the Divine Office, as suggested by his devotional response of acknowledgment to Ps 84:7 (Ro), which enjoyed an independent function as a versicle in the liturgy.[83] Whether he was also a monk is hard to say, since there is no clear evidence one way or the other. Ps 90.6, Ro "a daemonio meridiano" ("from the noonday devil"), a passage very familiar to those in monastic observance because Cassian had famously associated the demon in question with the monastic sin of *acedia* ("spiritual sloth"), is in the metrical version translated quite literally (*on midne dæg mære deoful,* "the notorious noonday devil"). Whatever significance the addition of *mære* might command could be explained away by its metrical function as an alliterative filler.

Despite obvious disparities in status (king and ecclesiastic) and differences in approach to translating the psalms (expository prose and devotional poetry), these two Anglo-Saxon

translators had one essential concern in common: a keen sense of their intended audiences which drove them both to take bold measures in translating. For Alfred that meant crafting a translation whose character is defined by a combination of benign literalism and （generally）historical interpretation; for the metrical poet it meant providing a literal translation, poetic in form but stripped of its traditional heroic vocabulary, and imbued with a devotional emphasis. Whereas the former treated the psalms as a historical text to be explicated, the latter regarded them as a series of prayers to be recited by contemporary Christians. Both in their several ways were innovators in the field of vernacular biblical translation.

Notes

1 ）"…absque Scripturis sanctis, ubi et verborum ordo mysterium est….;" Letter 57 to Pammachius, J-P. Migne （ed.）, *Patrologia Latina* 22, col. XX; trans. by Michael Marlowe at www.bible-researcher. com/jerome.pammachius.html. An earlier version of the present paper was read at the 30th anniversary meeting of the Eastern and Western branches of the Japan Society for Medieval English Studies, held at Aoyama University, Tokyo, June 2014; I am grateful to the society for inviting me to participate on that special occasion.

2 ）H. Sweet （ed.）, *King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care*, vol 1, Early English Texts Society, original series 45 （London, 1871）, pp. 5-6; translated by S. Keynes and M. Lapidge, *Alfred the Great: Asser's* Life of King Alfred *and other Contemporary Sources* （Harmondsworth, 1983）, pp. 125-6.

3 ）W. H. Stevenson （ed.）*Asser's Life of King Alfred* （Oxford, 1959, with a new introduction by D, Whitelock）, p. 59; translated by Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, p. 91.

4 ）Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin, MS 8824; facsimile by B. Colgrave *et al.*, *The Paris Psalter* （*MS. Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin, 8824*）, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 8 （Copenhagen, 1958）.

5 ）Surviving fragments of the metrical version for Pss 1-50 strongly suggest that it was originally composed as a complete rendering of the psalms.

6 ）The prose version is attributed to King Alfred and would therefore date before 890, the year of his death. On the dating of the metrical version, see K. Sisam *apud* Colgrave, The *Paris Psalter*, pp. 16-17, who tentatively proposes "round about the middle of the tenth century." Certainly, a *terminus ante quem* is indicated by the citing of three lines from the metrical version （Ps 117.22） in the OE poem known as the *Menologium*, which has recently been dated "no earlier than the second quarter of the tenth century, and probably later in that century;" see C. A. Jones （ed. and transl.）, *Old English Shorter Poems, vol. 1 （Religious and Didactic）* （Cambridge MA and London, England, 2012）, p. xxviii.

7 ）Facsimile by D. H. Wright, *The Vespasian Psalter （British Museum Cotton Vespasian A. i）*, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 14 （Copenhagen, 1967）.

8 ）Readings from the Prose Psalms are taken from P. P. O'Neill （ed.）, *King Alfred's Prose Translation*

of the First Fifty Psalms (Cambridge, MA, 2001); those of the Metrical Psalms from G. P. Krapp (ed.), *The Paris Psalter and the Meters of Boethius*, Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records 5 (New York, 1932). Here, and throughout the present paper, quotations from the two Old English versions follow the numbering system adopted in these two editions, which itself reflects the divisions of verses (both Latin and Old English) in the Paris manuscript. Note that this numbering system often differs from that found in the Latin versions of the Psalter.

9) "All my possessions are with you."

10) "Before the presence of your face."

11) "They delighted in my misfortune."

12) "Those who speak boastfully and maliciously."

13) "He extended...is founded."

14) "May his dwelling become utterly a wasteland for him, and may it never come about that any living creature should occupy his home."

15) "They have noses yet smell nothing; they have hands, yet they cannot grasp anything of value, however; likewise, they have feet, yet they cannot walk far; nor do they loudly shout anything from their throats."

16) These sigla come from R. Weber (ed.), *Le Psautier Romain et les autres anciens Psautiers Latins* (Vatican City, 1953); the textual tradition is discussed on p. ix, where he distinguishes within the Psalters of English origin an early (AHMNS) and a late family (BCD) with an intermediate family (KT). In the examples which follow 'Ro' refers to the reading of the critical edition; a suprascript asterisk attached to a siglum indicates the original reading which was subsequently corrected, and a suprascript '2' that the reading is a later correction.

17) "If I was involved in evil."

18) See O'Neill, *Prose Translation*, pp. 31-2.

19) At 80.13, 88.12, and 120.5, for example.

20) "But those foreign people often lied to me."

21) As noted by Bruce Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1985), §3415; this work hereafter referred to as "Mitchell, *Syntax*," with relevant section number.

22) Nor can the possibility be ruled out (at this point) that the verse division of the *Romanum* in the Paris Psalter is itself modelled on the parallel Old English.

23) For example, the single OE verse Ps 54.19 corresponds to three verses in the Ro.

24) See Mitchell, *Syntax*, §3956.

25) J. Toswell, "The Translation Techniques of the Old English Metrical Psalter, with special reference to Psalm 136," *English Studies, A Journal of English Language and Literature* 75 (1994), 393-407 at 404 (which also provides an excellent overview of the translator's *modus operandi*).

26) For a discussion, see O'Neill, *Prose Translation*, p. 46.

27) Toswell, "Translation Techniques," 404.

28) Old English text supplied from a fragment of the Metrical Psalms preserved in a tract on the Benedictine Office (in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121), ed. Jones, *Old English Shorter Poems,* p. 302.

29) As suggested by *Dictionary of Old English: A-G* (Online), ed. Antonette diPaolo Healey (Toronto, 2007) s.v. *abregdan* A.8.

30) Abbot Ælfric was more accurate when he defined "diplois" as *twifeld hrægel* in his Glossary, ed. by

T. Wright and R. P. Wülcker, *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies*, 2 vols.（2nd edn., London, 1884）, I, 104-67.

31）See p. 146, above.

32）The evidence for this is examined below, pp. 149-53.

33）O'Neill, *Prose Translation*, p. 132.

34）On these Christian *tituli*, see P. Salmon（ed.）, *Les "Tituli psalmorum" des manuscrits latins*（Paris, 1959）. I have not found, as yet, any evidence that the metrical translator depended on any particular series of Christian *tituli*.

35）There is no evidence that these *tituli* in the Paris Psalter influenced either the prose or the metrical versions which they introduce.

36）The translator's effusive personalization of the speaker's relationship with God is matched by a corresponding hostility towards enemies of God or the psalmist in the psalms. For example, *ge þæs ealle ne magon andgyt habban*（52.5）（"as a result all of you are incapable of understanding"）, where the switch from 3rd person（Ro "cognoscent"）to 2nd（*ge*）imparts immediacy; likewise the four verbs of Ro "cogitauerunt, cucurri, benedicebant, maledicebant"（"they considered, I ran, they blessed, they cursed"）are all rendered in the metrical version（Ps 61.4）with 2nd person plural verbs referring to the psalmist's enemies, *ge mine are ealle þohton / wraðe toweorpan, wide urnon / þurstige muðe þæne bletsedan / and ðone wyrgedan*（"you carefully considered how to maliciously destroy my honor. You ran here and there with thirsty mouths; you blessed him but malignantly cursed him with your hearts."）

37）"You also cause to be produced from the earth fodder for animals...you provided herbs as sustenance for mankind....In addition you produced for them bread....Likewise, you will make abundant the growth of trees...."

38）Conversely, Latin words which a medieval Christian would have interpreted as clear references to Christ, are translated literally in certain parts of the metrical version with no hint of interpretation; for example, *christus*（literally, 'the anointed one'）is rendered by *se halga* or is applied literally to King David, as at 104.13, 131.10, and 131.18.

39）"In that church may Christ...bless（the children of Israhel）."

40）"In the exalted assembly of the Christian community."

41）"In the courtyards of Christ's house."

42）"Turn us eagerly to you, Christ almighty."

43）"Save me, saviour Christ."

44）"Kindly save me, saviour Christ."

45）That does not mean that he rejected the applicability of certain psalms to David. Thus, certain occurrences of Ro *christus*, which unambiguously refer to King David, are translated literally by OE *crist*（"the anointed one"）, as in Pss 83.8, 88.33 and 131.18; see n 38, above.

46）O'Neill, *Prose Translation*, p. 163. Note the use of deictic *ðisse*, which identifies the sin as specific to David.

47）Old English text supplied from Jones, *Old English Shorter Poems*, pp. 306 and 312. The corresponding Ro passages are given on the right-hand side.

48）"You will fill the earth with lasting produce, so that it will become fertile with generations of humans."

49）M. Adriaen（ed.）, *Magni Aurelii Cassiodori Expositio Psalmorum I-LXX*, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 97（Turnholt, 1958）, p. 567, lines 228-9（"Here we should accept *terram* to mean man-

kind"). This work is hereafter referred to as *Expositio Psalmorum* with relevant page and line number.

50）"Now I have begun to consider first of all...."

51）*Expositio Psalmorum*, 703, 218-9;（"Now I have begun as though to know, to understand...."）.

52）"The mountains are glad（they understand the signs）."

53）*Expositio Psalmorum*, 880, 185-90;（"The meek will be raised up to the most solid summits by the prospect of future happiness"）.

54）"You confidently give understanding to all earth's inhabitants."

55）"He gives understanding to children."

56）E. Dekkers and I. Fraipont（edd.）, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Enarrationes in Psalmos CI-CL*, CCSL 40 （Turnholt, 1956）, p. 1758, line 18（"let them all be children, and let all the world be under obligation to you"）.

57）"The memory of God will often be in their mouths, they will certainly enjoy the advantage of that with delight."

58）*Expositio Psalmorum*, 1324, 112-15（"'The joyful praises of God in their mouths,' signifying that they will never cease praising, either by mouth or in word, that one from whom they obtain eternal gifts"）.

59）See Jones, *Old English Shorter Poems*, pp. 288-9

60）See O'Neill, *Prose Translation*, pp. 31-53, and "The Prose Translation of Psalms 1-50," in Nicole Guenther Discenza and Paul E. Szarmach（edd.）, *A Companion to Alfred the Great*, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition（Leiden and Boston, 2015）, pp. 258-83. One would probably have to admit that the Prose Psalms, because of their association with Alfred, have received more attention than they might otherwise enjoy.

61）See J. M. Bately, *The Literary Prose of King Alfred's Reign: Translation or Transformation*（London, 1980）, p. 14; and "The authorship of the prose psalms in the Paris Psalter," *Anglo-Saxon England* 10 （1982）, 69-95 at 79.

62）K. Sisam, *apud* Colgrave, *The Paris Psalter*, p. 17.

63）Mitchell, *Syntax*, §3973.

64）S. B. Greenfield and Daniel G. Calder（with Michael Lapidge）, *A New Critical History of Old English Literature*（New York and London, 1986）, p. 232.

65）M. S. Griffith, "Poetic language and the Paris Psalter: the decay of the Old English tradition," *Anglo-Saxon England* 20 （1991）, 167-86 at 182-3.

66）Mitchell, *Syntax*, §3973.

67）Mitchell, *Syntax*, §§3964-76.

68）Mitchell, *Syntax*, §3973.

69）Mitchell, *Syntax*, §§3971 and 3973

70）The following is a representative sampling of other occurrences from selected psalms: 59.5, 68.33, 70.3, 70.5, 70.22, 79.6, 79.16, 89.13, 95.9, 117.21, 121.4, 128.3, 131.12, 138.14, 141.4, 142.1, 145.2, 145.8.

71）See Mitchell, *Syntax*, §3966.

72）For a list of such fillers, see H. Bartlett, *The Metrical Division of the Paris Psalter*（Baltimore, 1896）, p. 33, and J. D. Tinkler, *Vocabulary and Syntax of the Old English Version in the Paris Psalter*（The Hague & Paris, 1971）, pp. 70-78.

73）Griffith, "Poetic language and the Paris Psalter," 182, who also notes（181）that traditional poetic

words tend to group in the first stave of the b-verse.

74) H. D. Merritt, *The Construction απο κοινου in the Germanic Languages* (Stanford, 1938), p. 16.

75) Some 19 of these had already been identified by Meritt, *The Construction*, pp. 20-54, and Tinkler, *Vocabulary and Syntax,* pp. 85-7. The following is a collective list of occurrences (those discovered by Meritt and Tinkler are marked by an asterisk), with the *koinon*, or common element, given in brackets: Pss 56.1* (*unriht*); 60.1 (*Nu me caru beateð/ heard æt heortan*); 67.17 (*geteled rime*); 68.16* (*mannum*); 69.7 (*Drihten*); 71.15* (*Arabia gold*); 73.17 (*þe þe andettað earme þearfan*); 73.18 (*nu þin gewitnes ys wel gefylled*); 74.7 (*forþon se wines steap on waldendes handa/ fægere gefylled is*); 76.9 (*gemyndig*); 77.24 (*Forþon þe hi ne woldon wordum drihtnes/ lustum gelyfan*); 78.4 (*edwit-stæf*); 79.16 (*weoruda drihten*); 83.3 (*weoruda drihten*); 83.11* (*mode*); 85.1 (*þu me wel gehyr*); 88.4* (*soðfæstnesse*); 88.25 (*ofer eorðcyningas*); 90.1 (*heofonrices weard*); 93.2 (*eorþan dema*); 93.4* (*un-nyt*); 102.14* (*æghwær*); 103.12 (*ufan*); 105.1 (*on ðysse worulde*); 105.25 (*on his gaste gram*); 106.38 (*sares and yfeles*); 112.5* (*þa eadmedu*); 113.12* (*worhtan*); 116.1* (*herigan*); 117.18 (*dryhten ælmih-stig*); 118.7 (*mid minre heortan*); 118.12 (*bliþe dryhten*); 118.52* (*mæra doma þinra*); 118.64 (*mihtig drihten*); 118.126 (*drihten ure*); 118.148 (*on ærmergen*); 118.152 (*ongeat gleawlice*); 122.1 (*ece driht-en*); 129.1 (*drihten, drihten*); 129.3 (*drihten, drihten*); 131.18 (*forð gelæde*); 136.3 (*fæcnum wordum*); 144.7 (*þa miclan geniht*); 148.4 (*and þa wæter swylce ðe ofer wolcnum synt on heofon-hame*); 149.3 (*on tympanum tidum heriað*).

76) The etymologically related words are in bold letters. Other examples are: Ps 62.4 (*lif...lifiað*); 67.4, 82.4, 118.55 and 134.13 (*naman...nemne(d)*); 69.1 (*fultum...gefultuma*); 73.16 (*gesceafta...gesceop*); 94.9 (*cunnedan cuð*); 98.8 (*bebodu...bebead*); 103.23 (*gesceafta...scyppend*); 117.14 (*strengðu strang*); 117.18 (*clænsude...clæne*); 118.67 (*gehened hean gewurde*); 118.136 (*gang...gangeð*); 118.169 (*gebe-dum...gebidde*); 125.6 (*cumað...cumiende*); 131.2 (*gehat gehet*); 134.3 (*weorðiað...wyrðe*); 136.3-4 (*singað...sang*).

77) "Your ancestors from this nation severely tested me; there they found out...."

78) "...towards those who stirred up hostility against their neighbours; all such I vexed with affliction."

79) For other likely examples, see 72.2, 84.7 and 118.94-5 (*secan*, "to strive after, to seek"); 72.19 (*geni-man*, "to take hold of someone's hand, to take possession of someone"); 84.11 (*syllan*, "to give, to yield"); 93.19 (*fæst*, "fixed in place, constant in help"); 95.10 (*deman*, "to render (justice), to judge"); 105.9 (*drige*, "dried up, dry land"); 105.19 (*mægen*, "miracle, force"); 118.100 (*gehealdan*, "to remem-ber, observe"); 118.118 (*unriht*, "act of iniquity, evil"); 118.122-3 (*hyldo*, "act of kindness, favour"); 136.5 (*forgytan*, "to forget, disregard").

80) For Alfred's love of OE poetry, see Stevenson, Asser's Life of King Alfred, 19-20 (§§ 22-23); trans. Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the* Great, pp. 74-5.

81) As suggested by Tinkler, *Vocabulary and Syntax*, pp. 83-4.

82) Note also his additional information about Ephraim at Ps 107.7 as the "own brother" of Manasseh, which comes from Gen 48:1.

83) See above, p. 152.

Appendix: References to the Paris Psalter Psalms in Bruce Mitchell's *Old English Syntax*: addenda (and a few corrigenda) to the Index.

Although Bruce Mitchell by his own admission was not an admirer of the Metrical Psalms as poetry (see §3973 of *Old English Syntax*), he was too good a scholar to ignore its linguistic evidence. Examples from that work (and the Prose Psalms also) appear regularly in his book, and the third index in vol. II, an "Index of Passages Particularly Discussed," has a dedicated section (p. 1073) on "PPs," that is, the Metrical Psalms. But because his criterion for including passages in that index was so rigorous — they had to be passages which he had attempted to interpret in some way (vol II, p. 1010) — a considerable number of references were omitted. The following is a tentative list of such passages, given in the format of identification by section adopted by Mitchell. Also included in the list are references to the Prose Psalms ("Ps(P)"), for which Mitchell's third index did not have a dedicated section (a few references to that work are lumped together with the entry for glossed Psalters on p. 1080).

Prose Psalms [Ps(P)]

2.11: §3876

2.12: §2963

7.4: §649

9.33: §3418

13.11: §3630

17.11: §64

17.30: §3629

17.39: §1339

22.4: §3531

23.10: §350

24.6: §3876

25.6: §864

26.9: §621

29.9: §1652

32.16: §88, n.19

33.10: §1571

34.11: §350

36.1: §3413

36.3: §906

37.9: §360

40.8: §1092 (s.v. *sprecan*)

43.13: §1083

44.4: §514

45.4: §1318, n.14

47.7: §1318, n.14

49:22: §3517

50.8: §3259

Metrical Psalms [PPs]

51.6-150 (*passim*): §36

51.8: §2301

56.1: §2769

56.3: §2114

56.5: §466

56.8: §3521

57.5: §1921ᵃ

58.9: §§2464-6

59.4: §§862, 1278, 2825

59.8: §1023

61.10: §917

62.1: §466

63.5: §2464

64.5: §§1339, 1365

64.12: §1339

65.16: §§3564, 3565, 3595

67:22: add §2748

67.23: add §815

68.3: §2826

68.4: §2258

68.11: §3593

68.14: §2930, 2936

68.23: add §§2804, 2825, 2963

68.31: add §3539

68.32: §3691

69.3: §§455-6

70.20: §2515

72.1: §1104

72.8: §2515

73.18: §1986

74.2: §3311

74.5: §909

75.4: §2228

75.6: §2825

76.11: §§356, 2361, 3630 (added in *A Critical Bibliography of Old English Syntax*, p. 244)

77.20: §1985

77.37: §3506

77.65: add §3383

78.3: §3380

79.2: §2184

79.12: §1669

80.12: §3314

82.4: §§2825, 2957

82.10: §§3303, 3383

82.12: §1038

83.5: §2143

83.11: §2624

85.7: §3302

86.1: §1520

88.3: §2243

88.6: §2438

88.18: §1368

88.28-30: §3715

89.2: §861

89.4: §3376

89.11: §456

89.14: add §691

90.14: §3099

91.6: §737

91.11: §3303

92.3: for §2589 read §2859

93.7: §3454

93.9: §2208

93.15: §3654

94.8: §3564

94.10: §3097

95.7: §1359

95.12: §2825

98.10: §1461

99.1: §909

101.4: §2282

101.5: §2282

101.9: §2694

101.20: §§2806, 2808

101.21: Mitchell, 1965, *Neophil.* 49, 52

101.24: §3204

102.3: §2114

102.4: §2114

102.14: §3794

103.27: §3597

103.33: §2963

104.9: §3784

104.16-17: §1083

104.19: §3784

105.19: §§2825, 2963, 3721

105.33: add §2700

106.3: §2769

106.6: add §2515

106.19: §2237

106.20: §1961

106.24: §737

106.30: §1961

107.10: §1647

108.5: §309

108.6: §466

108.25: §2697

111.7: §2826

111.9: §2697

112.3: §2769

113.3: §2700

113.5: §§478, 1868

113.13: §3522

113.15: §3526

113.23: §887

115.3: §360

117.13: §2826

117.21: add §3487

117.24: §§3099, 3104

118.5: §1975

118.10: add §§908, 1677, 1841

118.11: add §2936

118.15: §2957

118.52: §3793

118.66: §845

118.72: §3234

118.66: §845

118.73: §1014

118.80: §2963

118.86: §145

118.92: §3652

118.117: §3691

118.133: §2930

118.143: §3519

118.159: §491

118.176: §2156

121.1: §§2134, 3991[a]

121.3: §§478, 480, 3317

122.1: §§2184, 2246, 3992

123.1/2: §§3652, 3654

123.6: §§3303-4

124.1: §2208

126.1: §3654

126.6: §2143

127.6: §908

129.6: §2769

132.2: §1368

134.2: §§218-4

134.11: §2282

134.17/18: §3526

134.22: §2301

135.21: §2282

135.23: §1751

136.7: §894

137.2: §3794

137.4: §§2365, 2367, 2373

137.7: §1368

138.3: §1368

138.11: §2700

138.13: §3402

139.10: §2957

139.11: add §1751

140.9: §811, n.210

141.4: §2235

143.9: §88

143.10: §2232

143.15: §3302

144.11/12: add §1970

145.5: §2114

145.6: §2114

146.3: §2114

146.4: §2114

146.11: add §§1025, 3402

147.5: §3304