Landscape, Place, Space and the Mind in the Old English Psalms: A Study Centred on the Paris Psalter (Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin MS 8824)

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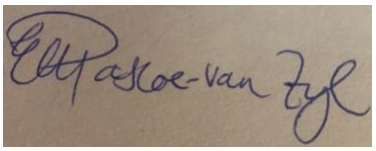

Summary

This thesis analyses the intersection of landscape, place and space imagery and the mind in the singular, bilingual (Latin and Old English), parallel-text iteration of a key and ubiquitous text in early medieval Ireland, England and continental Europe – the psalms. Given this ubiquity, and the fact that the psalms are replete with landscape, place and space imagery, the thesis argues for the need for close attention to be directed to how psalmic imagery (in both Latin and the vernacular) shaped perceptions of the broader environment and, in turn, influenced the creative output of persons required to memorize and internalize these texts.

The Introduction sets out the methodology of the study and contextualizes the approach taken to the three lenses (landscape, place and space) as well as the mind. Central to the approach to the mind is the concept of a *psalteratus/a* (a person who has thoroughly internalized all 150 psalms). The genesis of this concept is explained and the vehicle which connects the three lenses with the mind – namely metaphor – is situated within a psalmic context.

Chapter 1, 'Landscape, Place, Space and the Mind in the Latin Psalms', contextualizes the three Latin psalters available in early medieval England namely the *Romanum, Gallicanum* and *Hebraicum* and explains the prevalence of the *Romanum* in England. After establishing the significance of Psalm 1 as a 'gateway' psalm, it harnesses a highly influential psalm commentary in the period – the *Expositio Psalmorum* by Cassiodorus – to offer an analysis of how the Latin (*Romanum*) psalms' landscape (trees, water features and grass), place (*locus amoenus* versus *locus horribilis*) and space (path terms) imagery may have shaped the thought life of a typical *psalteratus/a*.

Chapter 2, 'Landscape, Place, Space and the Mind in the OE Psalms – Prose and Metrical', opens by contextualizing the place of the Paris Psalter among the other Old English glossed psalters of the period. It then builds on the foundation established in Chapter 1 to analyse the translation strategies (for lexis within the lenses of landscape, place and space) of two *psalterati/ae* – the paraphrast who created the Prose Psalms and the psalm-poet who created the Metrical Psalms. Both these individuals demonstrate (particularly in the places where each of them introduces Old English vocabulary such as *treow* 'tree' or *beorg* 'mountain', for example, without a Latin precedent) that landscape, place and space imagery played a significant role in their engagement with the psalms in both Latin and Old English.

Chapter 3, 'Landscape, Place and Space – Questions of Materiality and Embodiment of the Psalms in situ of P', considers how the Paris Psalter's known scribe, Wulfwinus Cada, may be thought of as a 'prototype' *psalteratus-scriba*. It opens by analysing the language of his colophon and detects the influence of the psalms in his choice of lexis here. It then analyses the surviving thirteen illustrations in the manuscript within the lenses of landscape, place and space. These drawings exhibit a concern with landscape in the use of groundlines and trees as well as a justice-inflected *locus amoenus* and its mirror opposite of an injustice-inflected *locus horribilis*. One illustration, Illustration 5, unlike traditional depictions of a standing psalmist, shows the psalmist figure walking towards the hand of God. This depiction may indicate a deeper awareness of one of the psalter's root metaphors – 'pathway'. The chapter then closes with a consideration of how the layout and design of the Paris Psalter codex may have been tacitly influenced by this root metaphor in the psalms.

Chapter 4, 'Landscape, Place and Space – the Resonance of the Psalms in OE Poetry', moves from considering the psalm imagery within the Latin and Old English Psalms and the Paris Psalter manuscript itself to considering the influence of psalmic imagery (within the lenses of landscape, place and space) on some Old English poems. It opens by considering what it means to be a *psalteratus/a-scop* within the relatively new designation of 'monastic poetics'. It then analyses the psalms' influence on the tree imagery (within the lens of landscape) in the *Dream of the Rood*, the path terms (within the lens of space) in *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer*, the *loci horribiles* (within the lens of place) in *Wulf and Eadwacer* and *The Wife's Lament*, the hapax legomenon *ferð-weg* 'soul-way' (within the lens of space) in *Resignation* and the *locus amoenus* of a faintly detectable heavenly Jerusalem (within the lens of place) in *The Ruin*'s damaged final lines.

The conclusion reviews the main arguments of the preceding chapters and highlights overarching themes (such as a landscape-inflected psalmic hermeneutic) emerging from the findings in this study. It then offers some thoughts on how psalmic landscape metaphor (particularly in the Metrical Psalms) may have impacted modern English and comments on the psalms' therapeutic potential (highlighted by Augustine already in the late fourth/early fifth century CE) and their capacity to instil joy.

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APVZ, Dublin, September, 2025

Abbreviations

ASPR	*The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*, ed. by G.P. Krapp and E.V.K. Dobbie 6 vols (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931-42)
B-T	Joseph Bosworth, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Online*, ed. by Thomas Northcote Toller, Christ Sean and Ondřej Tichy (Prague: Faculty of Arts, Charles University, 2014) <https://bosworthtoller.com> [accessed 1 August 2025]
CLD	*Cassell's Latin Dictionary: Latin-English / English-Latin*, ed. by D. P. Simpson (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1968)
DMLBS	*Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, 3 vols, ed. by Richard Ashdowne, David Howlett and Ronald Latham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018) accessed via Logeion <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/lexidium> [accessed 1 August 2025]
DOE	*The Dictionary of Old English: A-Le* online, ed. by Angus Cameron, Ashley Crandell Amos and Antonette diPaolo Healey et al. (Toronto: Dictionary of Old English Project, 2024) <https://doe.artsci.utoronto.ca> [accessed 1 August 2025]
DOEC	*The Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus*, ed. by Antonette diPaolo Healey et al. (Toronto: Dictionary of Old English Project, 2025) <https://doe.artsci.utoronto.ca/?p=498> [accessed 1 August 2025]
D-RB	*Douay-Rheims Bible* online <http://www.drbo.org/index.htm> [accessed 1 August 2025]
Heb	*Psalterium Hebraicum* or *Liber Psalmorum iuxta Hebraicum translatus* online <http://www.liberpsalmorum.info/Psalterium%20Hebraicum.html> [accessed 1 August 2025]
Klinck	*The Old English Elegies: A Critical Edition and Genre Study*, ed. by Anne L. Klinck (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992)

LPR	*Le Psautier romain et les autres anciens psautiers latins*, ed. by Robert Weber (Roma: Abbaye Saint-Jerôme, 1953) available online <http://www.liberpsalmorum.info/Psalterium%20Romanum.html> [accessed 1 August 2025]
LVB	*Latin Vulgate Bible* (sourced from *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem,* ed. by Robert Weber (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994)) online <http://www.drbo.org/lvb/index.htm> [accessed 1 August 2025]
ODEE	*Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology*, ed. by C. T. Onions (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966)
OEP	*Old English Psalms*, ed. and trans. by Patrick P. O'Neill, Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library 42 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016)
OTA	University of Oxford, 2000, *Dictionary of Old English Corpus in Electronic Form (DOEC)*, Oxford Text Archive, <https://ota.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/repository/xmlui/handle/20.500.12024/2488> [accessed 1 August 2025]
PP	The Paris Psalter (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin MS 8824) online facsimile <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8451636f/f394.item> [accessed 1 August 2025]
UP	The Utrecht Psalter (Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 32) online facsimile < https://psalter.library.uu.nl/?_ga=2.178285985.482096169.1590082356-1397587295.1590082356> [accessed 1 August 2025]
Wildhagen	*Der Cambridger Psalter*, ed. by Karl Wildhagen (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1964)
Sisam	*The Salisbury Psalter,* Early English Text Society 242, ed. by Celia and Kenneth Sisam (London: Oxford University Press, 1959)
Swanton	*The Dream of the Rood*, ed. by Michael Swanton (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1996)

Introduction

> Yea though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil: for thou *art* with me; thy rod and thy staff they comfort me. Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine enemies: thou anointest my head with oil; my cup runneth over. Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life: and I will dwell in the house of the Lord for ever.[1]

These well-known verses from Psalm 23 (22 in the Vulgate) have reverberated within the English poetic imagination for centuries.[2] The compelling articulation of symbolic landscape (the valley of the shadow of death) as well as the movement of the psalmist (goodness and mercy shall *follow* me) towards refuge (I will dwell in the house of the Lord for ever) all point to how landscape, place (refuge) and space (movement) and the mind (the psalmist will fear no evil) are at play in the psalms.

Moreover, in recent decades scholarship has emerged that overtly examines perceptions of the mind and emotion in Old English (OE) literature[3] as well as perceptions of landscape, place and space within an OE context.[4] Scholarship on the significant place of the psalms (in both Latin and the vernacular) in early medieval England has also materialised – most notably the work of M. J. Toswell.[5] As yet, however, there has not been an extensive

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[1] Ps. 23. 4-6 in *The Bible: Authorized King James Version with Apocrypha* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

[2] See Susan Gillingham, *Psalms Through the Centuries: A Reception History Commentary on Psalms 1-72*: *Volume Two* (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2018), pp. 149-50. Gillingham lists, among others, George Herbert (d. 1633) and John Bunyan (d. 1688) as poets/writers who have been inspired by Psalm 23.

[3] See, for example, M. R. Godden, 'Anglo-Saxons on the Mind' in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies presented to Peter Clemoes* ed. by Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 271-98, Peter Clemoes, *Interaction of Thought and Language in Old English Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), Leslie Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies in the Vernacular and Latin Traditions* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), Antonina Harbus, *Cognitive Approaches to Old English Poetry* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2012), Britt Mize, *Traditional Subjectivities: The Old English Poetics of Mentality* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), Eleni Ponirakis, *Thought and Action in Old English Poetry and Prose* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2024), *Anglo-Saxon Emotions: Reading the Heart in Old English Language. Literature and Culture* ed. by Alice Jorgensen, Frances McCormack and Jonathan Wilcox (Abingdon: Ashgate Publishing, 2015) and Alice Jorgensen, *Emotional Practice in Old English Literature* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2024).

[4] See, for example, Della Hooke, *The Landscape of Anglo-Saxon England* (London: Leicester University Press, 1998), Clare A. Lees & Gillian Overing, eds., *A Place to Believe In: Locating Medieval Landscapes* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006) and Nicole Guenther Discenza, *Inhabited Spaces: Anglo-Saxon Constructions of Place* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017).

[5] See M. J. Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*. Medieval Church Studies 10 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014).

study of the connections between landscape, place, space and the mind in OE literature more broadly nor in the Latin and OE Psalms specifically. This thesis seeks to address the latter lacuna. Given that the psalms (as texts) had such an outsized presence and influence in early medieval England,[6] it stands to reason that perceptions of the broader environment (landscape, place and space) may have been indelibly marked by them and vice versa.

What follows in this Introduction is a contextualisation of my methodology and approach to 'landscape', 'place', 'space' and the 'mind'. In outlining the approach to the 'mind' I consider what it meant to be *psalteratus* or *psalterata* – a crucial underpinning of the argument in this study. I then offer the rationale for the choice of the Paris Psalter (Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin, MS 8824)[7] as the primary vehicle for investigating the psalms in Latin and OE within the three lenses. Lastly, I summarize the content of each of the four chapters and outline conventions used.

The concepts of 'place' and 'space' have been considered and pondered from antiquity. The concept of 'landscape' is relatively more recent (post-medieval)[8] and I will address it in due course. Plato and Aristotle developed the three notions of *kenon*, *chora* and *topos*. The first idea, *kenon*, refers to a void in which all other things exist. It is 'homogonous and undifferentiated'[9] and entirely abstract. The theory of an 'eternal emptiness'[10] contained in the concept of *kenon* is the root of much of modern science's approach to space as an abstract void. The concept of *chora* stems from the third element of Plato's analysis of the factors of 'becoming' which refers to the 'place' or 'setting' of 'becoming' and it is often translated as 'receptacle' to indicate that it differs from the void of *kenon* in that it always refers to a thing. The third notion, *topos*, was often used interchangeably with *chora* by Plato, but it is usually more particular. Aristotle used *chora* to describe a country and *topos* to describe a region or place within a country. These two concepts are the antecedents of the modern geographical concepts of 'chorology' (the study of regions) and 'topography' (the shape of the land surface).[11]

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[6] See *Ibid*.
[7] Hereafter 'P'.
[8] Clare A. Lees and Gillian R. Overing, 'Anglo-Saxon Horizons: Places of the Mind in the Northumbrian Landscape', in *A Place to Believe in: Locating Medieval Landscapes*, p. 2.
[9] Tim Cresswell, *Geographic Thought: A Critical Introduction* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), p. 19. Note that I draw on Cresswell to unpack the three concepts of *kenon*, *chora* and *topos*.
[10] *Ibid*.
[11] *Ibid*., pp. 19-20.

We can perhaps begin to detect, then, how *kenon* prefigures our modern conception of 'space', *chora* our conception of 'place' and *topos* our conception of 'landscape' via topography. To make this connection more tangible, it is of course worthwhile to turn to more recent (relatively) scholarship on these concepts. The geographer Yi-Fu Tuan has developed the distinctions between 'space' and 'place' (or to what Plato and Aristotle referred to as *kenon* and *choros*) thoughtfully and sensitively. Moreover, Clare Lees and Gillian Overing observe that since the publication of Yi-Fu Tuan's seminal work, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*, there has been an almost overwhelming array of cultural geography 'registers' and 'analyses of spatial power relations'.[12] Lees and Overing's view – which I share – is that Tuan's understanding of what it means to be 'in place' and his 'insistence on kinetic connection' in this regard remains instructive.[13]

Tuan observes that 'space is freedom' and 'place is security'.[14] He develops this idea further by suggesting that 'if we think of space as that which allows movement, then place is pause; each pause in movement makes it possible for location to be transformed into place'.[15] Tuan readily acknowledges, too, that the terms 'space' and 'place' are mutually reliant on one another for each of their definitions.[16]

The Dutch painting term *landskip* 'landscape' meaning 'a picture representing natural inland scenery' entered the modern English lexicon in the sixteenth century when Milton used it in *Paradise Lost*.[17] Onions notes that the term's Middle Dutch antecedent (*lantscap*) should be compared with OE, Old Saxon, Old High German and Old Norse cognates. He also notes that the OE term (*landscipe*) means 'region' or 'tract'.[18] Clearly, given these cognates,

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[12] Clare A. Lees and Gillian R. Overing, 'Anglo-Saxon Horizons: Places of the Mind in the Northumbrian Landscape', in *A Place to Believe In: Locating Medieval Landscapes*, p. 1.
[13] *Ibid*., p. 2.
[14] Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977), p. 3. Tuan develops this dichotomy between space (freedom) and place (security) into a dichotomy between 'hearth' (which though 'nurturing, can be too confining') and 'cosmos' (which though 'liberating, can be too bewildering') in *Cosmos and Hearth: A Cosmopolite's Viewpoint* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), p. 2.
[15] *Ibid*., p. 6
[16] *Ibid*.
[17] See *ODEE*, sv. 'landscape' and Douglas Chambers, '"Discovering in Wide Lantskip": "Paradise Lost" and the Tradition of Landscape Description in the Seventeenth Century', *The Journal of Garden History*, 5:1 (1985), 15-31.
[18] *ODEE*, sv. 'landscape'.

'landscape' has existed as a concept from perhaps the earliest point of OE's use.[19] Notably, too, prominent scholars of the landscape of early medieval England, such as Margaret Gelling and Della Hooke, see this term as encompassing a variety of topographical features such as plants, trees, woodland, marshland, mountains, hills, valleys and water features.[20]

The landscape lens

My approach to this lens is undergirded by Gelling and Hooke's understanding of the term. Consequently, I look for reference to physical topographical features such as (but not limited to) trees, mountains/hills and water features. I, at times, harness insights derived from place-name scholarship[21] to ascertain whether a toponym's meaning can shed light on specific landscape vocabulary deployed in the OE.[22] It should be noted, here, that this method has roots that go back to early medieval England itself. Martin Ryan writes:

> That Anglo-Saxons were themselves the first scholars of Anglo-Saxon place-names should be no surprise. Indeed, the interpretation of place-names played a significant role in how the Anglo-Saxons approached, constructed and appreciated their own pasts…Bede was especially interested in the physical environment, both his own and that of the Bible.[23]

Ryan goes on to observe that 'Bede seems to have considered the interpretive techniques used in exegesis also to be applicable to Anglo-Saxon place-names'.[24] Certainly, in the instances where the toponymic evidence was harnessed in this thesis, the place-name meaning unlocked a semantic nuance that would be otherwise inaccessible.[25]

Furthermore, this lens is also informed by Nicholas Howe's understanding of the emotive symbolism couched in the 'vocabulary' of the landscape for OE speakers. Howe,

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[19] Note that W. G. Hoskins traces the history of the English landscape from Pre-Roman to modern times. See Hoskins, *The Making of the English Landscape* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1955).
[20] See Margaret Gelling and Ann Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names* (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2014) and Della Hooke, *The Landscape of Anglo-Saxon England* (London: Leicester University Press, 1998).
[21] Particularly, Gelling and Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names*.
[22] In the case of the OE poetry the toponymic evidence proved most useful within the 'space' lens when analysing the term *lagu-lade* in *The Wanderer*. See Chapter 4, Section 4.3.
[23] Martin J. Ryan, 'Place-Names, Language and the Anglo-Saxon Landscape: An Introduction', in *Place-Names, Language and the Anglo-Saxon Landscape*, ed. by Nicholas J. Higham and Martin J. Ryan (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2011), pp. 1-21 (p. 2).
[24] *Ibid*., p. 3.
[25] See, for example, the discussion on *cnoll* in the Prose Psalms and *burna* in the Metrical Psalms in Chapter 2, Section 2.2.

drawing on the work of Martin Carver and Anne Spirn,[26] unpacks how people in early medieval England may have 'read' topographical features in their surrounding environment as a modern person reads a text.[27] He develops this concept further, vis à vis, 'imagined landscapes' in OE poetry and argues persuasively that when we see glimpses of interiority in OE 'secular' poetry an 'emotional struggle' is often vividly portrayed through landscape – particularly in the elegies *The Wanderer*, *The Wife's Lament* and *The Seafarer*.[28]

In practice, the selection of landscape elements in each chapter was governed, first, by Gelling and Hooke's collective umbrella, listed above, of what constitutes a landscape feature and, second, the respective foci, within this lens, of each chapter. In Chapter 1 this was Psalm 1's landscape imagery. Chapter 2 built on the foundation in Chapter 1, but included mountains due to the layered significance of this feature for speakers of OE. Chapter 3, constrained by the illustration programme in the manuscript, focused predominantly on trees (notably a tree appears in the illustration for the key psalm, Psalm 1, and two trees are included with the important figure of the psalmist in Illustration 8), but also included the drawings' persistent use of groundlines to indicate the surrounding landscape. Finally, Chapter 4 engaged with how trees surfaced as an overarching feature across the preceding three chapters and selected the well-known OE poem with a layered tree image complex – *The Dream of the Rood* – for analysis within this lens. These decisions are further explained within the following sections of each chapter: 1.2, 2.1, 3.1 and 4.1.

The place lens

Nicole Guenther Discenza has rigorously contextualized and underscored the import of both place and space for the early medieval English imagination.[29] Drawing on Discenza, when applying the lens of place, I look for distinct boundaries that separate place from space. My approach here is informed by the fact the 'Anglo-Saxons, like any other people, very much *made* place'.[30] In my view, this 'making of place' could be considered a practical outworking

[26] Martin Carver, *Sutton Hoo: Burial Ground of Kings?* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998) and Anne Whiston Spirn, *The Language of Landscape* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).
[27] Nicholas Howe, 'The Landscape of Anglo-Saxon England: Inherited, Invented, Imagined', in *Inventing Medieval Landscapes: Senses of Place in Western Europe* ed. by John Howe and Michael Wolfe (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002), pp. 91-112 (p. 94).
[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 103-6.
[29] See Discenza, *Inhabited Spaces: Anglo-Saxon Constructions of Place*.
[30] *Ibid*., p. 6.

of Tuan's notion that place 'is pause'[31] in the movement of space. The approach to place is also informed by Cresswell's understanding of the three elements necessary for 'place' namely, 'being located', 'having a material visual form' and having 'some relationship to humans and the human capacity to produce meaning'.[32] It is worthwhile to reiterate, here, that the writings of Bede are inflected with 'an abiding concern with ideas of place, whether conceived of as the geography of the known world or the topography of the Holy Land or England'.[33] Given all the above, the place lens has proved to be an appropriate means with which to assess the medieval concepts of a *locus amoenus* ('a pleasant place') and a *locus horribilis* ('a horrible place')[34] within the psalms in both Latin and OE as well as some OE poetry.

The space lens

The lens of space is the most fluid. My approach here is drawn from Tuan's conceptualisation of space as 'that which allows movement'.[35] This focus on 'movement' has facilitated a means to consider path terms in the Latin and OE Psalms as well as some OE poetry. As should be clear in all four chapters, the valence of 'pathway/s' is an indispensable construct in the psalms in general.

Before moving to the approach to the 'mind' and what it meant to be *psalteratus* or *psalterata*, it is worthwhile to highlight that perceptions of landscape features, space and place are often culturally determined and someone living in early medieval England may naturally perceive these phenomena in a different manner than a person living within an entirely different topography (such as that of Palestine for example) or a modern person would today. For example, 'Anglo-Saxons would see far fewer [physical] boundary markers than a typical First World resident'.[36] In applying the lenses of landscape, place and space to the Latin and OE Psalms (as well as some OE poetry) I hold this cultural context firmly in view.

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[31] Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*, p. 6.
[32] Tim Cresswell, *Place: A Short Introduction*, Short Introductions to Geography (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), p.7; quoted in Nicole Guenther Discenza, *Inhabited Spaces: Anglo-Saxon Constructions of Place*, p. 13.
[33] Nicholas Howe, *Writing the Map of Anglo-Saxon England: Essays in Cultural Geography* (Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2008), p. 126.
[34] See John Howe, 'Creating Symbolic Landscapes: Medieval Development of Sacred Place' in *Inventing Medieval Landscapes: Senses of Place in Western Europe* ed. by John Howe and Michael Wolfe (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002), pp. 208-23 (pp. 210-14) for a clarification of these terms.
[35] Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*, p. 6.
[36] See Discenza, *Inhabited Spaces: Anglo-Saxon Constructions of Place*, pp. 4-6. The direct quotation is on p. 5.

The approach to the mind – what did it mean to be psalteratus *or* psalterata?

The approach to the mind is underpinned by Leslie Lockett's articulation of how the seat of 'thinking' and the seat of 'feeling' is not as sharply divided for an OE speaker *than* a speaker of modern English. She writes:

> To begin, it is useful to clarify what most Old English authors meant by *mod* and its poetic synonyms *hyge*, *sefa*, and *ferð*. Modern English speakers distinguish between the mental and the emotional according to the degree of rationality attributed to a particular thought or psychological state, and when we conceptualize 'mind' we usually foreground rational faculties and implicitly marginalize emotions. In contrast, the *mod* of Old English narrative encompasses the faculties of reason, memory, imagination, deliberation, will, and governance of the body, along with the whole range of emotions and passions.[37]

While this study does not overtly examine conceptualizations of the mind within OE lexis (as highlighted by Lockett here), it is, nonetheless, this liminality between 'thought' and 'emotion' (as well as 'brain' and 'body'[38]) that informs the approach to the mind. For example, the physical internalization of psalm texts (mentioned below in what it meant to be *psalteratus/a*) is an obvious iteration of a blurred boundary between the mind (which meditates on psalm imagery) and the physical organs of the body.

Moreover, it is well-known that the psalms express a range of human emotions.[39] William Brown emphasizes that the book of Psalms is the longest book of the Bible (and its

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[37] Leslie Lockett, 'The Limited Role of the Brain in Mental and Emotional Activity', in *Anglo-Saxon Emotions*, pp. 35-51 (pp. 36-7).

[38] See, especially, Chapters 2 and 3 in Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies in the Vernacular and Latin Traditions*, pp. 54-178 for a thorough contextualization of the embodied nature (within the chest) of *mod* which paves the way to conceptualizing a 'mind-body holism' within a culture 'less influenced by Cartesian dualism than our own'. Direct quotations are on p. 177.

[39] Toswell observes that '[t]hey [the psalms] expressed every mood and every thought of the ordinary Christian: joy, anger, bereavement, despair, confusion, certainty, serenity, hate, love'. See Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, p. 5. Also, Alice Jorgensen highlighted, ten years ago, that there has been 'unprecedented interdisciplinary interest in emotions, a topic that has achieved a major place in psychology, anthropology, neurology and philosophy over the last thirty years but has only recently begun to be investigated historically'. See Jorgensen, 'Introduction', in *Anglo-Saxon Emotions*, pp. 1-17 (p. 2). I do not discuss the history of emotions per se, but as to what is meant by the word 'emotion' in this study see the helpful summary of 'basic emotions' (which range from anger to joy) within the thinking of '*Li Chi*, a first-century BC Chinese encyclopaedia', the Stoics, Descartes, Spinoza and Hobbes in Peter Goldie, *The Emotions: A Philosophical Exploration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 87. Of these perhaps Descartes is most relevant here. He said there were six 'passions, namely wonder, love, hatred, desire, joy, and sadness' of which the whole range of emotions/passions are composed. See *Ibid*.

most multifarious) which 'strikes nearly every theological chord that resounds throughout the Hebrew Scriptures'.[40] In terms of the layered workings of these texts, Brown says the following:

> Yet the psalms of the Psalter, for all their variety, share at least one thing in common: they consist primarily of human words either uttered to God, whether in petition or praise, or proclaimed about God for worship and instruction. With some notable exceptions, the words of the psalms come from below rather than from on high. The book of Psalms, moreover, is unique for its "moodiness": some psalms are filled with heart-wrenching anguish, some burst with exuberant joy, and others strike a stern didactic tone.[41]

Now that this function of the psalter as a vehicle for the expression of profound human feeling has been established, it is appropriate to turn to what is meant by the term *psalteratus/a* in an early medieval English context.

I am indebted to Toswell's oeuvre for both introducing me to the concept of the *psalterati/ae* as well as forming the basis on which my thinking on this idea could develop in terms of how being a *psalteratus* or *psalterata* would impact a person's engagement with their environment.[42] Her description of this concept is, of course, a good place to begin. She writes:

> And yet the first duty of a young monastic was to become *psalteratus/a*, able to render the psalms at will, to sing them in the Offices, and to speak them in the dark of the night and in the bright light of the day. **The psalms were almost a physical part of the monastic individual**, ready to leap to mind and mouth, wholly comprehended and internalized (emphasis mine).[43]

She goes on to observe that the psalms 'were less assimilated by the devout secular individual'. However, there is good evidence (from the commission and use of psalter manuscripts) that lay nobility attempted to engage in 'this kind of psalmic understanding'.[44]

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[40] William P. Brown, 'The Psalms: An Overview' in *The Oxford Handbook of the Psalms*, ed. by William P. Brown (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 1-23 (p. 1). Note that a brief contextualization of the provenance of the psalms from the original Hebrew into Greek and then Latin is given in Chapter 1. See Chapter 1, below, Section 1.1.
[41] *Ibid*.
[42] I would like to gratefully acknowledge, here, a conversation with Jane Toswell where she shared how she arrived at this concept.
[43] Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, p. 4.
[44] *Ibid*.

Notably, of course, King Alfred himself is said to have 'learned certain psalms and many prayers'.[45]

Now we come to the matter of the language/s of these internalized or 'embodied' psalms. It should be highlighted here that the idea of physically internalizing the psalms is, evidently, an ancient one. Augustine (d. 430) regularly invokes the psalms in his *Confessions* and in Book IX, particularly, he talks of being 'fired with enthusiasm' to recite the psalms and of a desire for the physical effect of doing so (in his face and cries) to be observed. Also, John Cassian (d. *c.* 435), who is referred to in Chapter 3, urges that the psalms need to become part of the inmost organs.[46] The psalms internalized in early medieval England were not, naturally, in the original Hebrew, but initially Latin and then, increasingly, OE as well – Chapter 1 briefly contextualizes the translation history of the psalms from Hebrew into Latin (via Greek for the *Romanum* and *Gallicanum*) and Chapter 2 contextualizes P's place among the 'family' of OE glossed psalters.[47] While it has been posited that Latin knowledge in early medieval England could be poor[48] –available grammar textbooks such as Donatus's *Ars minor* were 'designed for the use of Roman schoolboys' and of little use to people entirely ignorant of Latin in the first place[49] – there is still a good case, given the relatively substantial surviving

[45] Asser, *Alfred the Great*, trans. by Simon Keynes and Michael Lapidge (London: Penguin Books, 1983), p. 75. Also see Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, pp. 64-82 for the argument for how Alfred could be considered *psalteratus*.

[46] See *Saint Augustine Confessions*, trans. by Henry Chadwick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 160 and Duncan Robertson, *Lectio Divina: The Medieval Experience of Reading* (Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 2011), pp. 85-6 for the reference to Cassian on the internalization of the psalms.

[47] This thesis does not discuss the phenomenon of glossing per se – a broad topic to say the least. For a relatively recent, good overview and analysis of this practice as it pertains to the psalms generally (not only in OE) see Alderik Blom, *Glossing the Psalms: The Emergence of the Written Vernaculars in Western Europe from the Seventh to the Twelfth Centuries* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017).

[48] See John Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 491 where he mentions priests who 'were often ignorant of Latin'. This idea that priests or clerics had poor Latin may well, of course, stem from Alfred's well-known lament about the decay in Latin learning *giond Angelcynn* 'among the English' in his Preface to the OE translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care* – see *The Old English Pastoral Care*, ed. and trans. by R. D. Fulk, Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library 72 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2021), p. 9. Moreover, Rebecca Stephenson notes that 'Byhrtferth's rather derogatory depiction of the undisciplined and unLatinate secular clergy' is linked to an inclination 'among tenth-century monastic writers' to heartily denounce these persons who would not conform to the 'rigour of Benedictine discipline'. She also observes that Byhrtferth's *Enchiridion*, given its use of Latin and OE, 'is an invaluable resource that reveals the formation of Anglo-Saxon monks as multilingual readers and speakers'. See Rebecca Stephenson, *The Politics of Language: Byrhtferth, Ælfric, and the Multilingual Identity of the Benedictine Reform* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), pp. 68 and 39 respectively. Evidently, a tension may have existed between 'multilingual' monastics who knew Latin and 'secular clerics' who were perceived to be 'unLatinate'.

[49] Vivien Law, *Grammar and Grammarians in the Early Middle Ages* (London: Longman, 1997), p. 75. Note that Pierre Riché makes the case for the role of the psalms in Latin learning after the fall of the Roman Empire.

manuscript evidence,[50] that the psalms were studied and internalized in both Latin and OE. Again, Toswell's description of this psalmic bilingualism is apposite. She writes:

> Learning the psalms in Latin and in Old English entailed a coming together of the minds, a study that led to similarities in approach. Knowing the psalms from an Old English interlinear translation led to knowing them in Latin and vice versa; moreover, knowing them in Latin meant comprehending them at the most profound and spiritual level.[51]

Also, it should be mentioned, that in Michael Lapidge's assessment, '[t]he English were among the earliest non-Latin-speaking people in Europe who had to master Latin after their conversion to Christianity, a task which they undertook with great zeal'.[52]

Furthermore, we have evidence of at least two *psalterati/ae* (and there surely must have been others) who knew the psalms in both Latin and OE 'on a profound spiritual level' – the paraphrast who created the Prose Psalms and the psalm-poet who created the Metrical Psalms. Both these individuals (as the analysis in Chapter 2 attests) demonstrate a deep engagement with the psalms in both languages given the sophistication of their respective 'translations' of the Latin into OE prose and poetry respectively. When I speak of a 'typical' *psalteratus/a* I am thinking of a person described, above, by Toswell. This person is probably in monastic orders of some kind (as noted earlier) but as noted earlier, too, he/she could also be 'pious laity who recited the psalms as a daily devotional exercise'.[53] It should also be highlighted, here, that Erica Weaver has recently made a highly persuasive case for how *psalterati/ae* could overcome the inevitable boredom and distraction that daily recitation of the same psalm texts may have induced.[54] She highlights a twelfth-century note – preserved in

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See Riché, 'Le Psautier, livre de lecture élémentaire', in *Etudes mérovingiennes: actes des journeés de Poitiers 1-3 mai*, 1952 (Paris: Picard, 1953), pp. 253-6.

[50] Chapter 2 discusses P's place among the other fourteen OE glossed psalters. See the list of these on pp. 83-6 below.

[51] Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, p. 7.

[52] Michael Lapidge, 'Anglo Latin Literature' in his *Anglo-Latin Literature, 600-899* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1996), p. 4.

[53] Patrick P. O'Neill, 'Introduction' in *King Alfred's Old English Prose Translation of the First Fifty Psalms*, ed. by Patrick P. O'Neill (Massachusetts, The Medieval Academy of America, 2001), pp. 1-73 (p. 20). Note that O'Neill goes on to comment that psalters for this use by 'pious laity' are 'attested from as early as Carolingian times and their general contents of psalms, canticles, litany, and prayers are those of the [bilingual] Paris Psalter'. See *Ibid*.

[54] See Erica Weaver, *The Hermeneutics of Distraction in Early Medieval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2025), pp. 26-63.

a manuscript (Cambridge, University Library, Ii. 1. 33) that contains mainly 'penitential material along with a selection of Ælfric's homilies and saints' lives' – that enjoins the reader to recite the psalter unhurriedly *mid geþencendan mod* 'a contemplative mind'. She also observes that the 'antiphon is an inherently anti-distractive genre within the liturgy' as its function between psalm-verses 'serves to focus attention on the individual verses by enshrining them as distinctive parts of a psalmic whole'.[55] Weaver's argument lends ballast, then, to my conceptualization of how a 'typical' *psalterus* or *psalterata* would (nearly without question) have been shaped by the landscape, place and space imagery in the psalms as it demonstrates that these individuals were obligated to repeatedly redirect a wandering mind to the psalm text at hand.

Before moving to a description of P and its suitability as a vehicle to investigate the Latin and OE Psalms within the respective lenses, a word needs to be raised about *how* the lenses of landscape, place and space are linked with the mind – namely metaphor. It is perhaps important to remember that this term's etymon is an ancient Greek word with the meaning to 'carry over' or 'transfer'[56] and its relationship with Aristotelian rhetoric (which is tightly connected to oratory[57]) and poetics is longstanding.[58] In terms of the connection, specifically, to rhetoric, Ricoeur explains:

> The historical paradox of the problem of metaphor is that it reaches us via a discipline [rhetoric] that died towards the middle of the nineteenth century, when it ceased to be part of the collegial *cursus studiorum*…For Aristotle, rhetoric covers three areas. A theory of argumentation (*inventio*, the 'invention' of arguments and proofs) constitutes the principal axis of rhetoric and at the same time provides the decisive link between rhetoric and demonstrative logic…Rhetoric also encompasses a theory of style (*elocutio*) and, finally, a theory of composition (*compositio*).[59]

The psalms are rich in metaphorical language and, for the purposes of this study, there are two authors (one ancient and one modern) who are important in terms of the nexus between

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[55] *Ibid*., pp. 33 and 37.
[56] See *Oxford English Dictionary*, sv. metaphor <https://www.oed.com/dictionary/metaphor_n?tab=etymology> [accessed 13 August 2025].
[57] See Paul Ricoeur, *The Rule of Metaphor: The Creation of Meaning in Language*, trans. by Robert Czerny et al. (London: Routledge Classics, 2003), p. 9
[58] See *Ibid.*, pp. 8-48.
[59] *Ibid*., pp. 8-9.

metaphor, rhetoric, poetics and the psalms. The first is the Roman statesman Cassiodorus (d. *c.* 580)[60] whose *Expositio psalmorum* 'Explanation of the Psalms' was an essential (and much referred to) text for establishing and comprehending the rhetorical role of emotions in the psalms throughout the Middle Ages.[61] Copeland explains:

> At the macro-level of form and function, Cassiodorus reads the psalms as oratory and classifies some of them explicitly according to the genres of oratorical production. Depending on what he sees as a psalm's aim and subject matter, he often categorizes it as forensic, deliberative (arguing for a particular course of action), or epideictic. For Cassiodorus, the career rhetorician, this would have been an instinctive way of reading and judging the intention of a discourse.[62]

Copeland goes on to observe that the *Expositio*'s structure 'resonates with that of figural rhetorics' and that its intention is 'to inculcate love for Scripture'.[63] Certainly, Cassiodorus's approach (in the figural/allegorical treatment of landscape features such as water and trees for example) had a discernible effect on both the paraphrast and psalm-poet's 'translation' style (perhaps more noticeably in the former's[64]) as the analysis in Chapter 2 attests.

The second author is the theologian and psalm-scholar William Brown whose monograph, *Seeing the Psalms: A Theology of Metaphor*,[65] could perhaps be viewed as a modern *Expositio* which addresses itself to the psalms in the original Hebrew and draws on a range of material from antiquity to the present to unpack the vast range of affective imagery and overarching metaphoric patterns in all 150 psalms. Metaphor, then, as understood in both

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[60] See P. G. Walsh, 'Introduction' in *Cassiodorus: Explanation of the Psalms,* Vol. 1 ed. and trans. by P. G. Walsh (New York: Paulist Press, 1990), pp. 1-20 (pp. 1-5) for a summary of the life of Flavius Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator.

[61] See Rita Copeland, *Emotion and the History of Rhetoric in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), pp. 74-85. Note that Chapter 1 outlines evidence for why the *Expositio* may have been the commentary of choice (or the most readily available) for *psalterati/ae* in early medieval England in building the argument for harnessing it extensively to analyse the landscape, place and space imagery in the *Romanum*. See below, especially n. 37 and 42.

[62] *Ibid*., p. 75.

[63] *Ibid*., p. 77.

[64] Note that O'Neill, while acknowledging the influence of other psalm commentators such as Augustine, Jerome and Theodore of Mopsuestia, points out that 'the paraphrast followed Cassiodorus closely not only in interpretation but also in structure'. He also comments that the Prose Psalms' dependence on Cassiodorus was 'so pervasive and in some cases so striking that it is tempting to conclude that the paraphrast had a full copy of the *Expositio Psalmorum*'. See Patrick P. O'Neill, 'The Prose Translation of Psalms 1-50', in *A Companion to Alfred the Great*, ed. by Nicole Guenther Discenza and Paul E. Szarmach (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 256-81 (pp. 274-5).

[65] William P. Brown, *Seeing the Psalms: A Theology of Metaphor* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002).

the *Expositio* and *Seeing the Psalms*, serves as a crucial bridge between landscape, place, space (respectively) and the mind in the ensuing chapters.

Why P is an appropriate vehicle for investigating the Latin and OE Psalms within the lenses of landscape, place and space

The eleventh-century P manuscript (possibly produced in Canterbury[66]) has, of course, been assessed and described before.[67] Moreover, Toswell has further contextualised its provenance, layout, decoration and script.[68] She writes:

> The Paris Psalter is anomalous even by the standards of surviving medieval psalter manuscripts, in that it includes both a prose translation of the first fifty psalms, perhaps completed under the aegis of King Alfred, and a metrical version for the last hundred, which is the longest surviving Old English poem…Finally, it is a truly bilingual psalter of Anglo-Saxon England, and a manuscript produced in what appears to have been a productive time for the copying of psalters in early medieval England – the mid to late eleventh century.[69]

Why P was a natural choice to serve as a 'testbed' to investigate how landscape, place and space intersect with the mind is because of this status as the only extant fully bilingual, parallel-text psalter[70] from the period which has the Latin (*Romanum*) Psalms and their accompanying *tituli* copied in the left-hand column and the OE Psalms (of which the first fifty are prose with Psalms 2-50 accompanied by an OE Introduction[71] and the last hundred are poetry) copied in the right-hand column. Furthermore, having been able to view the

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[66] See Richard Emms, 'The Scribe of the Paris Psalter', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 28 (1999), 179-83 and O'Neill, 'Introduction' in *King Alfred's Old English Prose Translation of the First Fifty Psalms*, p. 22.
[67] See Neil R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1957), § 367, Sections I-VI in *The Paris Psalter: MS Bibliothèque Nationale Fonds Latin 8824*, ed. by Bertram Colgrave, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile vol. 8 (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1958) and M. J. Toswell, 'The Format of Bibliothèque Nationale MS Lat. 8824: The Paris Psalter', *Notes & Queries*, 241 (1996), 130-3.
[68] See Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, pp. 99-130.
[69] *Ibid.,* p. 99.
[70] The other psalters with OE are, of course, glossed psalters where the OE appears above the Latin.
[71] Note that the Introductions to Psalms 21 and 26 were on folios that are now missing. See Ker, *Catalogue*, § 367. However, their existence is confirmed from the separate copy in the Vitellius Psalter – see O'Neill, 'Introduction' in *King Alfred's Old English Prose Translation of the First Fifty Psalms*, p. 23, n. 1. The discussion on the absence of an Introduction to Psalm 1 in Chapter 2 touches on this fact. See Chapter 2, below, n. 37.

manuscript recently,[72] I can add that I agree with Emily Thornbury's observation that P 'emphasizes the physical equivalence of the Latin and the vernacular'.[73] What was apparent to me, too, was how each OE Introduction visually goes across both text columns and precedes the relevant Latin *titulus*.[74] It could perhaps be suggested that, in these cases, the OE takes visual precedence over the Latin. The manuscript's highly unusual long and narrow shape[75] also served as an apt means to consider how the psalter's central construct of 'pathway' is visually represented in P's form and layout.

The OE Prose and Metrical Psalms have attracted their fair share of scholarly attention, and it is worthwhile to briefly contextualise both these texts here. To begin with the former, these OE Psalms are usually considered part of a group of OE translations of key Latin texts which includes Gregory the Great's *Liber pastoralis curae* 'Book of Pastoral Care', Boethius's *De consolatione Philosophiae* 'Consolation of Philosophy' and Augustine's *Soliloquiae* 'Soliloquies'.[76] All four have been traditionally attributed to King Alfred since the tenth century.[77] However, it must be noted, of course, that the specific attribution to Alfred of these texts has come under some intense scrutiny.[78] With regard to the Prose Psalms specifically, Godden asserts that 'there is no real evidence for authorship'[79] primarily because these OE Psalms 'have no preface and no reference to an author'.[80] On the other hand, Janet Bately has weighed in on this authorship debate by exploring it 'in the light of the linguistic evidence provided by the prose parts of its current constituents – *Pastoral Care, Consolation, Soliloquies,* and *Psalms* – whatever name we choose to attach to its primary translator or

[72] Grateful thanks are due to Charlotte Denoël and the staff at the Bibliothèque nationale de France for facilitating an excellent visit on 19-20 June 2025.
[73] Emily V. Thornbury, *Becoming a Poet in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 229.
[74] Alice Jorgensen points this out as well in her contextualisation of the OE Introductions. See Alice Jorgensen, 'Learning about Emotion from the Old English Prose Psalms of the Paris Psalter', in *Anglo-Saxon Emotions*, pp. 127-141 (p. 131).
[75] See Toswell, 'The Format of Bibliothèque Nationale MS Lat. 8824'.
[76] See 'Introduction' in *A Companion to Alfred the Great*, pp. 1-9, for a brief contextualization of these texts within the broader 'Alfredian' canon of other texts associated with the late English king. For an earlier assessment of Alfredian texts see Dorothy Whitelock, 'The Prose of Alfred's Reign' in *Continuations and Beginnings: Studies in Old English Literature*, ed. by E. G. Stanley (London: Nelson, 1966), pp. 67-103.
[77] M. R. Godden, 'Did King Alfred Write Anything?', *Medium Ævum*, 76 (2007), 1-23 (p. 1).
[78] *Ibid.* and Janet Bately, 'Did King Alfred Actually Translate Anything? The Integrity of the Alfredian Canon Revisited', *Medium Ævum*, 78 (2009), 189-215.
[79] Godden, 'Did King Alfred Write Anything?', p. 18.
[80] *Ibid*., p. 4.

translators'.[81] She acknowledges that 'linguistic evidence in isolation' cannot prove irrefutably whether Alfred translated anything. She does affirm, though, that linguistic evidence can 'be used to assess relationships between two or more works, whether or not supported by "trustworthy" prefaces or epistolary salutations'.[82] Her articulation of the challenges of using stylometrics to determine authorship of a translated text such as the OE Prose Psalms is also instructive. Responding to the stylometric based argument put forward by Treschow, Gill and Swartz which accepts Alfredian authorship of *Pastoral Care*, *Consolation* and *Soliloquies* but rejects it for the *Psalms*[83] she observes the following:

> In counting occurrences for their percentages of high-frequency words, however, Treschow et al. have not adjusted their figures to take into account those instances of key words that can be shown to be directly dependent on a given text's Latin source, rather than representing the author's 'unreflective' use of language, and no allowance in interpreting them has been made for fundamental differences in style between these Latin sources and the fact that **a translator faces special constraints when rendering the Psalter, a sacred, difficult, and ultimately poetic text** (emphasis mine).[84]

More recently, it has been posited that the correspondences between these four texts 'indicate a shared production context'.[85] Amy Faulkner explains:

> The shared presentation of psychology in these translations [the *Pastoral Care*, *Consolation*, *Soliloquies* and *Psalms*] could be a result of Alfred's decision to gather scholars to the West Saxon court from various locations in Europe: it is easy to imagine how this group of individuals could have exchanged Latin sources, ideas and techniques for expressing these ideas in the vernacular.'[86]

My analysis in Chapter 2 is less concerned with who authored these OE Psalms than considering the translator (whoever they were) as *psalteratus/a* and analysing how this impacted their translation choices within the lenses of landscape, place and space. Moreover,

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[81] Janet Bately, 'Did King Alfred Actually Translate Anything? The Integrity of the Alfredian Canon Revisited', p. 191.
[82] *Ibid*., p. 208.
[83] See Michael Treschow, Paramjit S. Gill and Tim B. Swartz, 'King Alfred's Scholarly Writings and the Authorship of the First Fifty Prose Psalms', *Heroic Age*, 12 (2009).
[84] Bately, 'Did King Alfred Actually Translate Anything? The Integrity of the Alfredian Canon Revisited', p. 209.
[85] Amy Faulkner, 'The Mind in the Prose Psalms', *The Review of English Studies,* 70:296 (2019), 597-617 (p. 601).
[86] *Ibid*., p. 607.

it must be acknowledged, here, that my approach to *mod* in terms of both 'thought' and 'emotion' in the Prose Psalms is indebted to the analysis of Amy Faulkner[87] for the former and Alice Jorgensen[88] for the latter. Before moving to the Metrical Psalms, an obvious point needs to be made and that is the ninth-century Prose Psalms 'pre-existed the compilation of the manuscript'[89] by around 200 years. They were perhaps designed to function independently of the Latin given that the paraphrast's voice 'is confident and knowledgeable, and quite willing to add information to the text'.[90]

The Metrical Psalms are a rendition of the Latin (*Romanum*) Psalms into OE verse which Toswell has described as 'workmanlike'.[91] There is also good evidence (excerpts of OE metrical psalm text appears in three other manuscripts) to suggest that a complete OE verse translation of the entire Latin Psalter was in existence and well-known in early medieval England.[92]

In the main, until the last decade or so, the prevailing view of the quality of the psalm-poet's verse has been quite negative.[93] One of the primary points of critique is the use of so-called 'filler words'[94] in the composition of the b-verses which seem to be there purely to meet the alliterative requirements of OE metre.[95] More recently, though, the Metrical Psalms have come to be appreciated more positively. Francis Leneghan describes the motive and value of the psalm-poet's production this way:

> The author of the Old English *Metrical Psalms* has been unfairly castigated for eschewing the elevated heroic style favoured by many (though far from all) Old

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[87] *Ibid*., pp. 603-7.
[88] See Alice Jorgensen, 'Learning about Emotion from the Old English Prose Psalms of the Paris Psalter'.
[89] *Ibid*., p. 129.
[90] M. J. Toswell, 'The Ninth-Century Psalter in England' in *The Age of Alfred: Rethinking English Literary Culture c. 850-950*, ed. by Amy Faulkner and Francis Leneghan (Turnhout: Brepols, 2024), pp. 389-407 (p. 401).
[91] M. J. Toswell, 'The Translation Techniques of the Old English Metrical Psalter, with Special Reference to Psalm 136', *English Studies*, 78 (1994), 393-407 (p. 394).
[92] Toswell, *Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, pp. 307-8.
[93] See, for example, Mark Griffith, 'Poetic Language and the Paris Psalter: The Decay of the Old English Tradition', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 20 (1991), 167-86, Daniel Donoghue, *Style in Old English Poetry* (Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1987), p. 35, Robert E. Diamond, *The Diction of the Anglo-Saxon Metrical Psalms* (The Hague: Mouton, 1963) and Krapp, 'Introduction' in *The Paris Psalter and the Metres of Boethius*, *ASPR*, pp. i-lv (p. xvii).
[94] Toswell points out that Helen Bartlett was the first to discuss this feature of the psalm-poet's style in her PhD thesis *The Metrical Division of the Paris Psalter* (Baltimore, 1896). See M. J. Toswell, 'The Translation Techniques of the Old English Metrical Psalter, with Special Reference to Psalm 136', p. 396, n. 10.
[95] Anya Adair, 'Hateful Hills and Joyful Dread: Emotive "Filler Words" in the Old English', *English Studies*, 98 (2017), 15-25 (pp. 15-16).

> English poets and employing instead a relatively plain, simpler mode of versification…[A] humble, plain style was deliberately adopted in order to convey the sense of the Latin as clearly as possible in easily memorable terms – to make the Psalter sing in English.[96]

Leneghan reaches the above conclusion after a careful evaluation of the psalm-poet's use of alliteration – specifically 'plurilinear' alliteration[97] which heightens the 'aural patterning' and consequently the memorability of the verse.[98] This increased potential for recollection, Leneghan argues, is especially important for *ruminatio* 'rumination'[99] – an implicitly understood process for the formation of a *psalteratus/a*.[100] Like the Prose Psalms the Metrical Psalms predate the compilation of P but it is difficult to say by how much – a tenth-century date, though, has been loosely posited.[101] Also, as with the identity of the paraphrast, my analysis is less concerned with the merits or lack thereof of the Metrical Psalms and more concerned with how being *psalteratus/a* may have shaped the psalm-poet's choice of OE lexis (within the lenses of landscape, place and space) in their admittedly challenging task of rendering 'a sacred, difficult, and ultimately poetic text'[102] – to use Bately's description – into OE verse.

Lastly, it must be pointed out that P is traditionally (along with the other fourteen OE glossed psalters) considered a product of the tenth-century Benedictine Reform.[103] My analysis does not overtly invoke this historical phenomenon. However, perhaps it casts a silent

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[96] Francis Leneghan, 'Making the Psalter Sing: the Old English *Metrical Psalms*, Rhythm and *Ruminatio*', in Tamara Atkin and Francis Leneghan, eds., *The Psalms and Medieval English Literature* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2017), pp. 173-197 (p. 196).
[97] See Andy Orchard, 'Artful Alliteration in Anglo-Saxon Song and Story', *Anglia* 113 (1995), 429-463 (pp. 431-33) and Leneghan, 'Making the Psalter Sing', p. 182 for a detailed analysis of the different types of plurilinear or 'interlinear' alliteration.
[98] Leneghan, 'Making the Psalter Sing', p. 181.
[99] See *Ibid*., pp. 191-4 for a discussion of the relationship between the Metrical Psalms and the process of *ruminatio*.
[100] See Joseph Dyer, 'The Psalms in Monastic Prayer', in *The Place of the Psalms in the Intellectual Culture of the Middle Ages*, ed. by Nancy van Deusen (New York: State University of New York Press, 1999), pp. 59-89 (p. 59) for the place of the psalms within the process of *ruminatio*.
[101] See Kenneth and Celia Sisam, Section V 'The Psalm Texts' in the Preface in *The Paris Psalter: MS Bibliothèque Nationale Fonds Latin 8824*, ed. by Colgrave, p. 17.
[102] Bately, 'Did King Alfred Actually Translate Anything? The Integrity of the Alfredian Canon Revisited', p. 209.
[103] See Mechthild Gretsch, *The Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 6-41.

shadow given the role of the psalms in Benedictine monasticism[104] which was so central to this 'revival of spirituality and learning' in England that sprang 'principally from Cluny in Burgundy and Gorze in Lotharingia'.[105]

A summary of the chapters

Chapter 1 begins by contextualizing the *Romanum* among the other two Latin psalters – namely the *Gallicanum* and *Hebraicum*. It then puts forward evidence, first, for why the *Expositio* was likely a preferred commentary and, second, the primacy of Psalm 1's 'gateway' role in the psalter in general. These two facts play a crucial role in the remaining analysis. The landscape lens includes trees, water features and grass. The place lens includes the *locus amoenus* inferred in Psalm 1 and the *locus horribilis* in the description of the desert in Psalm 62. 3. It then directs attention to the tension between Babylon (a *locus horribilis*) and Jerusalem (a *locus amoenus*) in Psalm 136. The space lens includes an analysis of the path terms **uia** 'way' and **semita** 'a narrow way') as well as the 'pathway' psalm – Psalm 118. This chapter is perhaps the most speculative in that its overarching argument is directed toward how a 'typical' *psalteratus/a*'s thought life would be shaped by the respective imagery. Given Weaver's argument (discussed above), though, it would be difficult *not* to be shaped by the psalms' imagery. Furthermore, this speculation is controlled by evidence – namely the *Expositio*'s pronounced role in influencing the interpretation of the Latin Psalms. The chapter also moves toward indicating the milieu in which the Prose and Metrical Psalms were produced.

Chapter 2 moves away from a generalized conceptualization of the 'typical' *psalteratus/a* to consider the translation strategies of two individual *psalterati/ae* – the paraphrast of the Prose Psalms and the psalm-poet of the Metrical Psalms. It opens by considering P's place among the OE glossed psalter 'family' and then analyses Psalm 1's

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[104] See 'Index' in *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, ed. and trans. by Bruce L. Venarde, Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library 6 (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2011), sv. 'psalms and psalm-singing'.

[105] See Mechthild Gretsch, 'Benedictine reformers (act. c. 960–c. 1000)' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 4 October, 2008 <https://www-oxforddnb-com.elib.tcd.ie/display/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-98101?rskey=qNrrl8&result=1> [accessed 26 July 2025]. Note that Joyce Hill makes an excellent case for the influence of Bede's writings on the reformers. See Joyce Hill, *Bede and the Benedictine Reform*, Jarrow Lecture 1998 (Jarrow: 1999). The psalms had an indelible effect on Bede - see Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, pp. 39-64. So perhaps it could be suggested that the psalms may have impacted the Reform from both Benedictine Spirituality and the writings of Bede.

'gateway' tree image in all extant OE psalm texts as well as the three Latin psalters. The paraphrast and psalm-poet both demonstrate (analysed within the lens of landscape) nuanced and, at times, toponym-inflected vocabulary choices to convey the tree, mountain and water feature imagery in the Latin. The tension between the *locus amoenus* and *locus horribilis* is revisited (within the place lens) in both the Prose and Metrical Psalms. The psalm-poet markedly softens the *locus horribilis* that is Babylon in Psalm 136. Also, both the paraphrast and psalm-poet (in contrast with the rest of the OE glossed psalter family) demonstrate an interesting preference for OE *frið* 'peace' (as either a simplex or compound) to convey **refugium** 'refuge' – a *locus amoenus* and, also, one of the psalter's root metaphors. Finally, it was noticeable (within the space lens) how the psalm-poet introduced *weg* 'way' without a Latin precedent in the already pathway-laden psalm – Psalm 118. This is a potential indicator that the psalm-poet should take their place within the analysis of the conceptual metaphor of LIFE IS A JOURNEY within OE poetry.[106]

Chapter 3 considers P's known scribe, Wulfwinus Cada, as a 'prototype' *psalteratus-scriba*. It analyses the wording of his colophon and detects the implicit influence of the psalms (via the prevalence of the noun **manus** 'hand' in the Latin (*Romanum*) psalms) in his phrasing. It then analyses the surviving thirteen illustrations within the lenses of landscape, place and space. The illustrations demonstrate a concern with landscape – evident in the use of groundlines and trees – as well as a justice-inflected *locus amoenus* and its mirror opposite, an injustice-inflected *locus horribilis*. Illustration 5, which (unlike the Utrecht Psalter exemplar) shows a walking not a standing psalmist may demonstrate an awareness of the psalter's root metaphor of 'pathway'. Finally, the shape and layout of P indicate that its design may have been *deliberately* created to reflect this same root metaphor of 'pathway'.

Chapter 4 takes as a starting premise the fact that the Metrical Psalms in P comprise the largest body of OE poetry within the corpus.[107] This, in combination with the current more

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[106] See Antonina Harbus, *Cognitive Approaches to Old English Poetry* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2012), pp. 24-51 for how conceptual metaphor theories can be applied to OE poetry. Harbus does not include the Metrical Psalms.

[107] Erik Weiskott has, relatively recently, observed the following: 'Judging by size, manuscript context, and literary impact, the *Paris Psalter* [Metrical Psalms] could be considered the most important Old English poem. At over 5,000 lines of alliterative verse, it dwarfs the second-place finisher, a secular historical narrative we call *Beowulf* (3,182 lines)'. See Erik Weiskott, 'The *Paris Psalter* and English Literary History' in *The Shapes of Early English Poetry: Style, Form, History*, ed, by Irina Dumitrescu and Eric Weiskott (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2019), pp. 107-34 (p. 107). I offer a brief, further, rationale for Chapter 4 at the opening of that chapter.

widely noticed influence of the psalms on OE poetry generally, is the rationale for the inclusion of this chapter with its focus outside P on some OE poems. The opening considers the *psalteratus/a* as *scop*. Then, drawing on Emily Thornbury's evidence that the people most likely to be called *scop* in early medieval England were psalmists (*(p)s(e)almscopas*), this chapter examines psalmic imagery through the three lenses of landscape, place and space in the following poems: *The Dream of the Rood*, *The Wanderer*, *The Seafarer*, *Wulf and Eadwacer*, *The Wife's Lament*, *Resignation* and *The Ruin*. The landscape lens is used to read the tree imagery via Psalm 1's 'gateway' tree allegory in *The Dream of the Rood*. The place lens is used to trace a psalmic *locus horribilis* in both *Wulf and Eadwacer* and *The Wife's Lament* as well as a possible *locus amoenus* (a heavenly Jerusalem implicit in Psalm 45. 5) faintly detectable in *The Ruin*'s closing lines. Finally, the space lens is applied to both *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer* to analyse their respective path terms (*lagu-lade* and *brim-lade*). In *The Wanderer* this is done in situ of Psalm 118 – the 'pathway' psalm. And in *The Seafarer* the potential influence of the possibly unique collocation of Latin *semita* 'narrow path' and *mare* 'sea' in Psalm 8. 9 on *brim-lade* (and by implication *lagu-lade*) is considered. This lens is also used to consider the context of the hapax legomenon *ferð-weg* 'soul-road' alongside Psalm 125. 2 in *Resignation*.

Conventions used and a note on translations

All Latin psalm text, whether *Romanum*, *Gallicanum* or *Hebraicum*, is in boldface type. Nearly all references to specific Latin psalm text are from the *Romanum* (*LPR*) as this is the version in P. The translations of the Latin psalms, unless otherwise indicated, are either my own entirely or adapted silently from the *D-RB*. The Prose and Metrical Psalms are cited from *OEP*. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations of other Latin or OE text are mine. In keeping with the current practice of most academic publishers, I have translated quotations in modern languages other than English. I have also, in keeping with the practice of the *DOE* and *Word-Hord: A Lexicon of Old English Verse*,[108] hyphenated OE compounds in the OE poetry – *OEP* hyphenates all compounds in the Prose and Metrical Psalms. Chapter 3 is designed to be read alongside the digital facsimiles of both the Utrecht Psalter, (Utrecht,

[108] *Word-Hord: A Lexicon of Old English Verse with a Particular Focus on the Distribution of Nominal and Adjectival Compounds*, comp. and ed. by Andy Orchard (Oxford: CLASP Ancillary Publications 1, 2022).

Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 32)[109] and P (*UP* and *PP*) which, of course, allow for the possibility of zooming in on a particular image. Lastly, the short titles for the OE poetry used in Chapter 4 are from the *DOEC*.

[109] Hereafter 'the Utrecht Psalter'.

Chapter 1

Landscape, Place, Space and the Mind in the Latin Psalms

1.1 The Broader Place of the Latin Psalms in Early Medieval England

Perhaps the most arresting indication of the value and overarching presence of the Latin psalms in early medieval England is the fact that the first photograph sent around the world from the Staffordshire Hoard[1] was a gold strip with a Latin inscription that corresponds to both Numbers 10. 35 and Psalm 67. 2 and probably dates[2] to the eighth century.[3] The relevant psalm-verse reads: **Exsurgat Deus, et dissipentur inimici ejus; et figiant qui oderunt eum a facie ejus** 'Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered: and let them that hate him flee from before his face'.[4] This inscribed gold strip which is catalogued as number 540 in the Hoard and described as a '[s]trip with Latin inscriptions, front and back, and animal heads; folded in half',[5] has attracted a fair amount of close study.[6] And at least two telling observations have emerged from the examination of this artefact: namely the singular nature of the inscription which is the only item inscribed with writing in the over 1300 items in the hoard[7] and the fact that this object is one of only eight items that 'can be identified as having a definite or plausible religious function'[8] in an otherwise pronouncedly militaristic collection. In regard to the first observation, Richard Gameson notes that there is, thus far, a 'near-dearth of [other] Latin alphabet inscriptions on metalwork produced during the Anglo-Saxon conversion period'[9] and, in regard to the second observation, Leslie Webster argues

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[1] Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, p. 151.
[2] See Elisabeth Okasha, 'The Staffordshire Hoard inscription', *Portable Antiquities Scheme*, October 2011, < https://finds.org.uk/staffshoardsymposium/papers/elisabethokasha> [accessed 12 April 2022], for the rationale behind the strip's dating.
[3] See Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, pp. 151-3 for a discussion of the initial response to the gold strip inscription, the nature of the cross-reference between Numbers 10. 35 and Ps. 67. 2 and dating.
[4] Latin text *LVB,* Ps. 67. 2. Translation *D-RB*, Ps. 67. 2.
[5] Chris Fern, 'Catalogue entries' in *The Staffordshire Hoard: An Anglo-Saxon Treasure*. Research Report of the Society of Antiquaries of London No. 80, ed. by Chris Fern, Tania Dickinson and Leslie Webster (London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 2019), pp. 423-62 (p. 450).
[6] See, for example, Elisabeth Okasha, 'The Staffordshire Hoard inscription', Thomas Klein, 'The inscribed gold strip in the Staffordshire Hoard: The text and script of an early Anglo-Saxon biblical inscription', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archeology and History*, 18 (2013), 62-74, Richard Gameson, 'The paleography of the inscriptions' in *The Staffordshire Hoard: An Anglo-Saxon Treasure*, pp. 103-8 and Leslie Webster, 'The Christian objects: function and significance' in *The Staffordshire Hoard: An Anglo-Saxon Treasure*, pp. 110-19.
[7] Thomas Klein, 'The inscribed gold strip in the Staffordshire Hoard: The text and script of an early Anglo-Saxon biblical inscription', p. 62.
[8] Leslie Webster, 'The Christian objects: function and significance', p. 111.
[9] Gameson, 'The paleography of the inscriptions', p. 103.

persuasively that the inscribed gold strip was probably once an arm of a processional cross.[10] This provenance means that this item is grouped with three other objects (out of the group of eight religious objects) in the Hoard which must have played a role in communal Christian ceremony and worship.[11] In her analysis of the text and accompanying ornamentation of the inscription on the strip, Webster makes the case for the likelihood that it was once 'part of a cross attached to a portable reliquary, specifically one carried into battle'.[12] In supporting this probability, Webster is careful to parse out the Numbers 10: 35 reference and notes that these words are spoken by Moses as the Ark of the Covenant is raised up as the Israelites are on their difficult journey (which could also be conceived of as a battle) through the wilderness.[13] However, she does not leave the explanation there, but rather contextualizes the Numbers reference by referring to the (Latin) psalms – specifically Psalm 67 – in this strip's use (for divine protection[14]) as part of a cross carried into battle. She writes:

> A slightly different version [of the Numbers 10: 35 text] appears in Vulgate Psalm 67: 2, which resonates with references to the crossing of the wilderness, and concludes with the words 'Terrible is God as he comes from his sanctuary; he is Israel's own God, who gives to his people might and abundant power'…The force of these words would not have been lost on seventh-century Anglo-Saxon kings, busily engaged in enlarging and extending their territory; Bede and others emphasised the comparisons between Anglo-Saxon and victorious biblical leaders such as David.[15]

Webster also argues that the animal ornamentation[16] which frames the inscription 'may have been intended in some way to reinforce the special power of the words'.[17] For the purposes of this chapter, then, the link between this Latin psalm text and such an important, currently unique, cultural artefact from early medieval England presages the argument that follows in some interesting ways. As Webster obliquely implies by referring to Psalm 67's ending, a person steeped in the psalms (*psalteratus/a*) would perhaps immediately call to mind the

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[10] Leslie Webster, 'The Christian objects: function and significance', p. 111.
[11] *Ibid*.
[12] *Ibid*., p. 113.
[13] *Ibid*.
[14] Webster describes the putative inscribed cross as 'a portable symbol of Christian authority and of divine protection'. See *Ibid*., p. 118.
[15] *Ibid*.
[16] See Gameson, 'The paleography of the inscriptions', p. 103, for detailed photographs and drawings of the inscription and accompanying animal ornamentation.
[17] Leslie Webster, 'The Christian objects: function and significance', p. 113.

entire text of Psalm 67 when encountering this psalm's opening inscribed on the strip – presumably when going into battle. In doing so they would be thinking of (among other images) the following: **montem Dei montem uberem** 'the mountain of God is a fertile mountain', God being with them **in Sina in sancto** 'in Sina in the holy place' and that God had **captiuam duxit captiuitatem** 'led captivity captive'.[18] Here the landscape (the fertile mountain), place (the holy place) and space (the process of leading captivity captive) are clearly entwined within a psalm whose use (in this case) was presumably to instil courage within the minds of those carrying the inscribed cross into battle. In other words, it is difficult to separate this psalms' apotropaic function out from conceptions of landscape, place and space and what these respective images may implant in the mind.

The three Latin psalters' provenance and the role of the Latin psalms in the acquisition of literacy and the language itself

The Latin psalms were not only the backbone of the Christian monastic liturgy in the early Middle Ages, but also a primary means of acquiring literacy and the Latin language itself. Rebecca Rushforth writes:

> The Psalms' role as the starting text for medieval education is well known. Their position at the heart of monastic worship meant that they quickly became familiar texts to anyone who attended services, and this, together with their straightforward structure and phraseology, made them appropriate for learning elementary Latin grammar and syntax.[19]

These combined pedagogical and liturgical uses of the Latin psalms in the early Middle Ages have been considered in Continental, Irish and English contexts.[20] In terms of an English context, specifically, it has been posited that, given the magnitude of overlap between the Latin and vernacular psalms, a *palteratus/a* living in early medieval England may 'as a matter

[18] See *LPR*, Ps. LXVII. 16, 18 and 19.
[19] Rebecca Rushforth, 'Annotated Psalters and Psalm Study in Late Anglo-Saxon England: The Manuscript Evidence' in *Rethinking and Recontextualizing Glosses: New Perspectives in the Study of late Anglo-Saxon Glossography*. Textes et Etudes du Moyen Âge, vol. 54, ed. by Patrizia Lendinaria et al. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), pp. 39-66 (p. 39).
[20] See, respectively, Riché, 'Le Psautier, livre de lecture élémentaire', Martin McNamara and Maurice Sheehy, 'Psalter Text and Psalter Study in the Early Irish Church (A.D. 600-1200)', Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, 73C (1973), 201-98 (pp. 205-10) and Gretsch, *Intellectual Foundations*, pp. 16-17.

of course' have known (and meditated on) the psalms in both Latin and OE.[21] Furthermore, it is plausible (given the Latin acquisition function of the Latin psalms) that the imagery contained in these texts functioned as a metaphorical 'ground bed' or 'soil' for the *psalterati*/*ae*'s thought lives.

Before moving to the 'Approach to the Analysis' section and then the analysis itself, it is worthwhile to briefly contextualise the following: the different versions of the Latin psalms available in early medieval England, the attachment (in England) to the *Romanum* and, lastly, the relationship of the Latin psalms to vernacular versions – Latin and vernacular texts may have been more interdependent than previously understood.

The earliest psalm texts 'were written in a mixture of dialects in Hebrew and Assyriac at times ranging from 5000 BCE to 1000 BCE' and their history is complicated.[22] Over the centuries they were translated into Greek (namely the Greek Septuagint which appeared from the second century BCE) and later into Latin.[23] The Latin translations fall into four categories: the *Vetus Latina* (Old Latin), the *Romanum* (Roman), the *Gallicanum* (Gallican) and the *Hebraicum* (Hebrew). The *Romanum* is considered a revision of the *Vetus Latina*.[24] It used the second-century BCE Greek Septuagint as a base text and dates from *c.* 384 CE. The *Gallicanum* was written by Jerome in *c.* 392 CE using a later version of the Greek Septuagint text (Origen's hexaplaric version) as a base text – the Vulgate is based on the *Gallicanum*. Lastly, the *Hebraicum* dates from *c.* 400 and was also written by Jerome but in this case he used the original Hebrew as his base text and he expressly desired to produce a version of the psalms as faithful to the original Hebrew as possible.[25] It should perhaps be noted, here, that the *Romanum* (*LPR*) contains the apocryphon psalm – Psalm 151.[26] As the P manuscript is

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[21] Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, p. 9.
[22] *Ibid.*, p. 11 (See Toswell's description of the 'vexed history' of the Hebrew Psalter in n. 23.)
[23] S. E. Gillingham, *The Poems and Psalms of the Hebrew Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 256-7.
[24] See Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, p. 11. Also note that Patrick O'Neill gives a clear precis of the genesis of these three psalter versions in Patrick P. O'Neill, 'Strategies of Translation in the Old English Versions (Prose and Metrical) of the Psalms in the Paris Psalter (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds latin 8824)', *Bulletin of the Institute of Oriental and Occidental Studies*, Kansai University, 48 (2015), 137-71 (pp. 139-40).
[25] See Gillingham, *The Poems and Psalms of the Hebrew Bible*, p. 256-7 and Sarah Larratt Keefer and David R. Burrows, 'Hebrew and the *Hebraicum* in late Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 19 (1990), 67-80 (p. 67).
[26] For a fascinating analysis of the 'intellectual, material and literary contexts' of this psalm within early medieval England see Brandon W. Hawk, 'Psalm 151 in Anglo-Saxon England', *The Review of English Studies*, 66 (2015), 805-21.

lacking Psalm 151[27] and Jesse Billett does not include it in his reconstruction of the psalmody of the Roman monastic Office,[28] I do not include it in this study.

As mentioned already in the Introduction, the Latin psalm text of P is the *Romanum*. This version was predominant in England in the early Middle Ages (eighth to tenth centuries).[29] Moreover, Robert Weber affirms that according to 'ancient testimony' the *Romanum* is firmly attached to England and without doubt it arrived there via envoys (Augustine and others) sent by Pope Gregory.[30] One of the first things Augustine did on arrival in Canterbury was go to an old church built in Roman times. Bede writes:

> Erat autem prope ipsam ciuitatem ad orientem ecclesia in honorem sancti Martini antiquitus facta, dum adhuc Romani Brittaniam incolerent…In hac ergo et ipsi primo conuenire psallere orare missas facere predicare et baptizare coeperunt…
>
> There was near by, on the east of the city, a church built in ancient times in honour of St. Martin, while the Romans were still in Britain…In this church they first began to meet to chant the psalms to pray, to say mass, to preach, and to baptize…[31]

It is noticeable (and Toswell remarks on this as well[32]) that the first thing Augustine and his contingent did after gathering in the church was *psallere* 'chant psalms'. Given Weber's evidence (mentioned earlier) the form of psalms chanted were 'undoubtedly' the *Romanum* version.

However, it must be acknowledged, here, that although the *Romanum* was 'securely connected to England', particularly in the early Middle Ages, the *Gallicanum* gained a firmer footing in England as the years progressed. It should be highlighted, too, that in Gretsch's view 'the differences between the two principal Latin text forms, the *Romanum* and the

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[27] It cannot be ruled out, given it is a short psalm, that Psalm 151 may have been on the missing folio that contained the remainder of Ps.150 in the manuscript. See Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, § 367 for the list of missing psalm texts on missing leaves. Ker does not mention Psalm 151.
[28] See Jesse D. Billett, *The Divine Office in Anglo-Saxon England: 597- c. 1000* (London: Henry Bradshaw Society / The Boydell Press, 2014), p. 38.
[29] Patrick P. O'Neill, 'Introduction' in *OEP*, p. xi.
[30] Robert Weber, 'Introduction' in *LPR*, p. ix.
[31] *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. by Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), bk I, chap. 25, p. 76 (Latin text) and p. 77 (translation). The closing portion is also quoted in Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, p. 39.
[32] See n. 1 in *Ibid*.

Gallicanum, although numerous, are by no means dramatic since they both derive (preponderantly) from the Septuagint'.[33]

This increased presence of the *Gallicanum* is evidenced by the fact that of the fourteen Latin with vernacular psalters listed by Gretsch in her chapter entitled 'Psalters and psalter glosses in Anglo-Saxon England' seven have the *Romanum,* six have the *Gallicanum* and one (the well-known 'triplex' twelfth-century Eadwine Psalter) has, of course, all three versions namely the *Romanum, Gallicanum* and *Hebraicum*.[34] (I discuss the place of P among the 'family' of vernacular psalters in Chapter 2.) To return to the argument at hand, though, each of these OE psalters, inferentially, tell us about the nuanced and symbiotic relationship between Latin and the vernacular which I will now turn to.

Scholars of medieval Latin have, in the last ten to fifteen years, advocated for a 'rigorous critique of the binary by which Latinity and vernacularity are articulated as a stable and mutually exclusive opposition'.[35] In keeping with this vein of critique of a concrete division between the use of Latin and OE in England after the fall of the Roman Empire, Emily Thornbury delineates how traditional post-medieval 'ethically charged' characterisations of Latin and the vernacular (for example, Latin being considered 'authoritative', 'intellectual' or 'rigorous' and the vernacular conversely being considered 'subversive', 'creative' or 'interesting') can be distorting and then summarises how contemporary scholarship has increasingly revealed the nuanced, complex and symbiotic nature of Latin's relationship to the vernacular and vice versa.[36]

This synergetic character of the relationship between Latin and OE is witnessed by the increasing use of the vernacular to deeply engage with the psalms in both OE and Latin. Chapter 2 examines this phenomenon within the lenses of landscape, place and space.

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[33] See Gretsch, *The Intellectual Foundations*, p 25.

[34] See Gretsch, *The Intellectual Foundations*, pp. 18-21. The seven psalters which have the *Romanum* are: A, B, C, D, L, M and P. The six psalters which have the *Gallicanum* are: F, G, H, I, J and K. See the list of OE Psalters (below in Chapter 2, pp. 83-6) for which psalters are denoted by the sigla. Also note that Gretsch does not include the N-Psalter fragments (which have the *Gallicanum* with some *Romanum* readings) in her list. However, I have included these in the list in Chapter 2.

[35] David Townsend, 'The Current Questions and Future Prospects of Medieval Latin Studies' in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Latin* ed. by Ralph J. Hexter and David Townsend, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 3-24 (p. 9).

[36] Emily V. Thornbury, 'Introduction' in *Latinity and Identity in Anglo-Saxon Literature* ed. by Rebecca Stephenson and Emily V. Thornbury (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), pp. 3-17 (pp. 3-4). See p. 3 for the full table of 'binary relations' between Latin and the vernacular. Also note that all the essays in this volume engage with this critique of a concrete binary relationship between Latin and OE in a variety of ways.

The importance of the Expositio

Careful attention to the layered resonances of specific vocabulary within the psalms is very much in keeping with an early medieval English approach to the psalter. There is good evidence[37] that this approach may well have its central genesis in the *Expositio* which was composed in the 540s and early 550s[38] and drew on the other well-known earlier psalm commentary by Augustine (d. 430[39]) – the *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 'Expositions of the Psalms'.[40] Although the *Enarrationes* was available in early medieval England[41] it was Cassiodorus's *Expositio* that likely carried a noticeable preference in terms of psalter exegesis.[42] Or, as Stephen Harris points out, although other psalm commentaries such as the *Enarrationes*, Jerome's *Brevarium in Psalmos* and Hilary of Poitiers' *Tractatus super*

[37] This primarily consists of the high proportion of the scholia in the Royal/Regius Psalter stemming from the *Expositio*, the presence of the *Expositio* and not the *Enarrationes in Psalmos* in the Vespasian Psalter, Bede's heavy reliance on examples from the *Expositio* in his *De schematibus et tropis* and the pronounced evidence of the influence of the *Expositio* on the Prose Psalms. See, respectively, n. 42, below, Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, p. 50 and O'Neill, 'The Prose Translation of Psalms 1-50', pp. 274-5.

[38] Walsh, 'Introduction' in *Cassiodorus: Explanation of the Psalms,* Vol. 1, p. 5.

[39] See *The Cambridge Dictionary of Christianity*, ed. by Daniel Patte (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), sv. 'Augustine of Hippo' for a good, clear summary of Augustine's life and thought.

[40] James Halporn remarks that 'Cassiodorus's writings are simply the products of a patient and uncritical compiler of basically Augustinian thought'. See James W. Halporn, 'Methods of Reference in Cassiodorus', *The Journal of Library History* 16 (1981), 71-91 (p. 72).

[41] See 'Index of authors and texts' sv. 'Augustine of Hippo, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*' in Helmut Gneuss and Michael Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist of Manuscript and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2014).

[42] Drawing on the unpublished PhD dissertation of W. J. Davey (W. J. Davey, 'An Edition of the Regius Psalter and its Latin Commentary', unpublished doctoral thesis, Carleton University, Ottawa, 1979) Rebecca Rushforth notes that there were three types of Latin *scholia* in the Regius/Royal Psalter (London, British Library, Royal 2.B.v) and the 'most common' of these were 'traditional exegetical glosses' which were often taken from the *Expositio* – sometimes word for word. Also, Gretsch observes that '[i]n England the *Expositio* was known and laid under contribution by Anglo-Saxon authors from an early date onwards' and she quantifies Davey's evidence by stating that 3242 of the approximate 4280 'interlinear scholia' he counted in the Royal/Regius Psalter 'can be traced back to Cassiodorus'. See, respectively, Rushforth, 'Annotated Psalters and Psalm Study in Late Anglo-Saxon England: The Manuscript Evidence', p. 41 and Gretsch, *The Intellectual Foundations*, pp. 29-30. For an excellent assessment of why the Royal/Regius Psalter was likely 'the work of a scholar for other scholars', see Toswell, *The Anglo-Psalter*, pp. 261-68. Also note that within the group of vernacular psalters to which the Royal/Regius Psalter belongs (again see the list in Chapter 2, pp. 83-6) the Vespasian Psalter contains excerpts from the *Expositio* as well. See Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, § 381. Finally note that, to the best of my knowledge, none of the other vernacular psalters listed in Chapter 2 contain excerpts from Augustine's *Enarrationes*. See *Ibid*., § 381, 641, 4, 451, 499, 407, 378, 517, 304, 740, 291, 862 and 891 and Neil R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1957), § 203, 335, 13, 249, 91, 271, 224, 199, 280, 134, 379, 129, 287 and 367.

Psalmos were available in early medieval England, Cassiodorus was, nonetheless, 'one of the most prolific commentators on the psalms' and his *Expositio* was 'hugely influential'.[43]

Bede and the Expositio

Bede (d. 735), who could be considered an excellent *exemplum* of a *psalteratus*, was steeped in the *Expositio*.[44] He also clearly recognised the psalms' value in relation to the ancient discipline of rhetoric.[45] Aristotle, of course, defined rhetoric as 'the power to observe the persuasiveness of which any particular matter admits' and noted that this was different from other disciplines such as medicine or geometry which instruct and persuade within the bounds or 'special province' of their respective areas of knowledge.[46] Toswell has noticed that many of the examples in Bede's text which deals explicitly with rhetoric, *De schematibus et tropis* 'On schemas and tropes', are the same as those in the *Expositio*. She goes on to suggest that it can 'even be argued that Bede's use of the Roman Psalter for his psalm quotations in the *De schematibus et tropis* reflects Cassiodorus's use of the Roman Psalter'.[47] Lastly, she highlights Bede's explanation (at the conclusion of *De schematibus*) of the fourfold method of interpreting Scripture (literal, allegorical, moral/tropological and anagogical)[48] and remarks on his use of a psalm-verse example here which emphasizes that his 'entire allegorical approach' was 'based firmly in patristics'.[49] The relevant portion in *De schematibus* reads:

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[43] Stephen J. Harris, 'Happiness and the Psalms', in *Old English Literature and the Old Testament*, ed. by Michael Fox and Manish Sharma (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), pp. 292-314 (pp. 299, 298 and 295).

[44] See Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, pp. 42-64 for a detailed account of why Bede can be thought of as *psalteratus*. See *Ibid*., p. 50, for remarks on Bede's recourse to the *Expositio*.

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 43. Also see, Martine Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture: 'Grammatica' and Literary Theory 350-1100* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 289 and note that two of the examples (listed under '30' and '373' of Bede's 'additions to his sources…about the kind of texts to which grammatical observations apply' include references to the psalms.

[46] Aristotle, *The Art of Rhetoric*, trans. by H. C. Lawson-Tancred (London: Penguin Books, 1991), Section Two, Ch. 1. 2, 1356a, p. 74.

[47] Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter,* p. 50. For a clear piece of evidence that Cassiodorus used the *Romanum* and not the *Gallicanum* see Cassiodorus's comment on Psalm 118. 151 in Walsh, *Cassiodorus: Explanation of the Psalms,* Vol. 3, p. 245. Here Cassiodorus clearly refers to God's *mandata* 'commands' in the *Romanum* (see *LPR*, Ps. CXVIII. 151) and not God's *viae* 'ways' in the *Gallicanum* (see *LVB*, Ps. 118. 151).

[48] Note that Bede's description, quoted below, of how Jerusalem functions literally, allegorically, tropologically and anagogically broadly parallels Cassian's description of the different modes of interpreting Scripture. Cassian may be, then, a possible source (direct or indirect) for Bede here. See Chapter VIII 'Of Spiritual Knowledge' in *The Conferences of John Cassian*, trans. by Edgar C. S. Gibson (New York, 1894) available at <https://www.ccel.org/ccel/cassian/conferences.iii.v.viii.html?utm_source=perplexity> [accessed 16 August 2025].

[49] Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, p. 49.

> Sometimes a single factual or verbal allegory will figuratively reveal a historical [literal] sense, a mystical sense concerning Christ or the Church, a tropological sense and an anagogical sense all at the same time…Another example is the verse of the Psalmist: "Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem; praise your God, O Sion. Because he has strengthened the bolts of your gates, he has blessed your children within you." This trope can rightly be taken as referring literally (in the historic sense) to the citizens of the earthly Jerusalem, allegorically to the Church of Christ, tropologically to each saved soul, and anagogically to the celestial homeland.[50]

So, this nexus of the psalms and Bede's 'allegorical approach' (no doubt heavily influenced by the *Expositio*) points, neatly, to the analysis in the remainder of this chapter. It is worth noting, too, how Bede saw fit to use a psalmic example that included reference to the *place* Jerusalem – an important *locus amoenus* analysed, below, in reference to Psalm 136.[51]

Finally, it is worth highlighting that it is quite likely the connection between the psalms and metaphor[52] goes right back to their original inception. Susan Gillingham argues that the poetic craft of the Hebrew psalms is markedly reliant on metaphor and imagery and so they retain their poetic impact when translated into other languages even though other features, such as metre, are lost in translation.[53]

The Approach to the Analysis of Landscape, Place and Space Terms – the Valence of Psalm 1

Given the pronounced influence of the *Expositio* on the appropriation of the Latin psalms' metaphorical impact, as outlined above, the analysis in the subsequent sections frequently employs it. Moreover, one of the 'few things that Psalms scholars of all backgrounds and methodological persuasions seem to agree upon'[54] is that Psalm 1 is 'intentionally set in its

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[50] Bede, *The Art of Poetry and Rhetoric*, ed. and trans. by Calvin B. Kendall (Saarbrücken: AQ-Verlag, 1991), p. 207.

[51] See below, Section 1.3.

[52] I see the connection between metaphor and allegory as being essentially that the latter uses the former as building blocks in interpreting the layered valence of broader narratives (especially in Scripture as demonstrated by Bede's use of the *place* Jerusalem from the psalms quoted earlier). See 'Figurative Language' and 'Interpretation: Typological and Allegorical' in M. H. Abrams, *A Glossary of Literary Terms,* 7th edn (Massachusetts: Heinle & Heinle, 1999), pp. 96-100 and pp. 132-4.

[53] Gillingham, *The Poems and Psalms of the Hebrew Bible*, pp. 13-17. (Note that Gillingham draws on C. S. Lewis, *Reflections on the Psalms* (London, 1961) and Robert Lowth, *Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews* (London, 1839) particularly to make this argument.)

[54] J. Clinton McCann, 'The Shape of Book I of the Psalter and the Shape of Human Happiness' in *The Book of Psalms: Composition and Reception* ed. by Peter W. Flint and Patrick D. Miller (Leiden: Brill, 2005), pp. 340-48

present position to serve as an introduction to the book of Psalms'.[55] And, when analysing the impact of Psalm 1 on the OE poem *Judith*, Harris observes that this psalm 'is said to contain within it all other psalms, some say the entirety of scripture'. He also observes that Jerome considered it the '"main entrance to the mansion of the Psalter"'.[56] So it is instructive, then, to consider how the *Expositio* treats this singularly important psalm.

Cassiodorus has a fair amount to say about how the first psalm in the psalter serves as a 'Gate to heaven' as well as the relevance of its assigned number, 'one'. He specifically remarks on how Psalm 1's 'Oneness' quality has implications for how someone is to not only read and absorb the 'figurative allusions' within the psalm itself, but also the 'ensuing psalms' in the psalter.[57] Influenced by Augustine's view of this psalm,[58] Cassiodorus argues that the righteous **uir** 'man' in Psalm 1 can only, in truth, describe 'the Lord Christ' because (as he reasons from Scripture) no human being is completely righteous in their own right. He then advances how this reference to Christ in Psalm 1 underscores his argument regarding the 'Oneness' or what the Greeks refer to as the 'monad' character of this psalm.[59] If we take Cassiodorus's metaphorical view of Psalm 1 seriously (as Bede evidently did regarding the entire psalter[60]) then the allegorical and figurative allusions within that psalm can be seen to be functioning as a leitmotif for the psalter as a whole. The idea of Psalm 1 operating in this manner is also alluded to by the 'Gate of heaven'[61] metaphor to describe it – in other words Psalm 1's figurative allusions are the 'gate' to viewing the figurative allusions in the remaining 149 psalms.

Lastly, it is worth noting that the concepts of *similitudo* 'similitude', *parabola* 'parable' and *comparatio* 'comparison' are introduced into the *Expositio* in the explanation of

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(p. 341) referenced in Phil J. Botha, 'Intertextuality and the Interpretation of Psalm 1', *Old Testament Essays*, 18:3 (2005), 503-20
(p. 503).

[55] Botha, 'Intertextuality and the Interpretation of Psalm 1', p. 503. Note that Susan Gillingham highlights the fact that Psalm 1 was one of the last psalms added to the psalter and she considers it and Psalm 2 as the 'prologue' to the remaining 148 psalms. See Susan Gillingham, *Psalms Through the Centuries: A Reception History Commentary on Psalms 1-72*, pp. 13-43.

[56] Harris, 'Happiness in the Psalms', p. 301.

[57] Cassiodorus, *Explanation of the Psalms,* Vol. 1, pp. 45 and 56-7.

[58] Walsh, *Cassiodorus: Explanation of the Psalms,* Vol. 1, p. 525 n. 2.

[59] *Ibid*, pp. 45 and 56-7.

[60] See the discussion in the opening section of this chapter (pp. 37-8) and particularly Toswell's argument for the influence of the *Expositio* on *De schematibus et tropis* in Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, p. 50.

[61] Note that P. G. Walsh traces the 'Gate of heaven' association with Psalm 1 to Jerome – see Walsh, *Cassiodorus: Explanation of the Psalms,* Vol. 1, p. 526 n. 9.

Psalm 1: 3. This psalm-verse is central to my argument in the subsequent sections and reads, in the *D-RB*, as follows: 'And he [the righteous man] shall be like a tree which is planted near the running waters, which shall bring forth its fruit, in due season. And his leaf shall not fall off: and all whatsoever he shall do shall prosper.'[62] Cassiodorus writes:

> Sed ut ad conceptae similitudinis instituta redeamus quod dicit, *plantatum est*, id est institutem est lignum crucis a Deo, quod semper in fide uireret ac cresceret. Hoc schema parabola dicitur, id est genere dissimilium comparatio. Sic enim in subsequentibus et monti et leoni et uermi comparatus est Christus.
>
> But to return to the simile which was formulated and its instruction, the phrase, *which was planted*, means that the wood of the cross was implanted by God so as always to flourish and grow in the faith. This figure is called a parable, in other words a comparison between things of a different kind. In the same way in later passages Christ is compared to a mountain, a lion and a worm (emphasis original).[63]

It is noticeable how landscape features (a tree – implicit in 'wood of the cross' – and a mountain) figure in Cassiodorus's explanation of *similitudo*, *parabola* and *comparatio*. It could conceivably be argued, then, that it is difficult to consider metaphor and simile in the psalms in general without including reference to a landscape feature.[64]

The examination of the emotive and cognitive resonance of landscape, place and space terms in the *Romanum*[65] which follows is not only precipitated by the fact that the psalms are suffused with such images, but also the long-standing early medieval English tradition (with roots that potentially go back to the early exegesis of the church and particularly the *Expositio*) of regularly referring to the psalms when engaging with metaphor and its potential

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[62] *D-RB*, Ps. 1. 3.
[63] Cassiodorus, *Magni Aurelii Cassiodori Expositio Psalmorum*, ed. by M. Adriaen, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, Vol. XCVII (Turnhout: Brepols, 1958), p. 34. Translation: Walsh, *Cassiodorus: Explanation of the Psalms*, Vol. 1, p. 51.
[64] Note that Brown relies heavily on concepts of landscape, place and space. See Chapter 3 'The Transplanted Tree: Psalm 1 and the Psalter's Threshold' and Chapter 5 'The Voice of Many Waters: From Chaos to Community' for landscape-inflected metaphor, Chapter 1 '"In the Shadow of *Shaddai*": The Metaphor of Refuge' for place-inflected metaphor and Chapter 2 '"I Shall Walk in Freedom": The Metaphor of Pathway' for space-inflected metaphor in Brown, *Seeing the Psalms*, pp. 55-79, 105-134, 1-30 and 31-53.
[65] As noted under 'Conventions used' in the Introduction, given that the Latin psalm text in P is the *Romanum* as well as the fact that the *Expositio* utilises it as well, all citations of the Latin Psalms in the thesis (unless otherwise indicated) are to the *Romanum* (specifically *LPR*).

to shape a person's thought process in a variety of ways. Additionally, Psalm 1's role as a 'gateway' or entry point to the psalter and the monastic weekly *cursus* (recitation of the psalter) which typically began with Psalm 1 at the office of Prime on Monday of every week[66] undergirds the ensuing discussion as well.

So, this chapter argues, given the concept of the weekly *cursus* and the requirement to internalize all 150 psalms, that recurrent psalmic landscape, place and space imagery played a formative role in shaping the imagination and thought life of a typical *psalteratus* or *psalterata* living in early medieval England. I am, for reasons of space, selective about the terms singled out. They tend toward the archetypal, stem from the imagery in Psalm 1 and are sometimes presented in oppositional (positive and negative) dyads. The landscape lens considers trees, water features and grass. The place lens focuses on the tension between the *locus amoenus* image in Psalm 1 versus the desert image in Psalm 63. 3 as well as the Jerusalem versus Babylon imagery in Psalm 136. Finally, the space lens is used to analyse path terms in Psalm 1 and the 'pathway' psalm – Psalm 118.

1.2 Landscape and the Mind in the *Romanum*

As outlined in the Introduction, my approach to landscape is informed by Margaret Gelling's[67] and Della Hooke's[68] understanding of the term to encompass a wide array of natural phenomena such as trees, rivers, hills, lakes, marshland, meadows, pasture and so forth. The original psalms, and so consequently the Latin psalms, are saturated with a variety of such landscape images. As noted above, my foci are trees, water features and grass. The rationale for this selection is governed entirely by the landscape imagery in Psalm 1 – the **lignum** 'tree'

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[66] In Chapter XVIII entitled *Quo Ordine Ipsi Psalmi Dicendi Sunt* 'The Order in Which Psalms Should Be Said', *The Rule of Saint Benedict* stipulates: *Ad primum autem secundae feriae dicantur tres psamli, id est, primus, secundus, et sextus* 'At Prime on Monday three psalms should be recited that is Psalms 1, 2, and 6'. See *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, ed. and trans. by Bruce L. Venarde, Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library 6 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), pp. 84 (Latin text) and 85 (translation). Note, also, the concept of the *cursus* is ancient and integral to Christian monasticism in general. Jesse Billett observes that '[a]n anonymous treatise *Ratio de cursus qui fuerunt eius auctores* ('An account of the *cursus*: Who were its authors?') written some time before 767, apparently by a monk in a Continental house of Irish observance, lists all the forms of the Divine Office known to its author and traces the historical pedigree of each'. See Billett, *The Divine Office in Anglo-Saxon England: 597- c. 1000*, p. 26. Also see the Tables 2. 5 and 2.6 in *Ibid*., pp. 38 and 39 for a tentative reconstruction of psalmody in the Roman rite and 'a probable distribution of psalms in the Roman Office' respectively and note that in both tables Psalm 1 falls within the Night Office for Sunday – still the beginning of the week.

[67] Margaret Gelling and Ann Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names*.

[68] Della Hooke, *The Landscape of Anglo-Saxon England*.

in verse 3, the **decursus aquarum** 'downward courses of waters' (also in verse three) and the **puluis** 'dust' in verse four. The link between *puluis* and grass or grassland/pasture is carried by the fact that the image of the wicked withering like dust in verse four is repeated in the remaining psalms (for example in Psalm 101. 12) using grass instead of dust.

Trees

The first landscape image in Psalm 1 is the well-known **lignum** 'tree' image in verse three which reads: **et erit tamquam lignum quod plantatum est secus decursus aquarum quod fructum suum dabit in tempore suo**[69] 'and he will be just like a tree that is planted close to downward courses of waters which will give its own fruit in its own moment'. This tree image comes directly after a description of the 'blessed' **uir** 'man' who has not 'walked in the counsel of the ungodly, nor stood in the way of sinners, nor sat in the chair of pestilence'[70] but rather has made a point of meditating on God's law both day and night.[71] It must be observed, here, that this first landscape image in Psalm 1 comes after the term **uia** 'way' in **uia peccatorum non stetit**[72] 'not stood in the way of sinners' which is the very first term which falls within the lenses of landscape, place and space – in this case space – in the opening psalm of the *Romanum*. Consequently, attention to this first 'space lens' term will form the crux of the discussion in the 'Space' section of this chapter.

The classicist David Ladouceur notes that in Classical Latin *lignum* refers to 'wood' or 'stump' and then later 'by metonymy' it denotes 'tree'.[73] He notes as well that *lignum* is often used to refer to the cross of Christ or to 'Christ Himself as "the tree of life"'.[74] Although Ladouceur does not mention the *Expositio* explicitly, the semantic connection he highlights here between *lignum* and 'wood' and the cross of Christ are both illustrated by Cassiodorus who says the following regarding the **lignum** in Psalm 1:

> Bene ut arbitror, *ligno* fructifero comparatus est Dominus Christus propter crucem, quam pro hominum salute suscepit. Quae merito lignum uitae dicatur, quando ibi et

[69] *LPR*, Ps. I. 3.
[70] *D-RB*, Ps. 1. 1.
[71] *Ibid.*
[72] *LPR*, Ps. I. 1, p. 5. (Note that the *Romanum* utilises the letter 'u' for 'v' – for example, *uia* 'way' as opposed to *via* 'way' in the *Gallicanum*.)
[73] David J. Ladouceur, *The Latin Psalter: Introduction, Selected Text and Commentary* (London: Bristol Classical Press, 2005), p. 53.
[74] *Ibid*.

> Dominus Christus, qui est uita nostra, suspensus est et latroni in eadem confitenti dictum est: *Amen dico tibi, hodie mecum eris in paradiso*.
>
> As I see it, the Lord Christ is well compared to a fruit-bearing tree because of the cross which He took up for the salvation of men. The cross is deservedly called the wood of life both because our Lord Christ, who is our Life, hung there and because the thief who made this same confession was told: *Amen, I say to thee, this day thou shalt be with me in Paradise*.[75]

The fact that both modern commentary (Ladouceur) and ancient commentary (Cassiodorus) on the Latin psalms draw attention to the association between the tree term *lignum* and 'wood'[76] is worthy of further examination.

One of the main implications of the metonymic connection between 'wood' and the term *lignum* is that the **lignum** in Psalm 1 is a generic reference to a tree which does not name a specific tree species. In other words, a person meditating on the wood/tree image, here, is free to imagine any type of wood/tree they wish to – they are, obviously, not constrained to imagine wood from specifically a pine tree or an oak tree for example. A general and not specific tree reference, then, is potentially significant. This is because when tree images occur elsewhere in the *Romanum* (except for two other occurrences of **ligno** and **lignum** in Psalm 95. 10 and 104. 33 respectively[77] and four occurrences of plural forms of *lignum*[78]) they are specific tree references – for example: **oliva** 'olive tree' Psalm 51. 10[79], **palma** 'palm tree' Psalm 91. 13[80] and **ficulneas** 'fig trees' Psalm 104. 33.[81] This relatively unique lack of specificity contained in the first reference to a tree in the psalms allows for the possibility that each individual monastic meditating on this image can more readily appropriate the tree image for their own mind and thinking. A subtle and implicit support for this assertion I am making with regards to the implication of a non-specific tree reference, here in Psalm 1, emerges from

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[75] Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum*, pp. 33-4. Translation: Walsh, *Cassiodorus: Explanation of the Psalms*, Vol. 1, p. 51.
[76] In Cassiodorus's case this association is highlighted by Walsh's translation of *lignum uitae* as 'wood of life' in reference to the cross. See *Ibid*.
[77] *LPR,* Ps. XCV. 10 and CIV. 33. I address each of these occurrences, below, in the section on *Trees*.
[78] See **lignorum**, **ligna**, **ligna** and **ligna** in *LPR*, Ps. LXXIII. 5, XCV. 12, CIII. 16 and CXLVIII. 9 respectively.
[79] *LPR*, Ps. LI. 10.
[80] *Ibid*., Ps. XCI. 13.
[81] *Ibid*., Ps. CIV. 33.

a consideration of the fact that the *Expositio* opens the commentary on the psalter with a discussion of why Psalm 1 does not have a heading.[82] By drawing attention to the fact that Psalm 1 does not have a heading – in other words it is 'unspecified' in contrast to every single other psalm in the *Romanum* Psalter which all have headings[83] – Cassiodorus highlights a way of seeing Psalm 1 and attending to the specificity or lack thereof within it. I would suggest, as well, that there is conceivably some original intentionality on the Hebrew psalmist's part in a generic as opposed to specific tree reference at the opening of the psalter as it more easily allows for the connection to be made between this **lignum** and the 'tree of life' in the garden of Eden[84] as well as other tree images in the psalter such as the **lignum** image in Psalm 104. 33 discussed below.

Susan Gillingham observes that there is scholarly agreement that Psalm 1 is a late addition to the psalter which 'reflects a developed view of "the Torah" (v. 2, twice)[85] as a unified whole' as well as showing 'correspondences with a more developed wisdom tradition'.[86] She also describes Psalm 1 as 'an original and creative psalm, interlaced with a tapestry of other biblical traditions' and its juxtaposition with Psalm 2[87] may have been because it 'was about how God would protect the individual whose obedience to the Torah of Moses was as steadfast as a **tree** in the royal Temple precincts' (emphasis mine).[88] In other words, there is good implicit evidence (given Gillingham's assessment) that the lack of specificity of the **lignum** image in Psalm 1 was intentional to allow for a broad range of intertextual connections.

And if Gillingham's assessment is not sufficient, William Brown also obliquely supports this idea of an original intentionality of a non-specific tree reference in Psalm 1. He writes:

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[82] Walsh, *Cassiodorus: Explanation of the Psalms*, Vol. 1, p. 45.
[83] See Psalms II-CLI in *LPR*.
[84] See Gillingham, *Psalms Through the Centuries*, Vol. 2, p. 18 for a description of connections made with the tree in Psalm 1 and the 'Tree of Life' within 'popular Jewish liturgy'.
[85] Botha translates Psalm 1. 2 (which in the *D-RB* reads: 'But his will is in the law of the Lord, and on his law he shall meditate day and night') from the Hebrew as follows: 'but in the Torah of Yahweh is his delight, and in his Torah he meditates day and night'. See Botha, 'Intertextuality and the Interpretation of Psalm 1', p. 505.
[86] Susan Gillingham, *A Journey of Two Psalms: The Reception of Psalms 1 & 2 in Jewish and Christian Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 10 and 12.
[87] Gillingham describes Psalm 2 as being 'about how God would protect his people who had a steadfast faith in his promises'. See *Ibid*., p. 15.
[88] *Ibid*.

> Psalm 1 stands as the Psalter's hermeneutical entry point, and for good reason. It…contains a number of lexical links to the following psalms, and underscores certain themes that resonate throughout the Psalter…Psalm 1 introduces the Psalter and, thereby, guides the reader's appropriation of subsequent psalms. Its orienting power is generated, in part, by **metaphor** and **image** (emphases mine).[89]

Now that the potential significance of a general as opposed to specific tree reference in Psalm 1 has been raised, the fuller implications of what it means to be a **lignum** 'tree' which is **plantatum** 'planted' beside running water will be unpacked.

The grammatical form of **plantatum** is that it is a perfect participle (which typically function as verbal adjectives in Latin and are usually treated as past and passive constructions[90]) of the verb *plantare* in the accusative, neuter and singular form so that it agrees with **lignum** (also accusative, neuter and singular in form). The verb *plantare* 'to plant' or 'to establish',[91] from which **plantatum** is formed, is unattested in Classical Latin[92] but is recorded in the *DMLBS*. Interestingly, the Classical Latin noun *planta* can mean 'a green twig' or 'the sole of the foot'.[93] The reason this is noteworthy is mainly the second possible meaning for *planta* connecting that noun with a human foot. If we can imagine that a typical *psalteratus* or *psalterata* may well be immersed in Latin enough to know this possible 'foot' connotation of *planta* (the fact that the *DMLBS* also records this 'sole of the foot' meaning for *planta*[94] makes this distinctly more possible), it can potentially be argued that the image of a person being a tree planted beside running water takes on an enhanced physicality. In other words, the foot or feet of the person are like the roots of the tree. This enhanced physicality is made possible if we allow for the prospect that the noun *planta*'s meaning can shade the meaning of the perfect participle **plantatum**.

As noted earlier, there are two other occurrences of the singular simplex *lignum* in the *Romanum* – in Psalm 95. 10 and Psalm 104. 33.[95] The former case is highly interesting because it is unique to the *Romanum*[96] and I address it below. The latter case occurs in the

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[89] Brown, *Seeing the Psalms*, p. 55.
[90] See Eleanor Dickey, *Learn Latin from the Romans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), p. 44.
[91] *DMLBS*, sv. *plantare*.
[92] The verb *plantare* is not recorded in *CLD*.
[93] *CLD*, sv. *planta*.
[94] *DMLBS*, sv. *planta*.
[95] See *LPR*, Ps. CV. 10 and CIV. 33.
[96] See **ligno** in *LPR*, Ps. XCV. 10 and note its absence in *LVB*, Ps. 95. 10 and *Heb*, Ps. XCV. 10.

closing membrum of the relevant psalm-verse: **et contriuit omne lignum finium eorum**[97] 'and he [God] destroyed every tree of their [the Egyptians] boundary/enclosure'.[98] If we take Brown's view that Psalm 1 is the 'hermeneutical entry point' which links lexically to the entire psalter and apply it to these two particular occurrences of **lignum** (in Psalm 1 and Psalm 104), a striking affective contrast is uncovered. These associations are broadly that Psalm 1 contains a positive **lignum** image (discussed above in the analysis of Psalm 1. 3) and Psalm 104 contains a negative 'mirror' image of the **lignum** being destroyed. It should be highlighted, here, that Psalm 104 is a long psalm which describes the history of the Israelites. Verse 33 comes in the middle of a section describing the plagues God sent the Egyptians before the Exodus and it opens with a reference to God destroying the Egyptians' vineyards and fig trees.[99]

The infinitive form of the verb **contriuit** 'he destroyed' is *conterere* which can mean 'to rub away,…to grind, to pound'.[100] It is plausible that the sharp contrast of the first **lignum** in Psalm 1 with the one that literally is rubbed or ground away in Psalm 104 would not necessarily go unnoticed by a typical *psalteratus* or *psalterata* who was required by the weekly *cursus* to meditate and ruminate on the entire psalter every week. Potentially, then, this contrast would have the effect of reinforcing the conditions of becoming a 'well-rooted' **lignum** in Psalm 1 – namely that this 'well-rooted' position only occurs for the person who has not 'walked in the counsel of the ungodly'[101] or 'sat in the chair of pestilence'.[102] These conditions are strengthened further by considering the difference between the 'tree of life' image in Psalm 1 and the fact that it was the Egyptians' boundary trees that are destroyed. In other words, the distinction between freedom (in Psalm 1's **lignum** image) and enslavement (in considering the destruction of the Egyptian masters' tree-boundaries in Psalm 104's **lignum** image) may not have gone unnoticed. Brown also supports this contrastive **lignum** image argument as he suggests that the tree image in Psalm 1 functions as a leitmotif for a

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[97] *LPR,* Ps. CIV. 33.
[98] The *D-RB* translates this clause from the Vulgate and not the *Romanum* as 'and he broke in pieces the trees of their coasts', *D-RB*, Ps. 104. 33. (The Vulgate of this clause is word for word the same as the *Romanum* with the exception that the adjective *omne* 'every/all' is omitted – see *LVB*, Ps. 104. 33.) Note, of course, that **lignum** is singular not plural so 'trees' is inaccurate here.
[99] See *D-RB*, Ps. 104. 28-36.
[100] *CLD*, sv. *contero*.
[101] *D-RB*, Ps. 1. 1.
[102] *Ibid.*

range of both positive (such as the 'tree of life' as Ladouceur[103] observed) and negative ancient 'tree' connotations.[104]

The opening membrum of *Romanum* Psalm 95. 10 reads: **dicite in nationibus Dominus regnauit a ligno**[105] 'declare among the nations the Lord reigned from a tree'. However, the equivalent psalm text in the *Gallicanum* reads: **dicite in gentibus, quia Dominus regnavit**[106] 'say among the Gentiles, because the Lord has reigned' and in the *Hebraicum* reads: **dicite in gentibus Dominus regnavit**[107] 'declare among the Gentiles, the Lord reigned'. It is intriguing to consider the implications of the *Romanum* text uniquely specifying, here, that the Lord reigns from a tree.[108] Given the preceding discussion (especially the metonymic meaning of **lignum** – wood – and the significance of the weekly *cursus*) perhaps the following observations can be made. First, the *Expositio* is careful to point that the *lignum* in this psalm-verse is the 'wood of the cross' that 'raises' freedom and life and not the tree in Paradise from where 'the devil was seen to hold the human race captive'.[109] So, it is conceivable that a typical *psalteratus* or *psalterata* would make a similar association between **ligno (**here in *Romanum* Psalm 95. 10) and the life-giving power of the cross – especially given the preference for the *Expositio* explained in the opening section. Second, the same typical *psalteratus* or *psalterata*[110] would meditate on this image along with the **lignum** image in Psalm 104. 33 and Psalm 1. 3 (discussed above) every single week of the year. In other words, then, the layered symbolism of **lignum** – the **beatus uir** who must be like a **lignum** planted beside running water, the Lord 'reigning' from the **ligno** and God's destruction of every **lignum** within the defiant Egyptians' 'enclosure' – could potentially all become part of a *psalteratus'* or *psalterata*'s mental apparatus when thinking about trees within a psalmic context.

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[103] Ladouceur, *The Latin Psalter: Introduction, Selected Text and Commentary*, p. 53.
[104] See Brown, *Seeing the Psalms: A Theology of Metaphor*, pp 71-5 for a discussion of the negative connotation of trees which centres around the injunction against pagan 'sacred' tree groves from Isaiah 1: 27, 29-31.
[105] *LPR*, Ps. XCV. 10.
[106] *LVB*, Ps. 95. 10.
[107] *Heb*, Ps. XCV. 10.
[108] Note that Cassiodorus was aware that '[o]ther translators do not render *from the wood* [**a ligno**]'. He goes on to state: 'but it is enough for us that it is maintained by the authority of the seventy interpreters'. See Walsh, *Cassiodorus: Explanation of the Psalms,* Vol. 3, p. 421.
[109] *Ibid*., p. 420.
[110] Admittedly, in this case they would have to be using the *Romanum* with the instance of **ligno** in Psalm 95. 10, but given the distinct preference for this psalter version in early medieval England the 'typical' can presumably still stand.

Notably, the psalm-poet of the Metrical Psalms renders this psalm-verse as follows:

Secgað nu on cynnum and on cneorissum,
þæt **from treowe** becwom tirfæst rice
Drihten ure;

'Declare now among the tribes and their generations that from a tree has issued a famous ruler, our Lord' (emphasis mine).[111]

This rendering is significant in that it affirms that the psalm-poet was faithful to the *Romanum* in a clear instance when that text diverged from the other Latin psalm versions not simply in terms of verb endings or different vocabulary, but where it inserted a term (**ligno**) that appreciably alters the sense of the relevant psalm-verse in comparison with the *Gallicanum* and *Hebraicum*. While this allegiance to the *Romanum* is no surprise given prior assessment of the psalm-poet's translation strategy,[112] in terms of the discussion at hand it is revealing to consider the implications of the 'extra' *lignum* image in Psalm 95. 10. Significantly, all the other glossed psalters with the *Romanum* which contain Psalm 95 have a version of *fram treowe* 'from a tree' to gloss **a ligno**.[113] It can perhaps be posited here, then, that the *Romanum*'s 'extra' tree image of the Lord who **regnauit a ligno** or *ricsað from treo*[114] 'reigned from a tree' would naturally enrich the valence of *lignum* or *treow* within the thought process of a person required to internalize this particular psalter version and recite it every week. Furthermore, the effects of such an enrichment are potentially evident in the powerful tree and cross imagery in *The Dream of the Rood* which Chapter 4 analyses in more depth.[115]

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[111] OE text and translation from *OEP*, Ps. 95. 9. Note that this instance of *treowe* is listed in the examples of tree vocabulary in the Prose and Metrical Psalms in Chapter 2. See below, Section 2.2.

[112] See O' Neill, 'Strategies of Translation', pp. 140-2. O'Neill observes that the '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'. He later notes that the psalm-poet'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'. *Ibid*., pp. 141 and 142.

[113] A (Ps. 95. 9) has *from treo*, B (Ps. 95. 10) has *fram treowe*, C (Ps. 95. 10) has *fram treowe*, D (Ps. 95. 10) has *fram treowe* and E (Ps. 95. 10) has *of treowe*. Note that I have sourced the OE text listed here from the *OTA*. I would also like to gratefully acknowledge Mark Faulkner's assistance in directing me to the *OTA* and providing me with a spreadsheet he created collating the *OTA*_T numbers to the relevant *DOEC* Short Title. Again, see the table, below, on pp. 83-6 for the list of the relevant psalters with their editions and accompanying sigla.

[114] *OTA,* A, Ps. 95. 9.

[115] See Chapter 4, Section 4.2.

Lastly, a final point to be made, here, when considering the significance of the valence of the tree imagery for a *psalterus* or *psalterata* is the high value trees held in early medieval England. A noteworthy indicator of this is the fact that Anglo-Saxon law codes 'recognized the pressure upon woodland and timber trees were protected' and as early as the 'seventh century the Laws of Ine in Wessex instituted penalties for their destruction'.[116] Living in a culture which placed a high value on trees and woodland could conceivably highlight the injunction in Psalm 1 for the righteous man to 'meditate day and night' on God's Law in order to be 'like a tree which is planted near the running waters, which shall bring forth its fruit, in due season'.[117]

Water – the waters of contradiction, a torrent and water as refreshment – in the Romanum

The **decursus aquarum**[118] 'downward courses of waters' is the first water image in Psalm 1 and so it is the natural starting point for a discussion of *Romanum* water imagery. The *Expositio* draws distinct focus to the adverb **secus**, which Walsh translates as 'near'[119] (and which I translated as 'close to' in the discussion of the **lignum** image above), that directly precedes **decursus aquarum** in **lignum quod plantatum est secus decursus aquarum**[120] 'a tree that is planted close to downward courses of waters'. Cassiodorus writes:

> Operae pretium est quoque perpendere quare dixerit: *secus decursus aquarum:* scilicet ut nec nimia inundation lignum laederet, nec iterum irrigation procul consituta siccaret.
>
> It is worthwhile to ponder why he [the psalmist] said *near* the running waters: it was no doubt so that too violent an inundation should not harm the tree, and on the other hand that it should not become dry because the irrigation was too distant.[121]

The tension highlighted, here, between the inundation versus complete absence of water is important because it presages the water imagery of the entire psalter – in our particular case the *Romanum*.

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[116] Della Hooke, *The Landscape of Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 165.
[117] *D-RB*, Ps. 1. 2-3.
[118] *LPR*, Ps. I. 3.
[119] Walsh, *Cassiodorus: Explanation of the Psalms,* Vol. 1, p. 51.
[120] *LPR*, Ps. I. 3.
[121] Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum*, p. 34. Translation: Walsh, *Cassiodorus: Explanation of the Psalms*, Vol. 1, p. 52.

First, though, it is perhaps worthwhile to reflect on some of the overtones of *secus* (which Cassiodorus highlights) and how these may have influenced the perceptions of the image of the righteous man who is 'like a tree which is planted near [**secus**] the running waters'.[122] This adverb when used as a preposition (as it is used here with accusative plural **decursus**) carries the sense of *secundum*[123] which (when used as an adverb itself) has a variety of senses some of which are 'in the next place' or 'secondly'.[124] (The respective forms of *secus* and *secundum* are noticeably close.) It is conceivable that a *psalteratus* or *psalterata* meditating on Psalm 1 at the beginning of every week may perceive the 'secondly' association of **secus** here and have that in view when thinking about the exact position of the **lignum** in relation to the **decursus aquarum**. A possible rationale for such an awareness of this 'secondly' association of **secus** is the fact that the only other time it is used in the *Romanum* – in Psalm 140: 7 (**secus infernum**[125] 'alongside hell') – it refers to a positioning of bones beside hell. Interestingly, when the preposition **prope** 'near', a synonym for **secus**, occurs (in Psalms 84. 10, 118. 151 and 144. 18[126]) it is used solely to express the closeness of God or God's salvation. To put it another way, when **secus** is used, in the examples discussed, it carries overtones of being in a secondary position that is close to but still very much separate from being in a 'first' position. In contrast, when the synonym **prope** is used this 'separate' or 'secondary' sense is not conveyed at all. What this linguistic data points to, then, is how **secus** in Psalm 1. 3 functions as clear signal for the need to be acutely aware of positioning in relation to water. This will become more evident as we move to examine other water imagery.

William Brown's chapter, 'The Voice of Many Waters: from Chaos to Community', persuasively articulates the paradoxical and layered symbolism of water in the psalms.[127] It opens as follows:

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[122] *D-RB*, Ps. 1. 3.
[123] *CLD*, sv. *secus*.
[124] 'LewisShort' on *Logeion*, sv. *secundum* < https://logeion.uchicago.edu/secundum> [accessed 3 March 2022].
[125] *LPR,* Ps. CXL. 7. Note that these two instances of **secus** are paralleled in the *Gallicanum* – see *LVB*, Ps. 1. 3 and 140. 7. This term (as either adverb or preposition) does not occur in the *Hebraicum*.
[126] In these three psalm-verses the *Romanum* and *Gallicanum* are nearly identical with a few subtle differences of morphology. The *LVB* Latin text and *D-RB* translations for these three verses are: Ps. 84. 10, **Verumtamen prope timentes eum salutare ipsius, ut inhabitet gloria in terra nostra** 'Surely his salvation is near to them that fear him: that glory may dwell in our land'; Ps. 118. 151, **Prope es tu, Domine, et omnes viae tuae veritas** 'Thou art near, O Lord: and all thy ways are truth' and Ps. 144. 18, **Prope est Dominus omnibus invocantibus eum, omnibus invocantibus eum in Veritate** 'The Lord is nigh unto all them that call upon him: to all that call upon him in truth'.
[127] Brown, *Seeing the Psalms*, pp. 105-34.

> One of the most evocative metaphors in all of Scripture, water is tapped by the biblical poets in various and profound ways. Destructive and cleansing, formless yet sustaining, water can convey diametrically opposing nuances even within one verse or line of poetry. Like a flash flood coursing through a desert wadi, the power of water can leave a path of destruction or, like a steady rain, prepare the soil for fertile possibilities. Whether as a hostile force or as a source of sustenance, water is as much a polyvalent image in the Psalter as it is a defining element in the diverse environment of Palestine, a small land of remarkable topographical and climatic contrasts.[128]

Brown identifies three distinct ways in which this polyvalence of water imagery is expressed: water as chaos, the absence of water (with consequent affliction due to its lack) and water as refreshment and renewal.[129] The focus, below, is on the first and third of these themes. The second theme – the absence of water (in other words the experience of the desert) – is examined in more detail in the section on the place lens later in this chapter.

In the 'Approach to the Analysis' I highlighted Psalm 1's role at the beginning of the weekly monastic *cursus*.[130] Implicit in this role, of course, is the fact that *all* 150 psalms were to be recited every single week in mostly consecutive order.[131] The weekly *cursus* is helpful to keep in view, then, when examining the cognitive and emotive resonances of imagery (in this case water) over the course of the psalter.

In Psalm 80. 8 (roughly about half-way through the 150 psalms so consequently just over half-way through a weekly recitation for a typical *psalteratus* or *psalterata*[132]) there is a reference to **aquas contradictionis** 'waters of contradiction' in **probaui te ad aquas contradictionis**[133] 'I [God] examined you at the waters of contradiction'. There are three observations to highlight here which are pertinent to the discussion at hand. First, the choice of the preposition **ad** 'at' in **ad aquas contradictionis** is worth examining in light of the

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[128] *Ibid.*, p. 105.
[129] *Ibid.*, pp. 107-32.
[130] See above, n. 66.
[131] Toswell observes that '[t]he Rule of St Benedict…requires that the full complement of one hundred and fifty psalms and canticles must be maintained every week'. See Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, p. 7. And Billett notes that the distribution of the psalms in both the 'secular' and 'monastic' *cursus* is 'based on the ideal of reciting all 150 psalms in numerical order'. See Billett, *The Divine Office in Anglo-Saxon England: 597- c. 1000*, p. 15.
[132] According to Billett's 'tentative' reconstruction of psalmody in the Roman rite, Psalm 80 would fall within the Night Office for Thursday. See *Ibid*., p. 38.
[133] *LPR*, Ps. LXXX. 8.

earlier analysis of the **lignum** image which, as the *Expositio Psalmorum* stresses, must be planted *secus* 'near' not *ad* 'at' the downward courses of waters in order to flourish and not be either inundated with water or desiccated due to its lack.[134] Primarily when the preposition *ad* is used with the accusative case (**aquas** is a feminine, accusative plural noun) it expresses a directionality of 'towards' (the meaning 'at' is secondary).[135] Although it is advisable to proceed with caution when trying to discern nuanced meanings of utility words such as *secus* and *ad*, Latin remains a precise language and it is perhaps plausible a person required to meditate on these texts every single week of the year would notice this precision and be aware of the difference in positioning, with regard to water, between **secus decursus aquarum** 'near/close to downward courses of waters' and **ad aquas contradictionis** 'at the waters of contradiction'.[136]

The second observation, especially in view of a heightened awareness of one's location in relation to a body of water, is the emotive valence carried by the term **aquas contradictionis** 'waters of contradiction'. The *Expositio Psalmorum* interprets this image emotively and metaphorically and states that God tests us at the waters of contradiction 'when we are roused by verbal challenges as though by blasts of winds'.[137] It may be an obvious point, but to be sufficiently 'roused' by such verbal challenges one needs to be sufficiently close to them or specifically 'at' them not necessarily 'near' them. Lastly, the third observation to make about the 'waters of contradiction' image here in Psalm 80. 8 is that the sense of turbulence and testing contained within it can also function as a foreshadowing of a distinct example of a 'water as chaos' motif (as identified by Brown[138] and referred to above) that comes a bit further on in the psalter in Psalm 123. 5 where the psalmist describes the distress of the Israelites in the following way: **torrentem pertransiuit anima nostra; forsitan pertransisset anima nostra aquam intolerabilem**[139] 'our soul passed through a torrent; perhaps our soul had passed through unbearable water'.

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[134] Walsh, *Cassiodorus: Explanation of the Psalms,* Vol. 1, p. 52.
[135] *CLD*, sv. *ad*.
[136] The English translations of *secus* and *ad* in these two phrases are, of course, indicative of the subtle difference in meaning of these two prepositions. Also note that the *Gallicanum* has a different preposition in place of **ad**. The relevant membrum of *LVB,* Ps. 80. 8 reads: **probavi te apud aquam contradictionis** 'I tested you at the water of contradiction'. The preposition *apud* with the accusative means 'at, near, by, with, among' – see *CLD*, sv. *apud*. Notably this preposition does not carry the directionality of 'towards' that *ad* does.
[137] Walsh, *Cassiodorus: Explanation of the Psalms,* Vol. 2, p. 297.
[138] Brown, *Seeing the Psalms: A Theology of Metaphor*, pp. 107-118.
[139] *LPR*, Ps. CXXIII. 5.

Drawing mainly on the work of Thorkild Jacobsen and Mark S. Smith,[140] Brown traces the 'motif of watery chaos' in the psalms to a 'West Semitic tradition' that stems from the literature of Mesopotamia – specifically 'the Babylonian Epic of Creation, which depicts the primeval forces of water, Tiamat and Apsu, that must be overcome by the new generation of gods before the world can be created'.[141] It is helpful to have this ancient and 'primeval' character of water as a chaotic force in view when examining this specific water image in Psalm 123. 5. Typically, the *Expositio* (as in the **aquas contradictionis** 'waters of contradiction' image analysed above) offers a metaphorical interpretation of the **torrentem** 'torrent' in this Psalm. Cassiodorus writes:

> *Torrens* est (sicut iam diximus) fluuius hibernis imbribus subito concitatus, qui et rapidus cognoscitur et coenosus, quia non puro fonte profunditur, sed terrenis infectionibus sordidatur. **Huic merito comparatur saeculi istius turbidus cursus**, qui nullo ueritatis fonte defluit, sed malorum omnium tempestate coalescit.
>
> As we have already said, a torrent is a river suddenly raised by winter-showers, which we see is swift-flowing and muddy, because it does not pour out from a pure source but is befouled by the contamination of the soil. The **turbulent course of this world is rightly compared with it**, for the world's stream does not flow down from any spring of truth, but is the storm-filled gathering of all evils (emphasis mine).[142]

It is, of course, not clear whether Cassiodorus was specifically aware of the 'West Semitic' tradition of associating water with chaos or evil (to my knowledge he does not refer to Mesopotamian literature), but evidently, here, he makes a direct link between rushing water and the forces of evil in the vein of that tradition. Along with the metaphorical interpretation of a landscape feature (in this case a rushing river or 'torrent' is compared to the 'turbulent course of this world') it is important to highlight the connection between a mind or soul term (**anima** 'soul') and a landscape feature (**torrentem** 'torrent') which the soul passes through. This close connection between a feature of the landscape and a state of mind or soul (as

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[140] Thorkild Jacobsen, 'The Battle between Marduk and Tiamat', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 88: 1 (1968), 104-8 and Mark S. Smith, *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle,* vol. 1: *Introduction with Text, Translation and Commentary of KTU 1.1-1.2* (Leiden: Brill, 1994).
[141] Brown, *Seeing the Psalms: A Theology of Metaphor*, p. 107.
[142] Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum*, p. 1161. Translation: Walsh, *Cassiodorus: Explanation of the Psalms,* Vol. 3, p. 284.

observed here in Psalm 123. 5 and also seen partially in how the **lignum** 'tree' image functions in Psalm 1 as a physical representation of a person who has not 'walked in the counsel of the ungodly, nor stood in the way of sinners, nor sat in the chair of pestilence'[143]) has a marked resonance in OE poetry which Chapter 4 analyses in more depth.

In stark contrast to the forceful, sudden and potentially overpowering character of water contained in the image of a **torrentem** in Psalm 123. 5, Psalm 106. 35 contains a distinct image of what Brown considers 'water as refreshment and renewal'[144] – **posuit desertum in stagnum aquae et terram sine aqua in exitus aquarum**[145] 'he [God] has turned a desert into a water pool and a land without water into rushes of water'. Cassiodorus considers the language of the entire Psalm 106 'joyful'[146] and perhaps this is the reason why he emphasises only positive associations with **stagnum** which can be translated as 'pool', but it can also mean 'swamp' or 'fen'.[147] He does not invoke any of the possible negative associations of **stagnum** with 'standing water' (the noun *stagnum* has the same root as the verb *stagno* which can mean 'to be stagnant' or 'to make stagnant'[148]) that could become fetid or putrid. Rather, he asserts that the water of the **stagnum** in this psalm-verse refers to 'the saving water of sacred baptism' which is kept 'undisturbed in a cistern' until needed.[149] Brown observes that the 'transformation of the desert into springs provides the setting for both agriculture *and* urban culture'.[150] In other words, the presence of springs of water in the desert (as seen in the water imagery in Psalm 106. 35) is necessary for the establishment of an urban place. (The contrast between a wilderness which could be considered a *locus horribilis* 'horrible place' and a *locus amoenus* 'a pleasant or lovely place' is considered more closely in the 'Perceptions of Place' section of this chapter.)

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[143] *D-RB*, Ps 1. 1.
[144] Brown, *Seeing the Psalms: A Theology of Metaphor*, pp. 122-29.
[145] *LPR*, Ps. CVI. 35.
[146] Walsh, *Cassiodorus: Explanation of the Psalms,* Vol. 3, p. 82.
[147] See 'LewisShort' on *Logeion*, sv. *stagnum* < https://logeion.uchicago.edu/stagnum> [accessed 3 March 2022].
[148] See 'LewisShort' on *Logeion*, sv. *stagno* < https://logeion.uchicago.edu/stagno> [accessed 3 March 2022].
[149] Walsh, *Cassiodorus: Explanation of the Psalms,* Vol. 3, p. 93. Note that Cassiodorus may, in this particular case, have been using (or thinking of) the *Gallicanum* which has the plural form of *stagnum – stagna* 'pools' – in Psalm 106. 35 as he refers specifically to 'pools' in the plural. See **stagna aquarum** 'pools of water' in *LVB*, Ps. 106. 35. Also see Cassiodurus, *Expositio Psalmorum*, p. 983 and note that the relevant psalm text for Ps. 106. 35 appears to be from the *Gallicanum*. (The *Hebraicum* has **paludes** 'pools' – see *Heb*, Ps. CVI. 35.)
[150] Brown, *Seeing the Psalms: A Theology of Metaphor*, p. 125.

Within the course of a typical week, then, a *psalteratus* or *psalterata* would have meditated and reflected on a variety of water images.[151] The two examples (the **torrentem** in Psalm 123. 4 and the **stagnum** in Psalm 106. 35) analysed in this section highlight the contrastive and polyvalent nature of water imagery in the psalms which Brown categorises as 'water as chaos'[152] and 'water as refreshment'.[153] This contrastive and multivalent character of water imagery is, again, unlikely to have gone completely unnoticed by someone required to meditate on these texts every single week of the year.

One of the last images of water in the psalms in Psalm 143. 7 is a plea for God's deliverance from **aquis multis** 'many waters'.[154] The need to be rescued from many waters would have been very relevant after meditating on the **torrentem** in Psalm 123. 4 for example. Furthermore, reflecting on the need to be liberated from **aquis multis** towards the end of a typical week would potentially sharpen the perception of the position (not too close to and not too far from) of the righteous person (who is conceived as being like a tree – **tamquam lignum**[155]) in relation to the **decursus aquarum**[156] 'downward courses of waters' in Psalm 1 in the office of Prime the following Monday.

Grass – faenum *and* herba – *in the* Romanum

In noticeable contrast to the righteous **uir** 'man' who has not walked in the **uia peccatorum**[157] 'way of sinners' and is therefore like a 'tree that is planted close to downward courses of waters which will give its own fruit in its own moment',[158] Psalm 1 concludes with a

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[151] According to Billett's 'tentative reconstruction', the **aquas contradictionis** image in Ps. 80. 8 would fall within the Night Office for Thursday (as has been noted already). The **stagnum aquae** image in Ps. 106. 35 falls within the Night Office for Saturday, the **torrentem** image in Ps. 123. 5 falls within the Vespers Office for Tuesday and the **aquis multis** image in Ps. 143. 7 falls within the Vespers Office for Friday. See Billett, *The Divine Office in Anglo-Saxon England: 597- c. 1000*, p. 38 and notice how the two 'positive' water images (**stagnum aquae** and being delivered from an **aquis multis**) come at the end of the week. Also note that (including the examples analysed in this section) the noun *aqua* occurs sixty times in different case forms across the *Romanum*. See *LPR*, Ps. I. 3; XVII. 12, 16 and 17; XXI. 15; XXII. 2; XXVIII. 3 (2x); XXXI. 6; XXXII. 7; XL. 2; XLV. 4; LVII. 8; LXIV. 10; LXV. 12; LXVII. 2; LXVIII. 15; LXVIII. 16; LXXIII. 13; LXXVI. 17 (2x) and 20; LXXVI. 18; LXXVII. 13, 15, 16 (2x), 20, 40 and 44; LXVIII. 3; LXXX. 8; LXXXVII. 18; XCII. 4; CIII. 3, 6 and 10; CIV. 29 and 41; CV. 9 and 11 and 32; CVI. 23, 33 and 35 (3x); CVIII. 18; CXIII. 8 (2x); CXVIII. 136; CXXIII. 4 and 5; CXXXV. 6 and 17; CXLII. 6; CXLIII. 7 and 10; CXLVII. 18; CXLVIII. 4.
[152] *Ibid.*, pp. 107-8.
[153] *Ibid.,* pp. 122-32.
[154] *LPR*, Ps. CXLIII. 7.
[155] *LPR*, Ps. I. 3.
[156] *Ibid.*
[157] *LPR,* Ps. I. 1.
[158] My translation of *LPR*, Ps 1. 3, referred to earlier in the 'Trees' subsection.

description of how the **impii** 'wicked' are like **puluis** 'dust' that **proicit uentus a facie terrae**[159] 'the wind flings away from earth's face'. Although there is no specific reference to grass in Psalm 1, one of the ways this juxtaposition between the flourishing 'well-planted' righteous and the withering 'flung away' wicked reverberates through the remaining 149 psalms is in how the two words, namely the neuter noun *faenum/foenum* 'hay' and the feminine noun *herba* 'grass' (both of which the *D-RB* usually translates as 'grass'[160]) are used. My reasoning for this assertion is that the bulk of the deployment of **faenum** particularly (as will become clearer – particularly in Psalm 91) hearkens back to the 'flung-away' wicked in Psalm 1.

Out of the eleven times **faenum** occurs in the *Romanum*[161] only two instances (Psalm 71. 16 and Psalm 146. 8) could be considered to have a wholly positive 'flourishing' association. Psalm 71. 16 describes how the city will flourish like the **faenum terrae**[162] 'grass of the earth' and Psalm 146. 7-8 exhorts us to sing praise to the Lord who **producit in montibus faenum**[163] 'brings out grass on the mountains'. In all the other nine instances that *faenum* is used the association is with withering away like the wicked who are like dust in Psalm 1. Psalm 101, uniquely, contains two of these 'withering' occurrences of *faenum*. The opening membrum of Psalm 101. 5 begins as follows: **percussus sum sicut faenum**[164] 'I am struck through like grass' and the closing membrum of Psalm 101. 12 reads: **et ego sicut faenum arui**[165] 'I am withered like grass'. Moreover, Psalm 101's *titulus* in the *Romanum* reads: ORATIO PAUPERIS CUM ANXIATUS FUERIT ET CORAM DOMINO EFFUDERIT PRECEM SUAM 'The prayer of the poor man, when he was anxious, and in the presence of the Lord poured out his supplication'.[166] The 'withered' association of **faenum**, then, is used in Psalm 101 to give voice to the suffering of the 'poor man'.

Another occurrence of *faenum*, in Psalm 91. 8, carries an even stronger echo of the contrast between the 'planted' righteous **uir** 'man' and the 'flung away' **impii '**wicked' in

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[159] *LPR*, Ps. I. 4.
[160] Note that when *foenum* and *herba* occur in the same psalm verse the *D-RB* translates *foenum* as 'grass' and *herba* as 'herb/s' or 'green herbs'. See *LVB* and *D-RB*, Ps. 36. 2, 103. 14 and 146. 8.
[161] See *LPR*, Ps. XXXVI. 2, LXXI. 16, XCI. 8, CI. 5 and 12, CII.15, CIII. 14, CIV. 35, CV. 20, CXXVIII. 6 and CXLVI. 8.
[162] *LPR*, Ps. LXXI. 16.
[163] *LPR*, Ps. CXLVI. 8.
[164] *LPR*, Ps. CI. 5, p. 244.
[165] *LPR*, Ps. CI. 12, p. 245.
[166] Latin text: *LPR*, Ps. CI. Translation from Walsh, *Cassiodorus: Explanation of the Psalms,* Vol. 3, p. 1.

Psalm 1. In Psalm 91 the wicked are described as springing up **sicut feanum**[167] 'like hay/grass' and shortly thereafter these wicked are contrasted with the **iustus '**righteous person' who shall flourish **ut palma**[168] 'as the palm tree' and increase **sicut Libani cedrus**[169] 'like the cedar of Lebanon'. In the commentary for Psalm 91. 13, the *Expositio* treats the difference between the **faenum**, **palma** and **cedrus Libani** imagery in the following way:

> Feno enim comparati sunt peccatores, quod delectabili quidem uiriditate oritur, sed celerrimo fine siccatur; *iustum* uero dignissime comparat *palmae*. *Palma* enim dicta est quasi pacis alma, quae praemium est in agone uincentibus…Haec supra terram hispida est, et quibusdam tumoribus inaequalis; sed ubi ad superna processerit, dulcissimorum fructuum suauitate completur…Sic iustorum conuersatio in hoc mundo duris est laboribus plena, sed in supernis probatur esse pulcherrima. Sequitur *cedri* secunda comparatio, quae multo palmis probatur excelsior. Lignum beneuolens, ad pondera portanda fortissimum; quod licet procerum ubique nascatur, in *Libano* tamen monte celsius inuenitur. Ita iustus multiplici laude celebrates et *cedri* proceritatem et pulchritudinem dictus est habere palmarum.
>
> Sinners were compared to grass which springs up beautifully green but quickly dries up and dies; the just man she [the church] most appropriately compares to the palm tree. The palm tree (*palma*) is so called because it fosters peace (*pacis alma*); it is the reward for victors in the contest…At the lower level the trunk is rough and uneven, but when it grows high it is filled with the sweetest fruit…Likewise the life of the just in this world is full of hard toils, but is known to be most beautiful in heaven. There follows a second comparison with the cedar, which is known to be much taller than palm trees. A benevolent tree (*Lignum beneuolens*) that is most strong for bearing weights. Though it grows high everywhere, it rises higher on Mount Libanus. In the same way the just man is famed with diverse praises, and is said to have the loftiness of the cedar and the beauty of palm trees.[170]

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[167] *LPR*, Ps. XCI. 8.
[168] *LPR*, Ps. XCI. 13.
[169] *Ibid*.
[170] Cassiodorus, *Expositio psalmorum*. Translation adapted from: Walsh, *Cassiodorus: Explanation of the Psalms,* Vol. 2, pp. 392-3.

Noticeably, Cassiodorus highlights how *peccatores* 'sinners' are suitably compared to *feno* 'grass' which 'springs up beautifully green' but will shortly dry up and die. It is this dried and dead quality of the term *faenum* that makes it most like the **puluis** in Psalm 1 – especially when considering that the *DMLBS* defines *pulvis* as a 'particle of earth'[171] as one could easily envisage dried dead grass being part of such a particle. Here in Psalm 91, then, the landscape imagery (of **faenum** as well as the **palma** and the **cedrus Libani**) all hearkens directly back to the contrast between the righteous **uir** 'man' who is planted like a tree beside running water (discussed previously) and the wicked who are like **puluis** 'dust' (or in this case **faenum** 'grass') in Psalm 1. It is also noticeable how Cassiodorus, true to form, personifies a landscape feature, namely, trees – the *palma* which fosters *pacis* 'peace' and the *cedri* which is *beneuolens* 'benevolent', 'well-wishing' or 'obliging'.[172] A *psalteratus* or *psalterata* steeped in the *Expositio* could perhaps not help but internalize a similar attitude – to trees in this case – when reciting or reflecting on the psalms. There is possibly some evidence of this attitude in how the paraphrast approaches landscape features in their OE adaptation which Chapter 2 examines more closely.[173]

A final observation regarding the texture and resonance of *faenum* can be made by examining it alongside its synonym *herba*. The noun *herba* (in various case forms) occurs four times[174] – so much less frequently than *faenum* – across the *Romanum*. Of these four occurrences, three are in the same psalm verse as an occurrence of **faenum**, namely Psalm 36. 2, Psalm 103. 14 and Psalm 146. 8, so it is likely to be revealing to examine these two terms alongside one another. Furthermore, the psalm verse where the subtle distinction between *faenum* and *herba* is most felt is in Psalm 103. 14. This verse reads: **producens faenum iumentis et herbam seruituti hominum ut educat panem de terra**[175] 'bringing forth hay for cattle, and grass for the service of men; so that he [God] brings up bread from the earth'. (In Psalm 36. 2 and Psalm 146. 8, *faenum* and *herba* are used more closely as synonyms without as sharp a distinction for each of their uses.[176]) Both *CLD* and the *DMLBS* translate *faenum*

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[171] *DMLBS*, sv. *pulvis*.
[172] See *CLD*, sv. *benevolens*.
[173] In Prose Psalm 28. 5 there is a contrasting image of the *hean ceder-treowu* 'high cedar trees' on Mount Libano which God shatters and which the paraphrast interprets as representing *ofermodra manna anweald* 'the power of arrogant men'. See Chapter 2, below, Section 2.2.
[174] See *LPR*, Ps. XXXVI. 2, LXXXIX. 6, CIII. 14 and CXLVI. 8.
[175] *LPR*, Ps. CIII. 14.
[176] See *LPR*, Ps. XXXVI. 2 and CXLVI. 8.

not as grass but as 'hay'.[177] Also, both *Lewis and Short's Latin-English Lexicon* and the *Woordenboek Latijn/Nederlands* include a reference to the concept of being as 'stupid as oxen' or *zo dom als een koe* 'as dumb as a cow' in their respective clarifications of uses of *faenum/fenum*.[178] An awareness that *faenum* is not necessarily green verdant grass but hay that is for cattle, in a negative or 'stupid' sense, not only sharpens the contrast between **faenum** 'hay' for cattle and **herbam** 'grass' for people (perhaps the **herbam** is some form of wheat or barley to be used for the **panem de terra**) in Psalm 103. 14, it also colours the impact of the anguish of the 'poor man' in Psalm 101 (discussed above) who says he is: **percussus sum ut faenum**[179] 'I am struck through like hay [for oxen]' and **et ego sicut faenum arui**[180] 'and I am withered like hay [for oxen]'.

Again, it is plausible that such a distinction between *faenum* and *herba* would not go wholly unnoticed by a typical *psalteratus* or *psalterata* required to meditate on the *Romanum* every week. Moreover, grassland would be very important in a society whose livelihood and survival were predicated upon the availability of different types of land. Gelling and Cole devote an entire chapter to 'Ploughland, Meadow and Pasture' in *The Landscape of English Place-Names*[181] and note that 'grassland…was of vital importance for grazing' for the people of early medieval England.[182] Additionally, Debby Banham and Rosamond Faith's monograph *Anglo-Saxon Farms and Farming* does not discuss 'grass' specifically, but it does discuss the importance of hay, haymaking and the concept of a *filith-ham* 'hay-farm'.[183] In such a society the resonance of terms such as *faenum* and *herba* would potentially be acutely perceived.

Perhaps a word needs to be raised here (in the landscape lens) on mountains which, of course, are richly personified in the Latin psalms – as the portion quoted from Psalm 67. 16 (**montem Dei montem uberem** 'the mountain of God is a fertile mountain') at the opening of this chapter attests. They have not been included in this section as there is no mountain in

[177] See *CLD* sv. *faenum* and *DMLBS* sv. *faenum*.
[178] See 'LewisShort' on *Logeion*, sv. *faenum* <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/faenum> and 'LaNe' on *Logeion*, sv. *fenum* <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/fenum> [accessed 3 March 2022].
[179] *LPR*, Ps. CI. 5.
[180] *LPR*, Ps. CI. 12.
[181] Margaret Gelling and Ann Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names*, pp. 262-87.
[182] *Ibid*., p. 262.
[183] Debby Banham and Rosamond Faith, *Anglo-Saxon Farms and Farming*. Medieval History and Archaeology (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 124-5 and 257.

Psalm 1. However, they are an important consideration in Chapter 2 given their significance in the culture of early medieval England. Both the paraphrast and psalm-poet demonstrate revealing choices in their deployment of the respective OE for Latin mountain or hill terms.

1.3 Perceptions of Place and the Mind: The *locus amoenus* and *locus horribilis* As Evinced in the *Romanum*

John Howe's article 'Creating Symbolic Landscapes: Medieval Development of Sacred Space' outlines the medieval conception of the *locus amoenus* 'the pleasant or lovely place' and its direct opposite – the *locus horribilis* 'the horrible place'.[184] He contextualises the *locus amoenus* as follows:

> The *locus amoenus* – the pleasant, lovely place – is a literary topos made famous by Ernst Curtius, who claimed in his monumental study *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* that "from the Empire to the sixteenth century, it forms the principal motif of all nature description." He believed that Roman pastoral poets had created the *locus amoenus* out of Greek descriptions of ideal landscapes featuring springs, birds, trees or woods, and a contrasting frame such as a rocky gorge or a mountain…Historians of religion have observed that, cross-culturally, a spatial image embodying completeness, solitude, and even paradisiacal resonance can be created by juxtaposing mountains, water, trees, and grottos.[185]

The *locus horribilis*, however, has its origins in biblical, not classical, imagery. Howe writes:

> Another model, equally awesome, is the *locus horribilis*. This is the opposite of Paradise, a blighted landscape, a place of horror, vast solitude, and impassability, abounding in savage beasts and demons. It is biblical wilderness, as in, for example, Deuteronomy's depiction of Moses "in a desert land in a place of horror and vast wilderness"…In such a desert Christ himself spent time with the wild beasts (Mark I:13).[186]

For the broader argument at hand, it needs to be noted that there is some conceptual overlap between the terms 'landscape' and 'place' in that the notion of a lovely place was intricately

[184] John Howe, 'Creating Symbolic Landscapes: Medieval Development of Sacred Space', pp. 210-14.
[185] *Ibid*., p, 210.
[186] *Ibid*., p. 212.

bound with the idea of the 'ideal landscape'. This conceptual overlap raises the question of when is a landscape feature considered a place? A possible answer to this is alluded to in the Introduction where I referred to Nicole Guenther Discenza's argument that the 'Anglo-Saxons, like any other people very much *made* place'.[187] Moreover, Howe makes the following comment which can also be viewed as an answer to this question:

> Yet medieval people were firmly convinced that even a *locus amoenus* could be **improved**. Pre-Christian sacred sites had featured man-made wells as well as natural springs; the sacred groves had often benefitted from careful tending. So it was with Christian "paradises" (emphasis mine).[188]

In other words, conceptions of 'place', of necessity,[189] include conceptions of landscape features; or, to put it in terms of formal logic, a landscape feature is a necessary but not sufficient condition of 'place' within a framework that understands it as something *made*. The psalms are replete with both *locus amoenus* and *locus horribilis* imagery and so the subsections that follow examine the juxtaposition between these *loci* in the context of the *Romanum*.

The layered tension between the locus amoenus *and the* locus horribilis *– the tree image in Psalm 1. 3 and the desert image in Psalm 63. 3*

A *locus amoenus* is clearly perceptible in Psalm 1's description of the righteous **uir** who is like a 'tree which is planted near the running waters, which shall bring forth its fruit, in due season'[190] discussed earlier. This image contrasts sharply with the speaker's (David's) anguish at being **in deserto et inuio et inaquoso**[191] 'in a desert [with] no way and no water' in Psalm 62. 3. The *locus horribilis* that is a desert has an ancient significance for Christian monasticism and Benedicta Ward's articulation of this phenomenon is pertinent. She writes:

> Monasticism is of course older than Christianity, but this [the desert fathers and mothers of fourth century Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and Arabia] was the flowering of it in its Christian expression…The roots of western monasticism are in the East, and the

[187] Discenza, *Inhabited Spaces: Anglo-Saxon Constructions of Place*, p. 6.
[188] John Howe, 'Creating Symbolic Landscapes: Medieval Development of Sacred Space', p. 211.
[189] Even an entirely man-made building needs a foundation that breaks the ground – a landscape feature.
[190] *D-RB*, Ps. 1. 3.
[191] *LPR*, Ps. LXII. 3, p. 138.

> **wisdom of the desert**, the understanding of this way of life, has formed a central, though often unidentified, source for Christian living through the centuries (emphasis mine).[192]

Furthermore, Bede articulates how central the concept of a *locus horribilis* was for Anglo-Saxon monasticism when he describes how Chad, the bishop of the East Saxons, selected a site for his monastery. The English translation of Bede's description is as follows:

> So, in accordance with the king's desire, Cedd chose himself a site for the monastery amid some steep and remote hills which seemed better fitted for the haunts of robbers and the dens of wild beasts than for human habitation; so that, as Isaiah [in Isaiah 35: 7] says, 'In the habitations where once dragons lay, shall be grass with reeds and rushes', that is, the fruit of good works shall spring up where beasts once dwelt or where men lived after the manner of beasts.[193]

This paradoxical character of a *locus horribilis* that is also a place of prayer (meeting with God) and in so doing is transformed into a verdant refuge (as described in the Isaiah reference quoted by Bede above), is noticeable in the second membrum of Psalm 62. 3. After the speaker (David) has expressed his lament at being **in deserto et inuio et inaquoso** he goes on to say: **sic in sancto apparui tibi ut uiderem uirtutem tuam et gloriam tuam**[194] 'so in the sanctuary have I come before thee, to see thy power and thy glory'. In this psalm King David makes a distinct link between being in a *locus horribilis* (a desert where there is no way and no water) and being in a 'sanctuary' and consequently being able to commune with God. This connection not only presages the origins of Christian monasticism, it also gives rise to the possibility that the early medieval understanding of the *locus amoenus* and *locus horribilis* (articulated by John Howe and referred to earlier) may have some of its genesis in the Latin psalms. This possibility is more apparent, of course, if one bears in mind how much these texts were part of the fabric of any *psalteratus* or *psalterata's* life (especially considering the weekly monastic *cursus*) and also if one contrasts the perception of the *locus amoenus* in

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[192] Benedicta Ward, 'Forward: The historical background' in *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers*, trans. by Benedicta Ward, SLG (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1975), pp. xvii-xxxi (p. xvii).
[193] *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. by Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, bk III, chap. xxiii, p. 287. John Howe quotes much of this same portion of text in 'Creating Symbolic Landscapes: Medieval Development of Sacred Space', pp. 212-13.
[194] *LPR*, Ps. LXII. 3.

Psalm 1 with the description of the desert – a *locus horribilis* – just under half-way through the *cursus* in Psalm 62.[195]

Before moving to another example of the dichotomy between the *locus amoenus* and the *locus horribilis* – namely the contrast between the places of Jerusalem and Babylon – it must be acknowledged that the topography of early medieval England is obviously not the same as ancient Palestine and it is quite unlikely that a *psalteratus* or *psalterata* living in the period would have direct experience of the desert in a place like Palestine or North Africa.[196] However, at least one scholar, Nicholas Howe, has argued persuasively (from an analysis of *The Wanderer*) that the sea in winter serves as a type of 'primeval wilderness' in 'the Anglo-Saxon landscape' as there was no other place within England's topography 'so dramatically and starkly beyond the mark of human habitation and use that it could serve as the setting for *The Wanderer*'.[197] Also, Juliet Mullins has analysed evidence for nuancedly different attitudes to the sea as a spiritual desert in early medieval Ireland and England. Essentially, the Irish perhaps held a more positive view of wandering the sea for the love of God (*perigrinatio*), whereas in early medieval England (as evinced in *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer*) the perils of life at sea are more noticeably drawn.[198]

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[195] According to Billett's 'tentative reconstruction' this image in Psalm 62 would fall within the Night Office for Wednesday. See Billett, *The Divine Office in Anglo-Saxon England: 597- c. 1000*, p. 38.

[196] Notably the psalm-poet of the Metrical Psalms renders '**in deserto et inuio et inaquoso**' in *LPR*, Ps. LXII. 3 as follows: *On westene and wege swylce and on wæter-flodum* 'In the desert and on the roads and also in water-floods'. See *OEP*, Ps. 62. 3. It is immediately apparent that the psalm-poet's understanding of 'desert' or 'wilderness', here, includes the concept of being overwhelmed by water – *wæter-flodum*. To make the obvious point, the contrast between a desert or wilderness where there is 'no way and no water' and one in which there are *wæter-flodum* indicates the difference between the topography of Palestine and that of early medieval England which must have shaped the perceptions of the psalmist of the Hebrew psalms and the psalm-poet of the Metrical Psalms respectively. Palestine's topography, of course, includes both the Sinai desert in the South and the Arabian desert in the East. See J Maxwell Miller and John H. Hayes, *A History of Ancient Israel and Judah* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986), p. 40 for a fuller description. Chapter 4 examines the psalm-poet's adaptation here in the context of a 'psalmic' *locus horribilis* in both *Wulf and Eadwacer* and *The Wife's Lament* – see below, Section 4.5.

[197] Nicholas Howe, 'The Landscape of Anglo-Saxon England: Inherited, Invented, Imagined' in *Inventing Medieval Landscapes: Senses of Place in Western Europe* ed. by John Howe and Michael Wolfe, pp. 91-112 (p. 104). Howe observes, too, that 'we know from the sagas, not even the Vikings willingly ventured alone to sea in winter'. See *Ibid*.

[198] Juliet Mullins, '*Herimum in Mari*: Anglo-Saxon Attitudes towards *Perigrinatio* and the Ideal of a Desert in the Sea', in *The Maritime World of the Anglo-Saxons*, ed. by Stacy S. Klein, William Schipper and Shannon Lewis-Simpson (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2014), pp. 59-73.

Psalm 136: a focal point for the locus horribilis *that is Babylon and the* locus amoenus *that is Jerusalem*

The dichotomy between Jerusalem and Babylon is a multi-layered (allegorical and physical) medieval trope. In his commentary, *On Genesis*, Bede articulates the rationale behind this contrastive binary between these two cities:

> The Lord is one, faith is one, baptism is one and God is one, in whom is the salvation of the elect; but there are many lords of the wicked, diverse twistings of heresy, diverse wallowing-places of defilements, and diverse gods of the pagans, by which all the wretched are dragged to the one destruction of damnation. The allegorical figure of each city [Babylon and Jerusalem] signified this very well, since no one could understand the speech of his neighbour after languages had been separated in Babylon;[199] yet later, in Jerusalem, when languages were united by the grace of the Holy Spirit, the faithful understood even the speech of all the foreigners who had come, and in one bond of love and faith they all praised together the same God and Lord.[200]

Bede goes on to contrast these cities further and says that it is of significance that Babylon is made of bricks from the earth because the 'whole multitude of the wicked [who dwell in Babylon] serves the devil with their muddy, dirty, and earthly deeds' whereas Jerusalem 'is constructed not of brick but of stone'.[201] Moreover, it must also be noted that descriptions of Paradise in medieval literature are numerous[202] and the Greek patristic tradition generated two views regarding the location of 'Paradise' – first that it was in heaven and second that it was where the actual city of Jerusalem is now as this was viewed as about twenty miles from Adam's burial place.[203]

Psalm 136 offers a singular and emotively charged depiction (within the monastic *cursus* through the psalms) of the two places of Babylon and Jerusalem. Furthermore, this

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[199] Note that Bede understands the tower of Babel to have been built in Babylon by Nimrod who he says founded Babylon as well. See Bede, *On Genesis*, trans. by Calvin Kendall (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008), p. 219.
[200] Bede, *On Genesis*, p. 233.
[201] *Ibid.*, p. 234.
[202] Natalia Lozovsky, *"The Earth Is Our Book" Geographical Knowledge in the Latin West ca. 400-1000* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2000), p. 50.
[203] *Ibid.*, p. 61.

psalm 'has without doubt the richest reception history in the Psalter'.[204] For example, Augustine preached on it on 31 December, 412 CE and sought 'to assure the North African churches of the eternal nature of the "city of God" in a time of political turmoil' after the fall of Rome in 410 CE.[205] The sermon emphasized that Rome was a 'descendant' of Babylon whereas Jerusalem is cast as the 'heavenly city'.[206] Gillingham also observes that the 'Church Fathers' in general (probably following Augustine) never consider Jerusalem as the city itself but always the 'Heavenly City' which 'forms a neat antithesis to Babylon, the worldly city and place of all confusion'.[207] This patristic-inflected tension between the heavenly Jerusalem and worldly Babylon is important to hold in view as we approach the psalm text itself.[208]

The psalm begins with the following line: **Super flumina Babylonis illic sedimus et fluimus dum recordaremur tui Sion**[209] 'On the rivers of Babylon, there we sat and wept, when we remembered you Sion'.[210] The psalmist goes on to contrast the two cities of Jerusalem and Babylon. Jerusalem is considered **in principio laetitiae meae**[211] 'the chief source of my joy' whereas the psalmist concludes this psalm by saying **beatus** 'blessed' is anyone who shall take Babylon's children (**paruulos**) and dash them **ad petram** 'against the rock'.[212] This well-known, visceral and challenging image has no doubt been the source of much of the attention paid to this psalm since antiquity. It must be remembered that this psalm (originally attributed to Jeremiah) was composed to highlight the Jewish people's grief at the final fall of Jerusalem in 70 CE or 135 CE – it also invokes the Jewish people's captivity in

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[204] Susan Gillingham, *Psalms Through the Centuries: Psalms 73-151* (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2022), p. 353. For an excellent appraisal of this psalm's rich reception history, from antiquity to the present, see *Ibid*., pp. 353-70.
[205] Susan Gillingham, 'The Reception of Psalm 137 in Jewish and Christian Traditions' in *Jewish and Christian Approaches to the Psalms: Conflict and Convergence*, ed. by Susan Gillingham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 64-82 (p. 73). Note that Gillingham states that *De civitate Dei* was written soon after this sermon was preached. See *Ibid*.
[206] *Ibid*. The sermon itself is available at: <https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/1801137.htm> [accessed 17 May 2025].
[207] Gillingham, *Psalms Through the Centuries: Psalms 73-151*, p. 357.
[208] It cannot escape our notice, too, that Bede's articulation of the difference between the two cities in *On Genesis* (quoted earlier) likely was influenced by the patristic tradition, probably initiated by Augustine, of interpreting this psalm. In the Introduction to his translation of *On Genesis*, Calvin Kendall points out how the psalms were 'the most deeply interiorized of all the biblical texts' for Bede. See Kendall, Introduction' in Bede, *On Genesis*, p. 37.
[209] *LPR*, Ps. CXXXVI. 1.
[210] Translation adapted from: *D-RB*, Ps. 136. 1.
[211] *LPR*, Ps. CXXXVI, 6.
[212] *LPR*, Ps. CXXXVI, 9 and *D-RB*, Ps. 136. 9.

Babylon after the first fall of Jerusalem between 597 and 587 BCE.[213] However, the modern response to this psalm must also be highlighted. For example, when it is currently used in the Offices of the Roman Catholic Church, as well as some Anglican and Reformed traditions, the last three lines are omitted.[214] Also, in an article entitled 'Psalm 137: Perspectives on the (Neuro-) Psychology of Loss', the theologian Hennie Viviers observes that though the angry, vengeful sentiment expressed may be an understandable response to extreme loss and aggression (such as forced exile or enslavement) it should clearly not be acted upon in modern societies.[215]

For the purposes of the argument in this section, though, it is instructive to consider how Cassiodorus and then Bede approached this psalm because they both demonstrate an obvious reticence in relaying its concluding image. Following and adapting Augustine in the *Enarrationes*,[216] the *Expositio* views the **paruulos** 'little ones' as 'sins of the flesh' and says the following:

> *Allidet*, ait, *ad petram*, in Dominum utique Saluatorem, de quo scriptum est: *Petra autem erat Christus*; ut statim confracta dispereant, quae nos teterrimis motibus instigabant. Bene autem discutiendum est quod dixit, *paruulos tuos*; carnis scilicet errores, qui misera matre nascuntur.
>
> He shall dash them against the rock means against none other than the Lord Saviour, of whom it was written: *The rock was Christ*; thus the impulses which fired us with the foulest emotions are at once shattered and dispersed. We do well to analyse their phrase: *Thy little ones*, meaning sins of the flesh born of a wretched mother.[217]

The emotive and allegorical interpretation of the children of Babylon as 'sins of the flesh' highlights the connectivity between a *locus horribilis* (Babylon in this case) and the *teterrimis*

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[213] Gillingham, *Psalms Through the Centuries: Psalms 73-151*, p. 354.
[214] *Ibid*., p. 358.
[215] Hennie Viviers, 'Psalm 137: Perspectives on the (Neuro-) Psychology of Loss', *Verbum et Ecclesia*, 31 (2010), 1-7. Viviers is of course using the Hebrew psalm numbering.
[216] See section 12 in <https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/1801137.htm> [accessed 19 May 2025]. Specifically, Augustine says the following in reference to the **paruulos** in Psalm 136. 9: 'For when we were born, the confusion of this world found us, and choked us while yet infants with the empty notions of various errors'.
[217] Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum*. Translation: Walsh, *Cassiodorus: Explanation of the Psalms,* Vol. 3, p. 364.

motibus 'foulest emotions'. It is also striking, though, how Cassiodorus transforms the violent image with a Christological interpretation of vices (instead of children) being crushed against the rock that is Christ. Although this interpretation requires quite a stretch of the imagination and is not obvious from the psalm text itself, it had distinct resonance in not only Bede's approach to this psalm but also the psalm-poet's rendering of this challenging image which I analyse in Chapter 2.[218]

In his *Abbreviated Psalter* Bede selects this verse (verse 9) for Psalm 136 and translates it as: 'Blessed is the man who fears the Lord'.[219] Two observations should be raised here. First, clearly, this verse was considered the most suitable to relay the gist of this psalm for the *Abbreviated Psalter*. Second, the influence of the patristic tradition of interpreting the children of Babylon as vices or 'sins of the flesh' and not literal children is implicitly evident in Bede's choice to summarize one of the most challenging psalm-verses in the entire psalter in the manner that he does. A final point to consider is that Cassiodorus's and then Bede's treatment of the concluding image in Psalm 136 presages some of the modern approach to avoid a literal interpretation.[220]

In this subsection, then, we have seen how the tension between the medieval concepts of the *locus amoenus* and the *locus horribilis* is very much present in the *Romanum*. This is discernable, firstly, in the contrast between the experience of the desert in Psalm 62 and the sense of a 'pleasant place' in the description of the righteous man in Psalm 1 who is 'like a tree which is planted near the running waters, which shall bring forth its fruit, in due season'[221] and, secondly, in the vivid emotive contrast between Jerusalem and Babylon in Psalm 136.

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[218] The psalm-poet renders Psalm 136. 9 as: *Eadig byð se þe nimeð and eac seteð / his agen bearn on þone æþelan stan* 'Blessed is the one who takes and also places his own children on that noble stone'. OE text: *OEP*, Ps. 136. 9.

[219] See *The Abbreviated Psalter of the Venerable Bede*, trans. by Gerald M. Browne (Michigan: Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2002), p. 85. Benedicta Ward notes that the tradition of the abbreviated psalter started with Bede as a 'memory-device' and was designed for persons who were 'less learned but solitary'. See Benedicta Ward, *Bede and the Psalter* (Oxford: SLG Press, 2006), p. 22. Also, Susan Gillingham highlights Bede's 'eliding' treatment of Psalm 136 in *The Abbreviated Psalter* – see Gillingham, *Psalms through the Centuries*, Vol. 1 (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), pp. 60-1.

[220] See the discussion earlier (on p. 65) on modern responses to Psalm 136.

[221] *D-RB*, Ps. 1. 3.

1.4 Perceptions of Space and the Mind in the *Romanum*: The Valence of Pathways

The Introduction highlighted how my understanding of the term 'space' is undergirded by the modern geographer Yi-Fu Tuan's understanding of the term to connote 'movement' in contrast with the term 'place' which Tuan conceives as a 'pause' in space.[222] In light of Tuan's 'movement' inflected conception of the term 'space', the discussion that follows considers the valence predominantly of **uia** 'way' in the *Romanum* which notably occurs in the first verse of the first psalm in the psalter. In other words, the psalter opens with a consideration of pathways.

The metaphorical resonance of path-terms – opening with Psalm 1

As with the analysis in the preceding sections, the *Expositio*'s treatment is illuminating. Responding to the phrase **uia peccatorum**[223] 'way of sinners' (which the **Beatus uir** has not stood in) in the psalter's opening verse, Cassiodorus says we are to understand this way as *latam* 'broad' because 'clearly' the way of the just is *angustam* 'narrow'.[224] This well-known tension between the broad versus the narrow way can be viewed as 'priming' the mind for how path terms operate in the *Romanum* which should become more apparent in the discussion that follows.

The term *uia* occurs once more in the final verse of Psalm 1 which reads: **quoniam nouit Dominus uiam iustorum et iter impiorum peribit**[225] 'since the Lord knows the way of the just and the track of the wicked will perish'. Noticeably, Psalm 1's path terms (**uia**, and **iter** 'track' or 'passage' or 'journey'[226]) occur in both the opening and closing of this 'gateway' psalm. And, true to form, Cassiodorus immediately picks up on this fact. Commenting on the closing verse, he writes:

> *Via* enim dicatur, quod per eam unusquisque transeuntium uehatur. *Iter*, quasi iterum actus, quod agendo teratur. Quod tamen utrumque pro locorum qualitatibus reperis esse uariatum, nam et uiam peccatorum superius dixit et iter in bono positum est, sicut ait in alio psalmo: *Et illic iter est, in quo ostendam illi salutare Dei*.

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[222] Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*, p. 6.
[223] *LPR*, Ps. I. 1.
[224] See Cassiodorus, *Expositio*, p. 31 and Walsh, *Cassiodorus: Explanation of the Psalms,* Vol. 1, p. 48.
[225] *LPR,* Ps. I. 6
[226] See *DMLBS*, sv. *iter*.

> *Way* (*via*) derives from the journeying (*vehi*) of any traveller upon it; *route* (*iter*) gets its name because it is repeatedly (*iterum*) driven over and worn away (*teri*) by movement over it. Both words one finds used in varying senses according to the nature of the region; earlier the psalmist used *via* for the way of sinners, and *iter* in its turn is used in the good sense, as in another psalm: *And there is the track by which I shall show him the salvation of God*.[227]

By drawing attention to the psalmist's use of more than one term to express the concept of 'way', Cassiodorus lays the ground, as it were, for considering more deeply what these specific terms convey in terms of a person's place in space – particularly the choice between the broad way of the **impiorum** and the narrow way of the **iustorum**. Of course, given the context, only one alternative to **uia** is mentioned (**iter**). However, there is another path-term that occurs in the *Romanum* namely *semita* 'narrow path'.

In the commentary for Psalm 24. 4, Cassiodorus comments specifically on **semitas** 'paths'[228] for the first time and exhorts the reader to understand this path term as one that is 'familiar to few and known to be narrow'.[229] Furthermore, the commentary on the distinction between **uia** and **semitas** in the second membrum of Psalm 43. 19 which reads **et declinasti semitas nostras a uia tua**[230] 'and (neither) have you (God) turned away our footpaths from your way' is illustrative of the *Expositio*'s concerns with the range of meaning for path terms in the *Romanum*. Cassiodorus highlights how **semitas** 'is used in the bad sense' here and they are called **nostras** 'ours' because they are the 'shadowy and pleasurable tracks which frail humanity treads'. He notes, too, that **uia** 'gets its name from violence (*violentia*)' and it is correct to call it 'Christ's way' because of His 'trials and tribulations'.[231]

On a final note, regarding **uia** versus **semitas** in the *Romanum*, *CLD* has 'highway', 'road' or 'street'[232] for *via* and 'narrow way' or 'footpath' for *semita*.[233] These definitions

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[227] Cassiodorus, *Expositio*, p. 38. Translation adapted from: Walsh, *Cassiodorus: Explanation of the Psalms,* Vol. 1, p. 55.
[228] See the closing membrum of *LPR,* Ps. XXIV. 4 which reads: **et semitas tuas edoce me** 'and teach me your (narrow) paths'.
[229] Walsh, *Cassiodorus: Explanation of the Psalms,* Vol. 1, p. 249.
[230] *LPR*, Ps. XLIII. 19.
[231] Walsh, *Cassiodorus: Explanation of the Psalms,* Vol. 1, p. 435.
[232] *CLD*, sv. *via*.
[233] *Ibid*., sv. *semita*.

echo the treatment these terms received in the *Expositio*, as it is highly conceivable to connect the idea of a 'highway' with the idea of the traveling 'of any traveller upon it'[234] with **uia**. And in terms of **semita**, both Cassiodorus and *CLD* use the term 'narrow' in relation to it. Interestingly, there is potentially some good evidence that the psalm-poet of the Metrical Psalms was aware of the *Expositio*'s treatment of the valence of path terms as they chose to convey **semita** and **iter** with varied OE vocabulary – for example *siðfæt* 'a journey' for **iter** and *stige* 'upland path' for **semita**.[235] Chapter 2 investigates this phenomenon more fully.

Psalm 118: the pathway psalm par excellence

According to William Brown the metaphor of 'pathway' is one of two 'metaphorical schemas' or 'root metaphors' that shapes the whole psalter.[236] The discussion of **uia** in Psalm 1, above, highlights this 'root metaphor' especially if we remember how Psalm 1 functions as the 'hermeneutical entry point' to the remaining psalms. Two other psalms, along with Psalm 1 are considered *tôrâ* (wisdom) psalms – Psalm 18 and Psalm 118[237] – and of these Psalm 118,[238] especially, carries the resonance of Psalm 1's metaphorical use of **uia**.

In different case forms, **uia** occurs eighteen times in the *Romanum* version of Psalm 118 and nineteen times in the *Gallicanum*[239] and the range of semantic resonances (positive and negative – alluded to in the discussion of Psalm 1 above) for this lexeme is very much at work in this psalm. As Cassiodorus himself exclaims at one point in his commentary on Psalm 118: 'How variously this way [**uia**] is described, how diversely it is treated!'.[240] Of the eighteen times **uia** is used in the *Romanum* version of this psalm, only three have adverse

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[234] See Walsh, *Cassiodorus: Explanation of the Psalms,* Vol. 1, p. 55.
[235] See, for example, *OEP*, Ps. 67. 4 (*siðfæt*) and 76. 16 (*stige*). For the corresponding *Romanum* see *LPR*, Ps. LXVII. 5 (**iter**) and LXXVI. 20 (**semitae**). For the full analysis of the psalm-poet's treatment of path terms, see Chapter 2, below, Section 2.4.
[236] William P. Brown, *Seeing the Psalms: A Theology of Metaphor*, p. 16.
[237] See *Ibid*., p. 17 for a description of the three *tôrâ* psalms. Brown uses the Hebrew psalm numbering, so he refers to Psalm 19 and 119 instead of Psalm 18 and 118. Also see Botha, 'Interpreting "Torah" in Psalm 1 in light of Psalm 118', *HTS Telelogiese Studies/Theological Studies*, 68 (2012), 1-7 for an analysis of the 'arch-lexeme' of 'Torah' in Psalms 1 and 119 (118 in the *Romanum*/Vulgate).
[238] Psalm 118 is the longest psalm in the psalter and, notably, Augustine 'deferred' explanation of this psalm 'not so much because of its length, which is known to all, but because of its depth'. See 'Introduction' in *St. Augustine on the Psalms*, Vol. I, ed. and trans. by Dame Scholastica Hebgin and Dame Felicitas Corrigan (New York: Newman Press, 1960), p. 3.
[239] For the *Romanum* see *LPR*, Ps. CXVIII. 1, 3, 5, 9, 14, 15, 26, 27, 29, 30, 32, 33, 37, 59, 101, 104, 128 and 168. For the *Gallicanum* see *D-RB* Ps. 118. 1, 3, 5, 9, 14, 15, 26, 27, 29, 30, 32, 33, 37, 59, 101, 104, 128, 151 and 168.
[240] Walsh, *Cassiodorus: Explanation of the Psalms,* Vol. 3, p. 189.

connotations: **uiam iniquitatis** 'way of the wicked', **uia mala** 'bad way' and **uiam iniquam** 'wicked way'.[241] The remaining occurrences of **uia** are associated with God's way/ways with three exceptions where the psalmist refers to his/her ways.[242]

What is noteworthy (for the purposes of this section) about the way **uia** permeates the texture of Psalm 118 is its association with movement. This 'movement' overtone is evident from the very first verse: **Beati immaculati in uia qui ambulant in lege Domini**[243] 'Blessed are the undefiled in the **way** who **walk** in the law of the Lord' (emphases mine).[244] The psalmist directly picks up this connotation of movement with **uia** in the opening verse as they say in verse 32: **uiam mandatorum tuorum cucurri dum dilatares cor meum**[245] 'I have run the way of your commandments while you enlarged my heart'. The *Expositio*'s treatment of this verse (Psalm 118. 32) is again illuminating:

> Dixit enim superius: *Vias meas enuntiaui*; deinde: *Viam iustificationum tuarum instrue me*; et iterum: *Viam iniquitatis amoue a me*; repetit: *Viam ueritatis elegi*; ad postremum: *Viam mandatorum tuorum cucurri*; ut siue bonae, siue malae uitae *uiam* dici omnimodus instruamur…Non enim potuisset uel ambulare uel currere, nisi *cor* eius in latitudine scientiae fuisset extensum; nam cum *uia mandatorum* eius legatur angusta, nisi dilatato corde non curritur…Bene autem dixit, *cucurri*, ut ostenderet se ad fidem rectam uelociter Domini munere peruenisse. ***Cucurrit*** **enim uiam iustus**, donec (sicut dicit apostolus) perueniat ad palmam supernae uocationis.
>
> They [the psalmist] earlier said: *I have declared my ways*, and next: *Instruct me on the way of thy justifications*, and then: *Remove from me the way of iniquity*; they also repeated: *I have chosen the way of truth*, and they finally say: *I have run the way of thy commandments*, so that we are instructed that the way of the good or the evil life is being described in every possible manner…They could not have either walked or run if their hearts had not been extended by breadth of knowledge, for though we read that the way of the commandments is narrow, we can run it only with heart

[241] See *LPR*, Ps. CVIII. 29, 101 and 128.
[242] See *LPR*, Ps. CVIII. 5, 26 and 168.
[243] *LPR*, Ps. CVIII. 1.
[244] *D-RB*, Ps. 118. 1.
[245] *LPR*, Ps. CVIII. 32.

> enlarged…They did well to say: *I have run*, to show that they have swiftly attained upright faith through the Lord's gift, for the **just man runs the way** until in Paul's words he attains the palm of the heavenly calling (emphasis mine).[246]

Although Cassiodorus says that 'we read that the way of the commandments is narrow', he does not specify where we read this, but perhaps he may be referring to how the path term *semita* (discussed earlier) is used in Psalm 118. This lexeme occurs twice in Psalm 118 in verses 35 and 105, respectively. The opening membrum of Psalm 118. 35 reads: **deduc me in semita mandatorum tuorum**[247] 'lead me on the path of your commandments' and Psalm 118. 105 reads: **lucerna pedibus meis uerbum tuum Domine et lumen semitis meis**[248] 'a lamp to my feet is your word, Lord, and a light to my paths'. As noted earlier, *semita* has a 'narrow' connotation (according to *CLD*[249] and the *Expositio Psalmorum*[250]), so it is conceivable that Cassiodorus may have had Psalm 118. 35 (which refers to **semita**) in mind when he states that 'the way of the commandments is narrow' in this commentary on Psalm 118. 32 (which refers to **uiam**).

Clearly, the *Expositio*-inflected resonances of **uia** and **semita** in Psalm 118 help build a sense of moving (walking or running) in a just or right way on the right (narrow) path having been inspired by God's word or commandments which can also function as a light for the right path or paths. It is noticeable, too, how heavily the verb *currere* 'to run' is repeated in Cassiodorus's commentary on Psalm 118. 32.

The noun *cursus* has the same form, of course, as the fourth principal part (the perfect passive participle) of the verb *currere*[251] and it is perhaps unlikely to have escaped the notice of a *psalteratus* or *psalterata* that Psalm 118's emphasis on walking and running (underscored by the *Expositio*) expresses some of the purpose of the monastic *cursus* through the entire psalter each week. Gillingham observes that Psalm 118 'became one of the eight most popular liturgical psalms from the second-century onwards'[252] and this fact offers some implicit

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[246] Cassiodorus, *Expositio*, p. 1073. Translation: Walsh, *Cassiodorus: Explanation of the Psalms,* Vol. 3, pp. 189-90.
[247] *LPR*, Ps. CXVIII. 35.
[248] *LPR*, Ps. CXVIII. 105.
[249] *CLD*, sv. *semita*
[250] Walsh, *Cassiodorus: Explanation of the Psalms,* Vol. 1, p. 249.
[251] See 'LewisShort' on *Logeion*, sv. *curro* <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/curro> [accessed 20 May 2025].
[252] Gillingham, *Psalms Through the Centuries: Psalms 73-151*, p. 244.

evidence for how this heavily movement-inflected psalm may have shaped an approach to the entire psalter.

Before leaving Psalm 118 to move to a discussion of the *cursus* more generally, two (admittedly unrelated) points should be raised. First, William Brown highlights how the psalmist in Psalm 118 'identifies the righteous as those who are on the move' and who 'walk' and 'seek'.[253] Grasping this connection between the 'righteous' who are on the move on the 'right' way or path from Psalm 118 adds a depth of understanding to why the psalmist would describe being in a **locus horribilis** in Psalm 62. 3 as **in deserto et inuio et inaquoso**[254] discussed in the previous section. In other words, it is significant that this desert is not simply **inaquoso** 'without water' it is also **inuio** 'without a way' which means the psalmist (in Psalm 62. 3) is prevented from moving out along the path of righteousness. Second, the psalm-poet of the Metrical Psalms may have keenly appreciated the valence of path terms in Psalm 118 as they insert *weg* 'way' three times without a Latin precedent[255] thereby increasing the path terms in an already pathway laden psalm.

The monastic cursus – *an expression of the psalter's major theme*

William Brown articulates how the idea of movement is, indeed, crucial to a sustained and careful engagement with the psalms in general. He writes:

> Often noted is that the book of Psalms moves from the theme of *tôrâ* obedience [in Psalms 1 and 2] to praise. The movement, however, is not an easy one: the remaining 148 psalms frequently alternate between lament and praise…The oscillating shifts are concomitant to a "dramatic struggle". Like the "tension" reflected in the editorial process, the theological significance of the Psalter is discernible through a largely *sequential* reading of the Psalms (emphasis original).[256]

This emphasis on a '*sequential* reading of the Psalms' consciously or unconsciously invokes the monastic *cursus*. To make the obvious point, the monastic *cursus* was an opportunity for a *psalteratus* or *psalterata* to move through the various emotive and cognitive experiences elicited by the variety of imagery in the *Romanum* (or the *Gallicanum* and more rarely the

[253] Brown, *Seeing the Psalms: A Theology of Metaphor*, p. 32.
[254] *LPR*, Ps. LXII. 3.
[255] See *OEP*, Ps. 118. 87, 133 and 151 and Chapter 2, below, Section 2.4.
[256] William P. Brown, *Seeing the Psalms: A Theology of Metaphor*, p. 17.

Hebraicum) – some of which this chapter has sought to unpack through the lenses of landscape, place and space.

Moreover, in Varro's *De lingua latina* 'On the Latin Language' the term *cursus* falls in Book VI which discusses the 'names of times and of those things which in the performance take place or are said with some time-factor'[257] and is said to be an 'act of running'.[258] The *DMLBS* also notes the 'running' meaning of *cursus*, and one of the senses it carries is a 'course of a heavenly body' or a 'nautical voyage'.[259] It should perhaps be highlighted here that the *DMLBS* cites Bede, Alcuin, Aldhelm and Asser (among others) in the sources for the range of meanings of this term indicating, perhaps, that *psalterati/ae* in early medieval England may well have made the connections between the meaning of the term *cursus* and the monastic *cursus* argued for below. Bede, particularly, is cited under the 'course of heavenly bodies' / 'nautical voyage' meaning.[260]

So, this semantic range of the term *cursus*, going back to Varro's treatise, which was composed between 47-45 BCE,[261] has interesting implications for how the weekly *cursus* through the Latin psalms may be perceived as running a race or taking a voyage through each of the psalms. Additionally, when explaining Anglo-Saxon perceptions of 'Earth's Place in the Cosmos', Nicole Guenther Discenza notes how scholars such as Bede, Ælfric and Byrhtferth felt it was very important 'to explain the **movements** of stars, planets, and comets' (emphasis mine).[262] Given how the monastic *cursus* would have most likely shaped the lives of these individuals, one has to wonder how much it also shaped their perception that heavenly bodies, such as planets, are not static but in motion. In a society that did not have satellite technology or space travel, it perhaps could be argued that the practice of the *cursus* may have led them to deduce facts about the universe they would otherwise not have been able to do.

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[257] Varro, *De lingua latina*. Loeb Classical Library, trans. by Roland G. Kent (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 173.
[258] *Ibid*., p. 207.
[259] *DMLBS*, sv. *cursus*.
[260] See *Ibid*.
[261] Roland G. Kent, 'Introduction' in Varro, *De lingua latina*, p. ix.
[262] Discenza, *Inhabited Spaces: Anglo-Saxon Constructions of Place*, p. 51.

For example, to begin with Bede, there are a total of eleven references to the psalms in *De temporum ratione* 'The Reckoning of Time'[263] (hereafter *DTR*) and, perhaps, the one occasion where different verses of the same psalm are referred to, within separate sections, hints at the monastic *cursus* as well as the psalter's overarching metaphor of 'pathway'. In Section VI, *Ubi primus saeculi dies sit* 'Where the first day of the world is' Bede refers to Psalm 18. 6[264] which reads:

> **in sole posuit tabernaculum suum**
> **et ipse tamquam sponsus procedens de thalamo suo**
> **exultauit ut gigans ad currendam uiam**[265]
>
> he (God) has set his tabernacle in the sun and he himself as a bridegroom advancing out of his chamber; he has rejoiced like a giant to run the way

Towards the end of *DTR*, Bede refers to the next verse of Psalm 18 in Section LXIV, *Typica paschae interpretation* 'Typical interpretation of Easter'.[266] This verse reads:

> **a summo caelo egressio eius**
> **et occursus eius usque ad summum eius**
> **nec est qui se abscondat a calore eius**[267]
>
> his (God's) going out is from the highest heaven; and his circuit up to its (the highest heaven's) summit; and there is no one who can hide from his heat

It is immediately apparent that these two verses are weighted with *currere* 'to run' vocabulary – the present participle **procedens**,[268] gerundive **currendam**[269] as well as the nouns

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[263] See 'Index Scriptorum', sv. 'Ps' in *Bedae Opera de Temporibus*, ed. by Charles W. Jones (Boston, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1943).
[264] See Bede, *DTR* in *Ibid*., p. 191. 46.
[265] *LPR*, Ps. XVIII. 6.
[266] Bede, *DTR* in *Bedae Opera de Temporibus*, p. 288. 51.
[267] *LPR*, Ps. XVIII. 7.
[268] **procedens** is the singular, nominative, masculine/feminine/neuter form of the present participle of the verb *procedere* 'to advance' / 'to proceed' / 'to go forwards'. See 'LewisShort' on *Logeion*, sv. *procedo* <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/procedo> [accessed 23 May 2025].
[269] **currendam** is a singular, accusative, feminine 'verbal adjective' formed from the stem of the verb *currere*. Of course, the form is used here to agree with the singular, accusative, feminine noun **uiam**.

egressio[270] and **occursus**,[271] all work together to build forceful momentum. It is plausible that Bede deliberately or unconsciously selected these particular examples at the beginning and end of *DTR* as a direct result of his immersion in the monastic *cursus*. Moreover, it is noticeable that these verses are referred to in sections that are of profound theological significance – the origin of the first day and the allegorical interpretation of Easter. In other words, he considered the *currere* imagery of Psalm 18 crucial to communicating how the physical world functions within his Christian worldview. It is intriguing, too, how these two *cursus*-inflected verses also bookend *DTR*. Finally, before moving to Byrhtferth, it is worth highlighting here that '[t]he sun had primary importance for the Anglo-Saxons, as a visible symbol of God and His power'.[272] It is significant, then, that the only occasion where Bede refers to the same psalm twice in *DTR* it is in reference to the sun's and God's (as **sponsus** 'bridegroom') circuit of the heavens.

Peter Baker and Michael Lapidge thoroughly contextualize Byrhtferth's vocabulary, approach and sources in their edition of his *Enchiridion* (hereafter 'E').[273] In terms of his 'Monastic Sources' they emphasize the following:

> It should be stressed at the outset that B [Byrhtferth] was a Benedictine monk. He will thus have participated in the daily recitation, during Divine Office, of many texts – lessons from the Bible, **particularly the psalms**, hymns and prayers of various sorts – which might be regarded by modern readers as 'literary sources', but which for a Benedictine monk would have been second nature (emphasis mine).[274]

They go on to observe that Byrhtferth 'shows intimate knowledge of the psalter' and when he replicates a list of figures of speech from Bede's *De schematibus et tropis* he provides full psalm-verses twice whereas Bede provides just a few words. They also note, in terms of E's vocabulary, that several words occur only within E and glosses. A number of the 'gloss' vocabulary is, as can be expected, from the glossed psalters such as *The Royal / Regius*

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[270] The feminine noun **egressio** carries the meaning of 'a going or coming out' or 'exodus' for persons. See *DMLBS*, sv. *egressio*.
[271] The masculine noun **occursus** carries several meanings one of which is 'approach, moving forward'. See *DMLBS*, sv. *occursus*. I chose to retain the *D-RB* translation 'circuit' because it best expresses the meaning in the context of the psalm-verse as well as the fact that the simplex *cursus* is the root of this noun.
[272] Discenza, *Inhabited Spaces: Anglo-Saxon Constructions of Place*, p. 31.
[273] See Peter S. Baker and Michael Lapidge, 'Introduction' in *Byrhtferth's Enchiridion*, The Early English Text Society, ed. by Peter S. Baker and Michael Lapidge (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. xv-cxxxiii (pp. xv-cxv).
[274] *Ibid*., p. lxxv.

Psalter among others.[275] There are, also, four references to the psalms and one reference to *sealmsang* 'singing of the psalms' in E.[276] The reference to *sealmsang* is revealing because it occurs in reference to Byrhtferth's explanation of the sun whereas the other four psalm references are used (following *De schematibus et tropis*) to explicate figures of speech. Byrhtferth writes:

> Seo sunne æfre byð yrnende ymbe þas eorðan, and eall swa leohte heo scinð þær byð dæg, and on þa healfe þe heo ne scinð under þære eorðan on middre nihte swa heo deð bufan eorðan on middæge…Se dæg fram þissere worulde <frymðe> forestop þa niht eall oð Cristes æriste, ac syððan he þa niht gewuldrode mid his æriste, heo forestop þæne dæg. On þam dæg ys seo forme tid prima gehaten, on þære sceolon gemearcode cnihtas geornlice to Gode clypian and þa syx tida bliðelice wurðian mid sealmsange Godes lof upahebban.
>
> The sun is always revolving around this earth, and it shines just as bright under the earth at midnight as it does above the earth at midday…From the beginning of this world until Christ's resurrection the day preceded the night, but since he glorified the night with his resurrection, it has preceded the day. The first hour of the day is called prime; in that hour designated young men should earnestly call out to God and joyfully honour the six hours with the singing of psalms, and raise up the praise of God.[277]

It must be acknowledged, here, that both Byrhtferth and Ælfric were following Bede[278] in their respective renderings of portions of his work on computus.[279] However, if we can overlook Byrhtferth's expected (given his epoch and worldview) error (probably following Bede[280]) that the sun revolves around the earth, it is noteworthy that he associated the sun's movement (*yrnende*) around the earth with *sealmsange* in the Office of Prime. When Bede discusses the sun's movement, he does not mention psalm-singing.[281] So, it is noteworthy,

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[275] *Ibid*., p. lxxvii and pp. cvi-cvii.
[276] See 'Old English Glossary' in *Ibid*., sv. *sealm* and *sealmsang*.
[277] OE Text and Translation, *Ibid*., pp. 114 and 115.
[278] Bede himself drew on Isidore's *De natura rerum* and other patristic writings. See Discenza, *Inhabited Spaces: Anglo-Saxon Constructions of Place*, p. 14, note 9.
[279] See *Ibid*., p. 14.
[280] Discenza observes that Bede, following Augustine, showed a concern 'for establishing that the sun truly does orbit the earth'. See *Ibid*., pp. 32-3.
[281] See, Faith Wallis, ed. and trans., *Bede, The Reckoning of Time* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999), pp. 19-20.

then, that Byrhtferth chose to include the only mention of this *sealm* compound in E in connection with the *yrnende* of the sun. Given the context that Baker and Lapidge outlined (quoted earlier), it is perhaps not too much of an overreach to observe that his immersion in the monastic *cursus* through the psalms could have influenced his choice here.

Lastly, it must be noted that Ælfric's *De temporibus anni* (hereafter *DTA*) is something of an outlier in that unlike the *DTR* and E there is no explicit mention of the psalms, psalmist or psalm-singing.[282] This is not to say, of course, that the psalms did not influence Ælfric – Blake observes that he refers to Psalm 148. 4 in line twenty of *DTA*.[283] Also, Jane Toswell includes him in her analysis of the psalms in the lives of individuals in early medieval England.[284] She observes that as a 'monk and abbot' Ælfric was 'fully versed' in the role of the psalter within the liturgy and when he quotes from the psalms he is careful to quote the Latin and then provide his own translation.[285] However, she also notes that 'Ælfric does not appear to have the psalter at the centre of his spiritual life in quite the way that Bede, or indeed Alfred, did'.[286] The absence of explicit reference to the psalms in *DTA* (particularly when viewed against Bede and Byrhtferth's treatment discussed above) is clearly further evidence of what Toswell noticed, here, in terms of Ælfric's relationship with the psalms.[287]

Conclusions

This chapter has argued that the landscape, place, and space imagery in the Latin psalms (using the *Romanum* version) shaped the thought life of individuals required to memorize and internalize these texts through their weekly recitation in the Divine Office. The analysis has demonstrated this by drawing on the *Expositio* which, the evidence suggests, may have been a preferred commentary for a *psalteratus* such as Bede and his contemporaries. One underlying rationale for the manner this analysis was conducted is to point (within the three respective

[282] See 'Glossary' in *Ælfric's De Temporibus Anni*, ed. and trans. by Martin Blake (Cambridge: Brewer, 2009) and note the complete absence of the simplex *sealm*. Also, a search for *sealm* in the text hosted on the *OTA* rendered zero hits.
[283] See 'Introduction' in *Ibid*., p. 2.
[284] See Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, pp. 82-93.
[285] *Ibid*., pp. 83 and 88.
[286] *Ibid*., p. 91.
[287] See *Ibid*., pp. 91-2 for a synopsis of how Ælfric holds the psalms somewhat apart – enclosed in the Old Testament and not an 'honorary part' of the New.

lenses) to the metaphorical texture (or 'allegorical hermeneutics'[288]) of the psalm environment that gave rise to the following: the vernacular psalms (specifically the Prose and Metrical), the creation of the P manuscript itself and the psalmic influence (direct and indirect) detectable in some of the OE poetic corpus. These three subjects are the foci of the remaining chapters.

Within the lens of 'landscape' the findings uncovered that the **lignum** image in Psalm 1 can be viewed as a 'gateway' metaphor given Psalm 1's original design as the 'gateway' to the psalter. Significantly, too, the non-specific and metonymic character of the **lignum** image led to the following possibilities. First, the fact that a non-specific tree term is used (unlike elsewhere in the *Romanum* where specific – fig or olive – trees are named) opens the way for an individual meditating on these texts to imagine themselves more readily as the tree planted beside the **decursus aquarum**. Second, if the metonymic meaning of **lignum** as 'wood' is harnessed, it opens the way to read **ligno** in Psalm 95. 10 as the wood of the cross from which **Dominus regnauit**. The *Expositio* reads it in this way and notably this **ligno** image does not occur in the *Gallicanum* or *Hebraicum*. Reading the *Romanum*'s water imagery within Brown's articulation of its polyvalent nature (water as chaos versus water as refreshment and renewal) and the *Expositio* led to some interesting findings which highlighted the importance of positioning in relation to water. Lastly, understanding that **faenum** can carry the association of being as 'stupid as a cow' and is better translated as 'hay' not 'grass', sharpens the effect of the 'poor man's' anguish in Psalm 10. And, given the importance of fertile land in early medieval England, this subtle difference (between 'hay' and 'grass') offers another layer of metaphorical significance for a *psalteratus* or *psalterata*.

The lens of 'place' raised the possibility that the early medieval perceptions of the *locus amoenus* and *locus horribilis* may, possibly, have some of their genesis in the Latin psalms. This led to a fresh way to approach the tension between a *locus amoenus* image in Psalm 1 and a *locus horribilis* image of the desert in Psalm 62. 3. It also offered another way to read the tension between the places of Jerusalem and Babylon in Psalm 136 – possibly the most well-known psalm in the entire psalter given its challenging conclusion and subsequent reception history. Reading this psalm alongside the *Expositio* and Bede's *Abbreviated Psalter*,

[288] This phrase is Toswell's – she uses it in the following context: 'Nor does he [Ælfric] focus on the allegorical hermeneutic of the psalter, so that his references are to David, and not to David as a type of Christ'. See *Ibid*., p. 91

showed that Bede's eliding interpretation was closer to the modern approach of omitting the final three verses.

The lens of 'space' analysed how the psalter's 'root metaphor' of 'pathway' is noticeable from the very first verse of Psalm 1. Next, the *Expositio* was utilised to analyse Psalm 118's role as the 'pathway psalm' which led to a sharpened understanding of why David would express his anguish at being in the desert as a place that is **inuio** in Psalm 62. 3. This lens also considered the possibility that the monastic *cursus* can be viewed as an expression of the psalter's root metaphor of 'pathway'.

Lastly, some implicit evidence for the influence of the monastic *cursus* through the psalms is noticeable in the writings (on *computus*) of both Bede and Byrhtferth. This particular finding, then, signals the thoroughly psalm-soaked milieu which ultimately gave rise to the creation of the vernacular psalms as well as influenced (directly and indirectly) the composition of some OE poetry.

Chapter 2

Landscape, Place, Space and the Mind in the OE Psalms – Prose and Metrical

2.1 The OE Psalms of P – Their Place Among the Other OE Glossed Psalters

> But what sets the Anglo-Saxons apart from other western European cultures was their engagement with the psalms in the vernacular. They knew that the Latin Psalter, which they inherited from Roman and Irish missionaries, had undergone several stages of translation, from its original Hebrew into Greek, and from Greek into Latin. This awareness may well have encouraged them to embark on the hazardous undertaking of translating it yet again from Latin into Old English.[1]

The context and some previous scholarly assessment of both the Prose (1-50) and Metrical (51-150) Psalms of P was summarized in the Introduction where it was also noted that the composition of these texts predates the eleventh-century compilation of the manuscript. It is perhaps, though, worthwhile to reiterate P's status at what amounts to the clearest example of a true bilingual psalter here. As John Bromwich observed in the Preface to the facsimile edition of the manuscript: 'A possible new title would be, *The Bilingual Psalter in Latin and Old English of Jean, Duc de Berry* which…give[s] an indication of its contents and a glimpse of part of its interesting history'.[2]

Moreover, as Magdalena Charzyńska-Wójcik has pointed out, as early as the nineteenth-century it was noticed that the *Romanum* text in P's left column is not the direct basis of the OE in its right column.[3] However, Patrick O'Neill has, somewhat more recently, assessed the translation strategies of both the paraphrast and psalm-poet. His evidence suggests that while both individuals used the *Romanum* 'as their base text' the paraphrast 'did admit quite a number of *Gallicanum* readings into his work, and even a few *Hebraicum* ones'.[4]

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[1] O'Neill, 'Introduction', in *OEP*, pp. vii-viii.
[2] John Bromwich, 'General History of the Manuscript' in *The Paris Psalter: MS Bibliothèque Nationale Fonds Latin 8824*, pp. 11-18 (p. 11, note 3). Note that P once belonged to Jean duc de Berry (1340-1416) – see Ker, *Catalogue*, § 367 and de Berry's signature in *PP*, fol. 186^{r}.
[3] Magdalena Charzyńska-Wójcik, *Text and Contexts in Jerome's Psalters: Prose Translations into Old, Middle and Early Modern English* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL, 2013), p. 28.
[4] See O' Neill, 'Strategies of Translation', p. 140.

It is customary and convenient when referring to the early medieval English vernacular psalter 'family'[5] (of which P is the only parallel text – as opposed to OE glossed Latin text – member) to list the manuscripts with their traditional accompanying alphabetical sigla. The list below has been adapted from Mechthild Gretsch's and includes which Latin psalter is used.[6]

A Vespasian Psalter. London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A. i.; s. viii$^{2/4}$; Old English gloss s. ix^{1}; Ker, no. 203; Gneuss and Lapidge, no. 381; Edition: *The Vespasian Psalter*, ed. by Sherman M. Kuhn (Ann Arbor: Michigan, 1965); *Romanum*

B Junius Psalter. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 27; s. x^{1} (probably 920s); Ker, no. 335; Gneuss and Lapidge no. 641; Edition: *Der altenglische Junius-Psalter*, Anglistische Forschungen 23, ed. by Eduard J. W. Brenner (Heidelberg, 1908); digital facsimile available at: < https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/b29ff397-89fd-44ad-ad28-e7db3896edc5/surfaces/fd1a03d9-28dd-4932-b861-158809eb2e58/>; *Romanum*

C Cambridge Psalter. (Also known as the Winchcombe Psalter) Cambridge University Library, Ff. 1. 23; c. 1000; Ker, no. 13; Gneuss and Lapidge, no. 4; Edition: *Der Cambridger Psalter*, Bibliothek der ängelsächsischen Prosa 7, ed. by Karl Wildhagen (Hamburg, 1910); digital facsimile available at: < https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-FF-00001-00023/25>; *Romanum*

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[5] Note that Jane Toswell makes a careful argument for the OE glossed psalters to be considered bilingual psalters which she acknowledges is a move towards a 'tentative change to the standard scholarly thinking about these manuscripts'. One of the prongs underpinning this argument is quantitative – she adduces figures for the overall wordcount of the OE psalter glosses (over 316,000) in contrast to OE poetry (less than 200,000). Another prong is the fact that at least two OE glossed psalters (the Cambridge Psalter and the Eadwine Psalter) have 'full and complete [OE] translations' written above the Latin text. See Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, Chapter 4, pp. 221-82. See *Ibid.*, pp. 224-5 for the quantitative argument and p. 223 for the remarks on the Cambridge and Eadwine Psalters. Also note that Jane Roberts has assessed the psalters with OE glosses and categorizes these as either 'opportunistic', 'added', 'ruled for' or 'integral'. See Jane Roberts, 'Some Anglo-Saxon Psalters and their Glosses' in *The Psalms in Medieval English Literature: From the Conversion to the* Reformation, ed. by Tamara Atkin and Francis Leneghan (Cambridge: Brewer, 2017), pp. 37-71 – especially 'Table 2' on p. 40. These psalters were referred to, of course, in Chapter 1 (see Section 1.1) in the context of the symbiotic relationship between the Latin and the vernacular.

[6] See Gretsch, *The Intellectual Foundations*, pp. 18-21. The major change from Gretsch's list is that mine includes the N-Psalter fragments and incorporates the two exciting recent new discoveries of fragments from this psalter in Elbląg and Alkmaar. Also note that, originally, the digital facsimile was provided (where available) for all the manuscripts. At the time of writing, the British Library (BL) has restored the digital facsimiles for D, F, J and L so those BL manuscripts have the relevant link. Lastly, note that Gretsch's list also includes the print facsimile of each psalter where available.

D Royal Psalter or Regius Psalter. London, British Library, Royal 2. B. V; s. x^{med}; Ker, no. 249; Gneuss and Lapidge, no. 451; Edition: *Der altenglische Regius-Psalter*, Studien zur englischen Philologie 18, ed. by Fritz Roeder (Halle, 1904); digital facsimile available at: <https://iiif.bl.uk/uv/#?manifest=https://bl.digirati.io/iiif/ark:/81055/vdc_100058104810.0x000001>; *Romanum*

E Eadwine or Canterbury Psalter. Cambridge, Trinity College R. 17. 1; c. 1155x1160; Ker, no. 91; Edition: *Eadwine's Canterbury Psalter*, Early English Text Society 92, ed. by Fred Harsley (London, 1889); digital facsimile available at: < https://mss-cat.trin.cam.ac.uk/manuscripts/uv/view.php?n=R.17.1&n=R.17.1#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=12&xywh=-1449%2C-225%2C5789%2C4426>; *Romanum*, *Gallicanum* and *Hebraicum*

F Stowe Psalter. London, British Library, Stowe 2; s. xi^{med} or s. $xi^{3/4}$; Ker, no. 271; Gneuss and Lapidge no. 499; Edition: *The Stowe Psalter*, Toronto Old English Series 3 ed. by Andrew C. Kimmens (Toronto, 1979); digital facsimile available at: <https://iiif.bl.uk/uv/#?manifest=https://bl.digirati.io/iiif/ark:/81055/vdc_100063300200.0x000001>; *Gallicanum*

G Vitellius Psalter. London British Library, Cotton Vitellius E. xviii; s. xi^{med}; or $xi^{3/4}$; Ker, no. 224; Gneuss and Lapidge no. 407; Edition: *The Vitellius Psalter*, Cornell Studies in English 42, ed. by James L. Rosier (Ithaca, New York, 1962); *Gallicanum*

H Tiberius Psalter. London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius C. vi; s. $xi^{3/4}$; Ker, no. 199; Gneuss and Lapidge no. 378; Edition: *The Tiberius Psalter*, Ottawa Medieval Texts and Studies 2, ed. by Alistair P. Campbell (Ottawa, 1974); *Gallicanum*

I Lambeth Psalter. London, Lambeth Palace Library 427; s. xi^{2}; Ker, no. 280; Gneuss and Lapidge, no. 517; Edition: *Der Lambeth-Psalter*, Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae 35, no. 1 and 43, no. 3, ed. by Uno L. Lindelöf (Helsinki, 1904, 1914); digital facsimile available at: <https://images.lambethpalacelibrary.org.uk/luna/servlet/media/book/showBook/LPLIBLPL~17~17~179874~127227>; *Gallicanum*

J Arundel Psalter. London, British Library, Arundel 60; s. xi^{2}; Ker, no. 134; Gneuss and Lapidge no. 304; Edition: *Der Altenglische Arundel-Psalter*, Anglistische Forschungen 30, ed. by Guido Oess (Heidelburg, 1910); digital facsimile available at: <https://iiif.bl.uk/uv/#?manifest=https://bl.digirati.io/iiif/ark:/81055/vdc_100056009767.0x000001>; *Gallicanum*

K Salisbury Psalter. Salisbury, Cathedral Library, 150; s. x^{2} (969x987); Old English gloss s. xi/xii; Ker no. 379; Gneuss and Lapidge no. 740; Edition: *The Salisbury Psalter,* Early English Text Society 242, ed. by Celia and Kenneth Sisam (London, Oxford University Press, 1959); *Gallicanum*

L Bosworth Psalter. London, British Library, Add. 37517; s. x.$^{3/4}$; Old English gloss s. x^{in}; Ker, no. 129; Gneuss and Lapidge, no. 291; Edition: *Die altenglishen Glossen im Bosworth-Psalter*, Mémoires de la Société Néo-Philologique de Helsingfors (Helsingfors, 1909); digital facsimile available at: <https://iiif.bl.uk/uv/#?manifest=https://bl.digirati.io/iiif/ark:/81055/vdc_100055998963.0x000001>; *Romanum*

M Blickling Psalter. New York, Pierpont Morgan, 776; s. viii^{med}; Ker, no. 287; Gneuss and Lapidge, no. 862. (Incomplete *Romanum* Psalter with two layers of Old English glosses. The first layer is in the Mercian dialect and dated by Ker to the ninth century and the second layer is predominantly West Saxon dated by Ker to the later part of the tenth century.);[7] Editions: *The Oldest English Texts*, Early English Text Society 83, ed. by Henry Sweet (London, 1885), 122-23 (the ninth century Mercian gloss) and Richard Morris, *The Blickling Homilies*, Early English Text Society 73, ed. by E. Brock (London, 1880; rpt. London, 1967), 251-63 (the tenth century West Saxon gloss); *Romanum*

N N-C – Cambridge, Pembroke College, 312, C1,2, N-H – Haarlem Stadsbibliotheek 188 F 53, N-S – Sonderhausen, Schlossmuseum, MS Lat. liturg. IX. 1, N-E – Elbląg, C. Norwid Library, SD.XVI.1 and N-A – Alkmaar, Regionaal Archief, 135 A 9; Editions: Klaus Dietz, 'Die ae. Psalter-glossen der Hs. Cambridge, Pembroke College 312', *Anglia* 86 (1968): 273-79 (N-C), René Derolez (ed.), 'A New Psalter Fragment with OE Glosses', *English Studies* 53 (1972): 401-8 (N-H), Helmut Gneuss, 'A Newly-

[7] See Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts,* p. 619 and Gretsch, *Intellectual Foundations*, p. 20.

Found Fragment of an Anglo-Saxon Psalter', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 27 (1998), 273-87 (N-S), Monika Opalińska, Paulina Pludra-Żuk and Ewa Chlebus, 'The Eleventh-Century 'N' Psalter from England: New Pieces of the Puzzle', *The Review of English Studies*, 2023, 74:314 (2023), 203-221 (N-E) and Thijs Porck, 'Newly Discovered Pieces of an Old English Glossed Psalter: The Alkmaar Fragments of the N-Psalter', *Anglo-Saxon England* 49 (2024), 1-66 (N-A);[8] *Gallicanum*[9]

P Paris Psalter. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 8824; s. xi^{med}; Ker, no. 367; Gneuss and Lapidge, no. 891; Editions: *Libri Psalmorum versio antiqua Latina; cum Paraphrasi Anglo-Saxonica, partim soluta oratione, partim metrice composita*, ed. by Benjamin Thorpe (Oxford, 1835), *Liber Psalmorum: the West-Saxon Psalms Being the Prose Portion, or the 'First Fifty,' of the so-called Paris Psalter. Edited from the Manuscript, with an Introduction and an Appendix*, ed. by James W. Bright and Robert L. Ramsay (Boston, 1907), *King Alfred's Old English Prose Translation of the First Fifty Psalms*, ed. by Patrick P. O'Neill, (Medieval Academy of America, 2001) and *The Paris Psalter and the Meters of Boethius*, The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records 5, ed. by G. P. Krapp (New York, 1932). The second and third editions are the first fifty prose psalms and the fourth edition is the remaining hundred metrical psalms.; digital facsimile available at: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8451636f/f394.item>; *Romanum*

One utility, then, for reproducing and adapting this list here is to situate the milieu in which the paraphrast and psalm-poet were working – my analysis regularly contrasts their respective vocabulary choices with other OE glossed psalters (predominantly C and K). Another utility is the inclusion of the newly discovered N-Psalter fragments. On this point it is worthwhile to note that just over a decade ago Jane Toswell observed that if more 'Anglo-Saxon manuscripts

[8] Note that a conference, organized by Monika Opalińska and Thijs Porck, took place in Alkmaar in September 2024 where N-H and N-A were 'reunited' for the first time in around 400 years. See Ann Pascoe-van Zyl, 'A Report on the "Medieval Fragmentology and the Fragmented Old English Glossed N-Psalter" Conference', *Trinity Centre for the Book*, 21 October, 2024 <https://www.tcd.ie/thebook/news/latest-news-/2024/tcblog-report-on-n-psalter-conference/> [accessed 6 June 2025].

[9] Thijs Porck notes that the N-Psalter fragments contain the *Gallicanum* with some *Romanum* readings. See Porck, 'Newly Discovered Pieces of an Old English Glossed Psalter: The Alkmaar Fragments of the N-Psalter', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 49 (2024), 1-66 (p. 15).

are identified' they are probably going to exist only in fragments – most likely as bindings of later medieval books – and a substantial percentage of these are likely to be psalter fragments given the rate at which such psalm fragments have appeared in recent decades.[10] The recent discoveries by Opalińska et al. and Porck (noted in the list under 'N') certainly bear out this observation. So, before moving to the 'Approach to the Analysis' section it is necessary to highlight some facts about these psalters.

First, '[m]ore psalters survive from Anglo-Saxon England than from anywhere else in the early medieval world'[11] and, as Jane Roberts notes as well, '[w]hat is even more startling is the high proportion with vernacular glosses'.[12] In regard to the former point, Jane Toswell observes the following:

> The corpus of Anglo-Saxon psalters – save no doubt for a few more fragments that will appear as binding matter in later manuscripts – thus now includes around seven-and-a-half per cent of all the surviving manuscripts of Anglo-Saxon England, which may well be the largest single corpus of material.[13]

In regard to the latter point, I count a total of sixty entries (including a breviate psalter, fragments and an exegetical catena on the psalms) under 'psalter manuscripts' in Gneuss and Lapidge's *Handlist*.[14] This means, then, that the above list of fifteen vernacular psalters comprises twenty-five percent of the overall psalter corpus as currently catalogued in the *Handlist*. Such a figure is not insignificant and gives a numerical indication of the value of the psalms in OE in early medieval England.

Second, it must be acknowledged that a considerable body of scholarship has arisen around these texts – particularly around the complexity of the relationship between the OE glosses and the two detectable gloss types.[15] There is relative consensus, however, that A (the

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[10] Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, p. 176.
[11] Catherine E Karkov, 'Manuscript Art' in *Working With Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, ed. by Gale Owen-Crocker and Maria Cesario, Exeter Medieval English Texts and Studies (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 2009), pp. 205-52 (p. 231). Quoted in Jane Roberts, 'Some Anglo-Saxon Psalters and their Glosses', p. 37.
[12] *Ibid*.
[13] Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, pp. 171-2. Note that Toswell, here, refers to an earlier iteration of Gneuss and Lapidge's *Handlist* published by Gneuss – Helmut Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A List of Manuscripts and manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100* (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2001).
[14] See 'Index of authors and texts' in Helmut Gneuss and Michael Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, sv. 'psalter manuscripts'.
[15] See for example Celia Sisam and Kenneth Sisam, 'Introduction' in Sisam, pp. 28-47 and Evert Wiesenekker, *Worde be Worde*, *Andgit of Andgite: Translation Performance in the Old English Interlinear Glosses of the*

Vespasian Psalter) contains the oldest continuous gloss[16] and is the model of the 'A' type gloss and D (The Royal or Regius Psalter) is the model of the 'D' type gloss and is usually considered an especially scholarly example of an Anglo-Saxon glossed psalter.[17] Gretsch notes that all the glosses in B and C are dependent on the 'A' type gloss and all the glosses in K and F are dependent on the 'D' type gloss. Most of the other psalters in the above list contain a mixture of 'A' and 'D' type glosses which Gretsch carefully lays out.[18] P, as already highlighted earlier, is unique among this list for being the only manuscript that contains two parallel columns of psalm text in Latin and OE not an interlinear OE gloss above the Latin text.[19] Jane Roberts puts it this way: 'the Paris dual psalter [P] contains the earliest English psalter that is an actual version of the Psalms in English'.[20] Traditionally, though, it has often been treated independently from the other glossed psalters. Philip Pulsiano omits it from his comprehensive edition of the glossed psalters (psalms 1-50) and Gretsch also considers it separately from the other fourteen glossed psalters – presumably because she did not find evidence that it drew on either the A or D type gloss.[21]

Third, P's relationship to other members of the vernacular psalter 'family' needs to be further contextualized. Notwithstanding the fact that much of the 'extensive but somewhat narrowly focussed' previous analysis of the vernacular psalters focused on nuanced distinctions and similarities between them, 'the most striking feature of the Old English glossed psalters [including P] remains the remarkable sameness of their vocabulary, and even of their morphology and syntax'.[22] In other words, Toswell considers P to be firmly a part of the 'family' of OE glossed psalters having reached this conclusion, primarily, from a comparison of the lemmata in A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L and P in Psalm 99 which

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Vespasian, Regius and Lambeth Psalters (Huizen: Bout, 1991). Also see Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, pp. 228-42 for a helpful overview of the trajectory of glossed psalter scholarship. For more recent analysis see Opalińska et al., 'The Eleventh-Century 'N' Psalter from England: New Pieces of the Puzzle' and Porck, 'Newly Discovered Pieces of an Old English Glossed Psalter: The Alkmaar Fragments of the N-Psalter'.

[16] Sherman M. Kuhn, 'Preface' in *The Vespasian Psalter* ed. by Sherman M. Kuhn (Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1965), pp. v-vi.

[17] See Sisam and Sisam, 'Introduction', pp. 52-75 and Gretsch, *Intellectual Foundations*, pp. 26-7 for the two gloss types and affiliated texts. See Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, pp. 260-8 for an analysis of the evidence of this perception of D.

[18] See Gretsch, *Intellectual Foundations*, pp. 26-7

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

[20] Jane Roberts, 'Some Anglo-Saxon Psalters and their Glosses', p. 38.

[21] See Philip Pulsiano, ed., *Old English Glossed Psalters Psalms 1-50* (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 2001) and Gretsch, *The Intellectual Foundations*, pp. 21 and 26-7.

[22] M. J. Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, p. 242.

produced evidence for an overarching commonality.[23] I, too, have found some evidence for this commonality – especially in the OE lexis of Psalm 1. 3. However, both the paraphrast and the psalm-poet regularly demonstrate distinctive vocabulary choices – for example the paraphrast's singular use of *cnoll* 'knoll' and the psalm-poet's sophisticated deployment of *burna* 'stream' – which the subsequent sections examine. In other words, my findings demonstrate a mostly fine-tuned and discriminating approach to rendering the Latin into OE in both the Prose and Metrical Psalms. P appears to be part of the vernacular psalter family while retaining an especial character at the same time.

The Approach to the Analysis

This chapter builds upon the concept established in Chapter 1 – that the thought lives of the *psalterati/ae* were shaped by the landscape, place and space imagery of the psalms – to argue, through the three analytical lenses, that the OE translation choices of two individual *psalterati/ae* – the paraphrast and the psalm-poet[24] – demonstrate a distinctive and deliberate engagement with psalm imagery in both Latin and the vernacular. As has already been noted, the *Romanum* text in P is not the direct basis of the OE (both Prose and Metrical). So, noticeably, the paraphrast and psalm-poet make adaptative and, especially in the case of the paraphrast, explanatory or exegetical translation choices in the lexis examined. These decisions are not only representative of their respective close engagement with the Latin, but also indicate how their work may reflect the influence of their surrounding environment and interpretive priorities. The argument proceeds by first analysing, across the extant OE psalm texts and the three Latin psalters, the crucial 'orienting' tree image (in Psalm 1. 3) in the psalter's hermeneutical gateway psalm. It then moves to consider the translation choices of the paraphrast and psalm-poet within the selected lexis.

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[23] See, M. J. Toswell, 'The Relationship of the Metrical Psalter to the Old English Glossed Psalters', *English Studies*, 78 (1997), 297-315 and 'Commonalities among the Glossed Psalters' in *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, pp. 242-50. Note that Toswell chose Psalm 99 because 'it is both short and familiar, and its occurrence in the middle of the psalter might be argued to reflect the settled style of the psalter glossators and translator', *Ibid*., p. 243. Elsewhere she notes that Psalm 99 is a 'representative choice' and analysis of other psalms led to 'similar conclusions'. See M. J. Toswell, 'Studies in the Paris Psalter, Metrical Version' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1991), note 10, p. 264.

[24] For evidence for how the paraphrast (traditionally viewed as Alfred) could be characterized as *psalteratus/a* see Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, pp. 64-82. For evidence for how the psalm-poet could be considered *psalteratus/a* see Toswell, 'The Relationship of the Metrical Psalter to the Old English Glossed Psalters', p. 314.

The landscape lens considers trees, mountains and hills and water features. The rationale for the shift in emphasis from Chapter 1 (from grass to mountains) is given more fully in the opening of Section 2.2 below. In practice, the landscape terms selected in this chapter were derived from close engagement with the OE (alongside the modern English) in *OEP*, together with Hooke and Gelling's conceptualization (delineated, briefly, in the Introduction and the opening of Section 1.2 in Chapter 1) of what constitutes a landscape feature in early medieval England. The place lens revisits the *locus amoenus* and *locus horribilis* imagery of Chapter 1, but with a shifted focus on one of the psalter's overarching metaphors – refuge – within the *locus amoenus* umbrella. Lastly, the space lens is employed to examine the paraphrast's distinctive use of the pathway term *wræc-sið* 'exile path', the psalm-poet's nuanced deployment of OE pathway lexis across the Metrical Psalms and the introduction of OE path terms without a Latin precedent in Psalm 118.

In terms of methodology, I have adapted Toswell's method (laid out in 'The Relationship of the Metrical Psalter to the Old English Glossed Psalters'[25]) where I have taken one whole psalm-verse (Toswell takes one whole psalm – Psalm 99) and analysed it in the context of the remaining OE glossed psalters as well as the three Latin psalters. Next, I have analysed the 'landscape', 'place' and 'space' terms with reference mainly to the *Romanum* and, primarily, to exemplars of the A and D type gloss – namely The Cambridge Psalter (C) for the A type and The Salisbury Psalter (K) for the D type. (Toswell also examines specific lemmata in comparison with the C and K.[26]) The rationale for my choice of C and K is that 'these are perhaps the best-edited glossed psalters, and certainly the most accurately reproduced from the manuscript'.[27] The whole psalm-verse selected is Psalm 1. 3 because it contains the important 'orienting' tree image. As already indicated above, the OE terms examined in both the Prose and Metrical Psalms were selected for their effectiveness in conveying both the paraphrast and the psalm-poet's engagement with the psalms in Latin and OE within the categories – landscape, place and space – analysed in Chapter 1. Finally, I have also remained attentive to the, potential, emotive and cognitive impact of the selected OE lexis.

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[25] M. J. Toswell, 'The Relationship of the Metrical Psalter to the Old English Glossed Psalters', *English Studies*, 78 (1997), 297-315 (p. 300).
[26] *Ibid.*
[27] *Ibid*., p. 305.

2.2 Landscape and the Mind in the OE Psalms of P

The valence of tree (**lignum**),[28] water (**decursus aquarum**, **aquas contradictionis** and **torrentem**)[29] and grass (**faenum** and **herba**)[30] terms were analysed in the previous chapter. In this chapter, I turn attention to how the Prose (hereafter *Ps(P)*[31]) and Metrical Psalms deploy the following categories of landscape vocabulary – *treowe* 'tree', *munt/beorg* 'mountain' and *wæter* 'water' and what this deployment reveals of the relationship between landscape and the mind. The rationale for this slightly altered emphasis (from grass to mountains) is primarily the significance of hills and mountains for people living in early medieval England – Gelling and Cole highlight the fact that the 'Old English topographical vocabulary is at its most discriminating in the classification of hills and ridges'.[32] Moreover, both the *Ps(P)* and Metrical Psalms contain revealing uses of mountain or hill vocabulary. For example, the *Ps(P)* include the only occurrence of the 'hill category' toponym *cnolle* 'knoll' (in *on þam lytlan cnolle þe Ermon hatte*[33] 'on that little knoll which is called Hermon') across P and the other extant OE psalms.[34] And the psalm-poet personifies *beorh* with *laðne* (in *laðne beorh*[35] 'hateful mountain') where there is no precedent for this in either the *Romanum*, *Gallicanum* or *Hebraicum*.[36]

Ps(P)1's Lack of an Introduction – the Significance of the 'Orienting' Tree Metaphor

An especial feature of the *Ps(P)*, which is regularly discussed in any extended assessment of their composition, is the fact that *Ps(P)* 2 to *Ps(P)* 50 are each preceded by an OE Introduction.[37] These Introductions have a Latin source – the pseudo-Bede *Argumenta* –

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[28] In *LPR*, Ps. I. 3.
[29] In *LPR*, Ps. I. 3, Ps. LXXX. 8 and Ps. CXXIII. 5.
[30] In *LPR*, Ps. CI. 5, Ps. CI. 12, Ps. XCI. 8 and Ps. CIII. 14.
[31] I follow O'Neill's use of this short title and I do so to distinguish the Prose Psalms from the Metrical Psalms in the remaining discussion. See O'Neill, 'Introduction' in *King Alfred's Old English Prose Translation of the First Fifty Psalms*. The short title is used for the first time on p. 28.
[32] Gelling and Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names*, p. 143.
[33] *OEP*, Ps. 41. 7.
[34] A search for *cnoll* in all the other vernacular psalters (A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L, M and N) available on *OTA* rendered zero hits.
[35] *OEP*, Ps. 103. 17.
[36] See *LPR*, Ps. CIII. 17-18 , *LVB*, Ps. 103. 17-18 and *Heb*, Ps. CIII. 17-18.
[37] See, J. Douglas Bruce, 'Immediate and Ultimate Source of the Rubrics and Introductions to the Psalms in the Paris Psalter', *Modern Language Notes*, 8 (1893), 36-41, James W. Bright and Robert L. Ramsey, 'Notes on the Introductions of the West Saxon Psalms', *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 13 (1912), 520-58, O'Neill, Chapter 2 'The Old English Introductions' in 'Introduction' in *King Alfred's Old English Prose Translation of the First Fifty Psalms*, pp. 23-30, 'The Old English Introductions to the Prose Psalms of the Paris Psalter:

which the paraphrast adapted to suit their 'method of composition'.[38] O'Neill explains that every Introduction 'combines two characteristic features of medieval biblical exegesis, an *argumentum* and a structured scheme of interpretations'.[39] Specifically, these characteristic features take the following clausal structure: first, a Davidic interpretation; second, a historical interpretation which applies the individual psalm to an Old Testament event, third, a Christological interpretation; fourth, a moral interpretation which applies the theme of the other interpretations to a contemporary person who may find themselves in a comparable situation.[40] Clauses one, three and four largely correspond to Augustinian exegesis, however, the second clause 'has no counterpart in the usual fourfold schemes of the Western Church'.[41] This difference is traced to the exegetical school of Antioch stemming possibly from Jewish exegesis and the use of this second clause in Western explanations of the psalms can be traced to Ireland – specifically a ninth century *Old Irish Treatise on the Psalter*.[42]

Moreover, early medieval Latin psalter manuscripts often contain brief *tituli* 'superscriptions' which serve to orient the prayer in each psalm towards a Christian interpretation.[43] (The *Romanum* psalms in P contain a series of these known as the 'pseudo-

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Sources, Structure and Composition', *Studies in Philology*, 78 (1981), 20-38, 'The Prose Translation of Psalms 1-50' in *A Companion to Alfred the Great*, Philip Pulsiano, 'The Old English Introductions in the Vitellius Psalter', *Studia Neophilologica*, 63 (1991), 13-55, Janet Bately, 'The Literary Prose of King Alfred's Reign: Translation of Transformation?' in *Old English Prose: Basic Readings* ed. by Paul E Szarmach, with the assistance of Deborah A. Oosterhouse, (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 2000), pp. 3-27 (p. 15-16) and M. J. Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, pp. 75-78. Note, too, that the original Introductions for *Ps(P)* 21 and *Ps(P)* 26 have been lost (due to missing leaves) in P. However, their existence is confirmed from the separate copy in the Vitellius Psalter – see O'Neill, *King Alfred's Old English Prose Translation of the First Fifty Psalms*, p. 23, n. 1. These missing Introductions were reconstructed by Bright and Ramsey in their 1907 edition and O'Neill reproduces them in *OEP.* See 'Notes to the Translations' in *OEP*, pp. 643 and 645.

[38] O' Neill, *King Alfred's Old English Prose Translation of the First Fifty Psalms*, pp. 25-6.

[39] O'Neill, *King Alfred's Old English Prose Translation of the First Fifty Psalms*, p. 23.

[40] *Ibid*., pp. 23-4. Note that in each of these Introductions the fourth clause is placed ahead of the third clause – in other words, the third clause is the final clause. O'Neill explains that this inverted numbering system follows a putative source for the OE Prose Psalms – namely the *Old-Irish Treatise on the Psalter*. Also note that some of the Introductions contain a threefold not fourfold scheme. See *Ibid*., p. 23 n. 2 and p. 25 n. 11.

[41] *Ibid*., p. 24.

[42] *Ibid*.

[43] Pierre Salmon, 'Introduction' in *Les 'Tituli Psalmorum' des manuscrits latins*, ed. by Pierre Salmon, Collectanea Biblica Latina, 12 (Roma: Abbaye Saint-Jérôme, 1959), p. 9. Also see Alderik Blom, *Glossing the Psalms*, pp. 48 -50 for a clear and succinct summary of the provenance of psalm *tituli*. Note that Blom points out that the Hebrew Bible contained initial rubrics for the psalms and these 'were mostly translated in the Greek and Latin versions…albeit often completely misunderstood'. He also highlights that in the Latin church from 'about the third century onwards' the psalms went through a process known as 'prosopological exegesis' where they were essentially 'Christianized' and interpreted as the voice of the Church addressed to Christ. This interpretation led to the development of the six series of *tituli psalmorum* – the subject of Salmon's study.

Bede' or the series of St Columba.[44]) It is noteworthy, then, that the paraphrast chose to include the only extant complete[45] version of these Introductions in their psalm 'translation' which, firstly, are not a simple rendering into OE of the equivalent Latin *tituli* and, secondly, demonstrate evidence of an Eastern influence via Ireland.

What has not been regularly highlighted or critically discussed at length, though, is *Ps(P)* 1's lack of an Introduction.[46] Intriguingly, it appears that there is a rubricated Latin *titulus* to the upper right of the initial 'B' (for *Beatus*) above Psalm 1 in P[47] with no OE equivalent. Moreover, it appears that the paraphrast's source for the Introductions – the Pseudo-Bede *Argumenta* – contains an interpretation for Psalm 1 along with every other psalm.[48] It seems worthwhile, then, to consider some possible reasons why there is no OE Introduction for this psalm.

I have previously referred to how the *Expositio* opens with a discussion of why Psalm 1 does not (or should not) have a heading, in developing an implicit argument for attention to be paid to the lack of specificity of the **lignum** image in Psalm 1. 3.[49] In terms of the possible motivations of the paraphrast, then, the lack of an Introduction to *Ps(P)* 1 may indicate they were influenced by the *Expositio* (as opposed to other commentaries such as Theodore of

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[44] Salmon, 'Introduction, p. 50 and also referred to in Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, p. 254. Blom describes this series as the '"mystical" series of Columba, widely used in Ireland'. See Blom, *Glossing the Psalms*, p. 49. Also note that Emily Butler has a fascinating argument that the compiler of the P manuscript may have been responsible for the way some of the Latin *tituli* (rubrics) deviate from their source 'series' indicating an intelligent engagement with the OE Introductions and the psalm texts in both Latin and OE. This deviation was first highlighted by Bruce in his analysis of all the Latin *tituli* in P. See Emily Butler, 'The Role of the Compiler in the Paris Psalter', *English Studies*, 98 (2017), 26-34 and J. Douglas Bruce, 'The Anglo-Saxon Version of the Book of Psalms Commonly Known as the Paris Psalter', *PMLA*, 9 (1894), 43-164 (pp. 55-62).

[45] An incomplete set of OE Introductions appear in G which Philip Pulsiano considers mostly similar to those in the *Ps(P)* as the 'majority of the differences between the introductions in the *Vitellius* (G) and *Paris* (P) psalters can be attributed to variations in spelling'. See Pulsiano, 'The Old English Introductions in the Vitellius Psalter', p. 13.

[46] O'Neill, acknowledges that *Ps(P)* 1 is the exception when elaborating on the OE Introductions. See O'Neill, *King Alfred's Old English Prose Translation of the First Fifty Psalms*, p. 23.

[47] See *PP*, fol. 1[r].

[48] I have not been able to access the Pseudo-Bede *Argumenta*, however, Bright and Ramsey refer to evidence that this text contained an interpretation for Psalm 1. See the reference to the citation of the *Argumenta* in the interpretation for Psalm 1 in an Old Irish psalm commentary in Bright and Ramsey, 'Notes on the Introductions of the West Saxon Psalms', p. 530. Also see the reference to Psalm 1's *titulus* in the *Argumenta* in Bonifatius Fischer, 'Bedae de titulis psalmorum liber' in *Festschrift Bernhard Bischoff*, ed. by Johanne Autenrieth and Franz Brunhölz (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1971), pp. 90-110 (pp. 93-4).

[49] Cassiodorus says that 'The reason why this psalm [Psalm 1] has no heading is because nothing was to be put before our Head the Lord Saviour, of whom the psalmist intended wholly to speak, for undoubtedly He is the Beginning of all things'. See Walsh, *Cassiodorus: Explanation of the Psalms*, Vol. 1, p. 45. For the discussion on the non-specificity of **lignum** see Chapter 1, above, Section 1.2.

Mopsuestia's, *Expositionis in psalmos* and Augustine's *Enarrationes* both of which do not refer to Psalm 1's lack of a heading)[50] specifically. O'Neill corroborates this possibility. In his commentary on *Ps(P)* 1, he notes that the paraphrast may have been influenced by psalm commentators such as Jerome and Cassiodorus which 'argued that Ps. 1 needed no *titulus* because it represented the introduction to the psalter'.[51] It is also worthwhile to reiterate, here, what I mentioned in the notes to the paragraph contextualizing recourse to the *Expositio* in the Introduction – namely the fact that 'the paraphrast followed Cassiodorus closely not only in interpretation but also in structure'.[52]

In terms of the impact of this psalm's lack of an Introduction on those who used this manuscript, I would offer the possibility that the force of the 'orienting' tree metaphor is foregrounded. In other words, the tree metaphor can function as the 'Introduction' to this psalm and the remaining psalms in P in both Latin and OE. One of the premises for Brown's argument for the 'hermeneutical entry point' purpose of Psalm 1's tree metaphor (which I referred to in Chapter 1) is the fact that it has no superscription.[53] This argument coupled with the fact that the first line drawing that appears in P directly beneath *Romanum* Psalm 1. 3 contains a prominent tree reinforces the possibility I'm suggesting.[54]

In light of Psalm 1's role as a 'gateway' psalm – its imagery serves as a leitmotif for the psalter as a whole[55] – and of *Ps(P)* 1's notable lack of an Introduction, an examination of the 'orienting' tree metaphor in *Ps(P)* 1. 3[56] in its full vernacular and Latin context seems

[50] See Robert C. Hill, trans., *Theodore of Mopsuestia: Commentary on Psalms 1-81* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, p. 3 and Scholastica Hebgin and Felicitas Corrigan, trans., *St. Augustine on the Psalms* (New York: Newman Press, 1960), p. 21.
[51] O'Neill also observes that although an Introduction to Psalm 1 'may been written on the preceding page with the miniature of David now lost'. It is '[m]ore likely, P never composed an Introd. for Ps. 1, as suggested by a corresponding lack in the independent copy, Vi. [G]'. See O'Neill, *King Alfred's Old English Prose Translation of the First Fifty Psalms*, p. 166.
[52] O'Neill, 'The Prose Translation of Psalms 1-50', p. 274.
[53] See Brown, *Seeing the Psalms*, p. 55.
[54] See *PP*, fol. 1^{r} and note this drawing is considered in Chapter 3.
[55] See the 'Approach' section in Chapter 1, above, Section 1.1.
[56] For a comprehensive analysis of how the tree metaphor in this psalm verse 'orients' the entire psalter see Chapter 3 'The Transplanted Tree: Psalm 1 and the Psalter's Threshold' in Brown, *Theology of Metaphor*, pp. 55-79.

worthwhile. The following table,[57] therefore, lists all extant OE versions of this psalm-verse[58] as well as the Latin equivalents (*Romanum* (*Ro*), *Gallicanum* (*Ga*) and *Hebraicum* (*He*)).

P: *Him byð swa þam treowe þe byð aplantod neah wætera rynum*
'He is like that tree which is planted near streams of waters'

C: *& bið swa swa treow þæt geplantud ys neh ryne wætera…*
'& is just as a tree that is planted near a stream of waters'

D: *Bið swa swa treow þæt plantud is wið ryne wætra…*
'is just as a tree that is planted towards a stream of water'

E: *& sceal beon al swea treow þet is geset bi ða rynas of þa wæteras…*
'& shall be entirely as a tree that is placed alongside those streams of those waters'

G: *& bið swa þæt treow þæt geplantad bið be þam rynum wætera…*
'& is as that tree that is planted alongside those streams of water'

H: *& biþ swa swa treow þæt plantud is wið ryne wætera…*
'& is just as a tree that is planted towards a stream of waters'

I: *& he bið swaswa treow þe geplantod is þæt ðe geset is wið rynas wætera…*
'& he is just as a tree which is planted; that which is placed towards streams of waters'

J: *& bið swa þæt treow þæt geplantod is be þam rinum wætera…*
'& is as that tree that is planted alongside those streams of waters'

Ro: **et erit tamquam lignum quod plantatum est secus decursus aquarum…**
'and he will be just like a tree that is planted close to downward courses of waters'

Ga: **et erit tamquam lignum quod plantatum est secus decursus aquarum…**
'and he will be just like a tree that is planted close to downward courses of waters'

He: **et erit tamquam lignum transplantatum iuxta rivulos aquarum…**
'and he will be just like a tree transplanted close to rivulets of water'

[57] The OE and Latin text in this table were obtained from the following sources: P, *OEP,* Ps. 1. 3, Ps. 1. 3 in C, D, E, G, H, I and J are from the *OTA* (note that A, B, K, L, M and N (C, H, S, E and A) do not contain Psalm 1, F and L contain a Latin Psalm 1 with no OE gloss); *Ro*, *LPR*, Ps. I. 3; *Ga*, *LVB*, Ps. 1. 3; *He*, *Heb*, Ps. I. 3.
[58] Note that apart from P (which is the whole text of Ps. 1. 3), the texts of C, D, E, G, H, I, J, *Ro*, *Ga* and *He* are the opening membrum of this psalm-verse.

The first observation to make, here, is the fact that every single one of the other glossed psalters has the same OE word for **lignum** (*treow*) in this psalm verse. Such lexical agreement between all the glossed psalters certainly does occur in other OE Psalms across P.[59] However, this is not always the case; for example, it is noticeable that the *Eadwine* Psalter (E) has *geset* 'placed' for Latin **plantatum** where P, C, D, G, H, I and J have different forms of *aplantod* 'planted'.[60]

A Thesaurus of Old English lists three words under the category 'tree': *beam, treow* and *wudu*.[61] The paraphrast could, theoretically, choose between three options for this singular image in the psalter's singular positioning psalm. To contextualize this choice further, the simplex *treow* occurs only one other time in the *Ps(P)* with no Latin equivalent (*treowa* in *Ps(P)* 28. 5[62]) and three times in the Metrical Psalms – *treowu* (there is no equivalent Latin 'tree' term in this psalm-verse)[63] in Psalm 57. 8, *treowe* (for Latin **ligno**)[64] in Psalm 95. 9 and

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[59] See, M. J. Toswell, 'The Relationship of the Metrical Psalter to the Old English Glossed Psalters' and 'Commonalities among the Glossed Psalters' in *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, pp. 242-50.

[60] Interestingly, although I has *plantud* for **plantatum** it, uniquely in the table, also has this verb's synonym *geset* (which E, of course, uses for **plantatum**). This 'outlier' lexis in E and I is noteworthy but mostly beyond the scope of the present discussion. It will hopefully suffice to highlight the following scholarship. Gretsch describes E as a 'post-Conquest' psalter and treats it separately from the other glossed psalters. She also observes that the gloss in I, the *Lambeth* Psalter, is of a 'Late West Saxon origin'. See Gretsch, *The Intellectual Foundations*, pp. 20 and 27. More recently (than Gretsch) Mark Faulkner has thoroughly analysed the OE gloss in E and notes that it is a 'complex text' and the scribes who wrote it 'deliberately chose an ancient exemplar' which they 'selectively and idiosyncratically modernized'. Faulkner's evidence suggests that scribe 'OE4' established the tone of this 'modernization' in Psalm 1. See Mark Faulkner, 'The Eadwine Psalter and Vernacular Literature' in *The Psalms and Medieval English Literature*, pp. 72-107 (p. 100 and 96). In comparing the gloss in A, D and I, Evert Wiesenekker considers I's gloss to be the most developed and inventive. See Evert Wiesenekker, *Word Be Worde, Andgit of Andgite: Translation Performance in the Old English Interlinear Glosses of the Vespasian, Regius and Lambeth Psalters*, p. 219. Finally, E and I behave in a similar manner (as in the table under discussion) within Toswell's comparison (using Psalm 99) of P with the other vernacular psalters. See Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, p. 245.

[61] *A Thesaurus of Old English*, s.v., "02.07.03 (n.) A tree", <http://oldenglishthesaurus.arts.gla.ac.uk/category/?id=3017> [accessed 21 September 2023].

[62] *OEP,* Ps. 28. 5. Note that *treow* occurs three more times in the *Ps(P)* (twice in *OEP,* Ps. 28. 5 and once in *OEP*, Ps. 36. 34) as part of the compounds *cedor-treowu*, *ceder-treowu* and *ceder-treow* respectively.

[63] See *LPR*, Ps. LVII. 10, *LVB*, Ps. 57. 10 and *Heb*, Ps. LVII. 10. The *Romanum* text for this psalm-verse (*LPR*, Ps. LVII. 10) is: **priusquam producant spinae uestrae ramnos sicut uiventes sic in ira obsorbet eos** 'before the branches will bring forth your thorns, He will gulp them down, as alive, in anger'. Theoretically, at a stretch, **ramnos** 'branches' could be rendered *treowu* 'trees' as the psalm-poet has done here but that is not the most literal meaning – especially considering that C glosses Latin **ramnos** with OE *twigu* 'branches' (see Wildhagen, Ps. 57. 10, p. 139) and K glosses Latin **ramnum** 'branches' with OE *gorstas* 'branches' (see Sisam, Ps. LVII. 10, p. 153).

[64] *LPR,* Ps. XCV. 10. Note that the psalm-poet's treatment of this psalm-verse was discussed in Chapter 1 as evidence that they were noticeably referring to the *Romanum* which includes this 'extra' *lignum* image not found in the *Gallicanum* or *Hebraicum*. See Chapter 1, above, Section 1.2.

treow (for Latin **lignum**)[65] in Psalm 104. 29.[66] Contrastingly, the *Ps(P)* do not contain a single occurrence of *treow*'s synonym *beam*, whereas the psalm-poet uses *beam* eight times across the Metrical Psalms – *ele-beam* 'olive tree' (for Latin **oliua** 'olive tree')[67] in Psalm 51. 7, *cedder-beam* 'cedar tree' (for Latin **cedros** 'cedars')[68] in Psalm 79. 10, *ceder-beamas* 'cedar-trees' (for Latin **cedri** 'cedars')[69] in Psalm 103. 16, *fic-beamas* 'fig trees' (for Latin **ficulneas** 'fig trees')[70] in Psalm 104. 29, *beam* 'tree' (there is no equivalent Latin 'tree' term in this psalm-verse)[71] in Psalm 104. 34, *ele-beamas* 'olive trees' (for Latin **oliuarum** 'olive trees')[72] in Psalm 127. 4, *beamum* 'trees' (there is no equivalent Latin 'tree' term in this psalm-verse)[73] in Psalm 143. 14 and *beamas* 'trees' (for Latin **ligna** 'trees')[74] in Psalm 148. 9.[75]

So, the 'tree' lexical data from the analysis of the table above as well as the pattern of occurrence of *treow* and *beam* across P implicitly points to the significance of tree imagery for the paraphrast and the psalm-poet and, inferentially, perhaps, the attitude to trees for a *psalteratus* or *psalterata* in early medieval England. The paraphrast and psalm-poet's respective treatment of tree imagery is further analysed in the subsection below.

Moreover, previously, I made an argument for how grasping the 'sole of the foot' meaning of the noun *planta*[76] could shade the connotation of the past participle **plantatum** 'planted' in **et erit tamquam lignum quod plantatum est secus decursus aquarum**[77] and consequently lead to the possibility of an enhanced physicality where the foot or feet of the

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[65] *LPR*, Ps. CIV. 33.
[66] *OEP*, Ps. 57. 8, 95. 9 and 104. 29. Note that *treow* occurs once more in the Metrical Psalms as part of the compound *treow-wæstme* 'tree-fruits' in *OEP,* Ps. 103. 16.
[67] *LPR,* Ps. LI. 10.
[68] *LPR*, Ps. LXXIX. 11. Note the psalm-poet has used the singular *cedder-beam* 'cedar tree' for the Latin plural **cedros** 'cedars'.
[69] *LPR*, Ps. CIII. 16.
[70] *LPR*, Ps. CIV. 33.
[71] See *LPR,* Ps. CIV. 39, *LVB*, Ps. 104. 39 and *Heb*, Ps. CIV. 39. The *Romanum* text for this psalm-verse (*LPR*, Ps. CIV. 39) is: **expandit nubem in protectione eorum et ignem ut luceret eis per noctem** 'he spread a cloud for their protection and fire in order to illuminate them through the night'. The psalm-poet inserts *beam* here in *fyrenne beam* 'fiery tree/beam', OEP, Ps. 104. 34 where the Latin simply has **ignem** 'fire'.
[72] *LPR*, Ps. CXXVII. 3.
[73] See *LPR*, Ps. CXLIII. 12, *LVB*, Ps. 143. 12 and *Heb*, CXLIII. 12. The *Romanum* text for this psalm-verse (*LPR*, CXLIII. 12) is: **quorum filii sicut nouellae plantationis stabilitae a iuuentute sua filiae eorum compositae circumornatae ut similitudo templi** 'the sons of whom are as new plants established in their youth; their composed daughters adorned round in resemblance of a temple'.
[74] *LPR*, Ps. CXLVIII. 9.
[75] For the listed occurrences of OE *beam* see *OEP*, Ps. 51. 7, 79. 10, 103. 16, 104. 29, 104. 34, 127. 4, 143. 14 and 148. 9.
[76] *CLD,* sv. *planta* and *DMLBS*, sv. *planta*.
[77] *LPR*, Ps. I. 3.

Beatus uir, who is planted beside running water, could be thought of as a root or roots.[78] The fact that seven (including P) of the eight extant OE versions of this psalm-verse contain a past participle of the Latinate[79] OE verb *plantian* 'to plant',[80] as opposed to a past participle of the synonym *ge-settan* 'to place'[81] (of course, as has already been noted, E uses *geset* and I, has both *geplantod* and *geset*)[82] provides some potential reinforcement for this possible 'feet as roots' interpretation stemming from this simile in Psalm 1. 3. In other words, a *psalteratus* or *psalterata* may potentially encounter (and ruminate on) the Latin past participle **plantatum** beside (in the case of P), or beneath in the case of C, D, G, H, I and J, a version of the OE past participle *aplantod* (which in form[83] is much closer to the Latin than its synonym *geset* used in E) every Monday at the beginning of the weekly *cursus*. It is this lexical and morphological connectivity between the Latin and the OE in this particular case that allows for the possibility that the imaginable meaning of 'feet as roots' is strengthened – especially when considering how a text such as the *Expositio* encouraged such a metaphorical or 'personified landscape' interpretation of the psalter. Noticeably, of course, Cassiodorus felt the need to emphasize and single out *plantatum est* in his commentary on Psalm 1. 3 which I referred to in the 'Approach' section of Chapter 1.[84] So, the layered valence of **plantatum** vis á vis OE *aplantod* in Psalm 1 (the hermeneutical entrance to the psalter), discussed here, can, perhaps, offer a window into how *psalterati/ae* (who were duty bound to internalize the psalms) may have engaged with psalmic landscape imagery (in this case the tree beside running waters) in Latin and OE at the beginning of every week.

Before leaving Psalm 1 to evaluate the evidence for how both the *Ps(P)* and Metrical Psalms contain tree terms with no Latin equivalents in the remaining 149 OE Psalms in P, it is necessary to make some further observations stemming from the table above.

The predominant lexical agreement between *Ps(P)* 1. 3 and the other glossed psalters[85] offers limited further evidence for P to fully take its place in the 'family' of

[78] See Chapter 1, above, Section 1.2.
[79] Onions includes Latin *plantare* 'to plant' as a possible source for OE *plantian*. See *ODEE*, sv. 'plant'.
[80] *B-T*, sv. *plantian*
[81] *B-T*, sv. *ge-settan*
[82] See n. 60 above.
[83] The *DOE* states that *plantare* is the 'Latin equivalent' for OE *a-plantian* – See *DOE* sv. *a-plantian*.
[84] See Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum*, p. 34 and Chapter 1, above, Section 1.2.
[85] Apart from *geset* in E and I, the main verb (*aplantod*) and nouns (*treow*, *rynum* and *wætera*) are the same – allowing for differences in spelling (*geplantud* in C versus *aplantod* in K for example) and case.

vernacular psalters as the commonality can be detected in both the *Ps(P)* and Metrical Psalms. Psalm 99, which Toswell used to adduce evidence for P's inclusion in the glossed psalter 'family',[86] is of course a Metrical Psalm – a similar comparison for one of the *Ps(P)* has not, to the best of my knowledge, been undertaken. Admittedly, this is one psalm-verse and not a whole psalm, but it is, nonetheless, a highly important psalm-verse given its position in Psalm 1 (the 'gateway' psalm) and its contents of the 'orienting' tree image.

In terms of *Ps(P)* 1. 3's Latin context, it is not surprising, given O'Neill's analysis mentioned earlier,[87] that the paraphrast likely drew on the *Romanum* text – *treow* is, of course, an equivalent for **lignum** and *aplantod* is, of course, an equivalent for **plantatum**.[88] In this case, as is typical throughout the three Latin psalters, the *Romanum* and *Gallicanum* are more aligned in terms of vocabulary and syntax[89] than the *Hebraicum* – for example: **transplantatum** 'transplanted' (*He*) for **plantatum** 'planted' (*Ro* and *Ga*).

Trees in the remaining Psalms – Prose and Metrical

I observed earlier how both the paraphrast and the psalm-poet include tree terms where there is no precedent in the Latin – *treowa* in *Ps(P)* 28. 5, *treowu* in Psalm 57. 8, *beam* in Psalm 104. 34 and *beamum* in Psalm 143. 14. This absence of a direct Latin source points to the importance of trees in the early medieval English imagination.[90] Moreover, the tree imagery in *Ps(P)* 28. 5 is vivid and contrasts sharply with the tree of life imagery in *Ps(P)* 1. 3. It also contains an example of one of (by my count) forty-one occasions where the paraphrast inserts an interpretive phrase or sentence with no precedent in the Latin.[91] It is revealing, too, that the

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[86] See M. J. Toswell, 'The Relationship of the Metrical Psalter to the Old English Glossed Psalters' and above, Section 2.1.

[87] See O'Neill, 'Strategies of Translation', p. 140. In this case, of course, the *Romanum* and *Gallicanum* are identical so theoretically either could have been a source for this verse.

[88] See *B-T*, sv. *treow* and *DOE*, sv. *a-plantian*.

[89] As quoted in Chapter 1 when contextualizing the three Latin psalters 'the differences between the two Latin text forms, the *Romanum* and the *Gallicanum*, although numerous, are by no means dramatic' because they both 'preponderantly' derive from the Septuagint. See Gretsch, *Intellectual Foundations*, p. 25 and Chapter 1, above, Section 1.1.

[90] In Chapter 1 I highlighted the fact that Anglo-Saxon law codes recognized the value of trees and woodland from the seventh century. See Chapter 1, above, Section 1.2.

[91] O'Neill, usefully, indicates with the use of brackets where the paraphrast does this. Quite often these explanatory/interpretive 'insertions' begin with *þæt is* or *þæt synt* 'that is'. See *OEP*, Ps. 5. 3, 9. 13, 9. 34, 11. 7, 16. 14, 17. 7, 21. 10 (2x), 22. 5, 24. 6, 25. 6, 28. 5, 31. 7, 34. 11, 37. 2, 39. 2 (2x), 39. 5, 39. 7, 40. 5 (note that here there are no brackets for the relevant OE phrase *and wilnodon* 'and desired' which probably is a typo as there is no Latin precedent such as **desiderauerunt** 'they desired' in *LPR* Ps. XL. 6, *LVB*, Ps. 40. 6 or *Heb*, Ps. XL. 6), 41. 4, 41. 8, 44. 2, 44. 4, 44. 7, 44. 10, 44. 11, 44, 12 (3x), 44. 13, 44. 15, 44. 16, 44. 17, 47. 6, 48. 7, 48.

Metrical Psalms contain eight occurrences of *treow*'s synonym, *beam*, yet the *Ps(P)* do not contain *beam* at all. I will now turn to assess some possible implications of this lexical data.

> *Ps(P)* 28. 5, which contains a nucleus of *treow* imagery in the *Ps(P)*, reads:
> Þæs Godes word brycþ cedor-treowu, and symle se God brycð þa hean ceder-treowu on Libano, þam myclan munte (þa treowa tacniað ofermodra manna anweald). Drihten forbrycþ and forbryt þa myclan ceder-treowu, emne swa þa lytlan onwæstmas. Þa owæstmas beoð swa mycle and swa fægere swa swa þees deores bearn þe *unicornus* hatte.
>
> God's word breaks the cedar trees, and the same God continuously breaks the high cedar trees on Lebanon, that great mountain (those trees represent the power of arrogant men). The Lord shatters and crushes those vast cedar trees; even those little shoots. Those shoots are as great and beautiful as the offspring of the animal which is called *unicornus*.[92]

The *Romanum* equivalent two psalm-verses are: **uox Domini confringentis cedros et confringet Dominus cedros Libani; et comminuet eas tamquam uitulum Libani et dilectus sicut filius unicornuorum**[93] 'the voice of the Lord breaks the cedars, and the Lord shatters the cedars of Lebanon; and separates them like a bull-calf and just as the beloved son of unicorns'. It is immediately noticeable that the paraphrast was far freer in their interpretation of the Latin in this example than in the previous one in *Ps(P)*1. 3 – they refer to *Godes word* 'God's word' not **uox Domini** 'God's voice', add in an interpretation of what the trees *tacniað* 'represent' as well as insert a reference to *onwæstmas* 'shoots' which does not have a precedent in the Latin. Moreover, the other glossed psalter versions of *Ps(P)* 28. 5 are, as can be expected, markedly closer to the Latin. For example, the C text reads: *stefn drihtnys gebrecyndys cederbeamys & tobrycð drihtyn cederbeamas ðæs muntes & gesceanyð hi swa swa cealf þæs muntys & se leofa swa swa bearn anhyrneraa*[94] 'the voice of the Lord breaks

9, 48. 18, 49. 1, 49. 3 and 50. 7. Note that this tendency to elaborate on and clarify certain words, clauses or verses is a distinctive feature of the *Ps(P)* and O'Neill observes that the paraphrast 'drew heavily, and eclectically, on Latin psalter commentaries' when forming these interpretive phrases/clauses. See O'Neill, *King Alfred's Old English Prose Translation of the First Fifty Psalms*, pp. 45-6 and the comments on the paraphrast's style below (pp. 98-9).

[92] OE text, *OEP*, Ps. 28. 5; translation adapted from O'Neill's, *OEP*, Ps. 28. 5, p. 93.

[93] *LPR*, Ps. XXVIII. 5-6.

[94] Wildhagen, Ps. 28. 5-6, p. 61.

the cedar trees and the Lord shatters the cedar trees of that mountain and divides them just as a calf of that mountain and the beloved offspring of unicorns'. And the K text reads: *forbrecende cedertreow & forbrit drihten & forgnidæt*[95] *hi swa cealf & leofne ealswa sunu anhyrne*[96] '[is] shattering cedar trees and the Lord shatters & crushes them as a calf and also beloved son of a unicorn'. The *Ps(P)* version of this psalm text is conspicuously more sophisticated and developed than the OE psalm text in both C and K. This feature of the *Ps(P)* is well-known. O'Neill writes:

> Among the Old English translations of the psalms *Ps(P)* is unique in presenting a prose paraphrase. Although this method of translation was admirably suited to the author's didactic purpose, its application to the psalms posed special problems. Of these the most serious was textual: the psalms contain many difficult and obscure passages and the relationship between verses within a psalm is often ill-defined. In a literal, word-for-word translation such as those found in the Old English interlinear glossed psalters, these textual difficulties could be (and were) simply transposed to the Old English, or ignored, but in a paraphrase they had to be confronted.[97]

O'Neill goes on to list how the paraphrast confronted these difficulties. First each psalm was treated as 'an individual unit' and given its own Introduction – except for *Ps(P)* 1 which was discussed earlier. The 'method of working from verse to verse' helped to simplify the task of translation and was predicated on the *exempla* of the psalm commentaries such as the *Expositio*. Second, the paraphrast 'drew heavily, and eclectically, on Latin psalter commentaries' (I have noted before that O'Neill found evidence for the paraphrast's heavy reliance on the *Expositio* particularly[98]) for clarifying and interpreting 'problematic words, clauses, and verses'. Third, in terms of syntax, the 'asyndetic parataxis of the Latin psalms' was supplanted by 'hypotaxis and syndetic parataxis'.[99]

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[95] The Sisams consider the glossator of K a poor Latinist (see 'Introduction' in Sisam, pp. 17-18) and perhaps this is why he/she glossed the Latin **comminuæt** 'he divides' (see Sisam, Ps. XXVIII. 6, p. 112) as *forgnidæt* '[he] crushes' here.
[96] Sisam, Ps. XXVIII. 5-6, p. 112. Note that as the glossator of K followed the D type gloss he/she typically does not gloss *dominus* 'Lord' which the D gloss tends to leave blank as well. (See M. J. Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, note 49, p. 244 and Sisam, p. 17.) This means that there is no OE subject (the Latin for this verse in K opens with **Uox domini** 'the voice of the Lord' – see *Ibid.*) before the present participle *forbrecende* which glosses the Latin genitive singular present participle **confringentis** 'shattering' (again see *Ibid.*).
[97] O'Neill, *King Alfred's Old English Prose Translation of the First Fifty Psalms*, p. 45.
[98] See O'Neill, 'The Prose Translation of Psalms 1-50', pp. 274-5 and Chapter 1, above, n. 37.
[99] O'Neill, *King Alfred's Old English Prose Translation of the First Fifty Psalms*, pp. 45-6.

For the purposes of the discussion at hand, though, it is important to consider why the paraphrast chose, particularly, to interpret the **cedros Libani** 'cedars of Lebanon' in the Latin text and specifically state that these *tacniað* 'represent' *ofermodra manna anweald* 'the power of arrogant men'. The **cedros Libani** are perhaps not an especially 'difficult' or 'obscure' concept. I would offer that, potentially, an interpretation of the cedar trees was inserted here due to the high value placed on trees and tree symbolism in an early medieval English mind.[100] Moreover, O'Neill notes in his 'Commentary' on this psalm that most of the Psalm commentaries interpret *cedros* as the 'proud'[101] only Theodore of Mopsuestia goes further and states: *cedros Libani Assyrios uocauerat propter ingentes corporum formas*[102] 'He had called the Assyrians cedars of Lebanon on account of the massive forms of their bodies'. However, it should be highlighted that when commenting on the cedars in this psalm-verse Cassiodorus refers to '*uirtus diuina*' 'divine power' that 'breaks the nobles and kings of this world who despise other men'.[103] So, it is interesting to consider that this only occurrence of *treow* in the *Ps(P)* without a Latin precedent is associated with *anweald* 'power'[104] – admittedly the powerful trees signify arrogant men here and not the *uirtus diuina* that Cassiodorus comments on. Perhaps the paraphrast was so steeped in the layered significance of tree symbolism in their surrounding culture that they were, first, prompted to select the **cedros Libani** for an interpretative phrase here and, second, they explicitly connected these *treowa* with *anweald*. I turn now to consider this symbolism more fully.

The multivalent nature of tree symbolism in these two examples considered thus far (in (*Ps(P)* 1. 3 and *Ps(P)* 28. 5) can be positioned within a broader conceptualization of the role of 'sacred' trees in the paraphrast's culture. Michael Bintley observes that '[t]he spiritual

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[100] See Della Hooke, *Trees in Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2010) – especially Chapter 2 'Christianity and the Sacred Tree', pp. 21-57 and Michael D. J. Bintley and Michael G. Shapland, 'An Introduction to Trees and Timber in the Anglo-Saxon World', in *Trees and Timber in the Anglo-Saxon World*, ed. by Michael D. J. Bintley and Michael G. Shapland (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 1-18.
[101] O'Neill, *King Alfred's Old English Prose Translation of the First Fifty Psalms*, p. 219.
[102] Lucas De Coninck, ed., *Theodori Mopsuesteni: Theodori Mopsuesteni Expositionis in Psalmos, Iuliano Aeclanensi Interprete in Latinum Uersae Quae Supersunt*, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, Vol. 88A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1977), 130. 52-53, quoted in O'Neill, *Ibid.*
[103] Walsh, *Cassiodorus: Explanation of the Psalms*, Vol. 1, p. 280 and Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum*, p. 251.
[104] This lexeme has a high occurrence rate in the OE corpus – see *DOEC* search results sv. *anweald* which yield a total of 264 citations in 102 texts. The paraphrast uses it nine times including here. See *OEP*, Ps. 23. 8, 28. 5, 34. 11, 39. 2, 40. 2, 44. 1 & 6 and 48. 11 & 14. It is used in a range of contexts and can mean 'power', 'sovereignty' or 'sway'. It also occurs frequently in the Alfredian translations. See *DOE*, sv. *anweald*.

history of the cross, charting its progress in biblical history from Genesis to Revelations, was of great importance to the Anglo-Saxons'[105] before tracing this theme via the lens of the tree and pillar imagery in the poems of the Junius Manuscript – *Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Daniel* and *Christ and Satan*.[106] It must be acknowledged, here, that the connection between the concept of a tree and Christ's cross was well-embedded in the thought life of the paraphrast's milieu. This phenomenon, of course, is notably and powerfully expressed in *The Dream of the Rood* where the cross is personified and the simplex/element *treow* occurs five times across that one hundred and fifty-six line poem.[107] Bintley draws attention to how the *Genesis* poet, for example, heightens the contrast between the tree of life and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil (both of which the Old English Heptateuch simply states are to be found *on middan neorxnawange*[108] 'in the middle of paradise') by using adjectives such as *wynlic* 'joyous' and *wlitig* 'beautiful' for the tree of life and *sweart* 'black' and *þystre* 'dark' for the tree of the knowledge of good and evil.[109]

While the contrast between the *eadig wer* 'blessed man' who will flourish *swa þam treowe þe byð aplantod neah wætera rynum* in *Ps(P)* 1. 3 and the shattered *ceder-treowa* which *tacniað ofermodra manna anweald* in *Ps(P)* 28. 5 is not as vivid as the one depicted by the *Genesis* poet which Bintley refers to as evidence for tracing the 'spiritual history of the cross', it nonetheless serves as an important reinforcing echo of this tension between the 'flourishing' tree of life and its opposite which was omnipresent in a significant portion of OE literature.[110]

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[105] Michael D. J. Bintley, 'Recasting the Role of Sacred Trees in Anglo-Saxon Spiritual History: The South Sandbach Cross "Ancestors of Christ" Panel in its Cultural Contexts' in *Trees and Timber in the Anglo-Saxon World*, pp. 211-27 (p. 215).
[106] *Ibid.*, pp. 215-22.
[107] See *treow* (l. 4), *treow* (l. 14), *treow* (l. 17) and *gealgetreowe* (l. 146) in Swanton, pp. 93 and 100. All references to *The Dream of the Rood* are to Swanton. For further evidence, stemming from the study of place-names, for the entwined concepts of 'tree' and Christ's cross in an Anglo-Saxon context, see Alexander R. Rumble, 'The Cross in English Place-names: Vocabulary and Usage' in *The Place of the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by Catherine E. Karkov, Sarah Larratt Keefer and Karen Louise Jolly (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), pp. 29-40. Chapter 4 revisits this tree imagery in *The Dream of the Rood*.
[108] Genesis 2. 9, *The Old English Version of the Heptateuch, Ælfric's Treatise on the Old and New Testament and his Preface to Genesis*, Early English Text Society, Original Series, 160, ed. by S. J. Crawford (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1922), p. 86 quoted in Bintley, 'Recasting the Role of Sacred Trees', p. 215.
[109] *Ibid.*
[110] See *Ibid*., pp. 215-22 for the assessment of this theme in *Genesis*, *Daniel* and *Christ and Satan* and Jennifer Neville, *Representations of the Natural World in Old English Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 47, for an oblique reference to the 'flourishing' tree of life theme in *Andreas* where 'the row of flowering trees' emerge from the 'saint's shed blood'.

Moreover, notably, Della Hooke has written quite extensively on the pre-Christian origins of the 'sacred tree'[111] in early medieval England and also acknowledges the role of the trees in Psalms 1 and 92 (*OEP* and *LPR*, Psalm 91) in her argument regarding the 'iconic role' trees have in the Bible and how this was somewhat at odds with the Church's attempts 'to remove any concept of tree worship from Anglo-Saxon society'.[112] To my knowledge, however, the role of the tree metaphors in the *Ps(P)*, specifically, have not yet been brought to this significant cultural construct. Given the analysis of the tension between the tree imagery in *Ps(P)* 1. 3 and *Ps(P)* 28. 5 above, the *Ps(P)* can, perhaps, take up their place within a consideration of trees in early medieval England.

The psalm-poet's use of beam

In developing his case to establish the spiritual history of the cross, Bintley refers to the *Exodus* poet's use of *beam* not for 'tree' but for 'pillar'. He draws together the concepts of 'tree' and 'pillar' in the OE poetry in the following way:

> Nebuchadnezzer's sacred tree [in the *Daniel* poem] follows the pillars of *Exodus*, the rod of Moses, and the trees of Life and Death in Eden…In considering *Exodus*, it was suggested that the presentation of the pillars and rods that delivered the Israelites from Egypt may have served to draw parallels with the pagan Anglo-Saxon worship of trees and columns, presenting them in the same light as prefigurations of the cross in the Judaeo-Christian tradition.[113]

Notably, in one of the two instances where the psalm-poet uses *beam* without a Latin precedent (in Psalms 104. 34 and 127. 4) they do so to mean 'pillar' in Psalm 104. 34. This psalm-verse reads:

> He hi wolcne bewreah, wraðum ahredde,
> het him neode nihta gehwylce
> fyrenne beam beforan wisian.

[111] See Hooke, *Trees in Anglo-Saxon England*, Chapter 1 'Trees and Groves in Pre-Christian Belief' and Chapter 4 'Trees, Mythology and National Consciousness: into the Future', pp. 3-57 and pp. 96-109 and 'Christianity and the "Sacred Tree"' in *Trees and Timber in the Anglo-Saxon World*, pp. 228-50.
[112]Hooke, 'Christianity and the "Sacred Tree"', pp. 236-37.
[113] Bintley, 'Recasting the Role of Sacred Trees', p. 220.

He covered them with a cloud, rescued them from hardships, quickly commanded for them, each night, a fiery pillar to guide in front.[114]

The Latin equivalent refers simply to **ignem**[115] 'fire' and not pillar. (All other extant OE versions of this psalm-verse have solely *fyr* 'fire'[116] for **ignem** and not *beam* so the psalm-poet's choice is unique among the vernacular psalter family.) Psalm 104 retells the history of the Israelites and verses thirty-two to the end (verse forty) are concerned with the Exodus.[117] Bintley remarks that the pillars in the poem *Exodus* 'are significantly more developed…than the biblical text'.[118] While the psalm-poet's insertion (without a Latin precedent) of *beam* here may not reach the level of the *Exodus* poet's variation and evocative use of this term,[119] they, arguably, still participate in the same cultural reverence for *beam* which Bintley examines in the Junius Manuscript poems. This participation, perhaps, augments my earlier argument that the *Ps(P)* should take their place within the broader study of trees in early medieval England because it appears that *both* psalm texts in P, then, partake in the wider narrative and valence surrounding trees in the milieu from which they were produced.

Another important factor to consider is why the psalm-poet preferred *beam* using it eight times across Psalms 51-150 where the paraphrast does not use it at all.[120] John Blair's analysis of the place-name element *bēam* potentially offers some insight here. First, he highlights the 'odd fact' noticed by Hooke[121] that this element is common in literature and less common in place-names and, second, he observes, from place-name evidence, 'that *bēam* tended to be used rather than *trēow* to mark out a *special* tree from among the thousands of

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[114] *OEP*, Ps. 104. 34. Translation adapted from O'Neill's.
[115] *LPR*, Ps. CIV. 39. The full psalm-verse (also quoted above – see n. 71) reads: **expandit nubem in protectione eorum et ignem ut luceret eis per noctem** 'he spread a cloud for their protection and fire in order to illuminate them through the night'.
[116] See C in Wildhagen, Ps. 104. 39, p. 266, and K in Sisam, Ps. CIV. 39, p. 225. The remaining OE glossed psalters which have OE *fyr* for **ignem** here were accessed via *OTA*. See A, Ps. 104. 34, B, Ps. 104. 39, D, Ps. 104. 39, E, Ps. 104. 39, F, Ps. 104. 39, G, Ps. 104. 39, H, Ps. 104. 39, I, Ps. 104. 39 and J, Ps. 104. 39.
[117] See *OEP*, Ps. 104. 32-40.
[118] Bintley, 'Recasting the Role of Sacred Trees', p. 217.
[119] See *Ibid*. pp. 217-18 for Bintley's argument here; specifically, how he relates the pillar imagery in the poem *Exodus* to Nicholas Howe's reference to the Anglo-Saxons 'own exodus across the North Sea'. See Howe, *Migration and Mythmaking in Anglo-Saxon England* (London: Yale University Press, 1989), pp. 72-107.
[120] See above, Section 2.2, for the discussion of lexical data for *treow* and *beam* in the *Ps(P)* and Metrical Psalms.
[121] Della Hooke, 'Trees in Anglo-Saxon Charters: Some Comments and Some Uncertainties', in *Old Names–New Growth*, ed. by Peter Bierbaumer and Helmut W. Klug (Frankfurt: Peter Lang), pp. 75-97.

ordinary trees in the landscape'.[122] To take the first point, Blair refers to how *beam* is used in *The Dream of the Rood*[123] poem and so, potentially, the psalm-poet's preference for *beam* is possibly a consequence of the fact that their psalm translation is OE poetry. And to take the second point, in the eight occurrences of *beam* in the Metrical Psalms (in Psalms 51. 7, 79. 10, 103. 16, 104. 29, 104. 34, 127. 4, 143. 14 and 148. 9) five are compounded with either *ele* 'olive', *cedder* 'cedar' or *fic* 'fig' (in Psalms 51. 7, 79. 10, 103. 16, 104. 29, 127. 4) to convey Latin **oliua**, **cedros**, **cedri**, **ficulneas** and **oliuarum** respectively.[124] It is possible that the psalm-poet selected *beam* and not *treow* (as the paraphrast does in *Ps(P)* 28. 5 with *ceder-treowu*) as the second element for the compounds for each of these specified tree species in the Latin[125] because they were aware of this term's 'special' designation in their surrounding landscape. In other words, their choice not to select *treow* as the second element, when the Latin called for a specific tree designation, may have been influenced (consciously or subconsciously) by an awareness of *beam*'s 'marked' quality – to adopt Blair's terminology. (Given that, with the exception of Psalm 79. 10, all these *beam* compounds are in the on-verse and that the *beam* compound in Psalm 79. 10 does not carry the alliteration for its verse,[126] my suggestion here is perhaps more plausible as the psalm-poet's choice was not, of course, bound by the rules for alliteration.)

Mountains and hills

The paraphrast and the psalm-poet differ in how they utilize mountain vocabulary in some revealing ways. The Latinate[127] OE term *munt* 'mountain' occurs fifteen times (of these two do not have a Latin precedent – *Ps(P)* 28. 5 and *Ps(P)* 36. 34)[128] in the *Ps(P)* and eight times in the Metrical Psalms.[129] The OE synonym *beorg* 'mountain', however, occurs twenty-four

[122] John Blair, 'Holy Beams: Anglo-Saxon Cult Sites and the Place-Name Element *Bēam*', in *Trees and Timber in the Anglo-Saxon World*, pp. 186-210 (p. 187).
[123] *Ibid.*
[124] Again, see above (pp. 94-5) for the lexical data for *treow* and *beam*.
[125] Cf. the argument for the specificity or lack thereof of trees in the *Romanum* Latin Psalms in Chapter 1, Section 1.2.
[126] See *OEP*, Ps. 51. 7, 79. 10, 103. 16, 104. 29 and 127. 4.
[127] Onions traces modern English 'mount' to OE *munt* which in turn is traced to Latin *montem* – see *ODEE*, sv. mount.
[128] For *Ps(P)* 28. 5: see *LPR*, Ps. XXVIII. 5, *LVB*, Ps. 28. 5 and *Heb*, Ps. XXVIII. 5; for *Ps(P)* 36. 34: see *LPR*, Ps. XXXVI. 35, *LVB*, Ps. 36. 35 and *Heb*, Ps. XXXVI. 35.
[129] *Ps(P)*: *OEP*, Ps. 2. 6, 3. 3, 10. 1, 14. 1, 17. 7, 23. 3, 28. 5, 35. 6, 36. 34, 42. 3, 45. 2, 45. 3, 47. 1, 47. 2, 47. 10 and Metrical Psalms: *OEP*, Ps. 64. 7, 89. 2, 103. 7, 103. 17, 103. 30, 143. 6 and 148. 9.

times[130] (of these, five, do not have a Latin precedent – Psalms 83. 6, 103. 16, 103. 17, 127. 6 and 133. 4)[131] in the Metrical Psalms and not once in the *Ps(P)*. The fact that once again both the *Ps(P)* and Metrical Psalms contain occurrences of a landscape term (in this case a mountain term) with no Latin precedent, points to how this particular landscape feature may have been perceived and valorised.

To begin with the paraphrast's use of *munt* without a Latin precedent, the relevant portion of *Ps(P)* 28. 5 (which was, of course, discussed earlier in the section on trees) is: *God brycþ cedor-treowu þa hean ceder-treowu on Libano, þam myclan* ***munte***[132] 'God breaks the tall cedar trees on Lebanon, the great mountain' (emphasis mine). However, the relevant portion of the *Romanum* reads: **uox Domini confringentis cedros; et confringet Dominus cedros Libani**[133] 'the voice of the Lord breaks the cedars and the Lord shatters the cedars of Lebanon'. *Ps(P)* 36. 34 reads: *Ic geseah þone unrihtwisan swiðe up ahafenne, swa swa sum ceder-treow on Libanus* ***munte***[134] 'I saw the unrighteous one exceedingly raised up like some cedar tree on Mount Lebanon' (emphasis mine). The corresponding *Romanum*, though, reads: **uidi impium superexaltatum; et eleuatum super cedros Libani**[135] 'I saw the wicked one exalted over others and raised above the cedars of Lebanon'. Given the evidence for the significance of trees in P (analysed earlier) it seems important to consider the fact that the two occasions where *munt* occurs without a Latin model in the *Ps(P)* it is to specify where the cedars of Lebanon are placed. This is suggestive of a broader, highly-specified approach to the landscape – especially mountains. Moreover, the fact that for one of the examples above (*Ps(P)* 28. 5) five of the other glossed psalters – A, B, C, H and J – have a form of *þæs muntes* to gloss **Libani** 'Lebanon' in the equivalent psalm-verse[136] offers implicit support for this suggestion because the glossators join the paraphrast here in specifying that **Libani** is a mountain.

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[130] *OEP*, Ps. 67. 15, 67. 16, 71. 3, 71. 16, 75. 4, 79. 10, 83. 6, 86. 1, 94. 4, 97. 8, 98. 10, 103. 9, 103. 12, 103. 16, 103. 17, 113. 4, 113. 6, 120. 1, 124. 1, 124. 2, 127. 6, 132. 3, 133. 4 and 146. 9.
[131] For Ps. 83. 6: see *LPR*, Ps. LXXXIII. 8, *LVB*, Ps. 83. 8 and *Heb*, Ps. LXXXIII. 8; for Ps. 103. 16 and 17: see *LPR*, Ps. CIII. 16-17, *LVB*, Ps. 103. 16-17 and *Heb*, Ps. CIII. 16-17.; for Ps. 127. 6: see *LPR*, Ps. CXXVII. 5, *LVB*, Ps. 127. 5 and *Heb*, Ps. CXXVII. 5; for Ps. 133. 4: see *LPR*, Ps. CXXXIII. 3, *LVB*, Ps. 133. 4 and *Heb*, Ps. CXXXIII. 3.
[132] *OEP*, Ps. 28. 5.
[133] *LPR*, Ps. XXVIII. 5.
[134] *OEP*, Ps. 36. 34.
[135] *LPR*, Ps. XXXVI. 35.
[136] See Pulsiano, *Old English Glossed Psalters Psalms 1-50*, p. 361.

Nicole Guenther Discenza contextualizes this 'specified' approach detected in these examples as follows:

> The Prose Psalms of the Paris Psalter name "Israele" or "Israhela" eight times; God's holy mountain or **Mount Sion** thirteen times; and **Mount Libanus, Cades, Tarsus and Cilicia, Hermon**, the River Jordan, and Tyre. The Psalms would seem to fix God and pre-Christian history firmly in the Holy Land, just as many maps and other descriptions (by Adomnán and Bede among others) centre there, on the Promised Land of the Old Testament and the place of Christ's life, death, and resurrection (emphases mine).[137]

Discenza then further develops these observations and posits:

> The Old English Prose Psalms, while solidly grounded in the physical setting of the Holy Land, remind readers that God's creation goes beyond earth with five mentions of Angels…Moreover, God's temple and **Mount Zion** in the Psalms are real historically and geographically, but they are simultaneously figurative. This overlap begins in the source text, but Alfred makes the figurative implications more explicit (emphasis mine).[138]

Clearly, mountains are an important feature in the *Ps(P)* on two levels. First, their significance as specific physical landmarks on the 'map' of the Holy Land and, second, their 'figurative implications'. Regarding the latter, *Ps(P)* 17. 7 (one of the forty-one occasions where the paraphrast inserts an interpretative phrase or sentence with no precedent in the Latin[139]) provides some clear evidence for how the symbolic implications of mountains, particularly, are made more overt. The relevant portion reads: …*and se grundweall þara munta wæs tohrered (þæt is þæt mægen minra ofermodena feonda); hy wæron astyrede, for þam him wæs God yrre*[140] '…and the mountain's foundation was destroyed (that is, the might of my enemies); they were shaken because God was angry with them'. Here the *munta* represent the power of arrogant enemies whereas in *Ps(P)* 28. 5 it is the *ceder-treowu* which represent the

[137] Discenza, *Inhabited Spaces: Anglo-Saxon Constructions of Place*, p. 81. Note that Discenza clarifies that 'Adomnán wrote his *De Locis sanctis* based on the account of Bishop Arculf, who gave an oral description and some maps of churches in Jerusalem. Bede later adapted *De locis sanctis*, keeping it in Latin.', *Ibid.* n. 74.
[138] *Ibid*., p. 128.
[139] See n. 91 above.
[140] *OEP*, Ps. 17. 7.

power of arrogant men.[141] In both these cases it is important to highlight the role of landscape features (first trees and then mountains) in the paraphrast's interpretative agenda as well as the symbolic connection between these landscape features and a state of mind – in this case arrogance.

In terms of the significance of mountains as specific landmarks and how the *Ps(P)* demonstrate a pronounced tendency to name mountains, the specialized mountain term *cnolle*, which occurs in *Ps(P)* 41. 7 and nowhere else in P or the other glossed psalters, is indicative. The term occurs in one of the occasions, highlighted by Discenza, where a mountain is named – in this case Mount Hermon. The relevant psalm-verse reads: *Wið me sylfne wæs min sawl and min mod gebolgen and gedrefed; for þæm ic eom gemyndig þin, Drihten, be Iordane staðe, and on þam lytlan cnolle, þe Ermon hatte.*[142] 'Towards myself was my soul and my mind angered and disturbed; therefore I am mindful of you, Lord, beside Jordan's bank, and on the little knoll which is called Hermon'. To contextualize this unique vocabulary choice, it is crucial to highlight that the applicable *Romanum* psalm-verse has **monte modico** 'modest mountain' which C and K have glossed as *munte þæm lytlan* 'that little mountain' and *monte medmycel* 'small mountain' respectively.[143] This data raises the question of what may have prompted the paraphrast to use *cnolle* here? Their choice is especially interesting considering that, with the exception of E, F and I which have *dune*, the remaining glossed psalters – A, B, C, D, G and H – have a version of *munt* to gloss **monte** in **monte modico**.[144] Also on every other occasion that they use *munt* in the *Ps(P)* (in Psalms 2. 6, 3. 3, 10. 1, 14. 1, 17. 7, 23. 3, 35. 6, 42. 3, 45. 2, 45. 3, 47. 1 47. 2 and 47. 10) it is to render a form of Latin *mons*.[145] Gelling and Cole's topographical evidence potentially sheds some light on this choice. They state that 'a *cnoll* was a distinctive type of hill' and that its 'most clearly evidenced sense in literary OE is "summit of a hill"'.[146] Moreover, in an earlier analysis, Gelling notes that of the *OED* definitions for knoll '"a small hill or eminence of more or less rounded form" is the relevant

[141] See above.
[142] *OEP*, Ps. 41. 7.
[143] See *LPR*, Ps. XLI. 7, Wildhagen, Ps. 41. 7, p. 100 and Sisam, Ps. XLI. 7, pp. 134-35 respectively.
[144] See Pulsiano, *Old English Glossed Psalters Psalms 1-50*, p. 603.
[145] See *LPR*, Ps. II. 6 (**montem**), III. 5 (**monte**), X. 2 (**montem**), XIV. 1 (**monte**), XVII. 8 (**montium**), XXIII. 3 (**montem**), XXXV. 7 (**montes**), XLII. 3 (**monte**), XLV. 3 (**montes**) and 4 (**montes**), XLVII. 2 (**monte**), 3 (**mons**) and 12 (**mons**)
[146] Gelling and Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names*, p. 157.

one in place-names'.[147] It is conceivable, given the thoughtful interpretative approach to the task of translation (outlined earlier in the section on trees) in the *Ps(P)*, that the paraphrast was aware of this toponymic sense of *cnoll* and deliberately chose it here to convey a highly specialized visual sense of the shape of Mount Hermon – described as the **monte modico** 'the small mountain' in the *Romanum*. Such a decision is implicitly supported by Discenza's evidence, highlighted above, for how specific the *Ps(P)* are about naming landscape features, especially mountains, in the Holy Land. In other words, the paraphrast takes this specificity to another level by not only naming a mountain in the Holy Land (Mount Hermon) but also (uniquely in the OE vernacular psalter family) identifying what *type* of mountain Mount Hermon is.

Furthermore, the fact that another specialized topographical term occurs in the same verse as *cnoll* – namely *staðe* in *Iordane staðe* 'Jordan's bank'[148] – adds some weight to the possibility I'm suggesting. This toponymic term is used here and in *Ps(P)* 22. 2 which reads: *and fedde me be wætera staðum, and min mod ge-wyrfde of unrotnesse on gefean*[149] 'and [he] has fed me by the banks of the waters, and turned my mind from sadness to joy'.[150]

To turn back to the example in *Ps(P)* 41. 7, the relevant *Romanum* term is **terra** 'earth' for which A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, J and K have a form of *eorðan* 'earth' to gloss this term (I has *lande* 'land').[151] Gelling and Cole's evidence affirms that *staðe* is also (like *cnoll*) a specializedtoponym denoting 'landing place'.[152] So, once again it is notable that the paraphrast chose a specialized topographical term to describe, in this case, the bank of the river Jordan. In other words, it does not seem random that these instances of specific topographical terms occur in connection with naming features in the Holy Land's landscape

[147] Margaret Gelling, *Place-Names in the Landscape: The Geographical Roots of Britain's Place-Names* (London: J. M. Dent, 1984), p. 136.
[148] See *OEP*, Ps. 41. 7.
[149] *OEP*, Ps. 22. 2.
[150] The equivalent *Romanum* (*LPR,* Ps. XXII. 2-3) reads: **super aquam refectionis educauit me; animam meam conuertit** 'on the water of refreshment he has brought me up; he has converted my soul'. Noticeably there is no specific reference to river banks in the Latin. Jane Toswell uses this psalm-verse to illustrate Alfred's freedom in his approach to translation and notes how 'the addition of *unrotnesse on gefean* 'sadness to joy' makes the conversion scene of the psalm more concrete and clear' and the sense of the passage is altered by the absence of reference to *refectionis* 'refreshment'. See Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, p. 79.
[151] See, respectively, *LPR*, Ps. XLI. 7 and Pulsiano, *Old English Glossed Psalters Psalms 1-50*, p. 603.
[152] Gelling and Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names*, p. 91.

(*cnolle, þe Ermon hatte* and *Iordane staðe*), and they are indicative of the paraphrast's meticulously specified approach.

Lastly, it must be highlighted that the only other occurrence of *staðe* in the *Ps(P)* (in *Ps(P)* 22. 2) has no immediate Latin precedent[153] and it is noticeable how the paraphrast, uniquely in the vernacular psalter family,[154] utilizes this toponym to augment the Latin in order to specify exactly where the psalmist is *fedde* by God and their *mod ge-wyrfde of unrotnesse on gefean*. The link between a landscape feature (*wætera staðum*) and the psalmist's *mod* is also startlingly clear in this example.[155]

The psalm-poet's deployment of beorg

It was observed earlier that the psalm-poet has a marked preference for *beorg* over *munt* and the places where they insert it without a direct Latin precedent are revelatory. For example, *beorg* is inserted after *Sion* (where the applicable Latin psalm-verse (in the *Romanum*, *Gallicanum* and *Hebraicum*) simply has *Sion*) in three places. First in Psalm 83. 6 (…*on Sion-beorge; soðes Drihtnes* 'on mount Zion; the Lord's truth'), second in Psalm 127. 6 (*Þe of Sion-beorge; swylce Drihten*… 'Who of mount Zion; also the Lord') and lastly in Psalm 133. 4 (…*of Sion-beorge; symble æt þearfe* 'from mount Zion; always at need').[156] On each of these occasions *beorg* is in the relevant on-verse and so is not required to carry the alliteration which of course means its insertion here was an unforced choice by the psalm-poet. This decision is all the more singular considering the fact that both C and K do not have *beorg* to gloss *Sion* on each of these three occasions.[157] Zion, in the Hebrew Scriptures, is 'the easternmost of two hills in ancient Jerusalem' and it is 'overwhelmingly a poetic and prophetic designation…[which] usually has emotional and religious overtones, but it is not

[153] See, above, n. 150.
[154] A search for the use of this term in the other glossed psalters as well as the Metrical Psalms on *OTA* rendered zero hits.
[155] Admittedly *staðe* does not come under the category of 'mountain' or 'hill', but given that one of its occurrences in the *Ps(P)* is in the same verse as *cnolle*, it made the most sense to address it here.
[156] See above, n. 130 and 131, for the applicable OE and Latin (*Romanum*, *Gallicanum* and *Hebraicum*) psalm-verse references.
[157] See Wildhagen, Ps. 83. 8, 127. 5 and 133. 3 on pp. 214, 331 and 337 respectively and Sisam, Ps. LXXXIII. 8, CXXVII. 5 and CXXXIII, 3 on pp. 194, 262 and 265 respectively. Note that in all three instances C has glossed Latin *sion* with a form of OE *syon* and K has not glossed Latin *sion*.

clear why the name Zion rather than the name Jerusalem should carry these overtones'.[158] These facts about Zion offer a potential insight into possible motivations for the psalm-poet's decision here. Firstly, it could perhaps be argued that they join the paraphrast in being specific about naming landscape landmarks (particularly mountains) as Discenza points out.[159] Secondly, as a poet who was steeped in biblical literature[160] they were likely aware of the 'emotional and religious overtones' of this particular mountain – Zion – and this awareness may have led them to wish to emphasize the fact that Zion is indeed a mountain – hence the compounding of *beorg* with *Sion* in these three places. In other words, *beorgas* themselves could have carried an emotive valence for the psalm-poet and this was potentially a factor in the insertion of the term without a Latin precedent.

The two other occurrences of *beorg* without a Latin precedent in the Metrical Psalms are in Psalm 103 – namely 103. 16 and 103. 17. This psalm has the highest number of mountain terms in P and two more than its *Romanum* equivalent.[161] Of these two, 103. 17 is especially interesting. This psalm-verse reads:

> Uphebbean hus hiora agen
> is latteow on lande; oft laðne beorh
> on hean muntum heortas wuniað;
> erinaces fleoð oft on stanas.[162]
>
> The water-bird's house is their own guide on land; often in the hostile peak on the high mountain harts dwell; hedgehogs flee, often into the rocks.

[158] *Britannica Academic*, s.v. "Zion" <https://academic-eb-com.elib.tcd.ie/levels/collegiate/article/Zion/78397> [accessed 30 October 2023].
[159] See above and n. 137.
[160] See the Sisams's remarks in Section V 'The Psalm Texts' in the Preface in *The Paris Psalter: MS Bibliothèque Nationale Fonds Latin 8824*, ed. by Colgrave, p. 17 and Toswell's observation that '[t]he translation techniques of one Old English poet show an intelligent and unafraid approach to the Latin text of the psalter, an approach which perhaps demonstrates…the Anglo-Saxon command of biblical study' in Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, pp. 331-32.
[161] *mons* occurs, in different case forms, six times in the *Romanum* text – see *LPR,* Ps. CIII. 6, CIII. 8, CIII. 10, CIII. 13, CIII. However, there are eight occurrences of mountain terms in Metrical Psalm 103 – *munt* occurs four times (see *OEP*, Ps. 103. 7, 103. 10, 103. 17, 103. 30) and *beorg* occurs four times (see *OEP*, Ps. 103. 9, 103. 12, 103. 16, 103. 17).
[162] *OEP*, Ps. 103. 17.

The equivalent *Romanum*, *Gallicanum* and *Hebraicum* texts make no reference to a *laðne beorh* 'hostile peak'.[163] The insertion of the adjective *laðne* is considered an example of the psalm-poet's use of so-called 'filler words' to fulfil the alliterative requirements of OE metre. As highlighted in the Introduction, the use of such 'filler words' was, until recently, viewed as an aspect of their impoverished quality verse. However, by drawing attention to the 'same contradictory emotion' between *laðne beorh* and the *bitre burgtunas* 'bitter protecting walls' in *The Wife's Lament*, Anya Adair has made a persuasive case for how the psalm-poet uses such 'filler words' in a manner that approaches but does not quite reach the poetic achievement of *The Wife's Lament* poet.[164]

What has not been explicitly highlighted yet, though, is the role of landscape terms in the psalm-poet's use of such emotive 'filler words'. It is revealing that they chose to qualify *beorh* (which does not carry the alliteration in its off-verse, of course, and so is an unforced choice here) with an emotive quality. This is possibly subtle and implicit evidence of their awareness of the emotive valence of specific mountains such as Mount Zion which was examined earlier.

Moreover, there is at least one other occasion in Psalm 143. 12, *laþum wætrum* 'hostile waters', where such an emotive filler word is used in connection with a landscape feature – in this instance water.[165] In this particular case, though, there is a partial *Romanum* precedent for water – *aquis multis*[166] 'great waters'. It is still notable, however, that the psalm-poet chose to qualify a landscape feature with an emotive term – especially considering that all the other glossed psalters containing the *Romanum* (namely A, B, C, D and E[167]) gloss *aquis multis* here with a form of *waetrum miclum* 'great waters'. In other words, the psalm-poet's much commented on use of emotive 'filler' terms, in these examples, is noticeably linked to landscape features and this usage is unique across the vernacular psalter family.

Lastly, an important aspect of the psalm-poet's use of mountain or hill terms to consider is their exclusive use of *geswyru* for 'hills'. Notably, this hill term occurs nowhere

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[163] See *LPR*, Ps. CIII. 17-18, *LVB*, Ps. Ps. 103. 17-18 and *Heb*, Ps. CIII. 17-18.
[164] Adair, 'Hateful Hills and Joyful Dread: Emotive "Filler Words" in the Old English Metrical Psalms', pp. 17-19.
[165] *laðum wætrum* in Psalm 143. 12 is analysed further in the *Water features* subsection, below.
[166] *LPR*, Ps. CXLIII. 11. Note that both the *Gallicanum* and *Hebraicum* do not have a reference to *aquis* 'waters' here. See *LVB*, Ps. 143. 11 and *Heb*, Ps. CXLIII. 11.
[167] See A, Ps. 143. 12, B, Ps. 143. 11, C, Ps. 143. 11, D, Ps. 143. 11 and E, Ps. 143. 11 in *OTA*.

else in the extant OE Corpus.[168] The Latin noun **colles** 'hills' occurs five times in the *Romanum*, *Gallicanum* and *Hebraicum* Psalters – Psalms 64. 13, 71. 3, 113. 4, 113. 6, 148. 9[169] – and on each of these occasions the psalm-poet has used a form of *geswyru*[170] as opposed to C and K which typically use *hyllas* 'hills' and less frequently *beorgas*.[171] Gelling and Cole do not have an entry for *geswyru* in their comprehensive section on 'Hills, Slopes and Ridges'[172] and I have not found other critical commentary on this term. So, perhaps the only tentative conclusion to be drawn from this evidence is that the psalm-poet was well immersed in a culture that was at its 'most discriminating' when it came to mountain or hill terms[173] and this landscape feature, consequently, would quite likely have had a pronounced impact on their thought life and, in turn, their poetic craft. More importantly, for my pur though, it is useful to examine the emotive inflection with which *geswyru* is used.

In all five of the occurrences of *geswyru* it is in an emotively positive context – for example *weaxað geswiru* 'the hills will flourish' in Psalm 64. 13 or the *geswyru* which receive *soþum dædum* 'true deeds' in Psalm 71. 3.[174] These two examples and Psalm 148. 9 have an approximate Latin precedent.[175] However, in Psalm 113. 4 and 113. 6 the psalm-poet has inserted two 'joy' terms in connection with hills that do not have a direct source in the Latin. These two verses read:

Hæfdan þær beorgas bliðe sæle

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[168] See *DOEC* search results sv. *geswiru*, *geswyru* and *gesweoru* respectively.
[169] See *LPR*, Ps. LXIV. 13, *LVB*, Ps. 64. 13 and *Heb*, Ps. LXIV. 13; *LPR*, Ps. LXXI. 3, *LVB*, Ps. 71. 3 and *Heb*, Ps. LXXI. 3; *LPR*, Ps. CXIII. 4, *LVB*, Ps. 113. 4 and *Heb*, Ps. CXIII. 4; *LPR*, Ps. CXIII. 6, *LVB*, Ps. 113. 6 and *Heb*, Ps. CXIII. 6; *LPR*, Ps. CXLVIII. 9, *LVB*, Ps. 148. 9 and *Heb*, Ps. CXLVIII. 9.
[170] See *geswiru* in *OEP*, Ps. 64. 13, *geswyru* in *OEP*, Ps. 71. 3, 113. 4 and 148. 9 and *gesweoru* in *OEP*, Ps. 113. 6.
[171] See psalm-verses, listed in the note above, in Wildhagen, pp. 154, 175, 291 and 367 and Sisam, pp. 160, 172, 238 and 282. Note that C has a form of *hyllas* for all five of these instances of **colles**, K has a form of *beorg* in Ps. LXIV. 13 and LXXI. 3 and leaves **colles** without a gloss in CXLVIII. 9.
[172] See Gelling and Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names*, pp. 143-219.
[173] *Ibid.*, p. 143.
[174] See *OEP*, Ps. 64. 13 and 71. 3.
[175] The applicable *Romanum* text for Psalms 64. 13 and 71. 3 are the following: *LPR*, LXIV. 13, **…et exultatione colles accingentur** 'and the hills will be surrounded by joy' and *LPR,* LXXI. 3, **suscipiant…colles iustitiam** 'let the hills receive justice'. Note that in Psalm 148. 9 the psalm-poet has *muntas and geswyru, micle beamas, þa þe mæst and wæstm mannum bringað, and on eallum cedrum ciið alæded.* 'mountains and hills, great trees, those which supply mast and fruit for humankind, and the bud produced in all the cedars.', OE, *OEP*, p. 602 and translation O'Neill's, *OEP*, p. 603. The *Romanum* text (LPR, Ps. CXLVIII. 9), however, simply reads: **montes et omnes colles ligna fructifera et omnes cedri** 'mountains and all hills, fruit-bearing trees and all cedars'. So, the psalm-poet embellishes somewhat here but in context (this psalm is a praise psalm which repeatedly uses the plural imperative **laudate** 'praise') they have not veered far from the sense of the Latin.

and rammum þa restan gelice;
wæron geswyru swyðe on blisse,
swa on sceapum beoð sceone lambru
…
Beorgas wæron bliðe, gebærdon swa rammas;
wurdan gesweoru on sele-dreame,
swa on sceapum beoð sceone lambru.[176]

There the mountains have a joyful time and then rest like rams; the hills were greatly in bliss; as bright lambs are among sheep.
…
The mountains were joyful behaving like rams; the hills were in hall-joy; as bright lambs are among sheep.

The applicable *Romanum* text, however, reads: **montes exultauerunt ut arietes; et colles uelut agni ouium**[177] 'the mountains jumped about as rams; and the hills just as the sheep's lambs' and **montes quare exultastis ut arietes; et colles uelut agni ouium**[178] 'why do the mountains jump about as rams and the hills as the sheep's lambs'. The psalm-poet clearly felt a need to emphasize the joy (*on blisse* and *on sele-dreame*) 'experienced' by the *geswyru* and not simply describe them as sheep as the *Romanum* source text does. Moreover, the fact that both *geswyru* and *gesweoru* form part of the plurilinear alliterative pattern[179] (which I have indicated by underlining the relevant consonants and sibilant) in both these verses is potentially illustrative of the psalm-poet's emotive-landscape inflected concerns here. In other words, it is not insignificant that this unique (to the psalm-poet) landscape term plays an important role in their poetic artistry in these verses. This fact, perhaps, increases the possibility that a connection between an emotion (joy in this case) and a feature in the landscape (hills) may have been an embedded concept in the milieu which shaped the psalm-poet's thinking and consequently their poetic craft.

[176] *OEP*, Ps. 113. 4 and 6.
[177] *LPR,* Ps. CXIII. 4.
[178] *LPR,* Ps. CXIII. 6.
[179] See Leneghan, 'Making the Psalter Sing', pp. 184-91, for a careful analysis of how the psalm-poet uses plurilinear alliteration to create 'effective poetry with sophisticated sound effects'.

Water features

In the previous chapter, I referred to William Brown's analysis of water imagery in the psalter and traced two of the ways (namely water as chaos and water as refreshment and renewal) in which this polyvalent landscape feature functions in the *Romanum*.[180] Both the paraphrast and psalm-poet make distinctive choices in their translation approach to water imagery (water as chaos and water as refreshment respectively) contained in the Latin which are evaluated below.

As with trees in *Ps(P)* 28. 5 and mountains in *Ps(P)* 17. 7 analysed earlier, water, in *Ps(P)* 31. 7, is included in one of the forty-one occasions where the paraphrast inserts an interpretive phrase without a Latin precedent.[181] The relevant portion of *Ps(P)* 31. 7 reads: *…and for eallum heora goodum dædum, ne genealæcð him na þæt flod þæra myclena wæterena (þæt synt þas andweardan earfoþa and eac þa toweardan)* '…and because of all their good deeds, that flood of mighty waters will not approach them (that is these present tribulations and also those future ones).[182] Revealingly, the paraphrast felt it was important to explicate that the *myclena wæterena* represent present and future tribulations. In Chapter 1, my analysis drew on the *Expositio*'s metaphorical interpretation of the **aquas contradictionis** in *Romanum* Psalm 80. 8 as 'verbal challenges' and **torrentem** in *Romanum* Psalm 123. 5 as the 'turbulent course of this world'.[183] Implicitly, these two interpretations connect a flood of water with 'tribulations'.

Moreover, it has already been noted that the paraphrast drew on psalm commentaries – pronouncedly the *Expositio*. So, it is advisable, then, to consider the *Expositio*'s treatment of Psalm 37. 6 here. True to form, it provides a metaphorical interpretation (specifically a 'moral' interpretation in terms of the four senses of scripture referred to in Chapter 1) for the relevant *Romanum* phrase, **diluuio aquarum multarum**[184] 'flood of many waters', namely that this image represents 'the error of the worst of men adrift on various evils who set up for

[180] See Brown, *Seeing the Psalms*, pp. 107-32 for an analysis of the three distinct ways (water as chaos, the absence of water and water as refreshment) water imagery is expressed. See Chapter 1, above, Section 1.2, for the analysis of this imagery in the *Romanum*.
[181] See, above, n. 91, for a list of these occasions.
[182] *OEP*, Ps. 31. 7. Translation adapted from O'Neill's, *OEP*, p. 105.
[183] See Walsh, *Cassiodorus: Explanation of the Psalms*, Vol. 2, p. 297, *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 284 and Chapter 1, above, Section 1.2.
[184] *LPR*, Ps. XXXI. 6.

themselves manifold teachings…not received from the true Master'.[185] While this interpretation does not connect the **diluuio aquarum multarum** directly with 'tribulations', it is still possible the paraphrast was implicitly inspired by the *Expositio* to offer a metaphorical interpretation of a flood of water as challenging 'tribulations' given the priority placed on this type of interpretation in this commentary.

Although, it is naturally difficult to prove definitively what specific text influenced the paraphrast's interpretative agenda at any given point, it is possible, though, to observe that trees, mountains and water each receive an additional metaphorical interpretation in *Ps(P)* 28. 5, 17. 7 and 31. 7. This is indicative of the landscape's role in representing an emotion or experience for the paraphrast – *ofermod* 'arrogance' in *Ps(P)* 28. 5 and 17. 7 and *earfoþa* 'tribulations' in *Ps(P)* 31. 7.

The psalm-poet's use of burna and *laðum wætrum*

The psalm-poet, on the other hand, makes some interesting and carefully-chosen water vocabulary choices – especially *burna* 'stream'. They also use an emotive 'filler' word, *laðum* 'hostile' with *wætrum* 'waters' in Psalm 143. 12, echoing their treatment of *beorh* in Psalm 103. 18 and which I drew attention to in my analysis of *laðne beorh*.[186]

To begin with *burna*, this term occurs four times in the Metrical Psalms – in Psalms 77. 17, 106. 34, 135. 17 and 147. 7[187] and each time its Latin precedent is a form of **aqua** 'water'.[188] What makes the psalm-poet's choice interesting is that not only do both C and K use a form of *wæter* not *burna* to gloss **aqua** in each relevant psalm-verse here,[189] but when glossators do use *burna* it is to gloss **torrentem** not **aqua**.[190] This data of course invites the

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[185] Walsh, *Cassiodorus: Explanation of the Psalms*, Vol. 1, p. 309.
[186] See above.
[187] See, *OEP*, Ps. 77. 17, 106. 34, 135. 17 and 147. 7.
[188] See **adaquavit**, **aquarum**, **aquam** and **aquae** in *LPR*, Ps. LXXVII. 15, CVI. 35, CXXXV. 17 and CLXVII. 18.
[189] See *gewætyrode* in C, Ps. 77. 15, p. 194; *wæterode* in K, Ps. LXXVII. 15, p. 182; *wætra* in C, Ps. 106. 35, p. 278; *wætera* in K, Ps. CVI. 35; *wætyr* in C, Ps. 135. 17; (note that the *Gallicanum* Latin text of K does not have **aqua** in this verse); *wætyr* in C, Ps. 147. 7 and *wætera* in K, Ps. CLXVII. 18.
[190] A has a form of *burna* to gloss a form of *torrentem* in Ps. 17. 4, 35. 8, 73. 15, 77. 21, 82. 8, 109. 8, 123. 4 and 125. 4; B has a form of *burna* to gloss a form of *torrentem* in Ps. 17. 5, 35. 9, 73. 15, 77. 20, 82. 10, 109. 7, 123. 5 and 125. 4; C has a form of *burna* to gloss a form of *torrentem* in Ps. 17. 5, 35. 9, 73. 15, 77. 20, 82. 10, 109. 7, 123. 5 and 125. 4; D has a form of *burna* to gloss a form of *torrentem* in Ps. 17. 5, 35. 9, 73. 15, 77. 20, 82. 10, 109. 7, 123. 5 and 125. 4; E has a form of *burna* to gloss a form of *torrentem* in Ps. 17. 5, 35. 9, 73. 15 and 77. 20; F has a form of *burna* to gloss a form of *torrentem* in Ps. 17. 5, 35. 9, 77. 20, 82. 10, 109. 7, 123. 5 and 125. 4; G has a form of *burna* to gloss a form of *torrentem* in Ps. 17. 5, 35. 9, 73. 15, 77. 20, 82. 10, 109. 7, 123. 5 and

question, why did the psalm-poet choose to use *burna* where they did. Again, place-name (toponymic) evidence as well as the context in which the psalm-poet uses this term may point towards the answer.

Gelling and Cole observe that *burna* is frequently used for intermittent streams and point out that the settlement-name Winterbourne means 'stream dry in summer' – a literal indication of the irregularity contained in this particular topographical term.[191] Every time that *burna* is used in the Metrical Psalms it carries an 'intermittent' or non-permanent sense – a *strange burnan* 'strong stream' is released out of a *stane* 'rock' in the *westene* 'desert' in Psalm 77. 17, God turns *eorðan…butan wætre* 'earth without water' into an *æþelast burnan* 'noble stream' in Psalm 106. 34, God produces *stearce burnan* 'unyielding streams' from the *stan-clife* 'stone-cliff' in Psalm 135. 17 and God's word is sent and flows as a *burnan* in Psalm 147. 7.[192] In every one of these occurrences *burna* is in the relevant off-verse and in the first three (Psalms 77. 17, 106. 34 and 135. 17) it does not carry the alliteration so is an unforced choice there. The psalm-poet, therefore, demonstrates here a carefully attuned distinctive attitude to the landscape. Their awareness of the toponymic sense of *burna* likely influenced their choice (in contrast to the remaining glossed psalter family) as they wished to convey the intermittent or 'sudden' character of a stream arising in the desert or gushing from a stone-cliff.[193]

Psalm 143. 12 opens as follows: *Alys me and oðlæd; laþum wætrum*[194] 'Release and lead me away; from hostile waters', whereas the relevant *Romanum* text reads: **eripe me et libera me de aquis multis**[195] 'snatch me and release me from great waters'. In her argument in defense of the psalm-poet's use of emotive 'filler words', Adair observes that apart from

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125. 4; H has a form of *burna* to gloss a form of *torrentem* in Ps. 17. 5, 35. 9, 73. 15, 77. 20, 82. 10 and 109. 7; I has a form of *burna* to gloss a form of *torrentem* in Ps. 17. 5, 35. 9, 73. 15, 77. 20, 82. 10 and 109. 7, 123. 5 and 125. 4; J has a form of *burna* to gloss a form of *torrentem* in Ps. 17. 5, 35. 9, 73. 15, 77. 20, 82. 10 and 109. 7, 123. 5 and 125. 4; K has a form of *burna* to gloss a form of *torrentem* in Ps. 17. 5, 35. 9, 73. 15, 77. 20, 82. 10 and 109. 7, 123. 5 and 125. 4; L has a form of *burna* to gloss a form of *torrentem* in Ps. 123. 5 and 125. 4. This data from the glossed psalters A-L was accessed at *OTA*.

[191] Gelling and Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names*, p. 11.

[192] See *OEP*, Ps. 77. 17, 106. 34, 135. 17 and 147. 7 respectively.

[193] Note that Peter Kitson has also analysed the use of *burna* to gloss Latin *torrens* in the family of vernacular psalters including P. His objective is to topographically situate 'the ambience' of the A-type gloss exemplar/s presumed to be lost. He does not comment, however, on the psalm-poet's interesting 'divergent' (compared with the other glossed psalters) use of *burna* analysed in the examples above. See Peter Kitson, 'Topography, Dialect, And The Relation of Old English Psalter-Glosses (I)', *English Studies,* 83 (2002), 474-503, § 16-17, pp. 482-3.

[194] *OEP*, Ps. 143. 12.

[195] *LPR,* Ps. CXLIII. 11.

laðne beorh (analysed above)[196] the psalm-poet 'inserts *laþ* only in contextually appropriate places: an enemy hunter catches his victim with the *laþum* (cruel) snare in Psalm 90. 3; the treacherous wicked seek to claim the speaker's life *laþe* (with hostility) in Psalm 118. 95'.[197] Noticeably, Adair does not refer to this (Psalm 143. 12) example of the psalm-poet's use of *laþum*. While although this usage is 'contextually appropriate' in the context of verbs such as *alys* and *oðlæd*, it is also important to notice how the landscape plays a role in the psalm-poet's use of emotive 'filler words'. In other words, in both the *laðne beorh* (Psalm 103. 18) and *laðne wætrum* (Psalm 143. 12) examples the psalm-poet inflects a landscape feature with an emotion (hostility) and this fact, again, points to a possible intrinsic connection between such features and the affective experience for the mind that created the Metrical Psalms.

2.3 Perceptions of Place and the Mind in the OE Psalms in P

The equivalent section in Chapter 1 drew on John Howe's articulation of the binary between the medieval concepts of the *locus amoenus* and the *locus horribilis*[198] and noticed how these *loci* were observable in the *Romanum* – in the contrast between the 'pleasant place' invoked in Psalm 1. 3 and the desert in Psalm 62. 3 as well as the emotively charged contrast between Jerusalem and Babylon in Psalm 136. In this section, I revisit these concepts and analyse how the paraphrast and the psalm-poet adapt and interpret them in their respective versions of the OE Psalms.

The OE (Prose and Metrical) treatment of **refugium** *– a distinctive approach to a* locus amoenus

Previously, in the analysis of path terms in the *Romanum*, I referred to how William Brown had identified two 'root metaphors' in the psalter – one of which is 'pathway'. The other 'root metaphor' is 'refuge'[199] and so it seems appropriate to consider how the paraphrast and psalm-poet treat this concept of a 'safe' or 'good' place within the umbrella of a *locus amoenus*.

[196] See above, pp. 112-3.
[197] Adair, 'Hateful Hills and Joyful Dread: Emotive "Filler Words" in the Old English Metrical Psalms', p. 17.
[198] See John Howe, 'Creating Symbolic Landscapes: Medieval Development of Sacred Space', pp. 210-214.
[199] See Brown, *Seeing the Psalms: A Theology of Metaphor*, p. 16.

The noun **refugium** occurs fourteen times across the *Romanum* Psalms and receives an OE equivalent throughout P.[200] Of these equivalents, seven contain the noun *frið* 'peace' – either compounded with *stow* 'place' (in *Ps(P)* 9.9, 17. 1 and 30. 3) or *stol* 'seat' (in Psalms 89. 1, 90. 9 and 93. 19) or, on one occasion (in Psalm 143. 3), as a standalone.[201] Notably, with the exception of G, the Vitellius Psalter, which has *frið-stol* to gloss **refugium** in Psalm 17. 3,[202] P is unique, here, among the glossed-psalter family for the occurrence of *frið* in association with **refugium**. For instance, C and K (with two exceptions in K in Psalms 30. 3 and 103. 18 which have *rotnesse* 'gladness' and *help* 'help' respectively[203]) have forms of *gebeorg* 'refuge' (in C) and *frofor* 'comfort' (in K) to gloss all instances of **refugium**.[204] These facts are noteworthy on two levels. First, the OE text in P (as a whole) stands apart (especially the Metrical Psalms as will become clear in the discussion that follows) from the other glossed psalters in its approach to the concept of **refugium**. Second, the paraphrast and psalm-poet have some commonality in their approach to this concept unlike the approach to trees, for example, where the psalm-poet favours *beam* over *treow* and the paraphrast does not use *beam* at all.[205]

The term *frið* (along with *woruld-frið* 'world peace') is categorized under 'Peace, State of Law and Order' in *A Thesaurus of Old English* and it is the only term listed under the specific 'legal sense' subcategory.[206] Whether both the paraphrast and psalm-poet were aware of this 'legal sense' of *frið* and this awareness led them to use it in the instances each of them do is difficult to prove definitively from the relevant psalm texts. However, it is more demonstrable that the paraphrast (as opposed to the psalm-poet) made a conscious choice,

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[200] See *LPR*, Ps. IX. 10, XVII. 3, XXX. 3, XXX. 4, XXXI. 7, XLV. 2, LVIII. 17, LXX. 3, LXXXIX. 1, XC. 2, XC. 9, XCIII. 22, CIII. 18 and CXLIII. 2. The OE equivalents are: *frið-stow* (*OEP*, Ps. 9. 9), *frið-stow* (*OEP*, Ps. 17. 1), *frið-stow* (*OEP*, Ps. 30. 3), *gebeorh* (*OEP*, Ps. 30. 4), *gebeorh-stow* (*OEP*, Ps. 31. 8), *gebeorh* (*OEP*, Ps. 45. 1), *fultum* (*OEP*, Ps. 58. 17), *freoða* (*OEP*, Ps. 70. 3), *frið-stol* (*OEP*, Ps. 89. 1), *fultum* (*OEP*, Ps. 90. 2), *frið-stol* (*OEP*, Ps. 90. 9), *frið-stole* (*OEP*, Ps. 93. 19), *fleoð…on stanas* (*OEP*, Ps. 103. 17) and *frið* (*OEP*, Ps. 143. 2).
[201] See *OEP*, Ps. 9. 9, 17. 1, 30. 3, 89. 1, 90. 9, 93. 19 and 143. 2.
[202] See Pulsiano, *Old English Glossed Psalters Psalms 1-50*, p. 173.
[203] See Sisam, Ps. XXX. 3 and CIII. 18, pp. 114 and 221.
[204] For C, see Wildhagen, Ps. 9. 10, 17. 3, 30. 3, 30. 4, 31. 7, 45. 2, 58. 17, 70. 3, 89. 1, 90. 2, 90. 9, 93. 22, 103. 18, 143. 2, pp. 14, 31, 64, 69, 111, 143, 172, 229, 232, 233, 240, 260 and 357; for K see Sisam, Ps. IX. 9, XVII. 3, XXX. 4, XXXI. 7, XLV. 2, LVIII. 17, LXX. 3, LXXXIX. 1, XC. 2, XC, 9, XCIII. 22, CXLIII. 2, pp. 84, 94, 114, 117, 140, 154, 170, 204, 205, 206, 210 and 276.
[205] See, above, Section 2.2.
[206] *A Thesaurus of Old English*, s.v., "13.01|01 (n.) Peace, state of law and order :: (In legal sense) peace," <http://oldenglishthesaurus.arts.gla.ac.uk/category/?id=18703> [accessed 16 November 2023].

potentially, with this 'legal sense' in mind for two reasons. First, they were not bound by the strictures of alliteration as the psalm-poet was and, second, they join the glossator of C by using *gebeorh* or *gebeorh-stow*[207] and not *frið-stow* in three further occurrences of **refugium** (*Ps(P)* 30. 4, 31. 8 and 45. 1[208]). In other words, the paraphrast selects between the synonyms *gebeorh, gebeorh-stow* and *frið-stow* to convey **refugium** indicating they were aware of a nuanced difference in meaning between these terms. Moreover, the context of one example of *frið-stow* (in *Ps(P)* 9. 9) is especially indicative in this regard. This psalm-verse reads: *He demð folcum mid rihte, he ys geworden frið-stow ðearfendra.* 'He judges the people with justice, he has become a place of refuge for the needy.'[209] This is the only time *frið-stow* is used directly after a phrase containing a 'legal' verb – *demð* 'judges'[210] – and it is certainly conceivable that the paraphrast may have had the legal sense of *frið* in mind and chose to use it here instead of *gebeorh-stow* which they use in *Ps(P)* 31. 8 for example.[211] It must be noted, too, that every time **refugium** receives an OE equivalent in the *Ps(P)* (whether *frið-stow*, *gebeorh* or *gebeorh-stow*) it is in reference to God or *Drihten* 'the Lord'.[212] Moreover, the paraphrast, uniquely within the entire glossed-psalter family, compounds *frið* with *stow* 'place' and also uses *stow* to create a hapax legomenon – *gebeorh-stow*.[213] This especial usage

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[207] Note that the glossator of C uses *gebeorh* only and does not compound it with *stow*. The paraphrast's compounding of *gebeorh* with *stow* in *Ps(P)* 31. 8 appears to be a hapax legomenon – see *DOEC* search result sv. *gebeorhstow*.

[208] See *OEP*, Ps. 30. 4, 31. 8 and 45. 1.

[209] *OEP*, Ps. 9. 9, translation adapted from O'Neill's, *OEP*, p. 25.

[210] The verb *(ge)deman* 'to judge' is categorized under 'Law, action of the courts' in *A Thesaurus of Old English*, s.v., "14.03.03|26 (v.) Law, action of the courts :: To judge person," <http://oldenglishthesaurus.arts.gla.ac.uk/category/?id=19492.> [accessed 17 November 2023].

[211] It must be noted here that Jay Paul Gates has recently published a compelling argument for why the *Ps(P)* should be read alongside the prologue to Alfred's laws as these are the only two Alfredian texts that directly translate Scripture – the Psalms for the *Ps(P)* and Exodus for the prologue. He acknowledges (referencing David Pratt, *The Political Thought of King Alfred the Great* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 157-65) that the *Ps(P)* and the laws 'have been read as both participating in the promotion of biblical wisdom'. However, he makes a strong case for a more 'sustained comparison' and his evidence shows that the paraphrast's vocabulary choices for legal terms (such as *domeras* 'judges') 'demonstrates a clear alignment of the prose Psalms with English legal culture'. See Jay Paul Gates, 'The Alfredian Prose Psalms and a Legal English Identity' in *Law, Literature, and Social Regulation in Early Medieval England*, ed. by Andrew Rabin and Anya Adair (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2023), pp. 31-53 (pp. 37 and 48). Gates's argument undoubtedly lends weight to the probability, I am suggesting, that the paraphrast used *frið* in the places they do to convey a particular 'legal' sense of that term.

[212] See *OEP*, Ps. 9. 9, 17. 1, 30. 3, 30. 4, 31. 8 and 45. 1.

[213] See *DOEC*, sv. *friðstow* and *friðstowe*, *DOE,* sv. *frið-stow* and above, n. 207. In the *DOE* entry for *frið-stow* it is notable that when this term occurs in other texts, apart from the *Ps(P)*, it does so in texts that have been traditionally attributed to Alfred, namely *The Old English Boethius*, *The Old English Pastoral Care* and *The Laws of Alfred and Ine*. Also note that both these facts – that *gebeorh-stow* is otherwise unattested and the other Alfredian occurrences of *frið-stow* – have been noticed and commented on before. See Janet M. Bately, 'Lexical

of *stow* reveals something of an attitude to the importance of place for the mind that wrote the *Ps(P)* which has been noticed before. For example, O'Neill has observed that the *Ps(P)* often contain additional adverbs of time (*þa*, *eft*, *þonne*, *ær*) and place (*þanon*, *ðyder*) which serve to 'strengthen the sense of physical location'.[214] Here, with the use of *stow*, as analysed above, the paraphrast seeks to emphasize the location of this particular *locus amoenus*.

The psalm-poet's treatment of **refugium**

In her analysis of the psalm-poet's treatment of disparately chosen Latin lemmata, Toswell has found intriguing evidence for their especial treatment of **refugium** within the context of their treatment of the semantically related **protector** 'protector' and **consolatio/consolor** 'comfort'/ 'comforter'. She evaluates this evidence as follows:

> C designates one Old English equivalent for each word: for the Latin **protector**: *gescyldend* ['helper'], **refugium**: *gebeorh*, **consolor**: *frofor* and variants. K uses *frofor* and variants. K uses *frofor* for **consolor**, like C, but also uses predominantly *frofor* for **refugium**, with only one instance of *helpe*, and for **protector** uses *frofor* four times, *gescyldend* three times…For **refugium** the poet uses a variety of equivalents, not including either C's *gebeorh* or K's *frofer*. The poet uses *fultum* ['help'] and variants of *freoð* including the only three occurrences in this text of the heroic noun *friðstol*. The awkward reading of 103.17.4 *erinaces fleoð oft on stanas* ['hedgehogs often flee into rocks' in Psalm 103. 17][215] may also be illuminated by seeing *fleoð* as a possible corruption of *freoð*, a more common equivalent for **refugium**. However, the line does make sense as it stands. For **protector** the poet has a number of equivalents: *wealdend* ['ruler'] to start with, then two successive occurrences of *þeccend* ['protector'], the only three occurrences of *scyldend* ['guardian'] in this text, and *fultum* twice. The [psalm] poet, then, comes to prefer *scyldend* for **protector**, some variant of *frið* for

Evidence for the Authorship of the Prose Psalms in the Paris Psalter', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 10 (1982), 69-95 (pp. 82-3).

[214] O'Neill, 'Introduction', *OEP*, p. xiv.

[215] The relevant *Romanum* text for this phrase in *LPR*, Ps. CIII. 18 reads: **petra refugium erinaciis** 'rocks are a place of refuge for hedgehogs'. Also note that Psalm 103. 17 was analysed in the *Mountains and hills* subsection in reference to the occurrence of the emotive landscape term *laðne beorh* 'hostile peak'.

refugium, and uses *frofor* exclusively for **consolor**, with *fultum* and other equivalents available where necessary for the first two lemmata.[216]

For the purposes of the current analysis, two salient points emerge from this evidence. Firstly, the psalm-poet made intentional vocabulary choices to convey their perception of the concepts contained in the Latin. In this regard, Toswell, notably, comments that it cannot be determined why *frofor*, for example, was so favoured to translate **consolatio** when other nouns in the 'same semantic field' (**refugium** and **protector**) receive a 'collection of equivalents'.[217] (In other words, the psalm-poet likely had different conceptual associations with **consolatio**, **refugium** and **protector** respectively.) Secondly, and this point draws on the first, the psalm-poet may well have had a particular association between peace (*frið*[218]) and the concept of a place of refuge contained in **refugium** and this association led to their vocabulary choices for this Latin lemma. In other words, then, in their choice of vocabulary for **refugium** the psalm-poet conveys a unique, among the glossed psalter family, conceptualization of the *locus amoenus* that is a **refugium** – one predominantly associated with *frið*. And, in doing so, they partially join the paraphrast (who uses *frið-stow* for three of the six occurrences of **refugium** in the *Ps(P)*[219]) in their approach to this concept.

The OE (Prose and Metrical) treatment of **desertum** – *a* locus horribilis

Unlike the treatment of **refugium**, the treatment of **desertum** is in keeping with the vocabulary choices of the two gloss-type examples (C and K) in both the *Ps(P)* and Metrical Psalms. A form of the noun **desertum** occurs fifteen times and the adjective **deserta** 'deserted' occurs twice across the *Romanum* Psalms.[220] On every one of these occasions, with the exception of Psalm 64. 13 where the psalm-poet renders **deserti** 'of the desert' or

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[216] M. J. Toswell, 'Studies in the Paris Psalter, Metrical Version' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1991), p. 288. (Note that Toswell uses the customary sigla for the glossed psalters – C for the Cambridge Psalter and K for the Salisbury Psalter.) For the data tables for **protector**, **refugium** and **consolatio/consolor** referred to here see *Ibid.*, pp. 286-7 and for the rationale for the approach to the vocabulary in the Metrical Psalms and subsequent analysis see *Ibid*., pp. 273-98.

[217] *Ibid*., p. 293.

[218] The *DOE* lists 'peace', 'protection' and 'security' among the meanings for this noun. See *DOE*, sv. *frið*.

[219] See above, n. 200.

[220] For forms of **desertum**, see *LPR*, Ps. XXVIII. 8, LXII. 3, LXIV. 13, LXVII. 8, LXXIV. 7, LXXVII. 19, LXXVII. 40, LXXVII. 52, XCIV. 9, CV. 9, CV. 14, CV. 26, CVI. 33, CVI. 35 and CXXXV. 16. For **deserta** see *LPR*, Ps. LXVIII. 26 and CVIII. 7.

'desert's' as *wæstmum* 'fruits',[221] both the paraphrast (in *Ps(P)* 28. 6) and the psalm-poet (as well as the glossators of C and K) use a form of the noun *westen* 'desert' or the adjective *westan*/*weste* 'deserted' where applicable.[222]

The paraphrast, however, in keeping with their approach to enhance a sense of physical location observed in the discussion of their treatment of **refugium**[223] has chosen to use the noun phrase *þa westan stowe*[224] 'the deserted place' for **desertum**[225] in *Ps(P)* 28. 6 instead of a form of the simplex *westen* which they use in *Ps(P)* 10. 1[226] without a Latin precedent. These are two of only three occurrences (the other occurrence is also in *Ps(P)* 28. 6 where the paraphrast has used *westan eorðan* 'deserted earth' to convey **solitudinem** 'deserted place'[227] not **desertum**) of the concept of the desert or wilderness in the *Ps(P)* and they are of interest for two reasons. First, the paraphrast's use of *stowe* in *Ps(P)* 28. 6 creates a conceptually oppositional link with *frið-stow* and *gebeorh-stow* discussed earlier. In other words, the tension between the *locus amoenus* that is a *frið-stow* or *gebeorh-stow* and the *locus horribilis* that is a *westan stowe* is more keenly noticeable with the repetition of *stow*. Second, the paraphrast's choice to introduce *westenu* in *Ps(P)* 10. 1 with no Latin precedent is once again revelatory of their approach to the translation or 'transformation' (to use Bately's term[228]) of the Latin Psalms. I address this example in the next paragraph.

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[221] The relevant *Romanum* text from this psalm-verse (*LPR*, Ps. LXIV. 13) reads: **pinguescent fines deserti** 'the borders of the desert will grow fat'. The psalm-poet renders this membrum (*OEP*, Ps. 64. 13) *þonne on wæstmum weorðað mæsted* 'then in fruits become fattened'. The preceding psalm-verse concludes with fields that are *fylde mid wæstmum* 'filled with fruits' – see *OEP*, Ps. 64. 12. I would suggest that perhaps *wæstmum* erroneously occurs (here in *OEP*, Ps. 64. 13) because of possible scribal fatigue resulting in error. In other words, the scribe momentarily lost their place and repeated *wæstmum* from the preceding psalm-verse. There is a visual resemblance between *westen* and *wæstmum* which makes this mistake all the more understandable.

[222] For the *Ps(P)* and Metrical Psalms, see *OEP*, Ps. 28. 6 (for **desertum** in *LPR,* Ps. XXVIII. 8, the paraphrast has *westan stowe*), 62. 3, 67. 8, 68. 25 (adjective, *weste*), 74. 6, 77. 20, 77. 40, 77. 52, 94. 9, 105. 9, 105. 12, 105. 21, 106. 32, 106. 34, 108. 7 (adjective, *weste*) and 135. 16. For C, see Wildhagen, Ps. 28. 8, 62. 3, 64. 13, 67. 8, 68. 26 (adjective, *weste*), 74. 7, 77. 19, 77. 40, 77. 52, 94. 9, 105. 9, 105. 14, 105. 26, 106. 33, 106. 35, 108. 7 (adjective, *weste*) and 135. 16, pp. 62, 149, 154, 160, 169, 186, 195, 197, 199, 241, 268, 269, 271, 278, 282 and 342. For K, see Sisam, Ps. XXVII. 8, LXII. 3, LXIV. 13, LXVII. 8, LXVIII. 26, LXXIV. 7, LXXVII. 19, LXXVII. 40, LXXVII. 52, XCIV. 9, CV. 9, CV. 14, CV. 26, CVI. 33, CVI. 35 and CXXXV. 16, pp. 112, 158, 160, 163, 168, 178, 183, 184, 185, 211, 226, 227, 231, 232 and 267. Note that in K, Ps. CVIII. 7, p. 234, the relevant Latin phrase containing **deserta** is lacking as K is a *Gallicanum* psalter which does not have **deserta** in this psalm-verse (see *LVB*, Ps. 108. 7). Consequently, of course, there is no OE *weste* here.

[223] See above.

[224] See *OEP*, Ps. 28. 6.

[225] See *LPR*, Ps. XXVIII. 8.

[226] See *westenu* in *OEP*, Ps. 10. 1.

[227] See *OEP*, Ps. 28, 6 and *LPR*, Ps. XXVIII. 8.

[228] Bately, 'The Literary Prose of King Alfred's Reign: Translation of Transformation?', p. 16.

The nature and uniqueness of the Introductions to the *Ps(P)* were considered in relation to the absence of one for *Ps(P)* 1 earlier in this chapter.[229] The only occurrence of *westen* in the Introductions is in the Introduction to *Ps(P)* 10.[230] The applicable portion reads: *Ðisne teoþan sealm Dauid sang þa he wæs adrifen on þæt westen fram Sawle þam cynge, þa his geferan hine lærdon þæt he hine þær hydde swa þer spearuwa* 'David sang this tenth psalm when, driven into the wilderness by King Saul, he was advised by his companions to conceal himself there like a sparrow'.[231] *Ps(P)* 10. 1 reads: *Hwy lære me þæt ic fleo geond muntas and geond westenu, swa spearwa; for þam ic getrywe Drihtne?* 'Why do you exhort me that I (must) flee through mountains and deserts like a sparrow, because I trust the Lord?' whereas the *Romanum* text reads: **In Domino confido quomodo dicitis animae meae / transmigra in montem sicut passer**[232] 'I trust in the Lord, why do you say to my soul move to the mountain like a sparrow'. Clearly, the *locus horribilis* concept of a desert wilderness contained in the term *westen* was important enough to the paraphrast that they chose to include it in both their methods of interpreting a psalm – in the Introduction to *Ps(P)* 10 and within the psalm text itself.

The psalm-poet's use of westen

The psalm-poet, on the other hand, does not insert *westen* without a Latin precedent.[233] However, apart from the usage of *westen* to convey **desertum** already analysed, they also use *westen* to convey **solitudo** 'solitary place' or 'deserted place' three times in Psalms 54. 7, 101. 5 and 106. 3[234] and **abyssus** 'abyss' once in Psalm 77. 17.[235] This usage, though, is in keeping with both C and K which also contain a form of *westen* for each of these occurrences of **solitude** and occurrence of **abyssus**.[236] While not as distinctive as the paraphrast's usage of

[229] See above, Section 2.2.
[230] See O'Neill, 'Glossary' in *King Alfred's Old English Prose Translation of the First Fifty Psalms*, sv. *westen*, p. 340.
[231] OE text, *OEP*, p. 30 and translation O'Neill's, *OEP*, p. 31.
[232] *LPR*, Ps. X. 2.
[233] For the list of relevant OE and Latin psalm-verses see above, n. 220 and 222.
[234] See *OEP*, Ps. 54. 7, 101. 5 and 106. 3. For the relevant forms of **solitudo** in the *Romanum*, see *LPR*, Ps. LIV. 8, CI. 7 and CVI. 4.
[235] See *OEP*, Ps. 77. 17. For the relevant form of **abyssus** in the *Romanum*, see *LPR*, Ps. LXXXVII. 15.
[236] For C, see Ps. 54. 8, 77. 15, 101. 7 and 106. 4, pp. 132, 194, 251 and 275. For K, see Ps. LIV. 8, LXXXVII. 15, CI. 7, CVI. 4, pp. 148, 182, 216 and 230.

westen, the relatively frequent occurrence of this noun across the Metrical Psalms[237] may serve to heighten the awareness of this particular *locus horribilis* for a *psalteratus* or *psalterata* required to memorize these psalms. Moreover, perhaps the fact that the psalm-poet along with the glossators of C and K choose to use *westen* to convey **solitudo** (for which the first meaning listed in the *DMLBS* is a 'state of being alone'[238]) points to a possible preoccupation (on the part of those who composed and memorized (or both) the vernacular psalms) with situating a mental or physical state (in this case being alone) within a particular place. In other words, the *locus horribilis* of a *westen* serves to contain a mental state in these examples.

Jerusalem versus Babylon in the OE Psalms (Prose and Metrical)

In the analysis of the *Romanum*, I considered the places of Jerusalem and Babylon within the dichotomy between the *locus amoenus* and the *locus horribilis* and with an especial focus on the imagery of Psalm 136.[239] Here in the *Ps(P)* and Metrical Psalms, the approach of both the paraphrast and the psalm-poet to these multi-layered (allegorical and physical) medieval tropes is, once again, revealing of a distinct cultural attitude.

To begin with the paraphrast, the term *Hierusalem* 'Jerusalem' occurs three times (*PS(P)* 9. 13, 45. 4 and 47. 11) in the *Ps(P)* and in each of these occasions there is no direct Latin precedent – **Hierusalem**. The relevant OE and *Romanum* psalm texts are listed below:

1. *…to þam þæt ic bodade eall þin lof on ðam geatum þære burge Hierusalem.*
   '…that I proclaim to those [enemies] all your praise in the gates of that fortress Jerusalem'
   …**ut admuntiem omnes laudes tuas in portis filiae Sion**
   '…so that I declare all your praises in the gates of Sion's daughter'
2. *þa wæs geblissod seo Godes burh on Hierusalem for þam cyme þæs scures…*
   'Then God's city in Jerusalem was gladdened because of the coming of the rain-shower'

[237] The noun *westen*, by my count, occurs seventeen times across the hundred Metrical Psalms (see *OEP*, Ps. 54. 7, 62. 3, 67. 8, 74. 6, 77. 17, 77. 20, 77. 40, 77. 52, 94. 9, 101. 5, 105. 9, 105. 12, 105. 21, 106. 3, 106. 32, 106. 34, 135. 16). This contrasts sharply with the single occurrence in *Ps(P)* 10 in the *Ps(P)* (*westan* in *Ps(P)* 28. 6 is, of course, an adjective not a noun).
[238] *DMLBS*, sv. *solitudo*
[239] See Chapter 1, above, Section 1.3.

fluminis impetus laetificat civitatem Dei…

'the rush of the river gladdens the city of God'

3. *Hweorfað ymb Sion, and gað ofer þone weall Hierusalem and ymbutan…*

   'Go around Zion, and go over and around Jerusalem's wall'

   circumdate Sion et conplectimini eam…

   'surround Zion and embrace her'[240]

Notably, both glossators of C and K do not insert *Hierusalem* in their glosses for the Latin in the psalm texts listed here.[241] So, it appears, the paraphrast wished to emphasize the *locus amoenus* that is *Hierusalem* by inserting it in these three places. This evidence augments Discenza's argument, quoted in the subsection on *Mountains and hills*,[242] regarding how repeatedly places in the Holy Land, such as Mount Sion, are mentioned or specified in the *Ps(P)*. Moreover, Discenza contextualizes the valence and frequency of Jerusalem, specifically, in the OE corpus as follows:

> Jerusalem…must have come to hold some familiarity for Anglo-Saxons: although many could not point to it or map it, they could say that it was the land of the Hebrews or the Jews and in fact did so frequently. The city is named more than thirty times in the poetic corpus alone…In addition, Jerusalem appears over 300 times in Old English prose and well over 400 times in glosses (almost all on Scripture).[243]

The paraphrast's insertion of *Hierusalem* should come as no surprise, then, given this cultural milieu. And perhaps it can be argued that the repetition of *Hierusalem* in these examples highlights a personal significance of this place for the paraphrast[244] and serves to increase the likelihood of positive conceptual associations (given the context of all three occurrences) for this *locus amoenus* for those who would have encountered this text. This point is all the more plausible when we come to consider the paraphrast's treatment of *Hierusalem*'s opposite – *Babilonia* 'Babylon'.

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[240] For 1, see *OEP*, Ps. 9. 13 and *LPR*, Ps. IX. 15. For 2, see *OEP*, Ps. 45. 4 and *LPR*, Ps. XLV. 5. For 3, see *OEP*, 47. 11 and *LPR*, Ps. XLVII. 13.

[241] For C, see Wildhagen, Ps. 9. 15, 45. 5 and 47. 13, pp. 15, 112 and 116. For K, see Sisam, Ps. IX. 15, XLV. 5 and XLVII. 13, pp. 85, 140 and 142.

[242] See above, Section 2.2 and Discenza, *Inhabited Spaces: Anglo-Saxon Constructions of Place*, p. 81.

[243] *Ibid*., p. 80.

[244] It must be noted that Jerusalem carries a weight of symbolism stemming from antiquity and which is, of course, not the sole preserve of the paraphrast. *The Cambridge Dictionary of Christianity* notes that the term is from the Old Assyrian, *Ursalimmu*, which means 'City of Peace'. See *The Cambridge Dictionary of Christianity* ed. by Daniel Patte (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), sv. Jerusalem.

Babilonia does not occur within the *Ps(P)* themselves, but it does, however, occur nine times in the Introductions to the following *Ps(P)*: 14, 22, 24, 25, 30, 39, 41, 42 and 50.[245] With the exception of the Introduction to *Ps(P)* 30, every time *Babilonia* is mentioned it is in direct connection with either the concept of *hæft-nyd* 'captivity',[246] *þeowdome* 'servitude'[247] or *gehæftan folce* 'captive people'.[248] The interpretive function and especial nature of the Introductions has been, of course, highlighted earlier. It is significant to note here, then, that the paraphrast chose to include the concept of Babylonian captivity explicitly in eight Introductions and implicitly in one – the Introduction to *Ps(P)* 30 refers to the *wræce* 'exile' which the paraphrast explains as the Jewish people being led to Babylon.[249] In other words, the repetition of the place name *Babilonia* in direct association with captivity serves to influence the minds of the *psalterati/ae* encountering this text with a reinforced negative connection with this particular *locus horribilis*. Discenza describes this phenomenon as follows:

> These Alfredian texts invoke the same places repeatedly to anchor themselves geographically; repetitions in varying contexts within the text help readers build webs of associations. Places become increasingly familiar as audiences progress through the texts.[250]

In the case of *Babilonia* in the Introductions this web of associations is, clearly, negative. For the paraphrast, then, the places of *Hierusalem* and *Babilonia* were weighty enough that they chose to insert the former into the psalm text without Latin precedent and included the latter in nine of their forty-nine Introductions.[251] The psalm-poet has a different approach which I will now turn to.

Hierusalem *and* Babilonia *in the Metrical Psalms*

[245] See, Discenza, *Inhabited Spaces: Anglo-Saxon Constructions of Place*, pp. 76-7 and *OEP*, pp. 40, 72, 76, 82, 96, 138, 148, 152 and 186.
[246] See Introductions to *Ps(P)* 14, 24, 25 and 50, *OEP*, pp. 40, 76, 82 and 186.
[247] See Introduction to *Ps(P)* 22, *OEP*, p. 72.
[248] See Introductions to *Ps(P)* 39, 41 and 42, *OEP*, pp. 138, 148 and 152.
[249] See Introduction to *Ps(P)* 30, *OEP*, p. 96.
[250] Discenza, *Inhabited Spaces: Anglo-Saxon Constructions of Place*, p. 77.
[251] Discenza observes that the paraphrast follows their Latin source in including *Babilonia* in the Introductions. See, Discenza, *Inhabited Spaces: Anglo-Saxon Constructions of Place*, p. 77 and n. 61, p. 76.

Hierusalem occurs fourteen times and *Babilonia* occurs three times in the Metrical Psalms and all of these have a Latin precedent.[252] Although the psalm-poet does not have quite the same approach to these places as the paraphrast, who includes *Hierusalem* three times without a direct Latin precedent, they do have a distinctive approach to the translation of Psalm 136 – so much so that this particular psalm has attracted a fair amount of scholarly attention.[253]

In the previous chapter, I contextualized the Latin text of Psalm 136 and noted its rich reception history as well as the patristic and modern response to its challenging concluding image. Here, in the Metrical Psalms, the psalm-poet has the following ending to this psalm:

> Eadig byð se þe nimeð and eac seteð
> his agen bearn on þone æþelan stan.[254]

Blessed is the one who takes and also places his own children on that noble stone. The equivalent *Romanum* text, of course, reads: **beatus qui tenebit et adlidet parvulos suos ad petram**[255] 'blessed is the one who will grasp and crush your [Babylon's] little ones against a rock'. There is a highly noticeable difference, of course, between the OE and Latin imagery here which has been noticed before. Paul Cavill argues that the psalm-poet would likely have had access to commentaries such as the *Expositio*[256] as well as been exposed to the explanations of other 'authorities' such as 'Hilary, Jerome, Augustine and Cassian' (all of which interpret the **petram** 'rock' as Christ) and as such their 'rendering of *petram* as *þone æþelan stan*, and of *allidet* as *seteð*, is a fairly clear indication that he [the psalm-poet] adopts some such [**petram** as Christ] line of interpretation'.[257] Moreover, given the argument in Chapter 1 regarding Bede's *Expositio*-inflected treatment of this psalm-verse in his

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[252] For *Hierusalem* see, *OEP*, Ps. 64. 1, 67. 26, 78. 2, 78. 3, 101. 19, 115. 8, 121. 2, 121. 3, 121. 6, 124. 1, 127. 6, 134. 22, 136. 5, 136. 6, 136. 7, 146. 2 and 147. 1. For **Hierusalem** in the *Romanum*, see, *LPR,* Ps. LXIV. 2, LXVII. 30, LXXVIII. 1, LXXVIII. 3, CI. 22, CXV. 19, CXXI. 2, CXXI. 3, CXXVII. 5, CXXXIV. 21, CXXXVI. 5, CXXXVI. 6, CXXXVI. 7, CXLVI. 2 and CXLVII. 1. For *Babilonia* see, *OEP*, Ps. 86. 2, 136. 1 and 136. 8. For **Babilonia** in the *Romanum*, see, , *LPR,* Ps. LXXXVI. 4, CXXXVI. 1 and CXXXVI. 8.

[253] See Paul Cavill, 'Two Sententious Generalisations in the "Metrical Psalms" of the Paris Psalter', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 86:4 (1985), pp. 453-457, M. J. Toswell, 'The Translation Techniques of the Old English Metrical Psalter and Paul Cavill, 'Children and the Rock: The Ending of the Old English Metrical Psalm 136', *English Studies*, 80 (1999), pp. 89-105.

[254] *OEP*, Ps. 136. 9.

[255] *LPR,* Ps. CXXXVI. 9.

[256] O'Neill, writing after Cavill here, has found further evidence that the psalm-poet was influenced by commentaries – specifically the *Expositio*. See O'Neill, 'Strategies of Translation', p. 155.

[257] Cavill, 'Two Sententious Generalisations in the "Metrical Psalms" of the Paris Psalter', pp. 454-5.

Abbreviated Psalter,[258] the psalm-poet's interpretation here shows evidence that they may well have been (consciously or unconsciously) working within an early medieval English approach to Psalm 136 initiated by Bede (in his *Abbreviated Psalter*) about two hundred years (potentially) before they composed the Metrical Psalms. Lastly, I would also offer that the psalm-poet's softer alternative to the violence contained in the ending of Latin Psalm 136, is possibly suggestive of an attitude to the *locus horribilis* that is Babylon. In other words, for the psalm-poet and potentially those in their broader community, no matter how bleak the experience of Babilonian *hæft-nyd*, there is a line (namely the crushing of children against a rock) which must not be crossed. This attitude, if indeed the case, is virtuous in the original Latin (*virtus* 'strength' or 'courage') sense of that adjective and is to be admired – it also parallels the modern liturgical response to the final image which is to omit it.[259]

2.4 Perceptions of Space and the Mind in the OE Psalms in P

The import of the root metaphor of 'pathway' in the psalms for the lens of 'space' (which is undergirded by Yi-Fu Tuan's standard conceptualization of space as 'movement') was established in Chapter 1.[260] For both the *Ps(P)* and Metrical Psalms, the concept of 'pathway' is demonstrably significant. For example, the simplex *weg* 'way' occurs thirty-five times[261] in the *Ps(P)* (twice, in *Ps(P)* 18. 6 and 36. 22, without a Latin precedent)[262] and forty-nine times[263] in the Metrical Psalms (four times, in Psalms 82. 7, 118. 87, 118. 133 and 118. 151, without a Latin precedent).[264] Evidently, as can be expected, pathways are a 'root metaphor' in both the *Romanum* and OE Psalms in P as this is the highest occurrence rate (eighty-four

[258] See Chapter 1, above, Section 1.3.
[259] See *Ibid*., p. 65.
[260] See Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*, p. 6, Brown, *Seeing the Psalms*, p. 16 and Chapter 1, Section 1.4.
[261] *OEP*, Ps. 1. 1, 1. 7, 2. 12, 5. 8, 9. 24, 9. 28, 13. 7, 15. 11, 16. 4, 16. 5, 17. 21, 17. 29, 17. 31, 17. 43, 18. 6, 22. 3, 24. 3, 24. 8, 24. 9, 24. 11, 26. 13, 31. 9, 34. 3, 34. 7, 35. 4, 36. 5, 36. 7, 36. 17, 36. 22, 43. 20, 48. 12 and 49. 24.
[262] See *OEP*, Ps. 18. 6 and 36. 22 and note that *weg* occurs twice in each of these psalm verses and it is the first occurrence, each time, that has no direct precedent (*uia*) in the Latin – cf. *LPR,* Ps. XVIII. 6 and XXXVI. 23. Also note that some of the Latin lexis of Psalm 18. 6 was analysed in the subsection on the monastic *cursus* as an expression of the psalter's 'major theme' in Chapter 1 – see Chapter 1 above, Section 1.4.
[263] *OEP*, Ps. 62. 3, 66. 2, 73. 4, 76. 11, 76. 16, 77. 50, 79. 9, 79. 12, 80. 13, 82. 7, 84. 12, 85. 10, 94. 11, 100. 1, 101. 21, 102. 7, 106. 3, 106. 6, 106. 16, 106. 39, 109. 7, 118. 1, 118. 3, 118. 5, 118. 9, 118. 14, 118. 26, 118. 27, 118. 29, 118. 30, 118. 32, 118. 33, 118. 37, 118. 59, 118. 101, 118. 104, 118. 128, 118. 133, 118. 151, 118. 168, 127. 1, 136. 3, 138. 2, 138. 21, 141. 4, 142. 9, 142. 11, 144. 18 and 145. 8.
[264] See *OEP*, Ps. 82. 7, 118. 87, 118. 133 and 118. 151 and cf. *LPR*, Ps. LXXXII. 9, CXVIII. 87, CXVIII 133 and CXVIII. 151.

times across both the *Ps(P)* and Metrical Psalms) of a single OE term examined in this chapter. True to form, the paraphrast and the psalm-poet demonstrate nuanced vocabulary choices (apart from *weg*) for this root metaphor which I turn to now.

Pathways in the Ps(P) – wræc-sið 'exile-journey'

In three of their Introductions (*Ps(P)* 22, 23 and 41)[265] the paraphrast uses the term *wræc-sið* and these are the only occurrences of this term in not only the rest of P but also the entire group of fifteen glossed psalters.[266] This singular usage of this term, then, is worthwhile examining.

Exile is, of course, a notable theme in OE poetry – especially the elegies[267] where *wræc-siþ* occurs twice in *The Wife's Lament* and its synonym *wræc-last* 'exile-path' occurs twice in *The Wanderer* and once in *The Seafarer*.[268] Stanley Greenfield detects 'four aspects or concomitants of the exile state' in OE poetry namely 'status', 'deprivation', 'state of mind' and 'movement in or into exile'.[269] It is the last of these that is pertinent here and Greenfield observes that:

> The most colorful facet of the movement aspect is that which expresses the continuative **motion** of the exile in his state of excommunication. The words employed connote the endurance of hardships, the difficulties encountered in the exile-track. Several formulas are involved, though they are really only variants on the basic…formula "in the track(s) of an exile": *wreccan laste* (*-um*) (*Gen* 2823b, 2480b; *Rid* 39, 8b; *Sea* 15b) (emphasis mine).[270]

Conceptualizing exile as not solely a place of stasis but also one of 'motion' is, as can be expected, prevalent in the OE poetic corpus – obviously, of course, in the elegies. It is revealing, then, to consider why the paraphrast chose this particular compound (also found in

[265] See Introductions to *Ps(P)* 22, 23 and 41.
[266] See *DOEC* search result sv. *wræc-sið*.
[267] See John D. Niles, *God's Exiles and English Verse* (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 2019) and Stanley B. Greenfield, 'The Formulaic Expression of the Theme of "Exile" in Anglo-Saxon Poetry', *Speculum*, 30 (1955), 200-206.
[268] See *The Wife's Lament* (ll. 5 and 38), *The Wanderer* (ll. 5 and 32) and *The Seafarer* (l. 57) in Klinck, pp. 93, 94, 75, 76 and 81.
[269] Greenfield, 'The Formulaic Expression of the Theme of "Exile" in Anglo-Saxon Poetry', p. 201.
[270] *Ibid*., p. 204.

the well-known elegy –*The Wife's Lament*) and not a similar 'elegiac' expression such as *wineleas guma* 'friendless man' or *wineleas wræcca* 'friendless exile'[271] to express the prophet David's exile.

In each Introduction where the paraphrast uses *wræc-sið* it is in the context of David returning home from exile – for example: *and eac be his agenre gehwyrftnesse of his wræc-siðe* 'and also concerning his own return from his journey of exile', *hu his ealdor-menn sceoldon fægnian his cymes of his wræc-siðe* 'how his noblemen would rejoice at his coming home' and *þa he wilnode to hys eðle to cumanne of his wræc-siðe* 'when he desired to return from exile to his homeland'.[272] Moreover, each *Ps(P)* pertaining to these three examples contains an expression of comfort or refuge of some kind. *Ps(P)* 22 opens with: *Drihten me ræt, ne byð me nanes godes wan* 'The Lord governs me, I will not lack any good thing' and closes with: *Þæt ic mæge wunian on þinum huse, swiþe lange tiid, oð lange ylde* 'that I can dwell in your house for the longest time into old age'.[273] *Ps(P)* 23 contains the question: *Hwa is þæs wyrðe, þæt he astige on Godes munt; oþþe hwa mot standan on his halgan stowe?* 'Who is so deserving that he may ascend to God's mountain, or who is allowed to stand in his holy place?' and the answer: *He byð þæs wyrðe, þe unscæðfull byð mid his handum, and clæne on his heortan* 'He will be deserving, who is innocent with his hands and pure of heart'.[274] Lastly, *Ps(P)* 41 opens with: *Swa heort wilnað to wætre, þonne he werig byð oþþe ofþyrst, swa wilnað min sawl and min mod to þe, Drihten* 'As the hart desires to come to water, whenever it is weary or thirsty, so my soul and spirit desire to come to you Lord' and closes with: *Hopa to Drihtne, for þam ic gyt hine andette; for þam he is min Hælend, and min God* 'Hope in the Lord, because I continually acknowledge him, because he is my saviour and my God'.[275] These implicit expressions of refuge or comfort in *þinum huse*, *halgan stowe* and *min Hælend, and min God* within each relevant individual psalm are a likely reason why the paraphrast chose to use the 'motion' exile term *wræc-sið* here because they wished to convey the concept of exile as something that is not static but has a movement toward a place of refuge. In other words, by including this particular exile term in each applicable Introduction,

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[271] See *The Wanderer* (l. 45) and *The Wife's Lament* (l. 10) in Klinck, pp. 76 and 93.
[272] For OE text see Introduction 22, 23 and 41 in *OEP*, pp. 72, 74 and 148. For translations see O'Neill's in *OEP*, pp. 73, 75 and 149.
[273] For OE text see *OEP*, Ps. 22. 1 and 22. 9. For translation see O'Neill's, pp. 73 and 75.
[274] For OE text see *OEP*, Ps. 23. 3 and 23. 4. For translation see O'Neill's, p. 75.
[275] For OE text see *OEP*, Ps. 41. 1 and 41. 4. For translation of Ps. 41. 1 see O'Neill's, p. 149.

the paraphrast guides the minds of those engaging with these psalms to the thought that a place of refuge is attainable at the end of the exile journey. If this is the case, it not only opens the potential for a link with the concept of *frið-stowe* 'place of refuge' discussed earlier in this chapter[276] it also offers the possibility that the paraphrast consciously or unconsciously (as a result no doubt of their deep engagement with the psalms and psalm commentaries) was working within both 'root metaphors' of the psalter – namely 'refuge' and 'pathway'.

Lastly, it is worthwhile to consider how the paraphrast 'joins' the anonymous poet/s who composed poems such as *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer* in their use of the exile term *wræc-siðe*. In this vein, John Niles observes the following:

> As G. V. Smithers (1957) pointed out some while ago,[277] the poet's representation of the state of exile in that elegiac poem [*The Seafarer*], as well as in its companion piece *The Wanderer*, recalls the doctrinal content of any number of prose homilies in both the Latin tradition and the Old English. Striking among these parallels is a passage from Blickling homily 2 that explicates…the fundamental Christian paradox that the present life of humankind on earth is a form of exile (*wræc-siþ*) from our true home.[278]

Perhaps it can be suggested, here, that the paraphrast's unique (in all extant OE psalm texts) use of *wræc-siþ* in three Introductions aligns with this homiletic evidence cited by Niles. In other words, these Introductions can conceivably be viewed as miniature homilies for each relevant psalm – highlighting 'the fundamental Christian paradox' three times.

Pathways in the Metrical Psalms – siðfæt *'journey' or 'expedition' and* stig *'upland path'*

The Latin terms *iter* (which can mean 'a going', 'walk' or 'way') and *semita* (which can mean 'a narrow way' or 'footpath')[279] were considered in Chapter 1 in light of the *Expositio*'s attention to the textured valence of these path terms and what that conveys 'in terms of a person's place in space'.[280] The psalm-poet (in contrast to the paraphrast who does not veer away from *weg*) consistently (partially in keeping with the A and D type glosses[281]) uses

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[276] See above, Section 2.3.
[277] See G. V. Smithers, 'The Meaning of *The Seafarer* and *The Wanderer*', *Medium Ævum*, 26 (1957), 137-53.
[278] Niles, *God's Exiles and English Verse*, p. 233.
[279] *CLD* sv. *iter* and *semita*
[280] See Walsh, *Cassiodorus: Explanation of the Psalms*, Vol. 1, pp. 55 and 249 and Chapter 1, above, Section 1.4.
[281] For the treatment of *iter* in the A type see C, Ps. 1. 6 (*siðfæt*), 49. 23 (*weg*), 67. 5 (*siðfæt*), 67. 20 (*weg*) and 139. 6 (*wege*) in Wildhagen, pp. 1, 124, 159, 162 and 350 respectively. For the treatment of *iter* in the D type see

different path vocabulary for both *iter* and *semita*. For example, *iter* occurs five times across the *Romanum* in Psalms 1. 6, 49. 23, 67. 5, 67. 20 and 139. 6.[282] The paraphrast uses *weg* twice in the corresponding *Ps(P) – Ps(P)* 1. 7 and 49. 23. The psalm-poet, however, uses *siðfæt* 'a journey' twice in Psalms 67. 4 and 67. 20 and in Psalm 139. 6 they have chosen to use the past, first person subjunctive form (*siðade*)[283] of the verb *siðian* 'to travel or travel'.

The *DMLBS* lists 'a journey' as the first possible meaning for *iter*[284] and it is interesting that the psalm-poet, in contrast to the paraphrast, chose this particular path term (for which *B-T* also lists 'a journey' or 'expedition' as the first possible meaning[285]) on these occasions. Moreover, in one of these instances (Psalm 67. 20) Cassiodorus emphasizes the 'journey' aspect of this term in the context of the relevant *Romanum* psalm-verse,[286] and, as we have already seen, the psalm-poet harnessed the *Expositio* to inform some of their translation decisions.[287] In other words, the psalm-poet may once again have been influenced by Cassiodorus in their approach to the term *iter* here.

To turn now to the treatment of *semita* in the Metrical Psalms. This term occurs fourteen times in the *Romanum*.[288] The paraphrast uses a form of *weg* to convey this term in all relevant *Ps(P)*;[289] however, with the exception of Psalms 77. 50 and 138. 2[290] where *weg* and *gangas* 'goings' are used respectively, the psalm-poet uses the term *stige* 'upland path' to convey *semita*.[291] This is one of the toponyms addressed by Gelling and Cole and their

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K, Ps. XLIX. 23 (*siðfæt*), LXVII. 5 (*siðfæt*), LXVII. 20 (*siðfæt*) and CXXXIX. 6 (*siðfæt*) in Sisam, pp. 146, 163, 164 and 272 respectively. For the treatment of *semita* in the A type see C, Ps. 8. 9 (*stig*), 16. 5 (*stigum*), 17. 46 (*stigum*), 22. 3 (*stige*), 24. 4 (*stige*), 26. 11 (*stige*), 43. 19 (*stige*), 76. 20 (*stige*), 77. 50 (*stige*), 118. 35 (*stige*), 118. 105 (*stigum*), 138. 3 (*stige*) and 138. 23 (*stige*) in Wildhagen, pp. 13, 29, 37, 48, 52, 58, 107, 191, 199, 304, 313, 346 and 349 respectively. For the treatment of *semita* in the D type see K, Ps. VIII. 9 (*weg/stiga*), XVI. 5 (*stigum*), XVII. 46 (*siðfate*), XXII. 3 (*wegas*), XXIV. 4 (*siðfatu*), XXVI. 11 (*siðfæt*), XLIII. 19 (*siðfatu*), LXXVI. 20 (*stiga*), LXXVII. 50 (*stige*), CXVIII. 35 (*siðfæt*), CXVIII. 105 (*stigan*), CXXXVIII. 3 (*wæi/stige*) and CXXXVIII. 23 (*wegas*) in Sisam, pp. 84, 93, 98, 104, 106, 110, 137, 181, 185, 246, 252, 270 and 271 respectively.

[282] See *LPR*. Ps. I. 6, XL.IX. 23, LXVII. 5, LXVII. 20 and CXL. 6.

[283] O'Neill translates this as 'went', see *OEP*, p. 569.

[284] See *DMLBS* sv. *iter*

[285] *B-T*, sv. *siðfæt*

[286] Walsh, *Cassiodorus: Explanation of the Psalms*, Vol. 2, pp. 131-2

[287] See Cavill, 'Children and the Rock: The Ending of the Old English Metrical Psalm 136', p. 254, O'Neill, 'Strategies of Translation', p. 155 and above.

[288] See *LPR*, Ps. VIII. 9, XVI. 5, XVII. 46, XXII. 3, XXIV. 4, XXVI. 11, XLIII. 19, LXXVI. 20, LXXVII. 50, CXVIII. 35, CXVIII. 105, CXXXVIII. 3, CXXXVIII. 23 and CXLI. 4.

[289] See *OEP*, Ps. 8. 8, 16. 5, 17. 43, 22. 3, 24. 3, 26. 13, 43. 20.

[290] See *OEP*, Ps. 77. 50 and 138. 2.

[291] See *OEP*, Ps. 76. 16, 118. 35, 118. 105, 138. 20, 141. 3.

evidence suggests that it was 'probably felt to be specially appropriate to an ascending track' and one of the examples they use to illustrate this term – Bransty a suburb of Whitehaven in Cumbria –contains a 'steep path' on what is now the Bransty Road.[292] The contexts in which *stige* is used by the psalm-poet – *and þine stige; ofer strang wæter* 'and your [God's] paths over powerful waters', *Gelæd me on stige* 'lead me on the path', *and þæt ys þæt strange leoht; stige minre* 'and a powerful light for my path', *mine stige ongit; gestaðelode* 'know my established paths', *and þu mine stige; strange ongeate* 'you assuredly understood my path'[293] – are not immediately suggestive of steepness. However, as *psalteratus/a*, their deep engagement with the Latin Psalms would likely mean that they were aware of the 'narrow' sense carried by *semita* as well as Cassiodorus's view (commenting on Psalm 24. 4) that *semitae* are 'known to be narrow because of their difficulty'.[294] This awareness may have led them to select *stige* for *semita* where they did to convey something of the note of 'difficulty'.[295] (It must be acknowledged here that given some of the A and D type glosses for *iter* and *semita* the psalm-poet's respective OE choices for these terms could also have been influenced by the broader vernacular psalter family.[296]) Lastly, in particularly the first example (*and þine stige; ofer strang wæter*), the valence of pathways through/over water in OE poems such as *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer* can be detected and the relevant sections in Chapter 4 unpack this phenomenon in more depth.

The psalm-poet's treatment of the 'pathway' psalm – Psalm 118

Romanum Psalm 118, the longest psalm in the psalter, contains a high concentration of path terms[297] which were analysed in Chapter 1 in light of Cassiodorus's commentary where he draws attention to the diverse treatment of the eighteen occurrences of **uia** in this psalm. I drew attention to the 'narrow' implication of the term *semita* in his interpretation of one of

[292] Gelling and Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names*, pp. 92-3.
[293] *OEP*, Ps. 76. 16, 118. 35, 118. 105, 138. 20 and 141. 3. I have used O'Neill's translations here.
[294] Walsh, *Cassiodorus: Explanation of the Psalms*, Vol. 1, p. 249.
[295] Kitson also considers OE *stig* to gloss Latin *semita* in the family of vernacular psalters (specifically in Psalm 8. 9). His objective here is to demonstrate that the lost D-type gloss exemplars draw on the lost A-type gloss exemplars. He does not comment on the term's connotation of 'steepness' as I do in this paragraph. See Kitson, 'Topography, Dialect, And the Relation of Old English Psalter-Glosses (I)', § 21-22, pp. 485-6.
[296] See above, n. 281.
[297] See Chapter 1, above, Section 1.4, for the discussion of path terms in *Romanum* Psalm 118 – *uia* occurs eighteen times and *semita* twice (each in different case forms).

these occurrences of **uia** in verse 32.[298] Here, in Metrical Psalm 118 it is illuminating to consider that not only (with one exception in Psalm 118. 15[299]) does the psalm-poet provide an OE equivalent for every occurrence of **uia** or **semita** in the *Romanum*, they also insert *weg* (once as part of the compound *eorð-weges*) three times (in Psalm 118. 87, 133 and 151)[300] without a Latin precedent. To take the first of these, the psalm-poet refers to how the wicked in their hate almost decreed the end of *ðisses eorð-weges*[301] 'this earth-way' for the speaker, whereas the *Romanum* refers to how the wicked almost **consummauerunt me in terra**[302] 'brought about the end of me on earth'. Notably, the psalm-poet emphasizes here that life on earth is a journey or 'way' in contrast to the *Romanum*. In the other two cases the psalm-poet refers firstly to being directed in the *rihtne weg / æfter þinre spræce*[303] 'right way according to your [God's] words' when the *Romanum* refers to **gressus meos** 'my [the speaker's] steps' being directed **secundum eloquium tuum**[304] 'according to your [God's] speech' and secondly to *þine wegas* 'your [God's] ways' when the *Romanum* refers to **mandata tua**[305] 'your [God's] commands'.

I referred earlier to William Brown's remarks that Psalm 118 (along with Psalms 18 and 1) are considered *tôrâ* 'wisdom' psalms and that the speaker in Psalm 118 'identifies the righteous as those who are on the move'.[306] Perhaps it could be argued, then, that the psalm-poet's addition of *weg* (in the examples discussed above) in this 'pathway' laden psalm enhances the precatory exhortation contained therein.[307] Brown observes of this psalm that 'the metaphor of pathway "maps" both God's *tôrâ* and the speaker's response to *tôrâ*, imbuing them with a sense of dynamic, mutual engagement'.[308] It is this 'dynamic, mutual engagement' between God and the speaker in the psalms that undergirds this psalm's

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[298] See Walsh, *Cassiodorus: Explanation of the Psalms*, Vol. 3, p. 189 and Chapter 1, above, Section 1.4.
[299] See *OEP*, Ps. 118. 15 and note that *weg* does not occur in this verse whereas the *Romanum* equivalent (*LPR,* 118. 15) contains **uias**.
[300] See *OEP*, Ps. 118. 87, 133 and 151.
[301] *OEP*, Ps. 118. 87.
[302] *LPR*, Ps. 118. 87.
[303] *OEP*, Ps. 118. 133.
[304] *LPR*, Ps. 118. 133.
[305] *LPR*, Ps. 118. 151. Note that in this particular case the *Gallicanum* differs from the *Romanum* (see *LVB*, Ps. 118. 151) and has **viae tuae** 'your ways' and not **mandata tua**. It is possible, then, that the psalm-poet was influenced by a *Gallicanum* reading here.
[306] See Brown, *Seeing the Psalms: A Theology of Metaphor*, pp. 17 and 32 and Chapter 1, above, Section 1.4.
[307] O'Neill observes that the 'metrical translator, arguably envisaged the precatory function of the psalms as primary'. See O'Neill, 'Strategies of Translation', p. 149.
[308] *Ibid*., p. 33.

'precatory' function which the psalm-poet may have well grasped and so chose to enhance this by inserting *weg* where they did. Moreover, Antonina Harbus in elaborating 'Old English conceptual metaphors for life, body and mind' identifies three prevalent metaphors in OE poetry namely 'LIFE IS A JOURNEY, THE MIND IS A CONTAINER and THE MIND IS A WANDERING ENTITY'.[309] It is worth noting that the Metrical Psalms contain evidence of the LIFE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor in the psalm-poet's insertion of *eorð-weges*[310] discussed above. To my knowledge, the psalm-poet's contribution to this (conceptual metaphor) analysis of OE poetry has not been commented on or observed before and so I would suggest that this may be a fruitful area of further enquiry.

Conclusions

On the premise (described in the Introduction and developed, vis à vis the Latin, in Chapter 1) that a *psalteratus/a* in early medieval England would have internalized the psalms in both Latin and OE, this chapter has argued – through the three lenses of landscape, place and space – that the paraphrast and psalm-poet's respective translation strategies point to a formative and synergetic nexus between the psalms and the (affective and cognitive) devotional imagination (within their broader environment) of these two individual *psalterati/ae* who produced the OE text in the 'earliest English psalter that is an actual version of the Psalms in English'.[311]

In terms of the landscape lens, both these individuals demonstrate distinctive vocabulary choices when rendering the Latin into OE and they also insert terms without a Latin precedent. The paraphrast regularly utilizes landscape features in their sophisticated intratextual 'interpretation' of psalmic imagery – *treowa tacniað ofermodra manna anweald* in *Ps(P)* 28. 5 and the mountain's foundation represents *ofermodena feonda* in *Ps(P)* 17. 7. It is noticeable how these landscape features are used to represent human *mod* in some way – *ofermod* 'arrogance' or 'pride' in these two particular examples. The psalm-poet, on the other hand, as can be expected given their translation is in poetry not prose, utilizes *beam*[312] (more common in poetry) which the paraphrast does not use at all. They also much prefer *beorg* over

[309] Antonina Harbus, *Cognitive Approaches to Old English Poetry* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2012), pp. 30-2.
[310] *OEP*, Ps. 118. 87.
[311] Roberts, 'Some Anglo-Saxon Psalters and their Glosses', p. 38.
[312] Note that more recent evidence confirms Blair's assessment (drawing on Hooke – see above pp. 101-2) that *beam* is found mainly in poetry. See *Word-Hord: A Lexicon of Old English Verse*, sv. *bēam*.

munt (the paraphrast does not use *beorg*) and this mountain term is inflected with emotion in Psalm 103. 17 – *laðne beorh* – with no precedent in the Latin. Both the paraphrast and the psalm-poet, then, harness landscape terms in expressing human emotions within their individual styles – for the paraphrast the intratextual interpretation and for the psalm-poet the use of 'filler words' such as *laðne*. A final point to be made here is that both these individuals demonstrate an awareness of the toponymic sense of some landscape terms. For example, the paraphrast's singular use of *cnoll* and the psalm-poet's distinctive use of *burna*.

The 'place' lens revisited the *locus amoenus* versus *locus horribilis* tension in the OE treatment of **refugium** versus **desertum** which produced some intriguing findings. The paraphrast, true to form, emphasises place by compounding *frið* with *stow* and creating a hapax legomenon – *gebeorh-stowe*. The psalm-poet follows the *Romanum* in their treatment of both **refugium** and **desertum**. In terms of the former, Toswell's evidence showing that they diverge from C (*gebeorh*) and K (*frofer*) in the use of variants of *frið* (along with *fultum*)[313] opened the possibility that they associated **refugium** with 'peace' or 'security' as opposed to 'comfort'. Analysis of the OE treatment of the tension between Jerusalem and Babylon in P showed the paraphrast inserts the former three times (without Latin precedent) within psalm text itself and the psalm-poet demonstrates, perhaps, an early medieval English attitude to the latter in the well-known visceral ending to Psalm 136.

Lastly, the 'space' lens allowed for the analysis of *weg* across the OE Psalms in P. This term had the highest occurrence rate of any term analysed in this chapter and so demonstrated how the psalter's root metaphor of 'pathway' plays out in the psalms in OE. Notably, the paraphrast deploys the 'movement' exile term *wræc-sið* in illuminating ways in three Introductions and the psalm-poet inserts *weg* into the already pathway-laden psalm, Psalm 118, three times without Latin precedent. These observations indicate two respective intellects attuned to the pronounced valence of 'pathway' in the psalter.

[313] M. J. Toswell, 'Studies in the Paris Psalter, Metrical Version', p. 288.

Chapter 3

Landscape, Place and Space – Questions of Materiality and Embodiment of the Psalms in situ of P

3.1 The *Psalteratus* or *Psalterata* as Scribe and Illustrator

The materiality of the psalms and psalters is an important consideration[1] which cannot be left out of any thorough analysis of these texts. The first chapter of this thesis opened by highlighting the fact that the first photograph sent around the world from the Staffordshire Hoard was a gold strip with text potentially from Latin Psalm 67. 2.[2] Also, the analysis in Chapter 2 was tacitly undergirded by the well-known fact that psalters were 'the commonest book'[3] in early medieval England. So, this ubiquity of physical psalm text/s, then, serves as a pointer to the need for the current chapter and its focus on questions of materiality and physicality.

Moreover, Elaine Treharne perhaps expresses best the 'material turn' of our current time vis-à-vis the rich possibilities in analysing perceptions of medieval manuscripts in the opening of her relatively recent monograph. She writes:

> To conceptualize an object like a book as embodied and participating in the real world is to regard it phenomenologically, in as clear-sighted a way as did Maurice Merleau-Ponty, the twentieth-century French philosopher, and this opens up new avenues of understanding the book's many shapes and roles in the world. *Perceptions of Medieval Manuscripts* considers the manuscript codex architextually and phenomenologically from *c.*600 to the present day as a 'being in the world': how it is experienced; what its structures are; how it is an affective object that engages human senses; and also how it exists in its own right as a unique and valuable witness to the past.[4]

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[1] *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter* devotes two chapters to this crucial factor and P is one of three specific case studies. See Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, Chapter 2, 'Psalter Manuscripts in Conception and Use: Three Case Studies' and Chapter 3, 'The Psalms in the Material Culture of Anglo-Saxon England', pp. 95-219. For the case study of P see *Ibid*., pp. 99-130.

[2] See Chapter 1, above, Section 1.1 and *Ibid*., pp. 151-3.

[3] Sisam and Sisam, 'Introduction' in *The Salisbury Psalter*, p. 75.

[4] Elaine Treharne, *Perceptions of Medieval Manuscripts: The Phenomenal Book* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), p. 1.

Arguably, psalters stand out (given that they, as a category, survive in the greatest number[5]) as an especial type of 'phenomenological book' in early medieval England.[6] Furthermore, given the concept of the *psalterati/ae* and the expectation that the psalms could become 'almost a physical part of the monastic individual'[7] it is a natural step to focus not only on the physicality of a particular psalter or psalters but also on questions of how psalm texts could become embodied in a person and how this would affect that person's approach to their task – especially (for the current discussion) the tasks of copying and illuminating or illustrating the psalms.

This chapter applies these considerations predominantly to P, but it also directs attention to the Utrecht Psalter for reasons which will become clear in the relevant subsection. Singling out one or two psalter manuscripts as especial 'productions' is in keeping with Treharne's conception of manuscript culture with which I concur. She observes that while many who work on textual materials 'think in terms of multiplicities, of disseminations, of stemmatic representations' this does not necessarily represent how 'manuscript culture' should be conceived because the production of each codex or 'textual object' is unique.[8]

Before moving to a deeper consideration of the possible psalm-inflected motivations of the producer of P, it is worthwhile to briefly contextualize the conditions in which early medieval scribes and illuminators were working – especially as the overarching goal of this section is to reflect on the ways in which being a *psalteratus* or *psalterata* could inform an approach to these respective roles. Michelle Brown notes that in the 'early Christian period and the Middle Ages' both scribes and illuminators regularly worked within an 'ecclesiastical scriptorium as part of a team'[9] and 'until the rise of the universities [in] around 1200, book production was largely centered in monastic scriptoria, with male and female religious participating in the work'.[10] As should already be clear from the preceding chapters, it is highly unlikely that these 'male and female religious' would be wholly unfamiliar with the psalms – especially given the relatively prominent role of the psalms in *The Rule of Saint*

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[5] See Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, pp. 171-2.
[6] The psalms and psalters are a fairly regular feature of Treharne's analysis of the 'phenomenal' book. See Treharne, 'Index' in *Perceptions of Medieval Manuscripts*, sv. 'psalms, psalter'.
[7] Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, p. 4.
[8] Treharne, *Perceptions of Medieval Manuscripts*, p. 15.
[9] Michelle P. Brown, *Understanding Illuminated Manuscripts: A Guide to Technical Terms* (London: The J. Paul Getty Museum in Association with the British Library, 1994), sv. 'scribe' and 'illuminator' respectively.
[10] *Ibid*., sv. 'monastic production'.

Benedict.[11] Furthermore, in her analysis of the semantic range of OE *bocere* to translate the Latin for 'scribe', Treharne adduces evidence from some of the glossed psalters which use this term to gloss **scribae** in Psalm 44. 2.[12] This evidence is, then, an implicit indicator of the possible role of the psalms in the work of early medieval scribes in that the term 'scribe' in **lingua mea calamus scribae velociter scribentis** 'my tongue is a pen of a scribe who writes swiftly' in Psalm 44. 2[13] would be repeated weekly in the monastic *cursus*. In other words, the first duty (to memorize all 150 psalms) of a *psalteratus/a* would mean that an individual scribe within a monastic house could repeatedly meditate on their own profession in this psalm-verse. I will now turn attention to the single scribe of P who, uniquely[14] among the family of OE glossed psalters, has given us his name – Wulfwinus Cada.[15]

Wulfwinus Cada – a prototype psalteratus-scriba?

A brief overview of P's provenance and contents is given in the Introduction. However, Toswell's concluding remarks about the commissioning patron's 'very particular requirements' for this codex offer a useful orienting compass. She writes:

> Studying the manuscript that results tells us that the patron wanted a clear and even-handed text; a bilingual psalter; some illustrations but not so much as would detract from the contemplation of the text; relevant prayers and a litany with particular saints in it; a literal and historical slant to the interpretation of the psalter; and above all, a grand and elegant manuscript of a quite remarkable shape.[16]

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[11] See 'Index' in *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, ed. and trans. by Bruce L. Venarde, Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library 6 (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2011), sv. 'psalms and psalm-singing'.

[12] Treharne, *Perceptions of Medieval Manuscripts*, p. 59. Treharne's argument highlights the 'expanded meaning of "scribe" to "scholar"' in uses of *bocere*. Note that three glossed psalters (D, I and K) use a form of *bocere* for Latin **scribae** 'scribe' in Ps. 44. 2. See Pulsiano, *Old English Glossed Psalters 1-50*, p. 641.

[13] *LPR*, Ps. XLIV. 2.

[14] Of course, the Eadwine Psalter (E) is named after Eadwine 'the prince of scribes' whose portrait is found at the end of the manuscript and who may have directed the collaboration of the other scribes and illustrators on this magnificent manuscript. See 'Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Trinity College Library: The Eadwine Psalter', <https://trinitycollegelibrarycambridge.wordpress.com/2018/11/30/anglo-saxon-manuscripts-in-trinity-college-library-the-eadwine-psalter/> [accessed 20 August 2025].

[15] In his analysis of the manuscript's handwriting Ker observes the following: 'There seems to be no reason to doubt that the whole manuscript is the work of the scribe who names himself as Wulfwinus in the colophon'. See Ker, 'The Handwriting' in *The Paris Psalter: MS Bibliothèque Nationale Fonds Latin 8824*, pp. 13-4 (p. 14). Toswell accepts Ker and notes that '[t]he sole scribe identifies himself in the colophon as one Wulfwinus cognomen Cada'. See Toswell, 'The Format of Bibliothèque Nationale MS Lat. 8824: The Paris Psalter', p. 130.

[16] Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, p. 130.

An especial feature of this 'grand and elegant manuscript' is, of course, that it contains a colophon that includes the name of the scribe who compiled it (Wulfwinus *cognomento* Cada) on fol. 186^{r}.[17]

In his compilation and study of colophons in early English manuscripts, Gameson notes how little of them 'comparatively speaking' there are – 'the total is unlikely ever to have amounted to more than about five percent of the material'.[18] Furthermore, within the 'corpus' of colophons fewer include a name.[19] So, the fact that P contains a (comparatively) rare named scribe and is also, of course, a psalter makes it expressly suitable for an analysis of what it may have meant to be both *psalteratus/a* and a scribe. Before analysing what Wulfwinus[20] wrote about himself and his work, it is worthwhile to briefly consider just how arduous his task may have been ahead of investigating how the very psalms he copied could, perhaps, have shaped his motivation.

The manuscript's highly unusual dimensions, with folios measuring 526 x 186mm and the writing space measuring approximately 420 x 95mm[21] indicate that Wulfwinus's task was not easy – an understatement. Toswell says the following:

> It is difficult not to feel sympathy for the scribe of the Paris Psalter. The manuscript today is indeed very difficult to work with, and it is even hard to hold open at a given page. It would have required a very tall lectern, and a very narrow one, if it was for public use. For the scribe copying out each folio, even laid out in quires on his writing-space, the actual writing must have been a nightmare.[22]

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[17] See *PP*, fol. 186^{r}.
[18] Richard Gameson, *The Scribe Speaks? Colophons in Early English Manuscripts*, H. M. Chadwick Memorial Lectures 12 (Cambridge: Department of Old Norse and Celtic, 2002), p. 11.
[19] *Ibid*, p. 16.
[20] Gameson, presumably following Ker (see n. 15 above), observes that the 'colophon is written by the scribe who was responsible for the rest of the manuscript, in his customary Caroline Minuscule, albeit to a slightly smaller gauge and with slightly thinner strokes'. I draw on this fact to justify reference to Wulfwinus by name here and throughout this section. See § 32 in Richard Gameson, *The Scribe Speaks? Colophons in Early English Manuscripts*, p. 46.
[21] See Toswell, 'The Format of Bibliothèque Nationale MS Lat. 8824', p. 130.
[22] Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, p. 107. My own experience of viewing the manuscript allows me to wholeheartedly agree with Toswell's description here. On both days of my visit there was a conversation with different members of staff about how best to support the codex's spine given these unusual dimensions. Standing over the manuscript and turning the pages for a few hours each day brought home just how arduous its production must have been.

With this context in view, it is appropriate to analyse P's colophon in the final seven lines in the right-hand column of fol. 186^{r}, directly after the Latin prayers.[23] It is transcribed and translated below:

> Hoc psalterii carmen
> inclyti regis dauid.
> Sacer d[e]i wulfwinus. id est cognom[en]to cada.
> manu sua conscripsit.
> Quicumq[ue] legerit scriptu[m].
> Animę suę expetiat
> uotum.
>
> This song of the psaltery
> [is] by the famous King David.
> One consecrated to God, Wulfwinus [who is surnamed Cada],
> wrote with his own hand.
> Whosoever will have read [this] writing.
> May he/she ask/desire [for] his/her soul
> a vow/prayer/longing.[24]

Gameson readily acknowledges that '[w]here the testimonial of colophons comes into its own is in shedding light on scribal motivation'.[25] In terms of Wulfwinus Cada's motivation, then, it

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[23] See *PP*, fol. 186^{r}.

[24] Transcription and translation adapted from Gameson's in *The Scribe Speaks? Colophons in Early English Manuscripts*, § 32, p. 46. The primary change in the transcription is the preservation of the caudated forms in *Animę suę*. The caudated 'e's were of course used to indicate the singular, feminine, genitive, form in the noun *animae* 'soul' and the reflexive adjective *suae* 'his/her' or 'his own/her own'. Noticing the reflexive here allows for a slightly altered reading of the colophon which my analysis addresses. I have reproduced the punctuation exactly as in the manuscript and indicated the expanded abbreviations with conventional square brackets. My adapted translation seeks to offer a broader semantic range for the scribe's vocabulary choices – especially *uotum* 'vow' or 'prayer' or 'longing'. (See 'LewisShort' on *Logeion*, sv. *votum* <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/votum> [accessed 15 July 2025].) Finally, my reading of the colophon is also informed by Jane Roberts' essay 'The Beginnings of Punctuating English' especially her observations that OE punctuation is 'more rhetorical than grammatical' and capital/enlarged letters 'may mark new sentences or larger paragraph structures'. See Jane Roberts, 'The Beginnings of Punctuating English: An Overview', in *The Cambridge History of Punctuation in English Literature*, 3 vols., ed. by Elizabeth M. Bonapfel, Mark Faulkner, Jeffrey Gutierrez and John Lennard (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming). Given Roberts' assessment, I think it is intentional that the 'H' in '*Hoc*' and the 'A' in '*Animę*' are noticeably more prominent than the other capitals in the colophon and this is because the scribe wished to emphasize, first, the opening of his acknowledgement of his own work and, second, his wishes for the reader. See *PP*, fol. 186^{r}.

[25] Gameson, *The Scribe Speaks? Colophons in Early English Manuscripts*, p. 21.

is revealing to consider the semantic range of the vocabulary he chose to describe himself as well as to express his wishes for the reader/s of his work.

First, as to the language he uses to describe himself, *Sacer dei* 'One who is consecrated to God' is of interest. The term *sacer* 'sacred' is a nominative, masculine, singular adjective used substantively here as a noun. The *DMLBS* has 'consecrated to God or to a god' as the first entry for the lexeme *sacer,*[26] so Wulfwinus was not necessarily obliged to include *dei* 'God' as *sacer* on its own can carry the meaning of being consecrated 'to' God and not simply denote the state of being 'holy', 'consecrated' or 'sacred'. He included it, perhaps, for emphasis and it must be recognized, here, that Richard Emms makes a persuasive case[27] that Wulfwinus Cada may have been the same person as one '*Wulfwinus scriptor frater noster* ['Wulfwinus the writer our brother']' recorded in the obituary records (London, BL, Cotton Vitellius C. xii) for St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury.[28] Emms observes that this Wulfwinus *scriptor* in St Augustine's obit book was ostensibly not a monk of the abbey as if he had been he would almost certainly have been described as '*monachus et sacerdos* (or *levita*) *huius loci* ['monk and priest (or Levite) of this place']'.[29] Emms refers to this Wulfwinus *scriptor* as a 'secular cleric' who was likely well-known to St Augustine's Abbey and recognized for his work[30] and mentions the self-description (*Sacer dei*) in the colophon just once, in the note clarifying the role of the Wulfwinus recorded in the St Augustine's martyrology – he thanks Tim Graham for pointing out that *Sacer dei* may have been used instead of *sacerdos* 'priest' for metrical reasons.[31] For the current discussion it should suffice to say that whether Wulfwinus Cada was *monachus* or *sacerdos* or both, he clearly may have meditated on the psalms in both Latin and OE as the analysis, below, of the illustration programme indicates.[32] In other words, he was quite possibly *psalteratus* as well.

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[26] *DMLBS*, sv. *sacer*.
[27] Toswell mentions this as well – see Toswell, *Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, p. 105.
[28] Richard Emms, 'The Scribe of the Paris Psalter', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 28 (1999), 179-83 (p. 181).
[29] *Ibid*.
[30] *Ibid*., p. 182.
[31] See *Ibid*., note 13.
[32] As Ker, Gameson and Toswell consider P in its entirety to be the work of a single scribe (see n. 15 and 20 above) I lean toward the possibility that the illustrations could also be attributed to Wulfwinus Cada with the caveat that this, of course, cannot yet be definitively proved. (To the best of my knowledge, no one has, to date, made a strong case that Wulfwinus Cada definitely did *not* produce the illustrations in P.) I address this issue below on pp. 155-6.

After we learn our scribe's name we read: *manu sua conscripsit* '[with] his own hand wrote'. It must be acknowledged that in emphasising 'his own hand' Wulfwinus Cada joins other scribes who included colophons with their work and drew attention to their hand/s. Gameson observes the following:

> The verse petition at the end of an Old English Bede used that work as a springboard for the next, beseeching everyone 'who may read this book and take hold of these covers, that he advance with kindly power the scribe who wrote this book **with his two hands**, so that he might complete many more **with his hands** according to his lord's desire. Hands were the focus of two further imprecations: while one scribe simply begged, '**God help my hands**', the related wish appended to a collection of works on Mary was more ambitious – 'Blessed Virgin **preserve the hand of the scribe for ever**'…This last plea was presumably meant metaphorically rather than literally (although, given that when Aidan implored that King Oswald's hand should not perish, that member was precisely what was preserved, one would not wish to be dogmatic on the point!) (emphases mine).[33]

Modern scholars, of course, habitually refer to the 'hand' or 'hands' of scribes metonymically.[34] What has not, perhaps, been overtly considered before is how the *manus* imagery in the Bible (and particularly the psalms) may have had a tacit influence on scribes' mentioning their hands in these colophons. In other words, the fact that Wulfwinus Cada inserts *manu sua* and does not simply say *conscripsit* is oblique evidence for his having meditated on Scriptural (including, of course, the psalms) *manus* imagery. The body-part 'hand' or 'hands' occurs regularly in the Latin Bible including the psalms.[35] For example, Psalm 118 (the longest psalm in the psalter which formed part of the argument within the lens of 'space' in the previous two chapters) contains the following *manus* imagery: **et leuaui manus meas ad mandata tua quae dilexi uehementer et exercebor in tuis iustificationibus**

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[33] Gameson, *The Scribe Speaks? Colophons in Early English Manuscripts*, pp. 21-2. For a transcription and translation of the relevant colophons, see § 26, 31 and 37 in *Ibid*., pp. 43-4, 46 and 48.
[34] See, for example, M. B. Parkes, *Their Hands Before our Eyes: A Closer Look at Scribes* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).
[35] See, for example, search results of *LVB*, sv. *manus*, *manuum*, *manui, manibus*, *manum* and *manu* which generate 557, 106, 3, 168, 342 and 597 occurrences respectively – a total, then, of 1, 605 occurrences across the different case forms of *manus* 'hand'. Note that in each case, the greater portion of the 'hits' are found in the Old Testament – 481 of 557 for *manus*, 99 of 106 for *manuum*, 2 of 3 for *manui* , 144 of 168 for *manibus*, 305 of 342 for *manum* and 558 of 597 for *manu*.

'and I lifted up my hands to your commandments which I vehemently valued and I will be trained in your justifications',[36] **manus tuae fecerunt me et plasmauerunt me da mihi intellectum ut discam mandata tua** 'your hands have made me and formed me, give me understanding so that I can learn your commandments'[37] and **fiat manus tua ut salvum me faciat quia mandata tua elegi** 'let your hand be with me to save me, because I have chosen your commandments'.[38] What this psalmic 'hand' imagery indicates, then, is the overarching commonplace significance of 'hand/s' (in the psalms) with which Wulfwinus Cada, if he was indeed *psalteratus*, may have been aware.[39]

Furthermore, a potential indicator of an association between the psalms and the hand (or hands) is that (by my count) the only two times a form of the verb *psallere* 'to chant/sing psalms' or 'to play the cithara/psaltery'[40] occurs in the *LVB*, it is in David's response to two of the five occasions in the first book of Kings when a *spiritus malus* 'evil spirit' comes over Saul.[41] We read that David *psallebat manu*[42] which the *D-RB* translates as 'played with his hand'.[43] Shortly before these two occasions we learn that *David tollebat citharam, et percutiebat manu sua*[44] 'David took his harp and played with his hand'[45] in response to the evil spirit coming on Saul. So, in all three of these occasions the *manus* 'hand' of David is

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[36] *LPR*, Ps. CXVIII. 48.
[37] *LPR*, Ps. CXVIII. 73.
[38] *LPR*, Ps. CXVIII. 173.
[39] In terms of the *Romanum*, specifically, the noun *manus,* in different case forms, occurs a total of 111 times. See *manus* (39x) in *LPR* Ps. IX. 32, XVII. 35, XX. 9, XXI. 17, XXV. 6, XXVII. 2, XXX. 6 & 9, XXXI. 4, XXXV.12, XXXVIII. 12, XL. 3, XLIII. 3 & 21, LVII. 3 & 11, LXVII. 32, LXXII. 13, LXXVII. 42 & 61, LXXIX. 18, LXXX. 7, LXXXVII. 10, LXXXVIII. 14 & 22, XCIV. 5, CV. 41, CVIII. 27, CXIII. 15, CXVIII. 48, 73 & 173, CXXIV. 3, CXXXIII. 2, CXXXIV. 17, CXXXVIII. 10, CXLII. 6, CXLIII. 1 and CLI. 2. See *manuum* (17x) in *LPR* Ps. VII. 9, VIII. 7, IX. 17, XVII. 21 & 25, XVIII. 2, XXVII. 5, LXXVII. 72, LXXXIX. 17, XCI. 5, CI. 26, CX. 7, CXIII. 12, CXXXIV. 15, CXXXVII. 8, CXL. 2 and CXLII. 5. See *manibus* (17x) in *LPR* Ps. VII. 4, IX. 35, XXIII. 4, XXV. 10, XXX. 16 (2x), XXXVI. 33, XLVI. 2, LXXV. 6, LXXVI. 3, XC. 12, XCVII. 8, CV. 42, CXVIII. 109, CXXII. 2 (2x) and CXLIX. 6. See *manum* (15x) in *LPR* Ps. XXXVI. 24, XXXVII. 3, LIV. 21, LXXII. 24, LXXIII. 3, LXXX. 15, LXXXVIII. 26, CIII. 28, CV. 26, CXX. 5, CXXVIII. 7, CXXXVII. 7, CXXXVIII. 5, CXLIII. 7 and CXLIV. 16. Finally, see *manu* (23x) in *LPR* Ps. XVI. 14, XXI. 21, XXXIV. 10, XLVIII. 16, LXX. 4 (2x), LXXIV. 9, LXXVI. 21, LXXVII. 42, LXXIX. 17, LXXXI. 4, LXXXVII. 6, LXXXVIII. 49, XCIV. 4, XCVI. 10, CV. 10 (2x), CVI. 2, CXXVI. 4, CXXXV. 12 & 24, CXXXIX. 5 and CXLIII. 7 & 10. This lexeme count in percentage terms equates to seventy-four percent of the psalter – a significantly high occurrence rate. (Note that the dative singular *manui* is the outlier with no occurrences in the psalms.)
[40] See *DMLBS*, sv. *psallere*.
[41] See *LVB* and *D-RB*, I Kings, 16. 14, 16. 15, 16. 23, 18. 10 and 19. 9.
[42] *LVB*, I Kings, 18. 10 and 19. 9.
[43] *D-RB*, I Kings, 18. 10 and 19. 9.
[44] *LVB,* I Kings, 16. 23
[45] *D-RB,* I Kings, 16. 23

emphasized in relation to his cithara/psaltery playing. For the current discussion, then, it is noteworthy that Wulfwinus Cada describes the psalms he has dutifully transcribed in both Latin and OE as *Hoc psalterii carmen / inclyti regis dauid* 'This song of the psaltery [is] by the famous King David'.[46] In other words, the psalm texts themselves, the physical instrument of the psaltery, the hand of the person (David's) who played it and the mind (David's again) that purportedly composed the texts, can be viewed as interlinked given the evidence in I Kings and P's colophon.

Moreover, to make an obvious point, when Wulfwinus Cada refers to *manu sua* 'his own hand', he emphasizes the embodied nature of his work. It is worth highlighting, here, one of the examples of *manus* in the psalms given earlier – namely Psalm 118. 73 where the psalmist says: **manus tuae fecerunt me et plasmauerunt** 'your hands have made me and formed me'.[47] Of course we cannot know precisely what his motivations at any given moment during the arduous task of creating P were; however, it is an intriguing possibility to consider that the process of meditating on the psalms (specifically the text in Psalm 118. 73 on God's hand in forming the human form) may have led him to emphasize his own hand that formed every letter in the manuscript. Hands were naturally a fundamental necessity for all scribal work and Gameson's observations on the colophons which reference hands (quoted earlier) show the heightened awareness of this fact among some early medieval scribes other than Wulfwinus Cada. Furthermore, his remarks on an early example of a colophon that recorded a 'famous scribal lament' are revealing in regard to how the embodied nature of scribal work was perceived by scribes themselves. He writes:

> [I]t is in an English manuscript[48] that we find one of the one of the earliest if not indeed *the* earliest version of the famous scribal lament, 'He who does not know how to write does not think it is a labour. Writing is done with three fingers but the **whole body** labours'…(emphasis mine)[49]

Thus, apart from the self-evident fact that Wulfwinus Cada might be considered *psalteratus* because he laboured with such care to produce two versions of the psalms (in Latin and OE)

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[46] See the transcription adapted from Gameson's above.
[47] *LPR*, Ps. CXVIII. 73.
[48] This is Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 9561, an eighth century Latin manuscript produced in southern England containing *De ordine creaturarum* and Gregory's *Regula pastoralis*. See Gameson, *The Scribe Speaks? Colophons in Early English Manuscripts*, pp. 34-5 for a transcription of the colophon and notes.
[49] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

within the constraints of a highly unusual long and narrow manuscript, his emphasis of *manu sua* in the colophon not only echoes the *manus* imagery in the psalter it also highlights the embodied nature of his work. In other words, if we can accept Wulfwinus was indeed *psalteratus* then his stressing of *manu sua*, serves as an implicit indicator of how the psalms may have been perceived as a physical part of himself.

The second consideration to attend to is how Wulfwinus Cada addresses the reader of his text. Gameson summarises the broader content of the 'colophons corpus' within early English manuscripts as follows:

> Turning now to the content of the colophons, we find that very few are simply a record of writing – *Iohannes me scripsit*, *Wulfwi me wrat*.[50] **More commonly, they praise God and solicit blessings for the scribe**...Occasionally, there is flattery of the patron, an expression of concern for the fate of the work, or even some comment on the text or the task of writing itself (emphasis mine).[51]

On the surface, Wulfwinus Cada's colophon can be read in line with Gameson's observations here in that *Quicumque legerit scriptum / Animae suae expetiat / uotum* (which Gameson translates as 'whosoever shall have read what he [Wulfwinus] has written / may he seek out for his soul / a prayer'[52]) may be viewed as the scribe asking the reader to pray for his soul.[53] However, if we attend to the use of the reflexive in *Animae suae* (as my adapted translation does[54]) then the colophon in P can be viewed as standing out somewhat from the rest of the colophon corpus in that its scribe does not praise God or openly flatter a patron. Instead, he may be expressing a desire for whoever should read his *scriptum* to receive a *uotum* for their soul.

Furthermore, within this colophon corpus compiled by Gameson there are four psalters (including P) and one 'Catena on the Psalms (39-151)'.[55] The colophon of the 'Catena' is the longest and includes the name of the scribe 'Edilberict son of Berictfrid', a request for the

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[50] Gameson notes these are found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 311, fol. 85^{r} and London, British Library, Cotton Otho C. i., fol. 110^{r} respectively. See *Ibid*., pp. 18, 42 and 45.
[51] *Ibid*., p. 18.
[52] *Ibid*., p. 46.
[53] Gameson interprets the colophon as such – see *Ibid*., p. 23, n. 91.
[54] See above, especially n. 24.
[55] For the 'summary catalogue of the principal colophons' on which Gameson's analysis is based, see *Ibid*., pp. 33-50. For the 'Catena on the Psalms' see p. 35 and for the remaining three psalters (including the P) see pp. 46-7.

reader/s to pray for him and an acknowledgement that he desires 'eternal health for all peoples, tribes and tongues and for all humankind'.[56] The three psalters besides P are the following: The Utrecht Psalter, Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, 32,[57] The Bury Psalter, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 12[58] and London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius E. xviii.[59] The Utrecht Psalter's colophon is a short supplication – 'Holy Mary, help the scribe' – within the decorative incipit of the Gospel-book fragment[60] (in other words it is not part of the psalm text) and the Bury Psalter's colophon is within a decorated incipit to Psalm 1. (Both the Utrecht Psalter and the Bury Psalter feature in my argument in the subsequent sections.) The Vitellius Psalter's colophon occurs within the prefatory material of this OE glossed *Gallicanum* psalter[61] after a 'short tract in Latin and Old English on secret writing' (so not after the psalms and/or other text (such as canticles and prayers) as in P) and is succinct – 'Ælfwine wrote me. Read, you who might be able'.[62]

What this 'psalter' colophon evidence points to, then, is Wulfwinus Cada's singularity in having transcribed the psalms in both Latin and OE as well as the canticles, the *Quicumque vult* and the Latin prayers[63] and then providing a colophon with his name and possibly a desire for the reader. In other words, there is no other known 'psalter' colophon exactly like this one within the body of early English manuscripts analysed by Gameson. So, as there is, then, no other currently known/extant direct comparator, an analysis of Wulfwinus Cada's vocabulary choices to express his wishes for those who would read his work can, potentially, offer a window into the affective milieu of the psalms in the context in which he transcribed them.

The first term to examine is the verb *expetiat* – the third person, singular, present subjunctive form of *expetere* 'to ask' or 'to seek out'.[64] The present subjunctive was likely selected here to express Wulfwinus Cada's 'hortatory' intentions.[65] Notably, although some of

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[56] This colophon is in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica, Pal. lat. 68, fol. 46^{r}. See *Ibid*., p. 35. For a brief description of this manuscript's contents see M. J. Toswell, 'The Ninth-Century Psalter in England', p. 399.
[57] Hereafter referred to as The Utrecht Psalter. See Gameson, *The Scribe Speaks? Colophons in Early English Manuscripts*, p. 34 (§ 4).
[58] Hereafter referred to as The Bury Psalter. See *Ibid.*, p. 47 (§ 34).
[59] See *Ibid*. (§ 35). Note that this psalter is one of the glossed psalters (G) included in the list in Chapter 2. See Chapter 2, above, pp. 83-6.
[60] See *Ibid*., p. 34 (§ 4).
[61] See 'G' in the glossed psalter list above, p. 84.
[62] See Gameson, *The Scribe Speaks? Colophons in Early English Manuscripts*, p. 47 (§ 35).
[63] See the 'Table of Contents of Folios' in *The Paris Psalter: MS Bibliothèque Nationale Fonds Latin 8824*.
[64] See *DMLBS*, sv. *expetere*.
[65] See, § 13. 2 'Hortatory and Deliberative Subjunctives' in Dickey, *Learn Latin from the Romans*, p. 90.

the other colophons examined by Gameson contain phrases similar to *Quicumque legerit* 'Whosoever will have read',[66] by my count none of them use a form of the verb *expetere*.

The next term to consider, then, is *uotum*. Gameson translates this 'a prayer', which is listed as the first meaning in the *DMLBS*.[67] However, the *DMLBS* (as well as *Lewis and Short's Latin English Lexicon* and *Woordenboek Latijn/Nederlands*) also record 'desire' or 'wish' for this lexeme.[68] Moreover, various case forms of *votum* occur sixty-one times across the *LVB*[69] and of these nine are in the psalms – nominative singular, *votum*, in Psalms 64. 2 and 131. 2 and nominative/accusative plural, *vota*, in Psalms 21. 26, 49. 14, 55. 12, 60. 9, 65. 13 and 115. 14 and 18.[70] The two psalms which use the same case form as in P's colophon are of interest here. Psalm 64. 2 reads: **Te decet hymnus Deus in Sion et tibi reddetur uotum in Hierusalem** 'A hymn to you God is seemly and a vow shall be paid to you in Jerusalem'[71] and Psalm 131. 2 reads: **sicut urauit Domino uotum uouit Deo Jacob** 'how he [David] swore to the Lord, he vowed a vow to the God of Jacob'.[72] In both these cases **uotum** occurs in the second verse; in the *Romanum*, this is the opening verse of each psalm following the respective rubric – both rubrics refer to David. Psalm 64 is a 'canticle of Jeremias and Ezekial' directed to the Israelites in captivity and Psalm 131 'remembers' David and implores God not to turn his face away from his anointed.[73]

So, the question must now be raised: what was Wulfwinus Cada seeking to evoke by his singular use (within the catalogue/corpus of colophons assembled and edited by Gameson) of the *expetiat uotum* collocation?[74] Given the preceding argument considering this Wulfwinus as *psalteratus*, it is conceivable that the psalms (and perhaps especially Psalms 64. 2 and 131. 2) may have had a tacit bearing on his choice of lexis here. Notably in both those

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[66] See *quicunque legerit* 'whoever shall read', *Qui istum librum / legat* 'May whoever should read this book', *quicumque legerit* 'whosover shall have read' and *qui legit* 'who reads [it]' in Gameson, *The Scribe Speaks? Colophons in Early English Manuscripts*, §s 16, 18, 23, and 27 on pp. 39, 40, 42 and 44 respectively.
[67] See *DMLBS*, sv. *votum*.
[68] See *Ibid.*, 'LewisShort' and 'LaNe' on *Logeion* sv. *votum* <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/votum > [accessed 27 November 2024].
[69] See search results of the *LVB*, sv. *votum*, *vota*, *voti, votorum, voto* and *votis*.
[70] See *LVB,* Ps. 64. 2, 131. 2 and Ps. 21. 26, 49. 14, 55. 12, 60. 9, 65. 13 and 115. 14, 18.
[71] *LPR*, Ps. LXIV. 2.
[72] *LPR*, Ps. CXXXI. 2.
[73] See *D-RB*, Ps. 64 (*LPR* Ps. LXIV) and 131 (*LPR* Ps. CXXXI) respectively.
[74] See Gameson, 'The Colophons' in *The Scribe Speaks? Colophons in Early English Manuscripts*, pp. 33-50 and note that, like the verb *expetere*, the noun *votum*'s only occurrence in this catalogue of colophons is in the P's colophon.

examples **uotum** occurs in the respective psalms' opening and could thus be viewed as having a preparatory function serving to prime the hearer or reader's mind for the contents of the remaining psalm. Furthermore, although Gameson translates *uotum* as 'prayer' and the *D-RB* as 'vow' the use of the subjunctive (which has a 'hortatory' function and can be used to express, among other things, 'desires') and not indicative mood in '*expetiat*' is a pointer to the possibility that *uotum* was used here to carry the meaning of 'desire'[75] along with 'prayer' or 'vow'. In other words, it is, perhaps, plausible that Wulfwinus Cada sought to 'prime' the reader of his *scriptum* toward the affective functionality of the psalms in his use of *expetiat uotum*.[76]

A final aspect to consider is who is/are the reader/s who is/are being addressed in this colophon and this brings us to the readily discussed question of who commissioned P. Toswell notes that seemingly the first person to suggest that P was commissioned by a 'pious great lady'[77] was Max Förster who, in the 1920s, said that this psalter was '*für den Privatgebrauch einer vornehmen Dame*' – 'for the private use of a distinguished/noble lady'.[78] Later, in 1952, Francis Wormald remarks that '[t]he form of the prayers suggest that it [P] was for a woman'.[79] Toswell cautions that although one of the plural endings in the prayers has been corrected for the feminine form and more women appear in the litany than usually expected,[80] 'it is still difficult…to postulate that a woman commissioned the work especially as no details of its origin are available except what can be guessed from inspection'.[81] I would offer that the possibility (highlighted recently by both Thijs Porck and Monika Opalińska *et al.*) that the original N-Psalter may have been the possession of Gunhild (d. 1087), the sister of Harold Godwinson[82] adds some implicit ballast to the possibility of P also having a female commissioner/owner.

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[75] See the discussion in the preceding paragraph.
[76] It is worth mentioning that the collocation of *expetere* and *votum* appears to be rare/unusual in Insular Latin. The *DMLBS* does not list the noun *votum* in the entry for the verb *expetere* and vice versa. See *DMLBS*, sv. *votum* and *expetere*.
[77] Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, p. 129.
[78] Max Förster, 'Die altenglischen Texte der Pariser Nationalbibliothek', *Englische Studien*, 62 (1926-28), 113-31 (p. 130) quoted in Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, p. 129.
[79] Francis Wormald, *English Drawings of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries* (London: Faber and Faber, 1952), p. 78.
[80] Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, p. 129.
[81] *Ibid.*, pp. 129-30.
[82] See Opalińska et al., 'The Eleventh-Century "N" Psalter from England: New Pieces of the Puzzle', p. 206 and Porck, 'Newly Discovered Pieces of an Old English Glossed Psalter', p. 31.

Furthermore, Valerie Garver in her essay on the education of Carolingian women centred on the *Vita Liutbirgae Virginis* 'Life of the Virgin Luitberga' underscores the role of the psalms several times. She writes:

> The *vita* is full of information about Luitberga's education, her teaching, the sorts of knowledge women seem to have been expected to possess, and the ways they transmitted such learning. Lay and religious aristocratic women needed expertise in both household arts and basic devotional practices such as praying and **reading psalms** in order to look after their families well and to administer and provide necessities for their religious communities (emphasis mine).[83]

Later she refers to Herbert Grundmann's 1936 article on women and the emergence of literature in the vernacular in the Middle Ages in which he notes that 'aristocratic girls throughout the Middle Ages learned their psalms even if they were not bound for the cloister'.[84] Lastly, she references evidence that the ninth-century will of Eberhard of Fruili and his wife Gisela included two psalters linked to Gisela and notes that Dhuoda advised her son William to recite Psalm 69 and then the *Pater Noster* followed by a selection of other psalms each morning.[85]

In terms of the context of early medieval England, specifically, Asser's *Life of Alfred* describes the education of Alfred's children (including his daughters Æthelflæd, Æthelgifu and Ælfthyth) and notes that 'they have attentively learned the Psalms'.[86] So, it seems fair to say that both Carolingian and early medieval English noble women were, plausibly, acquainted with the psalms.

What this evidence all points to, then, is that the initial reader whom Wulfwinus Cada may be addressing in the colophon is quite possibly a lay 'pious' or 'esteemed' woman who greatly valued the psalms in both Latin and the vernacular.[87] This raises the possibility of

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[83] Valerie Garver, 'Learned women? Liutberga and the Instruction of Carolingian Women' in *Lay Intellectuals in the Carolingian World*, ed. by Patrick Wormald and Janet L. Nelson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 121-38 (p. 124).
[84] *Ibid.*, p. 131.
[85] *Ibid*., pp. 131-2. Note that Garver mentions that Alcuin gave exactly the same advice to Charlemagne that Dhuoda does to William.
[86] See Asser, *Alfred the Great*, trans. by Simon Keynes and Michael Lapidge (London: Penguin Books, 1983), p. 91. Grateful thanks are due to my supervisor, Alice Jorgensen, for pointing this out in Asser's biography.
[87] Asser's *Life of Alfred* description of the education of Alfred's sons and daughters specifically mentions they had access to both Latin and English books and that they 'attentively learned the psalms' which I quote above. This may imply a knowledge of the psalms in both the vernacular and Latin for both Alfred's daughters and sons.

viewing P in all its unusual dimensions and distinctive beauty as a communication between the *psalteratus* Wulfwinus Cada and an anonymous 'reader' or 'commissioner' of the codex who may have been *psalterata* as well.

The Utrecht Psalter and P: A Consideration of the Influences on P's Programme of Illustration

The influence of the Utrecht Psalter's illustrations on the illustration programme in P is well-documented.[88] Before contextualising the relationship between these codices, a brief overview of the Utrecht Psalter will be given.

The Utrecht Psalter has been dated, based on the script, to the early ninth century since the pioneering studies of Adolf Goldschmidt and Paul Durrieu in the late nineteenth century.[89] It is considered a 'medieval masterpiece that has graced the shelves of Utrecht University Library since 1716' and 'the most important book in the Netherlands' which has long been viewed 'as one of the great monuments of western art'.[90] As Toswell acknowledges,[91] it has accrued an extensive bibliography[92] and Pamela Berger offers a succinct summary of how it came into existence and what it comprises. She writes:

> At some time between 816 and 835, a Latin book of Psalms illustrated with pen-and-ink drawings was produced in a workshop at the abbey of Hautvillers near Rheims, France. The manuscript, known as the Utrecht Psalter, contains a text based on Jerome's second translation of the Greek Septuagint into Latin, a version called the

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See *Ibid*., pp. 90-1. In other words, the hypothetical female commissioner of P may have had a bilingual knowledge of the psalms as well.

[88] See Francis Wormald, 'The Decoration' in *The Paris Psalter: MS. Bibliothèque nationale fonds latin*, pp. 14-15, Robert M. Harris, 'The Marginal Drawings of the Bury St Edmunds Psalter (Rome, Vatican Library, MS Reg. lat. 12)' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Princeton University, 1960), pp. 28-37, J. H. A. Engelbregt, *Het Utrechts Psalterium: Een Eeuw Wetenschappelijke Bestudering (1860-1960)* (Utrecht: Haentjens Dekker & Gumbert, 1965), p. 11, William Noel, 'The Utrecht Psalter in England: Continuity and Experiment' in *The Utrecht Psalter in Medieval Art: Picturing the Psalms of David*, ed. by Koert van der Horst and Wilhelmina C. M. Wüstefeld (Utrecht: Universiteit Utrecht, Museum Catharijne Convent and HES Publishers, 1996) pp. 121-65 (p. 132) and Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, p. 122.

[89] See Engelbregt, *Het Utrechts Psalterium*, p. 8 and n. 4 and 5 on p. 79.

[90] H. L. M. Defoer and J. S. M. Savenije, 'Preface' in *The Utrecht Psalter in Medieval Art: Picturing the Psalms of David*, ed. by Koert van der Horst and Wilhelmina C. M. Wüstefeld (Utrecht: Universiteit Utrecht, Museum Catharijne Convent and HES Publishers, 1996), pp. v-vi (p. v).

[91] See M. J. Toswell, 'The Ninth-Century Psalter in England', p. 393, n. 10.

[92] The key texts, chronologically, are: Engelbregt, *Het Utrechts Psalterium*, van der Horst and Wüstefeld, eds., *The Utrecht Psalter in Medieval Art: Picturing the Psalms of David* and Pamela Berger, *Hebrew Psalms and the Utrecht Psalter: Veiled Origins* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2020).

> Gallican. The illustrations in the manuscript are drawn in a fresh and spontaneous style reminiscent of Hellenistic art. They are, for the most part, literal renditions of individual words or phrases in the Psalms.[93]

The fact that this well-known product of the Carolingian Empire[94] was in Christ Church Canterbury by the middle of the eleventh century[95] was likely first noted by Walter de Gray Birch in 1876.[96] Its direct influence on illuminated/illustrated medieval English psalters such as the Harley Psalter (London, British Library, Harley, MS 603), the Eadwine Psalter (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R. 17. 1) and the Anglo-Catalan Psalter (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin MS 8846)[97] has also been well-documented.[98]

P's place within this English 'copying' tradition of the Utrecht Psalter is perhaps best expressed by Engelbregt who undertook a thorough investigation of a century (1860-1960) of 'scientific study' of this manuscript – notably Suzy Dufrenne does not include P in her article on *Les copies anglaises* 'the English copies'.[99] Engelbregt writes:

> Het Utrechts Psalter is veelvuldig en langdurig gekopiëerd. Onmiskenbare bewijzen daarvoor zijn de reeds genoemde 'kopie' Harley 603 en het Eadwine Psalter uit Trinity College in Cambridge (12e eeuw) alsmede het psalter in de Bibliothèque Nationale de Parijs, Ms. lat. 8846 (13e eeuw)…Ook stijl en ikonografie van Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. lat. 8824 vertonen sterke verwantschap met ons psalter.[100]

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[93] Berger, *Hebrew Psalms and the Utrecht Psalter: Veiled Origins*, p. 1.
[94] For a comprehensive contextualization of the Carolingian Period see Rosamond McKitterick, 'The Historical Context: Carolingian Wealth, Faith and Culture' in *The Utrecht Psalter in Medieval Art: Picturing the Psalms of David*, pp. 1-22.
[95] See Engelbregt, *Het Utrechts Psalterium*, p. 9.
[96] See Walter de Gray Birch, *The History, Art and Palaeography of the Manuscript styled the Utrecht Psalter* (London, 1876) referenced in Engelbregt, *Het Utrechts Psalterium*, p. 9 and n. 11, p. 84. Drawing on Birch, Engelbregt writes (p. 9): *Het lijdt geen redelijke twijfel, of het heeft eeuwen lang, tot aan de opheffing van de kloosters in de reformatie-tijd, berust in Christ Church te Canterbury*. 'There is no reasonable doubt, that it [the Utrecht Psalter] has for centuries, until the dissolution of the monasteries during the Reformation, rested in Christ Church Canterbury'.
[97] This manuscript was formerly known as the 'Paris Psalter' as well. See Treharne, *Perceptions of Medieval Manuscripts*, pp. 137-9, where she notes that it is now called the Anglo-Catalan Psalter.
[98] See Suzy Dufrenne, 'Les Copies anglaises du Psautier d'Utrecht', *Scriptorium*, 18 (1964), 185-97 and William Noel, 'The Utrecht Psalter in England: Continuity and Experiment' in *The Utrecht Psalter in Medieval Art: Picturing the Psalms of David*, pp. 121-65.
[99] See Dufrenne, 'Les Copies anglaises du Psautier d'Utrecht'.
[100] Engelbregt, *Het Utrechts Psalterium*, p. 11.

> The Utrecht Psalter has been copied frequently and for a long time. Undeniable evidence for this is the already mentioned 'copy' Harley 603 and the Eadwine Psalter of Trinity College Cambridge (12th century) as well as the psalter in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ms. lat. 8846 (13th century)…Also the style and iconography of Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8824 shows a strong relationship with our psalter [the Utrecht Psalter].

Furthermore, writing thirty-one years later, William Noel elucidates this 'strong relationship' by focussing specifically on the connection between the image accompanying Psalm 2. 9 in P and its Utrecht Psalter 'counterpart'.[101] He remarks that the artist of P 'was not copying a picture; rather he understood the Utrecht image as a piece of striking, beautiful and poetic visual thinking, and it was this visual thinking that he wanted to transmit'.[102] In the analysis that follows (perhaps especially the artist's depiction of the 'walking' psalmist in Illustration 5 for Psalm 4. 2) this 'poetic visual thinking' is distinctly noticeable in that the Utrecht Psalter illustrations were interpreted and reimagined within the artist's personal engagement with the psalms.

Moreover, to the best of my knowledge, when the thirteen illustrations have been paleographically assessed, direct evidence that they were produced by a hand other than P's named scribe has not been presented:[103] Wormald does not comment, specifically, on whether or not Wulfwinus Cada produced the illustrations and Toswell remarks that the illustrator is 'possibly the scribe himself'. Ker has noted that the drawings 'are contemporary additions'.[104] However, in Margaret Rickert's view, the drawings in P were 'evidently done by the scribe while writing'.[105] (The art historian Robert Harris (who was one of Thomas Ohlgren's collaborators for the 1986 volume *Insular and Anglo-Saxon Illuminated Manuscripts: An Iconographic Catalogue c. A. D. 625 to 1100* that I refer to in my list of the illustrations

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[101] See Noel, 'The Utrecht Psalter in England: Continuity and Experiment', fig. 6 and 12 on pp. 127 and 130 respectively. Alternatively see the respective images in *UP*, fol. 2r and *PP,* fol. 2r. Note that this psalm-verse reads 'Thou shalt rule them with a rod of iron, and shall break them in pieces like a potter's vessel', *D-RB*, Ps. 2. 9.

[102] Noel, 'The Utrecht Psalter in England: Continuity and Experiment', p. 132.

[103] See, for example, Wormald, 'The Decoration' and Toswell, 'The Format of Bibliothèque Nationale MS Lat. 8824'.

[104] See, Wormald, 'The Decoration' and *English Drawings of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries*, pp. 78-9, Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, p. 122 and Ker, *Catalogue*, § 367.

[105] Margaret Rickert, *Painting in Britain: The Middle Ages* (Maryland: The Pelican History of Art, 1954), note 60, p. 224.

below[106]) is convinced by this assessment of Rickert's.[107]) The fact that the letters of the text which follow the illustrations often intersect them is, as Harris highlights,[108] the primary indicator for this assessment that the scribe is likely the same person as the illustrator here. Having been able to view the manuscript recently, I, like Harris, find Rickert's appraisal still persuasive as it would be difficult indeed (although admittedly not entirely impossible) for a person other than the scribe to insert illustrations between the text in the intricate way these appear in the manuscript.[109]

As noted earlier, Emms has made a credible argument for placing P's scribe in Canterbury whether at St Augustine's or Christ Church or outside either house.[110] So, considering this proposition, I would offer that the possibility is open to think of Wulfwinus Cada as the artist of P who may have seen the Utrecht Psalter in Canterbury[111] and who understood its imagery 'as a piece of striking, beautiful and poetic visual thinking' which he sought to adapt and incorporate in his own work. In other words, it is plausible to consider Wulfwinus Cada as both *psalteratus-scriba* and *psalteratus-illustrator* at the same time. Perhaps, too, his exposure to the Utrecht Psalter had a significant role in shaping his formation as *psalteratus* given this psalter's pivotal role in *memoria rerum* 'memory of things'. Mary Carruthers explains:

> The Utrecht Psalter demonstrates very well some essentials of the technique known as *memoria rerum*. Like others, this psalter is a study book, made not for novices just learning their Psalms *but for readers who already have the Psalms by heart*, and who

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[106] See, below n. 119.
[107] See Robert M. Harris, 'The Marginal Drawings of the Bury St Edmunds Psalter', p. 30.
[108] See *Ibid*.
[109] See *PP*, fols. 1^{r}, 1^{v}, 2^{r}, 2^{v}, 3^{r}, 3^{v}, 4^{r} and 5^{r}.
[110] See Emms, 'The Scribe of the Paris Psalter'.
[111] Note that Wormald, in 'The Decoration', p. 15, asserts that '[a]t least one of the sources used by the artist for his drawings was the ninth-century illuminated Psalter known as the Utrecht Psalter which was in Canterbury by the end of the tenth century'. Also, in Harris's analysis, five images of P (Illustrations 1, 3, 6, 9 and 11) have an exact parallel in the Utrecht Psalter, a sixth (two warriors in combat in Illustration 10 for Psalm 5. 7 in *PP*, fol. 3^{r}) has a parallel image occurring twice (for Psalms 13 and 52) in the Utrecht Psalter (*UP*, fols. 7^{v} and 30^{v}). Harris detects partial parallels in the Utrecht Psalter for a further three images (Illustrations 2, 5 and 12) in P and concludes that only four images (Illustrations 4, 7, 8 and 13) have no equivalent in the Utrecht Psalter. See Harris, 'The Marginal Drawings of the Bury St Edmunds Psalter', pp. 28-37 and the list (below, pp. 159-61) of the numbered illustrations in P. I find Harris's evidence highly indicative that Wulfwinus Cada/P's artist saw and deliberated on the entire Utrecht Psalter given that he/they drew on some imagery from later psalms (in the Utrecht Psalter) than the psalms he actually illustrated.

> therefore can recognize and profit from the subject- and topic-cues which the images provide (emphasis original).[112]

If Wulfwinus Cada was the artist in P and did indeed see and ruminate on the Utrecht Psalter, as the evidence of P's illustrations strongly suggests, then (given his 'rare' position within the colophon corpus of being named[113]) he could be in an excellent position to be considered a 'prototype' *psalteratus-scriba* – in other words, a scribe who has successfully internalised the psalms in the manner described by Carruthers.

The Approach to the Analysis

This chapter draws on the concept of a *psalteratus* or *psalterata* as scribe and the possibility that Wulfwinus Cada (P's single scribe) may also be the artist in P, outlined above, to argue – via the lenses of landscape, place and space – that the psalms, having been internalized, not only may have shaped the relationship between text and image in the illustrations they also could have had a tacit influence on the physical dimensions of P itself. I harness Engelbregt's 1965 assessment that P shows a 'strong relationship' with the Utrecht Psalter in terms of both iconography and style to position the three respective lenses in the following manner.

The landscape lens is used to investigate, predominantly, the significance of the tree illustration in Psalm 1.[114] It is also used to consider the pronounced use of groundlines in the illustrations. The rationale for these foci, here, is that, first, the tree is a crucial landscape feature in the psalter's gateway psalm and, consequently, also in every chapter in this thesis. Second, the persistent use of groundlines in the illustrations indicate that situating figures within a landscape was an important concern for the illustrator of P and so this lens is the most appropriate place to examine this singular feature of the thirteen drawings.

The place lens is used to consider questions of embodiment via Carruthers's articulation of *memoria*. She writes:

> Yet the psychological descriptions of memory and recollection, most fully articulated by Aristotle and his heirs account for certain basic themes in medieval practice and for some of the terms used in rhetoric to discuss *memoria*, such as the notion of **places**,

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[112] Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 282-83.
[113] See Gameson, *The Scribe Speaks? Colophons in Early English Manuscripts*, p. 16 and discussion above.
[114] See *PP*, fol. 1^{r}.

> the importance of images, and the **somatic-aesthetic** given to the workings of memorial storage and recollective procedure (emphases mine).[115]

The place lens is also be used to revisit the tension between the *locus amoenus* and *locus horribilis* as evidenced within P's illustrations.

The space lens departs from the Utrecht Psalter to reflect on how P's unusually long and narrow dimensions reflect one of the 'root metaphors' in the psalms – namely 'pathway' – considered in the three preceding chapters. It then considers this reflection in a particular illustration – Illustration 5[116] – which, unlike the usual standing portrayal in the Utrecht Psalter, shows the psalmist *in motion*.

Lastly, before proceeding to the analysis it is worthwhile to highlight that P was initially a more fully illuminated psalter as well as enumerate and contextualize the illustrations that have survived. Francis Wormald observes:

> The decoration of the Paris Psalter was originally of two kinds, one of which has disappeared. According to the inventory of possessions of Jean duc de Berry, made in 1402, there was once a miniature of David playing the harp at the beginning of the volume. The position of the miniature is established by the fact that the first leaf of the first gathering is missing. Whether it was a drawing or a fully coloured picture is unknown. Besides this there were a number of pages, illuminated with coloured decoration.[117]

Wormald goes on to list the missing illuminated pages (seven) and notes that the position of these was a result of the liturgical divisions of the psalter – a regular feature in other psalter manuscripts. He also notes that besides the missing pages the manuscript contains 'thirteen outline drawings in ink' that can still be seen.[118] He lists these with accompanying Latin psalm-verse. Twenty-eight years after he produced this list, each of the thirteen drawings were catalogued (without the accompanying Latin psalm-verse) by Thomas Ohlgren (with

[115] Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, pp. 56-7.
[116] See the description of this illustration in the list on pp. 159-61 below.
[117] Wormald, 'The Decoration', p. 14.
[118] *Ibid*.

contributions from other scholars apart from himself).[119] The list[120] of the thirteen P illustrations I have adapted, below, draws on both Wormald's and Ohlgren's and includes the equivalent OE psalm-verse for figure ten. This is because this drawing occurs within the OE column of text, whereas the remaining twelve drawings occur within the Latin text.[121]

1. fol. 1^{r}, Psalm 1. 3: **et erit tamquam lignum / quod plantatum est secus decursus aquarum / quod fructum suum / dabit in tempore suo / et folium eius non decidet / et omnia quaecumque fecerit prosperabuntur** 'and he will be just like a tree / that is planted close to downward courses of waters / which will give its own fruit / in its own moment / and his leaf shall not fall off / and everything that he shall be doing shall prosper'

   Description: Personified river or a 'river god' holding a vase from which a stream flows in front of a tree.[122]
2. fol. 1^{v}, Psalm 2. 4: **qui habitat in caelis inridebit eos / et Dominus subsannabit eos** 'He who lives in the heavens will laugh at them / and the Lord will mock them'

   Description: A half-length figure of Christ (in the clouds and with a cross as nimbus) holding a lance with a banner also depicting a cross. Beneath the figure of Christ in the clouds is a pit full of male heads.
3. fol. 2^{r}, Psalm 2. 9: **reges eos in uirga ferrea / et tamquam uas figuli confringes eos** 'you [God] will rule them with an iron rod / and break them like a potter's vessel'

   Description: Next to two trees Christ, with cross as nimbus, a book draped in his left hand, breaks a vase (the potter's vessel) with a long rod.
4. fol. 2^{v}, Psalm 3. 4: **tu autem Domine susceptor meus es / gloria mea et exaltans caput meum** 'But you Lord are my protector / my glory and the lifting of my head'

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[119] Thomas H. Ohlgren, *Insular and Anglo-Saxon Iluminated Manuscripts: An Iconographic Catalogue c. A. D. 625 to 1100* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1986), pp. 204-5. The other contributors were: Carl T. Berkhout, Mildred O. Budny, John J. Contreni, Helmut Gneuss, Robert M. Harris, John Higgitt, John B. Friedman, Louis Jordan, Lister Matheson, Ann Shannon, William M. Voelkle and Charles Wright. See the Front Matter in *Ibid*.

[120] All Latin Psalm text, as in the rest of the thesis, is taken from *LPR* – there is no significant difference between the relevant Latin psalm-verses in P and the *LPR* text. Note that the verse division in P does not always align with *LPR* so I have used elipses to indicate missing text from an *LPR* verse. The OE text and translation is from *OEP*. The descriptions are adapted from those in both Wormald, 'The Decoration', pp. 14-5 and Ohlgren, *Insular and Anglo-Saxon Iluminated Manuscripts*, pp. 204-5. To view the illustrations go to the relevant fol. in *PP*.

[121] Both Wormald and Toswell point this fact out. See Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, p. 122 and Wormald, 'The Decoration', p, 14.

[122] Wormald is careful to point out that although this illustration refers to the first part of the relevant verse it is placed after the second part because of space constraints. See Wormald, 'The Decoration', p. 14.

Description: A man is kneeling with extended hands. His chin is grasped by God's hand which emerges from the clouds.

5. fol. 3^{r}, upper, Psalm 4. 2: **Cum inuocarem te exaudisti me Deus iustitiae meae / in tribulatione dilatasti me…** 'When I would call upon you, you heard me, God of my justice / in [my] distress you enlarged me…'
   Description: A praying man / appealing psalmist[123] walks with outstretched hands. He looks up to the hand of God which emerges from clouds.
6. fol. 3^{r}, middle, Psalm 4. 6: **sacrificate sacrificium iustitiae et sperate in Domino…** 'offer the sacrifice of justice and hope in the Lord…'
   Description: A man approaches a draped alter bringing a chalice in his left hand and ushering a ram with his right hand.
7. fol. 3^{r}, lower, Psalm 4. 7-8: …**dedisti laetitiam in corde meo / a tempore frumenti uini et olei sui multiplicati sunt** '…you [Lord] gave joy in my heart / in the season of their grain, their wine and oil, they are multiplied'
   Description: Two persons, one with draped head, carry a closed vessel (of possibly oil) and a sack (of possibly grain) respectively.[124]
8. fol. 3^{v}, middle, Psalm 5. 5: **mane adstabo tibi et uidebo / quoniam non uolens deus iniquitatem tu es** 'in the morning I will stand in front of you and I will see you / because you are not a God [who] wants injustice'
   Description: The psalmist stands before the hand of God which holds a compass.
9. fol. 3^{v}, lower, Psalm 5. 7, opening membra: **odisti Domine omnes qui operantur iniquitatem / perdes eos qui loquuntur mendacium** 'you, Lord, hate all who work injustice / you will destroy those who speak a lie'
   Description: A hell-mouth filled with six heads.
10. fol. 4^{r}, Psalm 5.7, closing membrum: **uirum sanguinum et dolosum abominabitur Dominus** 'the Lord will abhor a bloody and deceitful man'; Parallel OE text: *and þa*

[123] Note that Wormald refers to this figure as a 'praying man' but Harris refers to him as an 'appealing psalmist'. See Wormald, 'The Decoration', p. 14 and Harris, 'The Marginal Drawings of the Bury St Edmunds Psalter', p. 36. I lean towards Harris's descriptor for reasons which will become clear in the subsequent analysis in the 'space' section.

[124] Note that Wormald suggests the vessel could be carrying oil and neither Wormald or Ohlgren suggest the sack could be carrying grain. See Wormald, 'The Decoration', p. 14 and Ohlgren, *Insular and Anglo-Saxon Iluminated Manuscripts*, p. 204. The possibility that the sack is carrying grain is my own supposition given the context of the psalm-verse – namely **frumenti** 'grain'.

man-slagan and þa swicolan þu forsyhst 'and you [Lord] abhor murderers and deceivers'

Description: Two men fighting. One holds a shield in his right hand and thrusts a sword into the body of the other man who grasps the first man's hair in his right hand and attacks him with a spear in his left.[125]

11. fol. 5^{r}, upper, Psalm 7. 3: **nequando rapiat ut leo animam meam / dum non est qui redimat neque qui saluum faciat** 'lest at any time he [a persecutor] would seize my soul like a lion / while there is none who would redeem nor who would make [me] safe'

    Description: A lion stands over a naked man.

12. fol. 5^{r}, lower, Psalm 7. 4: **Domine Deus meus si feci istud / si est iniquitas in manibus meis** 'oh Lord my God if I have done this / if there is wickedness in my hands'

    Description: Psalmist prays before the hand of God issuing from a cloud.

13. fol. 6^{r}, Psalm 7. 13-14: …**arcum suum tetendit et parauit illum / et in ipso parauit uasa mortis / sagittas suas ardentibus effecit** 'he [God] has stretched his bow and has made it ready / and in it itself he has prepared the vessels of death / he has made his arrows burn'

    Description: A naked man (devil) emerges from clouds shooting arrows from a bow at a woman and man who are embracing inside a building. The woman is veiled and one of the arrows is at her chest.[126]

So, it is clear that P was originally a more fully illuminated psalter. Although, of course, we cannot know exactly what the missing miniature of David playing the harp looked like, it is an intriguing possibility to consider its conceivable resemblance to the well-known illustration of David playing the lyre in the eighth-century Vespasian Psalter (London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian, fol. 30^{v}[127]) – one of the oldest members (along with the Blickling Psalter) of the glossed/bilingual psalter 'family' discussed in Chapter 2.

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[125] Note that Ohlgren, not Wormald, specifies the violence of the men fighting. I have added the details about which hands are used. See *Ibid*.

[126] This description is mostly Ohlgren's. I have added the fact of the arrow about to pierce the woman's chest.

[127] At the time of writing the BL has not yet restored access to the digitized facsimile of this manuscript. A good colour photograph of this frontispiece illustration is in Leslie Webster, *Anglo-Saxon Art* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell

To return to the illustrations at hand, it is important to highlight here that although the Utrecht Psalter illustrations were a clear inspiration for the illustration programme in P, the thirteen P illustrations also reflect a noticeably personal, rich and distinctive engagement with their relevant psalm text in both Latin and OE. Harris adroitly encapsulates this phenomenon as follows:

> Unlike the Utrecht Psalter and its earlier English copy in the British Museum (Harley Ms. 603) where the illustrations of each psalm precedes the text, extending the full width of the page, the artist of the Paris codex appears to have excerpted groups from the elaborate landscape environment, and placed these pictorial units within the body of the script following the passage of text to which each refers. While this results in a loss of the remarkable illusionistic quality of the Utrecht Psalter imagery, **it does succeed in establishing a far more precise relationship between the elements of text and illustration** (emphasis mine).[128]

Harris's primary argument in the article just quoted from is that figure thirteen,[129] which is drawn beneath Latin Psalm 7. 12-14, more accurately reflects the equivalent OE text to its right and that this drawing has no parallel in the Utrecht Psalter or Harley Psalter.[130] Harris transcribes the relevant Latin psalm text directly from P[131] as follows:

> **Deus iudex iustus fortis et longanimis**
> **nunquid irascitur per singulos dies**
> **nisi convertamini gladium suum vibravit**
> **arcum suum tetendit et paravit illum**
> **et in ipso (paravit) vasa mortis**
> **saggitas suas ardentibus effecit**[132]

University Press, 2012), p. 86. Webster's description reads: 'David the psalmist with musicians'. I would add that David is playing the lyre as well. See *Ibid*., pp. 86 and 87.

[128] Robert M. Harris, 'An Illustration in an Anglo-Saxon Psalter', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 26 (1963), 255-63 (p. 255).

[129] See *PP*, fol. 6^{r} and entry for '13' in the list above.

[130] Harris, 'An Illustration in an Anglo-Saxon Psalter', pp. 255-7.

[131] See *PP*, fols. 5^{v}-6^{r}.

[132] See Harris, 'An Illustration in an Anglo-Saxon Psalter', p. 256. Note that Harris remarks (*Ibid.*, n. 5) that the 'omission of the verb *paravit* in verse 14 appears to be due to a slip of the scribe'. The translation is mine.

> God is a just judge, strong and long-suffering: is He angry every day? Unless you will be converted, he has brandished his sword. He has stretched his bow and has made it ready and in it itself he has prepared the vessels of death. He has made his arrows burn.

However, the equivalent OE psalm text reads as follows:

> Þe Drihten þe is rihtwis dema, and strang, and geþyldig,
> hwæðer he yrsige ælce dæge?
> Bute ge to him gecyrren, se deofol cwecð his sweord to eow.
> And he bende his bogan; se is nu gearo to sceotanne.
> He teohað þæt he scyle sceotan þæt deaðes fæt (þæt synt, þa unrihtwisan);
> he gedeð his flan fyrena þæt he mæge mid sceotan and bærnan
> þa þe her byrnað on wrænnesse and on unðeawum.
>
> The Lord who is a just judge, and strong, and long-suffering, does he get angry every day? Unless you turn to him, the devil will brandish his sword at you. And he has drawn his bow; it is now ready to shoot. He decides to shoot the vessel of death (that is, the unjust); he prepares his fiery arrows with which to shoot and set on fire those on earth who are consumed by licentiousness and vices.[133]

So, as Harris points out, in the OE it is the devil (not God) who brandishes his sword and this is what is depicted in figure thirteen where there is clearly a naked devil shooting arrows at the couple inside a dwelling.[134] In terms of the analysis in this chapter, then, this evidence is a pointer to how P's artist (possibly Wulfwinus Cada) may have internalised the psalms in both Latin and OE as well as considered how specific psalm text could interrelate with an accompanying image. As Harris puts it: 'this drawing is an invention of the draughtsman susceptible to the explicit imagery of the Anglo-Saxon translation'.[135] The remaining sections investigates possible traces of P's artist/Wulfiwinus Cada working as *psalteratus* within the lenses of landscape, place and space.

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[133] The OE text and translation is from *OEP*, Ps. 7. 12-13.
[134] See Harris, 'An Illustration in an Anglo-Saxon Psalter', pp. 256-7 and *PP*, fol. 6^{r} and entry for '13' in the list on p. 158 above.
[135] *Ibid.*, p. 257.

3.2 The Deployment of the Landscape in the Iconography of P

Landscape is a noticeable feature in the style of the surviving P illustrations. This should not be surprising given that they bear a close relationship with the Utrecht Psalter whose scenes, as Robert Harris points out, are typically located in a 'mountainous landscape'.[136] Furthermore, Pamela Berger has recently put forward a persuasive and appealing argument that the source for the Utrecht Psalter's illustrations[137] drew from a Hebrew psalm text alongside the *Midrash Tehillim*[138] as both of these elucidate puzzling images in this psalter which the accompanying *Gallicanum*-text does not.[139] And if this alone was not sufficiently convincing, Berger notes the following:

> Recent excavations of Galilean late antique synagogue pavements have revealed mosaic panels that share stylistic affinities with the Utrecht Psalter illustrations, particularly in respect to composition, figure style, modelling, and rendering of space. In 2010 Uzi Leibner and Shulamit Miller published the preliminary results of their excavation of the synagogue at Khirbet Wadi Hamam. There they uncovered rectangular panels featuring brief motifs spread over the surface of the composition. The figures are standing on a few layers of tesserae creating lines suggestive of landscape contours, just as we have in the Utrecht Psalter.[140]

Some of P's illustrations also, noticeably, contain figures standing on lines 'suggestive of landscape contours'. In Illustration 3, the Christ figure stands on a wavy line beside two trees on the same wavy line.[141] In Illustration 4, a wavy line is faintly detectable beneath the kneeling man with extended hands above the opening words of Psalm 3. 5 which read: **Uoce**

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[136] See Harris, 'An Illustration in an Anglo-Saxon Psalter', p. 263.
[137] Berger notes that from the 1930s onwards 'scholars have accepted the hypothesis that the Utrecht illustrations were copied from an earlier source or from a variety of sources stemming from the fourth or fifth century CE'. In other words, the Utrecht Psalter had a different source for its illustrations and its *Gallicanum* psalter text, respectively, and the illustrations' source predated the Carolingian period. See Berger, *Hebrew Psalms and the Utrecht Psalter: Veiled Origins*, pp. 1-2. Note that Berger is careful to point out that it was Koert van der Horst who discovered that the Utrecht Psalter had independent textual and illustration sources. See *Ibid*., p. 1 and Koert van der Horst, 'The Utrecht Psalter: Picturing the Psalms of David' in *The Utrecht Psalter in Medieval Art: Picturing the Psalms of David*, p. 44.
[138] This is a Hebrew 'commentary on the Psalms (*Tehillim*) relating Psalms to Jewish traditions of the Torah, compiled from 3c. onwards'. See 'Glossary of Terms', *sv. Midrash Tehillim* in Susan Gillingham, *Psalms Through the Centuries: A Reception History Commentary on Psalms 73-151*.
[139] Berger, *Hebrew Psalms and the Utrecht Psalter: Veiled Origins*. See especially, Chapter 1 'Methodology and the Example of Psalm 1', *Ibid*., pp. 7-14.
[140] *Ibid*., p. 4.
[141] See *PP*, fol. 2^{r}.

mea ad d[omi]n[u]m 'with my voice to the Lord'.[142] It appears, too, that this faint line almost intersects the 'd' in **ad**. In Illustration 5, the psalmist walks with outstretched hands on a wavy line which skims the top of the ascender of the 'h' in **mihi** 'me' in Psalm 4. 2 and the toes of his front foot emerge from behind the ascender of the 'd' in **domine** 'Lord' also in Psalm 4. 2.[143] In Illustration 8, the psalmist stands before God on probably the most pronouncedly wavy line of all the illustrations and there is a tree on both his left and right and his right foot merges with the line as it touches the 't' in **habitabit** 'will live' in Psalm 5. 6.[144] Finally, in Illustration 12, the psalmist also stands on a wavy line which skims the top of the ascender of the final 'd' in **reddidi** 'I returned' in Psalm 7. 5. The line then merges with the psalmist's back foot which in turn skims the top of the letters 'r' and 'e', respectively, in **retribuentibus** 'repaid' also in Psalm 7. 5. The back of his front foot rises slightly above the first 'e' in **retribuentibus** and the toes of this foot then merge with the line on its ascent above the first 't' and second 'r' also in **retribuentibus**.[145]

Two salient, if not directly related, observations emerge from these illustrations. First the utilization of undulating lines to indicate the ground on which the respective figures either walk or stand is an oblique echo of the mosaic panels with 'lines suggestive of landscape contours' found in late antique Galilee which Berger has connected to the Utrecht Psalter. Whether Wulfwinus Cada/the illustrator would have been conscious of this Hebrew/Jewish context of the style he adopted is difficult to say. However, a possible analogous argument can potentially be made from considering Damian Fleming's evidence for how the Hebrew language influenced OE (particularly poetry) in terms of a few loanwords via Latin and, especially, the syntactic construction of the superlative genitive.[146] Fleming notes the superlative genitive (constructions such as 'King of kings' or 'Lord of lords') is not an intrinsic Latin construction and that 'the few modern grammars of medieval or ecclesiastical Latin that treat this construction generally attribute its origin to an imitation of Hebrew'.[147] His data table for 'Old English Poems Containing Superlative Genitive Phrases' shows that

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[142] See *PP*, fol. 2^{v}. It is, of course, easier to notice this line when zooming in on the image.
[143] See *PP*, fol. 3^{r}.
[144] See *PP*, fol. 3^{v}.
[145] See *PP*, fol. 5^{r}.
[146] See Damian Fleming, '"The Most Exalted Language": Anglo-Saxon Perceptions of Hebrew' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Toronto, 2006), especially Chapter 4, '"King of Kings": Sounding Hebrew in Cynewulf's *Elene*', *Ibid*., pp. 217-47.
[147] *Ibid*., p. 219.

the highest number of occurrences (eighteen) of this construction are in the Metrical Psalms. The next highest number of occurrences (five) is in *Andreas* followed by Cynewulf's *Elene* with four occurrences.[148] Commenting on Cynewulf's adaptation of his Latin source's paraphrase of Stephen's words in *Elene*, Fleming observes the following:

> In this scene in *Elene* we are presented with a story told by a Hebrew man about the wisdom of his father to a group of fellow Hebrew men; the imagined language of discourse here must be Hebrew. Cynewulf uses the superlative genitives to add a biblical, Hebrew sound to their discourse.[149]

He goes on to note (drawing on Fred Robinson's analysis) that the *Battle of Maldon* poet does something similar by distinguishing the speech of the Viking messenger to make it 'sound Norse'.[150] So, if Cynewulf could have deployed a 'Hebrew' construction then it is, perhaps, also conceivable that the psalm-poet (who uses this construction most frequently) may have also been conscious of its Hebrew origin. In such a milieu, there is, perhaps, a slim possibility that P's scribe/illustrator (who dutifully copied the primary text in which the psalm-poet's lines have come down to us) may have been aware that their artistic style carries the influence of late antique Hebrew culture. Fleming puts it this way: 'while all but inaccessible by modern standards throughout the Anglo-Saxon period [the Hebrew language] nevertheless had a distinct presence in the Anglo-Saxon intellectual imagination'.[151]

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[148] See *Ibid.*, p. 245. The relevant OE text is listed in the table on pp. 246-7. It is no surprise that the Metrical Psalms far outstrip the other texts given that they comprise the highest number of lines of OE poetry and are a 'translation' of predominantly the *Romanum* whose ultimate source (via the Septuagint) is of course the Hebrew psalms.

[149] Fleming, '"The Most Exalted Language": Anglo-Saxon Perceptions of Hebrew', p. 234.

[150] *Ibid*.

[151] *Ibid*., p. 217. The impact of Jewish language and culture in early medieval England is of course a broad topic that has been considered before. See, for example, Andrew P. Scheil, *The Footsteps of Israel: Understanding Jews in Anglo-Saxon England* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2004) and *Imagining the Jew in Anglo-Saxon Literature and Culture*, ed. by Samantha Zacher (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016). I am aware, thanks to the excellent talk by Loraine Enlow entitled 'Christians, Jews and an Interlinear Superscription: Use of Rabbinic Commentaries in an early English 13th-Century Psalter in England' which took place on Zoom on 27 June, 2024 in the 'Meeting with the Psalms and Psalters' seminar series hosted by Magdalena Charzyńska-Wójcik (John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin) and Monika Opalińska (University of Warsaw), of a thirteenth-century psalter manuscript (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R 8. 6) that was produced in England and contains the Masoretic (Hebrew) Psalms alongside the *Hebraicum* and *Gallicanum*. Notably the Hebrew text has a Latin superscription that is a 'grammatizing' translation to use Enlow's term. The existence of this manuscript is intriguing evidence of Hebraists in medieval England. However, Samantha Zacher has observed (in 'Introduction: the Jew in the Anglo-Saxon Imagination' in *Imagining the Jew in Anglo-Saxon Literature and Culture*, p. 3) that the overall scholarly consensus is that Jewish people arrived in England after the Conquest. So, in the absence of concrete evidence of how much Wulfwinus Cada/P's scribe and illustrator could have known of

Second, the way the illustrations in P are embedded within the text (with the feet of some figures literally walking or standing on the text beneath them) departs from the style of illustration in the Utrecht Psalter where the image precedes the text. In Harris's view, which I quoted and discussed earlier, this establishes a more 'precise relationship' between the text and image.[152] According to Wormald,[153] this 'system of illustration' where 'the illustration is incorporated into the text is a very old one and is found in Greek papyri and scientific texts'.[154] In my view, direct attention to how Wulfwinus Cada/P's illustrator chose to 'ground' the figures within the text within undulating lines is beneficial in that it potentially highlights the ubiquity of the landscape within their thinking as *psalteratus-scriba*. In other words, the figure of the psalmist in Illustrations 8 and 12,[155] for example, does not stand and communicate with God *ex nihilo*, but has, in each case, his feet on the 'ground' that is both the wavy line and the letters of the text beneath him. To state the obvious, this has the effect of 'grounding' the figure within the psalm text. Also, something I noticed especially when viewing the physical manuscript is that whenever the hand of God emerges from heaven (in Illustrations 4, 5, 8 and 12) 'parallel' wavy lines are used to indicate heaven.[156] While this could simply be an echo of the Utrecht Psalter's illustration style,[157] it nevertheless seems it was important to Wulfwinus Cada that the hand of God does not emerge *ex nihilo* but is 'grounded' within the text. Lastly, to the best of my knowledge, this 'grounding' aspect of P's illustrations has not been explicitly discussed in prior scholarship.

Trees in P's iconography – the 'gateway' Illustration 1

Illustration 1 of a 'river god' holding a vessel from which a stream of water flows in front of a tree,[158] has a direct parallel illustration in the Utrecht Psalter which Harris noticed more than

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Hebrew culture and language, all that can reasonably be claimed is that the style of drawing, given Berger's evidence, carries overtones of late antique Galilee via the Utrecht Psalter.

[152] See above and Harris, 'An Illustration in an Anglo-Saxon Psalter', p. 255.

[153] Wormald draws on the work of Weitzmann and Bischoff and Koehler to make this assessment. See Wormald, 'The Decoration', p. 15 note 43.

[154] *Ibid*., p. 15.

[155] See *PP*, fols. 3^{v} and 5^{r}.

[156] See *PP*, fols. 2^{v}, 3^{r}, 3^{v} and 5^{r} respectively. There is, admittedly, an outlier in that the naked man/devil in Illustration 13 also emerges from wavy lines – see *PP*, fol. 6^{r}.

[157] See the hand of God emerging from heaven in *UP*, fol. 2^{r}.

[158] See *PP*, fol. 1^{r} and the description for '1' in the list of illustrations above, p. 159.

sixty years ago.[159] It is worthwhile to first consider the use of personification for the river before turning to the tree.

In a chapter devoted to the iconography of the Utrecht Psalter, Suzy Dufrenne observes, first, that '*[l]a figuration, sur de nombreux folios, d'images des cieux, des eaux et de la terre, compose un riche répertoire cosmique*' 'the figuration, on numerous folios, of the heavens, the waters and the earth, composes a rich cosmic repertoire'.[160] She then notes how personifications of these various elements of the cosmos are common throughout this psalter and offers an analysis of these with respect to the sky, the seasons, the wind, the waters and the earth.[161] In terms of the personification of water features, specifically, Dufrenne remarks on the diverse range here where on the one hand the sea appears in the middle of an expanse of water as an imposing female Triton with hair surmounted by crayfish claws, a nude torso that ends in three fish and who holds a dolphin in one hand.[162] On the other hand, there are several images of '*des eaux maîtrisées'* 'controlled waters'[163] that evoke the theme of the Fountain of Life.[164] These representations of water '*se rattachent, par leur diversité et leurs details, à une tradition amplement attestée par l'art antique où l'on trouve à la fois la figuration d'eaux canalisées…et le jeu des eaux jaillissantes*' 'are linked through their diversity and their details to a tradition, amply attested in ancient art, where one finds at the same time the representation of channelled waters and the play of gushing waters'.[165]

While P's illustrations patently do not fully echo the same diversity of personified landscape (in this case water) imagery in the Utrecht Psalter, it is useful to consider the selection, within the system of illustration, of the only personified landscape feature (the river god) for the first psalm. The previous chapters have each considered the gateway or

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[159] See Harris, 'The Marginal Drawings of the Bury St Edmunds Psalter', pp. 31-2 and *UP*, fol. 1^{v}.
[160] Suzy Dufrenne, *Les illustrations du psautier d'Utrecht: Sources et apport carolingien* (Paris: Ophrys, 1978), p. 70.
[161] *Ibid*., pp. 74-81.
[162] See *UP*, fol. 56^{v}. This image is in the bottom right corner of the folio and it is useful, of course, to zoom in on it.
[163] See the image of a calm stream flowing beneath a bridge in *UP*, fol. 83^{v}.
[164] See the image in *UP*, fol. 20^{v} illustrating Psalm 35. 10 which reads: **quoniam apud te est fons vitae, et lumine tuo videbimus lumen** 'For with thee is the fountain of life; and in thy light we shall see light'. Latin text, *LVB* and translation *D-RB*.
[165] Dufrenne, *Les illustrations du psautier d'Utrecht*, pp. 75-8. The direct quotation is from p. 78. Note, in terms of *une tradition amplement attestée par l'art antique*, Berger adduces recent evidence that the Utrecht Psalter's representation of the 'sun god, the zodiac wheel, and the personified seasons' are very similar to the 'iconographic motifs' found in recently excavated late antique Galilean synagogues. See Berger, *Hebrew Psalms and the Utrecht Psalter: Veiled Origins*, pp. 4-5.

'hermeneutical entry point' function of Psalm 1, and Chapter 1 included an analysis of the polyvalent character of water imagery in the *Romanum* where we move between 'water as chaos' and 'water as refreshment'.[166] Clearly, in light of Dufrenne's assessment, the Utrecht Psalter's programme of illustration vividly depicts this polyvalent character of psalmic water imagery. However, here, in the first illustration in P the possibility that this singular personified image from the Utrecht Psalter can be seen to metonymically allude to the profound range of such imagery in the Utrecht Psalter is intriguing. In other words, given Psalm 1's 'hermeneutical entry point' function for all 150 psalms, the river god can be viewed to potentially represent the range of personified water imagery in the Utrecht Psalter's programme of illustrations. Also, considering the discussion above of indicators that Wulfwinus Cada/P's illustrator may have seen and meditated on the Utrecht Psalter in, potentially, their development as *psalteratus*, it is perhaps possible that the river god image from the illustration for Psalm 1 in the Utrecht Psalter was (consciously or unconsciously) selected to make the allusion to the range of personified water imagery in that psalter.

The significance of the tree image in Psalm 1. 3 has been considered in both preceding chapters and in Chapter 2 I created a table analysing this psalm-verse in all the extant OE as well as the three Latin psalters.[167] Unsurprisingly, trees are an important feature in P's programme of illustration and there are three points to raise.

First, the only psalm-verse in Psalm 1 (the 'gateway' psalm) to receive an illustration is Psalm 1. 3. As a reminder, the text to which this illustration refers reads: **et erit tamquam lignum / quod plantatum est secus decursus aquarum** 'and he will be just like a tree that is planted close to downward courses of waters which will give its own fruit in its own moment'. The tree in this drawing[168] is noticeably the most prominently drawn one among the other 'tree' illustrations[169] and perhaps this was a deliberate choice to indicate the virility of this tree whose **folium** 'leaves' shall **non decidet** 'not fall off' and 'who' the **Beatus uir** 'Blessed man' is like.

[166] See Chapter 1, above, Section 1.2.
[167] See Chapter 2, above, Section 2.2.
[168] See *PP*, fol. 1^{r}.
[169] There are two small trees in both Illustration 3 and Illustration 8. See *PP*, fols. 2^{r} and 3^{v}.

Second, in one of the two occasions[170] that Christ is depicted He is depicted beside two small, young trees in Illustration 3.[171] This is one of the illustrations for which Harris found evidence for a direct parallel in the Utrecht Psalter[172] and it is also the illustration Noel uses in his argument, which I quoted earlier, for how P's artist was not simply 'copying a picture' but rather seeking to transmit the 'striking, beautiful and poetic visual thinking' of the Utrecht Psalter.[173] Harris's view is that P's artist demonstrates a tendency here, and elsewhere, 'towards a pronounced animation in the imagery' because in contrast to the Utrecht Psalter illustration the figure here seems 'to move towards the vase He faces'.[174] I agree with Harris's assessment here, and I would also point out that, in P's Illustration 3, the Christ figure's right hand – turned upward and firmly grasping the straight iron rod – differs markedly in presentation from the corresponding figure in the Utrecht Psalter. In the Utrecht illustration the Christ figure appears to nonchalantly hold a more curved iron rod in his right hand while looking in the opposite direction and holding his left hand with the palm cupped and pointing down.[175] It is noticeable, too, that again in contrast to the Utrecht Psalter image (where a small building is depicted beneath the Christ figure's iron rod) there are two small trees beneath the Christ figure's iron rod in the P illustration.[176]

Illustration 3, then, serves to underscore two things central to my argument in this chapter. First, it is noticeable here how P's artist may have meditated on the Utrecht Psalter illustrations and then adapted this one to their own style and interpretation of the relevant psalm verse which reads: **reges eos in uirga ferrea / et tamquam uas figuli confringes eos** 'you [God] will rule them with an iron rod / and break them like a potter's vessel'.[177] In other words, they clearly see Christ (God) ruling more vigorously or firmly than the more nonchalant Christ figure in the Utrecht Psalter given that the iron rod is drawn as a firm straight line and the Christ figure is more animated (to use Harris's term) as he faces the vessel 'head on' with his features more distinctly drawn than the corresponding figure in the Utrecht Psalter. All this works to indicate a distinctive, personal engagement with the psalm

[170] See *PP*, fols. 1^{v} and 2^{r}.
[171] See *PP*, fol. 2^{r}.
[172] See Harris, 'The Marginal Drawings of the Bury St Edmunds Psalter', p. 32 and *UP*, fol. 2^{r}.
[173] See Noel, 'The Utrecht Psalter in England: Continuity and Experiment', p. 95 and above.
[174] Harris, 'The Marginal Drawings of the Bury St Edmunds Psalter', p. 32.
[175] See *PP* and *UP*, fol. 2^{r}.
[176] *Ibid*. It is of course useful, especially for the *UP* image, to zoom in on the relevant details.
[177] See '3' in the list above, p. 159.

text for the potential *psalteratus-illustrator* here. Second, the fact that two small trees are placed beneath the Christ figure's iron rod instead of (possibly) a building of some kind as in the Utrecht Psalter illustration, highlights the centrality of the landscape (in this case trees) in the illustrative strategy in P. The trees may possibly have been included here to again metonymically allude to the rich landscapes of the Utrecht Psalter imagery. P's artist may also have wished to show their particular interpretation of this psalm-verse – that the **eos** 'them' who God rules includes not only human beings but the whole earth and everything in it – as they place the trees (perhaps as a reference to the rest of creation) beneath the iron rod and not on the other side of the Christ figure.

The third point to raise regarding the use of trees in P's drawings is the fact that in one of the three depictions of the psalmist[178] he stands between two somewhat larger (in contrast to Illustration 3) trees in Illustration 8.[179] The relevant psalm text reads: **mane adstabo tibi et uidebo / quoniam non uolens deus iniquitatem tu es** 'in the morning I will stand in front of you and I will see you / because you are not a God [who] wants injustice'. Harris's evidence for this illustration is that although the figure is drawn 'in the stock type of appealing psalmist' to his knowledge 'this is one of the earliest uses of the compass as an image of *justitia* ['justice']' and it does not occur in the Utrecht Psalter.[180] This illustration, then, may show the artist's personal engagement with this psalm text in that they chose to use an image for the concept of 'justice' that was possibly their own creation and without precedent in the Utrecht Psalter. Also, as I noted above in terms of the effect of the undulating 'grounding' lines in the illustrations, the figure of the psalmist here does not stand before God in mid-air on nothing. Rather, his feet are grounded on the lines above the subsequent text between the two trees. This presentation highlights, perhaps, the importance and impact of landscape in the

[178] See Illustrations 5, 8 and 12 in *PP*, fols. 3^{r}, 3^{v} and 5^{r}.
[179] See *PP*, fol. 3^{v}.
[180] Harris, 'The Marginal Drawings of the Bury St Edmunds Psalter', p. 36. However, Wormald (see Wormald, 'The Decoration', p. 14) notes that there is a similar image but with the addition of a pair of scales in the Canon Tables of the eleventh century 'Eadwig Gospels' (Hanover, Kestner Museum, WM XXIa 36). Notably, the scribe of 'The Eadwig Gospels' also identifies himself in a colophon (see Gameson, 'The Scribe Speaks', § 29, p. 45) and Gameson has adduced evidence of his 'distinctive hand' in several other manuscripts including three psalters – British Library, Arundel, 155, the Vespasian Psalter and the Harley Psalter. See Richard Gameson, 'The Colophon of the Eadwig Gospels', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 31 (2002), 201-222. As both P and 'The Eadwig Gospels' are eleventh century manuscripts – the latter specifically Christ Church, Canterbury – it is, of course, not easy to say which artist may have influenced the other if at all. So, Harris's assertion that P's artist may have been one of the first to use the compass to depict *iustitia* can still stand.

artist's vision of the psalmist here. It is also possible that the trees were drawn beside this psalmist (and not the other two in Illustrations 5 and 12[181]) because the relevant psalm text suited this depiction given that the psalmist is meant to be standing before his God presumably first thing in the morning. In other words, one can envision the sun has just risen above the horizon of the psalmist's landscape with two distinctive trees.

A final implication that is potentially detectable here is an oblique allusion to the tree image in Psalm 1 (both the text and illustration). In Chapter 1, I considered the impact for a 'typical' *psalteratus* of meditating every week on the image of the **Beatus uir** 'Blessed man' who is like a **lignum** 'tree' which is **plantatum** 'planted' beside running water in Psalm 1. 3. I noted that the noun **planta** can mean 'a green twig' or 'the sole of the foot'[182] and used this fact to build an argument for how the foot or feet of the person (**Beatus uir**) can also be viewed as the roots of a tree in this image.[183] The way that the psalmist is depicted in Illustration 8[184] with his feet firmly 'rooted' in the same ground as the two trees beside him points, in my view, to the possibility that P's artist also may have grasped (whether consciously or not) this meaning of the tree image.

So, it is apparent that trees play a prominent role in the illustrative programme of P in that they appear in Psalm 1 (the psalter's 'gateway') and beside a depiction of Christ and a depiction of the psalmist. Both Christ and the psalmist (often thought of as David as the missing miniature of David playing the harp attests[185]) would, naturally, be important figures for a *psalteratus* or *psalterata*, and it is clear Wulfwinus Cada wished to situate both of them firmly (in these illustrations) within the landscape (of course the 'landscape' here is also the subsequent psalm text) by including trees in their environment. In other words, the psalms and the landscape are closely intertwined in this illustrative vision.

Before leaving this section to turn to the place lens, it is worthwhile to consider the colophon of the Bury Psalter (mentioned earlier), here within the landscape lens given its landscape inflected depiction, as a potential extension of the *psalteratus/a-scriba* concept. In

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[181] See the list of Illustrations (above, pp. 159-61) for the relevant psalm text for Illustrations 5 (*PP*, fol. 3^{r}) and 12 (*PP*, fol. 3^{r}).
[182] *CLD*, sv. *planta*
[183] See Chapter 1, above, Section 1.2.
[184] See *PP*, fol. 3^{v}.
[185] See Wormald, 'The Decoration', p. 14 and above.

analysis of art in early medieval England, P and the Bury Psalter[186] regularly travel together.[187] This is likely because both psalters' illustrative style has roots in the Utrecht Psalter.[188] The Bury Psalter's colophon is an inhabited initial for 'B' in **Beatus uir** in Psalm 1. Ohlgren describes it as follows:

> The initial is composed of animal-headed interlace knotwork at both ends of the shaft of the letter; the bows are filled with large-leaved scrolls ending in griffins' heads. In the middle of the shaft is a roundel with a cowled monk, sitting in a draped chair and writing with a pen. The Winchester-style frame is composed of acanthus friezes, rosettes on the four corners, and two lozenges with single birds.[189]

Rickert's view is that the 'tiny figure of a monk writing [is] possibly the scribe or illuminator of the manuscript'.[190] Moreover, Gameson observes that there was a short inscription, originally, surrounding the monk figure which is now illegible.[191] He summarizes the evidence of this colophon as follows:

> The context implies that the calligrapher/illuminator is to be seen as a 'blessed man who walks not in the counsel of the ungodly, whose delight is in the law of the Lord…[who] shall be like a tree planted by the rivers of water which brings forth his fruit in due season, whose leaf shall not wither, and whatever he does shall prosper' –

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[186] This is an eleventh-century psalter, produced for the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds which is now preserved in the Vatican Library in Rome. It contains a liturgical calendar, computus material, a *Gallicanum* psalter, Psalm 151, canticles, a litany and prayers as well as fifty-three marginal drawings. See Wormald, *English Drawings of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries*, p. 47 and Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, § 912.

[187] See, particularly, Harris, 'The Marginal Drawings of the Bury St Edmunds Psalter' and note that Harris devotes an entire chapter to the Paris Psalter illustrations. Ohlgren treats the Bury Psalter's illustrations and P's illustrations consecutively in both *Insular and Anglo-Saxon Illuminated Manuscripts: An Iconographic Catalogue* and *Anglo-Saxon Textual Illustration: Photographs of Sixteen Manuscripts with Descriptions and Index*, comp. and ed. by Thomas H. Ohlgren (Michigan: University of Western Michigan, Medieval Institute Publications, 1992). Rickert refers to the Bury Psalter and Paris Psalter, among other manuscripts, in a chapter entitled 'Anglo-Saxon Art from the Late Ninth to the Middle of the Eleventh Century' – see Rickert, *Painting in Britain in the Middle Ages*, p. 45 and p. 41, n. 60, respectively. Lastly, Wormald concludes his remarks on P's decorations by noting that their style is between those of the Bury Psalter and British Library, Cotton Titus D xxvii – see Wormald, 'The Decoration', p. 15.

[188] See Wormald, *English Drawings of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries*, p. 48 and Noel, 'The Utrecht Psalter in England: Continuity and Experiment', p. 131.

[189] Ohlgren, *Anglo-Saxon Textual Illustration*, p. 41. Note that the colophon is on fol. 21^{r} and Ohlgren refers to E. Temple, *A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, II: Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts 900-1066* (London: Harvey Miller, 1976), p. 100. Regrettably there is no digital facsimile of the Bury Psalter, however, a good (although black and white) reproduction of the colophon is in Ohlgren, *Anglo-Saxon Textual Illustration*, p. 249.

[190] Rickert, , *Painting in Britain in the Middle Ages*, p. 45.

[191] Gameson, *The Scribe Speaks? Colophons in Early English Manuscripts*, pp. 26-7.

> an implicit but supremely resonant version of the hopes articulated in so many written colophons. Whether the image was intended to represent the principal scribe responsible for the main body of the Psalter, the artist, or was rather conceived as a personification of the scriptorium as a whole is a moot point.[192]

I would offer that Gameson's 'moot point' can form the fulcrum of a platform in which the concept of the *psalteratus/a-scriba* extends beyond the borders of P. In other words, given the argument in this chapter, the scribe of the Bury Psalter may have wished to indicate his status as *psalteratus* by depicting himself in the manner that he does in the inhabited initial. Furthermore, he clearly also had a landscape-inflected approach to the psalter given the frame of acanthus friezes and rosettes used in this inhabited initial for Psalm 1 (the 'gateway' psalm) with the highly significant tree image analysed in all four chapters of this thesis. Lastly, if we can accept the possibility that this colophon may be 'conceived as a personification of the scriptorium' then the path is opened towards conceptualising a community of *psalterati-scribae*. It is important to acknowledge, here, that although both Wulfwinus Cada and the scribe of the Bury Psalter are men (given the former's name and the latter's depiction as a monk and not a nun), there were, of course, female scribes who copied psalters in early medieval England as indicated by the Sisams' observation that the Salisbury Psalter was probably produced in the Benedictine nunnery at Shaftesbury.[193] Also, I have been able to view the Blickling Psalter[194] and I noticed that on fol. 40^{r}, directly beneath the *titulus* for Psalm 108, there is a marginal drawing of a female figure who appears to be wearing a wimple.[195] This is implicit additional evidence of the involvement of women (*psalteratae*) in the production and use of psalters in early medieval England.

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[192] *Ibid*., p. 27.
[193] See, 'Introduction' in Sisam, p. 12.
[194] I am thankful to Nilda Lopez and Sylvie Merion for facilitating an excellent visit to the Morgan Library's Reading Room on 29 and 30 October, 2024.
[195] I was fortunate to be able to briefly discuss my photograph of this drawing with Elaine Treharne after the Kemble Lecture at Trinity College Dublin on 28 November, 2024. She concurred that the figure is probably female wearing what looks like a wimple.

3.3 Place: The Six Illustrated Psalms of P and the 'Place' of the Body; the *locus amoenus*; the *locus horribilis*

In the approach section I quoted from Carruthers' chapter 'Descriptions of the neuropsychology of memory' and highlighted the valence of 'places' and a 'somatic-aesthetic' within medieval, Aristotelian rhetoric around *memoria*.[196] It must be noted that some of the 'medieval heirs' of Aristotle – such as the Islamic philosopher Averroës (d. 1198) and Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274)[197] – to which Carruthers refers here were writing at a slightly later period than when P was produced. However, she does emphasize that the Utrecht Psalter is one of the 'best-known' examples of 'word-pictures' intended to facilitate the memorization and internalization of the psalms.[198] 'In it [the Utrecht Psalter], *picturae* and *litterae* together make up the litteratura, the text, and both address the **ocular gateway to memory**' (emphasis mine).[199] Notably, a somatic feature (in this case the eyes) is highlighted in its role in memory. Using Psalm 148 as a case study, Carruthers reaches the following conclusion:

> These images cue verses which one can then complete by note recitation. It is incorrect to think of the images as substituting for the words, or as an aid for beginners who do not already know the texts by another means. The pictures are only a jumble if, on seeing them, one does not recognize the topics which the images elicit, or – equally important – the order in which the verses occur…[T]his mnemonic system is based on a prior-retained foundation of verbatim memorization, acquired and fortified during the daily round of monastic offices by those using the Utrecht Psalter…The images provide a full *memoria rerum* of the Psalms.[200]

The relationship between the Utrecht Psalter and P has already been discussed. So, it follows, that some of Carruthers' observations (such as 'the ocular gateway to memory') and conclusions about the internalization of the psalms 'acquired and fortified during the daily round of monastic offices' may also be applicable to P as well. Furthermore, in Conference 10, Chapter 11 on the 'perfection of prayer' Cassian, an important figure in early English

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[196] See Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, p. 57.
[197] See *Ibid*, pp. 56-89.
[198] *Ibid*., pp. 281-5.
[199] *Ibid*., p. 282.
[200] *Ibid*., pp. 283 and 285.

monasticism,[201] emphasises the need for the postulant to take into themselves all the *adfectus* 'bodily dispositions'[202] of the psalms. He employs visceral somatic language to bring home his point; *scripturae diuinae* 'divine writings' is clearest in its *uenae medullaeque* 'veins and marrow' and *ipsi rerum naturae insita de interno cordis* 'the very nature of things implanted from the interior of the heart'.[203] There is potentially some evidence that P's artist retained just such a Cassian-inflected, embodied approach to the psalter in how they drew Illustrations 11 and 4.

The man and the lion (Illustration 11) and the man's chin grasped by the hand of God (Illustration 4) – a heightened physicality?

To begin with Illustration 11, this depiction of a lion standing over a naked man illustrates Psalm 7. 3 in which the speaker in the psalm implores God to protect them lest a persecutor seize their soul like a lion[204] and it has a parallel image in the Utrecht Psalter.[205] Harris's view, expressed in 1960, is that the Utrecht Psalter illustration is more of an 'exact counterpart'[206] than some of the other parallel illustrations. However, with the benefit of being able to zoom in on the images in the digital facsimile of the respective folios in each manuscript, some key differences in the P illustration are detectable. First, in keeping with the style of the other illustrations such as Illustration 3 (which also has a parallel Utrecht Psalter image) discussed earlier, the features of both the lion and especially the naked man are more 'animated' (to use Harris's term[207]) in the P image. Intriguingly, too, the lion appears to be smiling much more broadly in the P drawing than in the Utrecht Psalter's parallel.[208] Second, in the Paris image the torso of both the lion and the naked man are touching – the man is drawn with an arched

[201] See Sarah Foot, *Monastic Life in Anglo-Saxon England c. 600-900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 34, 41, 53, 130, 153, 195, 202, 211 and 232. Note that Foot highlights Cassian's 'prescription' to make the thoughts of the psalmist one's own in her explanation of how the Psalter was the 'vehicle through which the unlettered [postulant] learnt to read'. See *Ibid*., pp. 202-3.
[202] For the range of meanings for this term see 'Gaffiot 2016' on *Logeion* sv. *adfectus* <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/adfectus> [accessed 18 July 2025].
[203] See *Conférences: John Cassien* trans. and ed. by E Pichéry (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1955-59), Conf. 10.11.4-6, SCh 54: pp. 92-3 quoted in Duncan Robertson, *Lectio Divina: The Medieval Experience of Reading* (Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 2011), pp. 85-6.
[204] See *PP*, fol. 5^{r} and '11' in the list of Illustrations above, p. 161.
[205] See *UP*, fol. 4^{r}, lower left corner and Harris, 'The Marginal Drawings of the Bury St Edmunds Psalter', pp. 33-5.
[206] *Ibid*., p. 33.
[207] See Harris, 'The Marginal Drawings of the Bury St Edmunds Psalter', p. 32 and above.
[208] See *PP*, fol. 5^{r} and *UP*, fol. 4^{r}, lower left corner.

back almost 'presenting' his stomach and chest to the lion. Third, the lion's tail is drawn to go underneath its left hindleg and between the man's legs. Lastly, the man's body is drawn touching the words **domine deus meus** 'Lord my God' (the opening of the next verse) with his hand touching the 'e' in **meus**. None of the above is evident in the Utrecht parallel image[209] where the lion is depicted standing distinctly above the man with his front legs on the man's shoulder and neck (respectively) and his back legs on the man's stomach and knee (respectively).

Illustration 11 evinces, then, a more noticeably embodied approach to this psalm-verse here. The way in which the man's body lies above the words **domine deus meus** indicates that he is physically grasping the 'my' of 'Lord my God' and bodily expressing the sentiment expressed in Psalm 7. 2 (the preceding verse) which reads: **Domine Deus meus in te speraui / libera me ab omnibus persequentibus me et eripe me** 'Lord my God in you I have hoped / free me from all who persecute me and snatch me away'.[210] In other words, by grasping the 'e' in **meus** of **domine deus meus** (and lying on top of these words naked) the man in this illustration can be viewed as embodying the meaning of **Domine Deus meus in te speraui** in that he is totally vulnerable to the lion and is literally lying (and relying) on the words calling on God to save him.[211] Furthermore, this viscerally embodied depiction of an encounter between a man and a lion obliquely foreshadows an image that occurs a little later in this psalm in verse 10 where the psalmist declares that the wickedness of sinners will be finished because God leads the just as he is **scrutans corda et renes**[212] 'searching hearts and kidneys'. Notably, in ecclesiastical Latin *renes* can denote the 'seat of the affections'.[213] Also, the paraphrast, true to form, expands the sense of the Latin and renders this phrase as follows: *þu Drihten þe smeast heortan and ædra and manna geþohtas*[214] 'you Lord who search [the] hearts and kidneys and thoughts of men'. So, perhaps it can be argued, here, that in Illustration 11 P's artist adapts his 'exemplar' image in the Utrecht Psalter in keeping with his own

[209] See *UP*, fol. 4^{r}, lower left corner.
[210] *LPR*, Psalm VII. 2.
[211] Note that the artist chose to illustrate the very next verse in this psalm as well where he has drawn the psalmist praying before the hand of God. See *PP*, fol. 5^{r} and the description for Illustration 12 in the list above, p. 161.
[212] *LPR*, Ps. VII. 10.
[213] See 'LewisShort' on *Logeion* sv. *renes* <https://logeion.uchicago.edu/renes> [accessed 21 January 2025]. Note that one of the examples given is Psalm 138 where *renes* occurs in verse 13. See *LVB*, Ps. 138. 13 and *LPR*, Ps. 138. 13.
[214] *OEP*, Ps. 7. 10.

personal 'embodied' understanding of the psalter as *psalteratus* in a similar manner to the way the paraphrast adapted and interpreted the Latin (amplifying their source text with the addition of *geþohtas*) when they created their paraphrase.[215]

For an even clearer example, perhaps, of a personal, embodied approach to the psalter, we can turn to Illustration 4[216] which, unlike Illustration 11 discussed above, is one of only four images in P which do not have an equivalent in the Utrecht Psalter.[217] This drawing illustrates Psalm 3. 4: **tu autem Domine susceptor meus es / gloria mea et exaltans caput meum** 'But you Lord are my protector / my glory and the lifting of my head' and it is useful to consider possible reasons or reason why the choice was made to insert an illustration of the artist's own design for this particular psalm-verse.

One possibility is that P's artist wished to depict their understanding of a personal and physically intimate relationship with God. The primary evidence for this is the tenderness which is conveyed in the manner in which the hand of God cups the kneeling man's chin and the look of trust conveyed in the man's face.[218] Given that this illustration has no Utrecht Psalter parallel, the possibility cannot be ruled out that the artist chose to depict himself here (having internalized the 'I' of the psalmist/speaker in Psalm 3 in line with Cassian's instructions referenced earlier) with his head being lifted by the hand of God as per the relevant psalm text. In other words, this illustration as one of only four in P without a direct, known exemplar offers an especial window on its creator's attitude to the psalms.

Noticeably, too, the four fingers of the hand of God (which are visible to the viewer) in Illustration 4 are distinctly drawn as well as the hands of the kneeling figure. In fact, a hand or hands of all the human figures in the entire programme of illustration, apart from three of the heads in the pit in Illustration 2 and the six heads in the hell mouth in Illustration 9, are markedly drawn.[219] These noticeably drawn hands are somewhat of a departure from the Utrecht Psalter's style as I indicated in the discussion of the respective Christ figures in

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[215] See, for example, Chapter 2, above, Sections 2.2, 2.3 and 2.4, respectively, for how the paraphrast does this within the lenses of landscape, place and space.
[216] See *PP*, fol. 2^{v} and the entry for Illustration 4 on p. 159 in the list above.
[217] See Harris, 'The Marginal Drawings of the Bury St Edmunds Psalter', pp. 36-7 and note that the four images without an Utrecht Psalter parallel are Illustrations 4 (*PP*, fol. 2^{v}), 7 (*PP*, fol. 3^{r}), 8 (*PP*, fol. 3^{v}) and 13 (*PP*, fol. 6^{r}).
[218] See *PP*, fol. 2^{v}.
[219] See Illustrations 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11 and 12 in *PP*, fols. 1^{r}, 1^{v}, 2^{r}, 2^{v}, 3^{r}, 3^{v}, 4^{r}, 5^{r} and 6^{r}.

Illustration 3 and the Utrecht Psalter parallel.[220] For example, Harris notes that a 'standing figure of a psalmist is a commonplace in the literal psalter recension and may be found on numerous pages of the Utrecht Psalter'.[221] When the standing psalmist figure appears in the Utrecht Psalter[222] his hands are visible but generally not as distinctive as the hands of the psalmist in, particularly, Illustration 5 or Illustration 12.[223] In the discussion of P's colophon, earlier, I drew attention to the phrase *manu sua conscripsit* 'wrote [this] with his own hand' to develop an argument for the embodied nature of Wulfwinus Cada's scribal work which he, perhaps, wished to indicate by specifically mentioning his own hand. Viewing the style in which the hands of the P figures are drawn in light of this phrase in the colophon may perhaps reinforce the possibility that Wulfwinus Cada (if he was indeed P's artist) did not only draw attention to the embodied nature of scribal work in general but also understood the psalms themselves as a physical part of himself.[224]

The locus amoenus *and* locus horribilis *as evinced in Illustration 8 of the psalmist and Illustration 9 of the hell-mouth*

In the two previous chapters the 'place' lens has included a discussion of the tension between the *locus amoenus* and the *locus horribilis* as evident in the *Romanum* and OE Psalms (Prose and Metrical). Here in the drawings of P this tension is again noticeable – particularly within the two consecutive illustrations 8 and 9. Illustration 8[225] was analysed within the landscape lens in regard to the inclusion of two trees beside the psalmist. Notably, this Illustration is one of the four without an Utrecht Psalter parallel and, as highlighted in the previous discussion, it contains, perhaps, one of the earliest uses of the compass to denote *justitia*.[226] Given these facts, it is useful to consider this illustration as an expression of the artist's personal vision of a *locus amoenus*. Moreover, in Chapter 1, I noted that there is a conceptual overlap between 'landscape' and 'place' in that the idea of a *locus amoenus* is intricately bound with the

[220] See *PP* and *UP,* fol. 2^{r} and the discussion on Illustration 3 above.
[221] Harris, 'The Marginal Drawings of the Bury St Edmunds Psalter', p. 36.
[222] See, for example, *UP*, fols. 4^{r}, 4^{v}, 7^{v}, 8^{r}, 14^{r} and 16^{r}. Also see *Ibid*., p. 79, n. 20.
[223] See *PP*, fols. 3^{r} and 5^{r} respectively.
[224] We can perhaps view the psalmist in Illustrations 5 and 12 as potential reflections of the artist/Wulfwinus himself given the discussion of Illustration 4 and Cassian's instructions about internalizing the psalter from the viewpoint of the speaker/psalmist in each of the 150 psalms.
[225] See *PP*, fol. 3^{v}.
[226] See Harris, 'The Marginal Drawings of the Bury St Edmunds Psalter', p. 36 and above.

concept of an 'ideal landscape'[227] and here in Illustration 8 this ideal landscape is indicated by the two trees and the undulating 'ground' lines discussed earlier.[228] It is perhaps plausible, too, that the vision of a *locus amoenus* is bound up with the concept of 'justice' given the following two factors. First, the relevant psalm text here shows God as not wanting **iniquitatem** 'injustice';[229]second, Illustration 8 departs from the Utrecht Psalter's iconography by depicting 'justice' with the compass in the hand of God.[230]

There is also further implicit evidence that the concept of 'justice' is inextricably linked to the vision of a *locus amoenus* in P's illustration programme in that the only two times the word **iustitiae** 'justice' occurs (in Psalm 4. 2 and 6), in the opening psalms (Psalms 1-7[231]) which are illustrated, *both* these verses have received an illustration – Illustrations 5 and 6.[232] In other words, it is perhaps no accident that psalm-verses including the concept of God's justice[233] were selected for illustration in a highly protracted programme of drawings.

Illustration 8 is followed by Illustration 9 which is of a hell-mouth with six heads[234] – an obvious *locus horribilis*. Its relevant psalm text reads: **odisti Domine omnes qui operantur iniquitatem / perdes eos qui loquuntur mendacium**[235] 'you, Lord, hate all who work injustice / you will destroy those who speak a lie'. Although this drawing does have a parallel[236] Harris points out that the P artist 'characteristically transforms the flaming abyss of the Utrecht Psalter…into a Hell's mouth, a characteristically English touch'.[237] For the current analysis, it is revealing that P's artist again chose to illustrate a verse concerning justice – in this case God's hatred of 'those who work injustice'. Moreover, given that Illustration 8 is of a justice-inflected *locus amoenus* and an 'original' design and Illustration 9 is of an injustice-inflected *locus horribilis* and a distinctive 'adaptation', it can be posited that the tension between the *locus amoenus* and *locus horribilis* in these consecutive illustrations may reflect a

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[227] See Chapter 1, above, Section 1.3.
[228] See *PP,* fol. 3^{v} and above.
[229] See *LPR*, Ps. V. 7 and Illustration 8 in the list above, p. 160.
[230] See *PP*, fol. 3^{v}, Harris, 'The Marginal Drawings of the Bury St Edmunds Psalter', p. 36 and above.
[231] Psalm 6 is the only one among this group without an illustration.
[232] See *PP*, fol. 3^{r} and '5' and '6' in the list above, pp. 159-61, for the description and accompanying psalm texts.
[233] In Psalm 4. 6 this is a **sacrificium iustitiae** 'sacrifice of justice' where the psalmist exhorts the hearer/reader to 'offer the sacrifice of justice and hope in the Lord'. See Illustration 6, *Ibid.*
[234] See *PP*, fol. 3^{v} and Illustration 9 in the list above, p. 160.
[235] *LPR*, Ps. V. 7, opening two membra.
[236] See *UP*, fol. 3^{r}, bottom right corner.
[237] Harris, 'The Marginal Drawings of the Bury St Edmunds Psalter', p. 33.

personal engagement with the psalter. The vision of a *locus amoenus* is bound up with justice and the vision of hell (an obvious *locus horribilis*) is inextricably linked to those who 'work injustice'. The fact that the six heads in the hell mouth in Illustration 9 are among the very few human figures depicted without bodies and especially hands[238] is some further evidence that one aspect of the hell vision is its disembodied character.

Before leaving the 'place' lens to turn to the 'space' section, it is worthwhile to consider some of the broader implications of the relationship between illustrated psalm texts and the mind, given the wider concerns of this thesis and one of the concerns of this section – namely the embodiment of psalm texts (with their powerful range of expressed emotion). On the relationship between the Utrecht Psalter and the minds of those engaging with it, Henry Mayr-Harting is instructive. He writes:

> But **reciters of the psalms have their own emotions**, not always easily controllable. Monks, let alone seculars, come from social backgrounds of their own; they had brothers, parents and cousins or nephews and nieces, who faced the full turbulences of the world; they themselves and their monasteries were often caught up in the violent politics of their time…The psalms express many benevolent emotions – thanksgiving, praise, wonder at the glories of creation. But they often express darker emotions too – fear, anger, bewilderment, feelings of abandonment, desire for revenge…These [lament psalms] have the function of saying to God in effect: 'look, Lord these emotions are too strong for me to control, so I lay them before you as they are and as I am'…**The drawings could help the person praying to articulate his or her emotions** (emphases mine).[239]

Mayr-Harting echoes Augustine here who valued the psalms for 'their use as therapeutic one might almost say psychological, exercises, where the person who prayed them was taken through a process of rage, complaint, or lamentation, to end up turning his or her affections towards God'.[240] Furthermore, Gameson has asserted that no other cycle of illustrations 'was

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[238] See discussion, above.

[239] Henry Mayr-Harting, 'Praying the Psalter in Carolingian Times: What Was Supposed to be Going on in the Minds of Monks?', in *Prayer and Thought in Monastic Tradition: Essays in Honour of Benedicta Ward SLG*, ed. by Santha Bhattacharji and Rowan Williams (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), pp. 77-100 (p. 84).

[240] Rushforth, 'Annotated Psalters and Psalm Study in Late Anglo-Saxon England: The Manuscript Evidence', pp. 46-7. Note that Rushforth is referring to Michael Fiedrowicz's synopsis of Augustine's approach to the psalms here. See Michael Fiedrowicz, 'General Introduction' in *Saint Augustine: Expositions of the Psalms, I. Psalms 1-32*, ed. by J. E. Rotelle (Hyde Park, NY: New City Press, 2000), pp. 13-66 (pp. 39-43).

more frequently referred to by late Anglo-Saxon artists than the Utrecht Psalter'.[241] We have already seen how the Utrecht Psalter's designs inflected P's artist's approach to the psalms. It is perhaps more than reasonable, then, to infer that some of the impetus behind such frequent recourse to the Utrecht Psalter illustrations (as seen in P) stemmed from these 'monastic'[242] artists having processed a range of emotion via these drawings. In other words, the great value placed on psalters,[243] and especially an illustrated psalter such as the Utrecht Psalter (and inferentially P), may well stem from the profound way these texts express the human experience and the positive benefits of regularly meditating on them.

3.4 Space: The Illustrations and Dimensions of P Viewed Through the Psalmic Root Metaphor of 'Pathway'

The space lens in the preceding chapters has been used to consider how one of the psalter's root metaphors namely 'pathway' (powerfully articulated by Brown[244]) can be seen to operate in the *Romanum*, and OE Psalms (Prose and Metrical). I argue that P's distinctly long and narrow dimensions (discussed briefly earlier in contextualising Wulfwinus Cada's difficult task in producing it[245]) can be seen to physically encapsulate this root metaphor – namely a long and narrow path. This lens, then, offers a fresh way to examine P's much remarked on proportions.

The dimensions of P seen as a 'pathway' through the psalms

Within the range of manuscripts produced in early medieval Britain, no category comes close to the diversity in sizes of psalters which is 'a striking physical advertisement of its varied yet central role in contemporary culture'.[246] P is notably the largest[247] and can be considered in itself 'a striking physical advertisement' of the psalter's root metaphor of 'pathway' as will become clear in the subsequent discussion.

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[241] Richard Gameson, *The Role of Art in the Late Anglo-Saxon Church* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), p. 17.
[242] Gameson's investigation was especially directed to the 'monastic sector'. See *Ibid*., p. 1.
[243] See Chapter 2, above, Section 2.1, Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, pp. 221-5 and Sisam, pp. 74-5 for the rationale for this 'great value'.
[244] See Brown, *Seeing the Psalms: A Theology of Metaphor*, Chapter 2, '"I Shall Walk in Freedom": The Metaphor of Pathway', pp. 31-53.
[245] See Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, p. 107 and, above.
[246] Richard Gameson, 'The Material Fabric of Early British Books' in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*: *Volume I c. 400-1100*, ed. by Richard Gameson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 24.
[247] *Ibid.*, n. 41.

As has been already noted, this tall and narrow (526 x 186mm)[248] manuscript is divided into two columns with the *Romanum* Latin Psalms on the left and the OE (Prose and then Metrical) Psalms on the right. Toswell, remarks that the average column width is 42mm and that the 'proportion of column width to height of writing space is 1: 10' and suggests that '[s]uch a proportion, carried out throughout the manuscript with mathematical exactitude, may well be part of the explanation for the unusual shape and layout of the codex'.[249]

Gameson directs his remarks to P's text-column decoration and argues for a priority given to the Latin due to the fact it is in the left-hand column which the eye goes to first. He summarizes the effect of the coloured initials in the two columns of text as follows:

> Turning to the verse initials, we find that the designer so arranged them as to take advantage of the two-column format to enhance the decorative effect of the book as a whole. He alternated between gold and coloured initials from verse to verse and from column to column, using colour in the Old English where there was gold in the Latin and vice versa. The pleasing and orderly visual articulation of this highly unusual volume is a striking tribute to the skill of its designer and the scriptorium responsible.[250]

We can begin to detect, then, in both the manuscript's numerical proportions as well as its 'verse initial' design, a carefully constructed visual reflection of a pathway through the psalms. The alternating colours of the initials can be viewed as alternating 'steps' through each psalm verse. In other words, the careful thought behind how the two narrow columns of text appear within this long and narrow codex may have been a conscious decision to reflect one of the psalter's root metaphors. Toswell further contextualizes the unusual layout as follows:

> This kind of layout is also a feature of a much earlier group of texts. Of the fourteen Biblical manuscripts or fragments written before AD 400 or not long thereafter which are from rolls…six are copies of the psalms. There may – as the rolls imply – be something sacred about a tall narrow book because rarely in insular iconography of the

[248] See Gameson, *The Role of Art in the Late Anglo-Saxon Church*, p. 220, Toswell, 'The Format of Bibliothèque Nationale MS Lat. 8824', p. 130.
[249] Toswell, *Ibid*.
[250] Gameson, *The Role of Art in the Late Anglo-Saxon Church*, p. 220. I would add, after viewing the manuscript, that I have no hesitation in concurring with Gameson's view of the effect of the verse initials and column design here.

> late Anglo-Saxon period does there occur a manuscript as wide as it is tall. Usually Christ, the evangelists, even the monks hold very long narrow books. These are obviously impractical, and they perhaps serve aesthetic purposes in the illuminations, but the feature is nevertheless intriguing.[251]

This evocation of the ancient, which is associated with the sacred, in the manuscript's design was also noticed by Wormald in terms of 'the system of illustration' which he points out (citing Kurt Weitzmann[252]) 'is a very old one and is found in Greek papyri and scientific texts'.[253] In the chapter analysing the relationship between image and text in classical rolls, Weitzmann describes the 'earliest [dated either 165 BCE or 193-190 BCE] illustrated Greek papyrus roll which has come down to us' in the following manner:

> The text deals with the eclipse of the sun, moon, the planets, and a survey of the rotation of the starred heaven. Most of its twenty-three writing columns are interspersed with diagrammatic schemes of the zodiac and drawings of the constellations.[254]

It is immediately apparent that the illustration programme of P (with the thirteen drawings interspersed within a column of text and some of the figures even standing and walking on the text beneath them[255]) reflects the relationship of text and image in this earliest Greek papyrus roll. For the current discussion, then, I would like to raise the question of whether a connection can be drawn from this oblique evidence of P's two-column, long and narrow design being inflected with that of ancient rolls and the concept of 'pathway'.

First century Jewish Christians sometimes referred to themselves as people of 'the Way'[256] – it was pagan Romans who gave them the 'nickname "Christians"'.[257] Furthermore, in the 'space' section in Chapter 1, I drew attention to Cassiodorus's commentary on **semitas** 'paths' in Psalm 24. 4 where he encourages the reader to understand this 'path' term as

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[251] Toswell, 'The Format of Bibliothèque Nationale MS Lat. 8824', p. 132. See *Ibid.,* n. 14 for a list of illustrations depicting either Christ or other figures holding a long and narrow book.
[252] See Kurt Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex: A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1947).
[253] Wormald, 'The Decoration', p. 15.
[254] Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, p. 49.
[255] See the discussion in Section 3.2, pp. 160-4, above.
[256] This is implicit in Henry Chadwick's description of the earliest church in his chapter entitled 'From Jerusalem to Rome'. See Henry Chadwick, *The Early Church* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1967), p. 16.
[257] *Ibid*.

'familiar to few and known to be narrow'.[258] In other words, given some of the emphasis placed on 'narrow' pathways in the psalms, which we have already seen in the analysis in the previous chapters,[259] as well as the earliest self-perception of Christians as a group, it cannot be ruled out that P's long, narrow and possibly 'ancient roll' inspired design *deliberately* reflects a 'pathway' through the psalms for the *psalteratus* who so carefully created it and perhaps, also, for the reader or readers who engaged with it.

Illustration 5 – a potential reflection of the root metaphor of 'pathway' in the psalms?

There is potentially some substantial evidence that P's artist/Wulfwinus Cada was aware of the valence of 'pathway' in the psalter, or how the 'world-creating power of path making is characteristic of the Psalter's performative power',[260] in the treatment of the psalmist figure in Illustration 5.[261] In the discussion of the psalmist figure within the 'landscape' in Illustration 8, earlier, attention was directed to the fact that this drawing had no precedent in the Utrecht Psalter[262] and as such was a useful indicator of its creator's style and approach to the psalms. I also drew attention to Illustration 5, briefly, in regard to the figure's prominently drawn hands as well as the fact that this drawing's relevant psalm-verse includes **iustitiae** – a noticeable feature in Wulfwinus Cada's conception of the *locus amoenus* detectable in his illustration programme.

Here, in this section, attention needs to be directed towards the fact that the psalmist figure is noticeably walking and not standing along a 'path' above the letters of the psalm text beneath him. To the best of my knowledge, whenever the psalmist figure appears in the Utrecht Psalter he is always standing and not walking.[263] Harris, who I quoted in the earlier discussion on the depiction of hands in P, refers to the '**standing** figure of the psalmist' in 'literal psalter recension' (emphasis mine).[264] Also, Dufrenne observes that the psalmist is frequently depicted (in an ancient, formulaic posture of prayer) in the Utrecht Psalter and

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[258] Walsh, *Cassiodorus: Explanation of the Psalms*, Vol. 1, p. 249.
[259] Particularly the analysis of **semitas** and *stige* 'upland path'. See, respectively, Chapter 1, above, Section 1.4 and Chapter 2, above, Section 2.4.
[260] Brown, *Seeing the Psalms*, p. 52.
[261] See *PP*, fol. 3^{r}, upper left of page.
[262] See Harris, 'The Marginal Drawings of the Bury St Edmunds Psalter', pp. 36-7 and above. Also see n. 111, above, for the list of illustrations in P without a parallel in the Utrecht Psalter according to Harris's assessment.
[263] For examples in the first twenty psalms see *UP*, fols. 3^{r} (left quarter of image), 4^{r} (top left corner), 4^{v} (left quarter of image), 7^{v} (left half of image) and 8^{r} (top right corner, in front of a tree).
[264] Harris, 'The Marginal Drawings of the Bury St Edmunds Psalter', p. 36.

when he appears he *'se tient debout, les bras tenus près du corps, les mains largement ouvertes, paume en avant*' 'stands, arms held close to the body, hands widely open, palm forward'.[265] So, the fact that the figure in Illustration 5 is clearly walking, instead of standing (still with his palms open), is an intriguing departure from the ancient formulaic posture of prayer so well represented in the Utrecht Psalter which served (as discussed above) as a model for some of the other illustrations in P. This divergence naturally raises the question of why P's artist chose to depict, here,[266] the praying or 'appealing' psalmist walking toward the hand of God which emerges from the clouds above him. To move toward understanding the possible rationale, we need to revisit this illustration's accompanying text which reads: **Cum inuocarem te exaudisti me Deus iustitiae meae / in tribulatione dilatasti me** 'When I would call upon you, you heard me, God of my justice / in [my] distress you enlarged me'.[267] Notably, the paraphrast renders **in tribulatione dilatasti me** as *on minum earfoðum and nearonessum þu me gerymdest*[268] which O'Neill translates as 'in my difficulties and constraints you cleared **a way** for me' (emphasis mine).[269] O'Neill's translation of *gerymdest* cues us to the fact that *weg* 'way' can collocate with *geryman* 'to enlarge' or 'to expand'.[270] So given, then, that one of the meanings of *gerymdest* is 'cleared a way',[271] one possible reason that the psalmist is depicted as walking towards the hand of God is because the artist was considering the meaning of both **dilatasti me** 'enlarged me' and *me gerymdest* 'cleared a way for me' at the same time. In other words, they wanted to reflect the opening of a 'pathway' sense in this psalm-verse carried more by the OE and not the Latin. Harris's evidence (which I quoted earlier) that Illustration 13, although found in the *Romanum* column of text, has no precedent in the Utrecht Psalter and depicts the sense of the relevant OE and

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[265] Dufrenne, *Les illustrations du psautier d'Utrecht: Sources et apport carolingien*, p. 124. Also see *Ibid*., *Planche* 71, '*Prière et gestes symboliques*', for 46 instances of the '*prière du psalmiste*' in the manuscript and note that the psalmist is always standing not walking. The relevant fols. in *UP* are: 3^{r}, 4^{r}, 4^{v}, 8^{r}, 14^{v}, 16^{r}, 20^{v}, 26^{v}, 27^{r}, 27^{v}, 32^{v}, 35^{v}, 37^{r}, 49^{r}, 56^{r}, 56^{v}, 62^{v} and 82^{r}.
[266] Notably, in the other two Illustrations (8 and 12) where the psalmist appears he is standing. See *PP*, fols. 3^{v} and 5^{r} and '8' and '12' in the list above, pp. 159-60.
[267] See *LPR*, Ps. IV. 2 and Illustration 5, on p. 160, in the list above.
[268] *OEP*, Ps. 4. 2.
[269] *Ibid.*
[270] See *B-T*, sv. *ge-rýman* for examples of such collocations. Notably one occurs in *Dream*, ll. 88b-89a: *ærþan ic him lifes weg rihtne gerymde* 'before I cleared for them [the voice-bearers] a fitting life's way'. See Swanton, p. 98. Notably, too, Baker includes 'clear a way' as one of the meanings for *ge-rýman*. See Baker, 'Glossary', in *Introduction to Old English*, sv. *(ge)rýman*.
[271] See Baker, *Ibid*.

not the Latin psalm-verse[272] adds ballast to the possibility I am suggesting here. Furthermore, the artist's 'readiness' to 'invent new and more explicit images'[273] to subtly depict the meaning of both the *Romanum* and OE (here in Illustration 5) is, perhaps, another indicator of a thoughtful engagement with psalm texts in both Latin and the vernacular and as such offers support for this person to be considered *psalteratus/a* in this case.

Another factor to consider in Illustration 5 is the layered valence of what the psalmist is depicted as moving towards. Ostensibly, given the relevant psalm text, he is moving towards the hand of the God of his justice – **Deus iustitiae meae**. We have seen, in the Section 3.3 that P's illustration programme exhibits a **iustitiae**-inflected vision of the *locus amoenus*.[274] We have also considered in, Chapter 2, the depiction of the *locus amoenus* in the paraphrast's and psalm-poet's treatment of **refugium** 'refuge' and noticed that the paraphrast evokes both 'root metaphors' of the psalter (namely 'pathway' and 'refuge') in their treatment of *wræc-sið* 'exile-journey' and *frið-stowe* 'place of refuge'[275] respectively. I would offer, then, that the depiction of the psalmist moving towards the hand of the 'God of his justice' is also a depiction of the psalmist moving towards the *locus amoenus* of 'refuge' inherent in this presentation of a divine relationship. So, like the paraphrast with their deployment of *wræc-sið* and *frið-stow*, P's artist evokes, in this illustration, the two root metaphors of the psalter. In doing this, they again reveal how they are likely to have internalized the psalms.

Brown's articulation of the function of the two root metaphors and how they interact is forceful. He writes:

> Indeed, "pathway" denotes the *ongoing* process of refuge making by which the psalmist can ultimately leave behind the cry for vengeance in favor of the call to praise, a move illustrated by the general movement of the Psalter as a whole. As Psalm 1 lays out the "path" of righteousness, the journey is not complete without entrance into "refuge," the world-embracing setting for thanksgiving and praise, as conveyed in Psalms 146-150. A veritable rite of passage, or more precisely a "rite of incorporation," is created by which the user of the psalms is incorporated into the all-encompassing *communitas* of God's favor…But "refuge" is not only a destination, just

[272] See above and Harris, 'An Illustration in an Anglo-Saxon Psalter in Paris'.
[273] Harris, *Ibid*., p. 260.
[274] See above, Section 3.3.
[275] See, respectively, Chapter 2, above, Sections 2.4 and 2.3.

> as "pathway" is not merely a liminal state of transition. On the one hand, the pray-er of psalms who embarks on the "pathway" seeks to be enclosed within the protective walls of God's "refuge". On the other hand, the psalmist's journey is by no means concluded once refuge is taken. Both "pathway" and "refuge" are continually at work in the psalmist's words.[276]

I would suggest that Illustration 5 makes a move towards distilling these two dynamic metaphors in all their range of meaning and intersection (as expressed above by Brown) for the reasons outlined in the preceding paragraph.

Conclusions

This chapter has employed the concept of a *psalteratus-scriba* (coined and explained in Section 3.1) to argue (within the three respective lenses) that internalised psalm texts themselves, tacitly or overtly, may have influenced both the illustration programme and manuscript design in P. Because, as maintained by Ker, Gameson and Toswell,[277] this psalter manuscript was produced by a single scribe who describes himself in the colophon as *Sacer dei* (implicitly someone who may have internalized the psalms) and who, somewhat unusually, has given us his name – Wulfwinus Cada – this scribe himself may be viewed as a possible prototype *psalteratus-scriba*. (This point is also explained and elaborated in Section 3.1.) Moreover, while previous scholarship has acknowledged P's visual links to the Utrecht Psalter, this chapter has reconsidered those connections through the frameworks of landscape, place, and space, offering a new perspective on the manuscript's illustration programme and unusually long and narrow design.

The landscape lens revealed (drawing on Berger's analysis of the same parallels in the Utrecht Psalter) how the groundlines in some of the images with figures echo those found in mosaic panels of synagogues in late antique Galilee. It also showed a noticeable concern, on the part of P's artist, who could well be Wulfwinus Cada himself, with positioning figures (in this case the psalmist) within a landscape (particularly with trees) and not *ex nihilo* in Illustration 8. This illustration has no precedent in the Utrecht Psalter and as such served as an indicator of the artist's personal style and 'landscape-inflected' approach to the psalms.

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[276] Brown, *Seeing the Psalms*, p. 52.
[277] See n. 15 and 20 above.

The place lens considered aspects of embodiment as well as revisited the concepts of the *locus amoenus* and *locus horribilis*. A noticeably embodied approach to psalm depiction was uncovered in Illustration 11 where the lion and naked man are drawn touching one another in very close proximity, whereas in the Utrecht Psalter's parallel image the lion stands above the man with a more aloof posture. Brown remarks that '[o]f all the species profiled in the Psalter, the most common is the lion' and regarding the psalm text relevant to Illustration 11 he notes that there is an ivory relief in the British Museum dated between the late eighth to early seventh century BCE which depicts a lion devouring a boy.[278] Given the evidence noted by Wormald[279] (which I reference in Section 3.4 above) that the style of illustration in P is an ancient one drawn, indirectly, from Greek papyri, it is intriguing to consider the possibility that exposure to an ancient image of this type may have influenced the depiction in Illustration 11. A consideration of the *locus amoenus* and *locus horribilis* revealed a justice-inflected vision of the former and a disembodied vision of the latter.

The space lens was used to investigate the highly unusual long and narrow dimensions of the manuscript as a visual representation of the psalter's root metaphor of 'pathway' as well as the distinctive depiction of a walking and not a standing psalmist in Illustration 5. The alternation between the gold and coloured initials, which precede each (Latin and OE) psalm verse, can, perhaps, be seen to act as a visual cue to 'stepping' through all 150 psalms in both languages. Close examination of the physical manuscript recently reenforced how the Latin and OE text is adeptly presented in dual psalm pathways. As I remarked in the Introduction, it was noticeable, too, that the OE Introductions precede the Latin *tituli* for Psalms 2-50 which, in my view, detracts somewhat from Gameson's view that the column design always gives precedence to the Latin.[280] Visually, of course, these OE Introductions go across both columns in blocks of text which has the possible effect of foregrounding the OE ahead of psalms 2-50.

Lastly, as Wormald and Toswell note, there is no detectable reason why the programme of illustration was not continued after Psalm 7.[281] Whatever the reasons for

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[278] Brown, *Seeing the Psalms*, p. 136. A reproduction of the relief is on p. 137 and shows the lion with its jaws at the boy's neck and its left paw around his head. In other words, it looks like the lion is embracing the boy to eat him.
[279] Wormald, 'The Decoration', p. 15.
[280] Gameson, *The Role of Art in the Late Anglo-Saxon Church*, p. 220 referred to above.
[281] Wormald, 'The Decoration', p. 15 and Toswell, 'The Format of Bibliothèque Nationale MS Lat. 8824', p. 132.

stopping the illustrations were, the thirteen drawings that have come down to us tell of a psalm-soaked intellect (in both Latin and the vernacular) who took great care to produce a singular, long and narrow manuscript that has served as an excellent testbed to investigate the psalms and images therein via landscape, place and space.

Chapter 4

Landscape, Place and Space – the Resonance of the Psalms in OE Poetry

4.1 The *Psalteratus* or *Psalterata* as *Scop*

Two somewhat underemphasized facts are that the Metrical Psalms of P are both the 'largest single poetic work in Old English' and the most commonly cited 'surviving work of Old English poetry'.[1] Also, the influence of the psalms on OE poetry generally is beginning to become more widely noticed.[2] It is sensible then, given this context, to include a chapter (the present chapter) on the influence of the psalms on OE poetry (in this case within the lenses of landscape, place and space) in a thesis centred on the manuscript that contains this longest piece of OE poetry which is so widely referred to.

As I indicated above, the reverberation of the psalms in OE poetry has, of course, been discerned and analysed before – notably by Jane Toswell,[3] and, before her, Geoffrey Shepherd.[4] Stephen Harris has, also, observed that the psalms can be regularly detected in OE poetry but '[t]oday's readers are less likely to recognize these allusions than were Anglo-Saxon monks whose common duty it was to memorize the entire psalter in Latin'.[5]

Furthermore, *Cædmon's Hymn*, long held as the earliest written evidence of the creation of oral vernacular poetry[6] and the habitual starting point for many analyses of OE

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[1] See Jackson J. Campbell, 'Knowledge of Rhetorical Figures in Anglo-Saxon England', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 66 (1966), 1-20, p. 16 and Thornbury, *Becoming a Poet in Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 228.

[2] For a recent example see Harriet Soper, 'Emotional Anthologies: The Exeter Riddles and the Psalms', *English Studies*, 105 (2024), 404-29.

[3] See M. J. Toswell, 'Psalm Genres in Old English Poetry', in *The Psalms and Medieval English Literature: From the Conversion to the Reformation* in *The Psalms and Medieval English Literature*, ed. by Tamara Atkin and Francis Leneghan (Cambridge: Brewer, 2017), pp. 218-32, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, Chapter 6 'The Psalms in Old English Texts: Source and Structure', pp. 341-64 and 'Structures of Sorrow: The Lament Psalms in Medieval England' in *Laments for the Lost in Medieval Literature*, ed. by Jane Tomie and M. J. Toswell (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), pp. 21-44. Also note that as early as 1911 the German philologist Max Kaluza 'compared the recitation of expanded lines in Old English poetry with the intonation of Psalm verses'. See Peter Clemoes, *Liturgical Influence on Punctuation in Late Old English and Early Middle English Manuscripts* (Cambridge: Department of Anglo-Saxon, 1952), p. 15.

[4] Geoffrey Shepherd, 'Scriptural Poetry', in *Continuations and Beginnings*, ed. by E. G. Stanley (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1966), pp. 1-36.

[5] Harris, 'Happiness in the Psalms', p. 300.

[6] See Richard Marsden, *The Cambridge Old English Reader*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 112, Peter S. Baker, *Introduction to Old English*, 3rd edn (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), pp. 210-11, Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, *Visible Song: Transitional Literacy in Old English Verse* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 24 and Daniel Donoghue, *How the Anglo-Saxons Read Their Poems* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), pp. 11-13.

poetry/poetics,[7] contains vivid psalmic overtones.[8] Bruce Holsinger notes that one of the few scholars to take seriously the influence of the psalms on the *Hymn* was N. F. Blake[9] who, in 1962, wrote the following:

> But I would like to suggest that Caedmon owed more to the psalms than to any other poetry in existence at his time. There are in the Psalter, especially towards the end of it, many psalms which can be classified as "hymns of praise", in which the psalmist praises God for the creation of the world. It is here that Caedmon would have found not only material, but also the purpose and the form which could have served as the model for his Hymn, for many of these psalms show a marked similarity to Caedmon's Hymn.[10]

Writing after Blake, Andy Orchard observes that 'much of the thought of Caedmon's Hymn finds a close parallel in the Psalms' and lists quotations from Psalms 18. 1, 65. 4-5, 106. 8, 15, 21 and 31, 113. 23-4, 144. 4-5 and 10-12 and 145. 6 to illustrate his point. He also remarks that 'the striking similarity between the diction of the Psalms and the liturgy and that of the *Hymn*' can be explained by considering 'Caedmon's everyday familiarity with such religious texts in a monastic environment, although one would have to suppose that Caedmon was able to have access to such material in the vernacular'.[11] For the purposes of the present discussion, there are two points to raise here in terms of Orchard's remarks. First, his supposition that Caedmon may have had access to the psalms in the vernacular is an oblique pointer that this *fraeter quidam* 'certain brother' who entered Hild's monastery at Whitby at an advanced age and set about memorizing and ruminating on all he was told (presumably including the psalms) by his fellow monastics, may possibly be considered *psalteratus* who consequentially (as outlined in the Introduction) may have meditated on the psalms in both Latin and OE.[12]

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[7] For a recent example see Jennifer A. Lorden, *Forms of Devotion in Early English Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023), pp. 1-4.

[8] See N. F. Blake, 'Caedmon's Hymn', *Notes and Queries*, 207 (1962), 243-46, Andy Orchard, 'Poetic Inspiration and Prosaic Translation: The Making of *Cædmon's Hymn*' in *Studies in English Language and Literature: 'Doubt Wisely'. Papers in Honour of E. G. Stanley*, ed. by M. J. Toswell and E. M. Tyler (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 402-22, (p. 414-15), Bruce Holsinger, 'The Parable of Caedmon's "Hymn": Liturgical Invention and Literary Tradition', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 106 (2007), 149-75 and Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, pp. 360-3.

[9] See Holsinger, 'The Parable of Caedmon's "Hymn"', p. 165, n. 36.

[10] Blake, 'Caedmon's Hymn', pp. 243-4.

[11] Orchard, 'Poetic Inspiration and Prosaic Translation', pp. 414 and 415

[12] See *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 414-21. We of course cannot know for sure whether Caedmon (a previously secular cowherd) acquired the psalms in Latin along with the OE, but the indicators are that this may

Second, Orchard emphasises that it is the diction of the psalms, specifically, which is immediately detectable in the *Hymn*. A significant aspect of diction is, of course, vocabulary choice[13] – the primary vehicle through which I have investigated how landscape, place and space intersect with the mind in both the *Romanum* and OE (Prose and Metrical) Psalms. So, the possibility that the creator of the first recorded oral vernacular poem, Cædmon, may have been consciously or unconsciously influenced by the psalms and the fact that it is psalmic diction, explicitly, that is observable in the *Hymn*, are patent indicators of how OE poetry was likely forged in minds suffused with psalm imagery. Before offering a rationale of my method and selection of poems, it is helpful to consider more closely the notion of a *psalteratus* or *psalterata* who creates poetry within the relatively new category of 'monastic poetics'.

The salmscop-scop and 'monastic poetics'

Brian O'Camb's innovative term 'monastic poetics'[14] has risen to prominence predominantly via the opening chapter of John Niles's relatively recent monograph *God's Exiles and English Verse: On the Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry*.[15] It is useful, however, to contextualise O'Camb's coinage.

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have been the case if he was able to memorize and ruminate on all he heard (which must have included the psalms) from his brethren in the monastery. Many thanks are due, here, to Mark Faulkner for pointing out the chronological discrepancy between the composition of the Hymn and Caedmon's later entrance into monastic life where he may have memorized the psalms in Latin and OE – as implied in Bede's description (see *Ibid.*, pp. 418 and 419) of his taking of monastic vows and then memorizing and ruminating on all he learned. Perhaps it will suffice to say, then, that the traces of psalmic diction in the Hymn (noticed by both Blake and Orchard) suggest that Caedmon may have had some exposure to the psalms in the vernacular in his vicinity (overhearing them chanted perhaps) while going about his work as a cowherd – in other words *before* he took monastic vows. Notably, excerpts of OE Metrical Psalms appear in the Eadwine Psalter (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.17.1), *The Benedictine Office* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 121), and the *Menologium* (London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius B.i.) indicating a wider distribution (than P) of the psalms as vernacular poetry in early medieval England – see Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, pp. 307-19, Thornbury, *Becoming a Poet in Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 227-8 and the Introduction, above, p. 25. Literacy, of course, is not necessarily a measure of intelligence or creativity, and if Caedmon was indeed exposed to the psalms in the vernacular before composing the Hymn (as Blake's and Orchard's evidence indicates) then perhaps he can be viewed as being unwittingly prepared to be *psalteratus* before, possibly, becoming one.

[13] *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "diction (*n.*)," July 2023, <https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/3297939209> [accessed 15 April 2024] .

[14] See Brian O'Camb, '*Exeter Maxims, The Order of the World,* and the Exeter Book of Old English Poetry', *Philological Quarterly*, 93 (2014), 409-33 (p. 411) and 'Toward a Monastic Poetics: Envisioning King Edgar's Privilege for New Minster, Winchester, and Advent Lyric II' in *Anglo-Saxon England and the Visual Imagination* ed. by John D. Niles, Stacy S. Klein and Jonathan Wilcox (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2016), pp. 167-198.

[15] John D. Niles, *God's Exiles and English Verse: On the Exeter Anthology of OId English Poetry* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2019), pp. 3-20.

In a consideration of the links between *Exeter Maxims* and *The Order of the World* in the Exeter Book of Old English Poetry (Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS 3501)[16] he says the following:

> When read in sequence in its manuscript context, *Exeter Maxims* shares several features with *The Order of the World*, another didactic poem about poetic creation inspired by the **themes and imagery of Psalm 18**. These features link *Exeter Maxims* more closely to *The Order of the World* than *Cotton Maxims* and lay bare their combined centrality to the sequence of texts recorded in the Exeter Book sometime in the last half of the tenth century. Among these two poems' shared features is the word *hygecræft(ig)*, a compound associated with memory in didactic Christian poems such as the Old English *Metrical Psalms* and *The Lord's Prayer III* that are useful for imparting devotional knowledge to a poetic community that included both monks and secular laypersons. This word combined with other thematic and imagistic repetitions helps us better understand *Exeter Maxims* and *The Order of the World* as examples of what I have called a **"monastic poetics," an innovative mode of poetry that adapted monastic rhetorical models to cultivate contemplative, visionary experiences in its readers** (emphases mine).[17]

What needs to be made more explicit, here, is the role of the psalms within O'Camb's articulation of 'monastic poetics'. There can be little doubt that what primarily shaped 'monastic rhetorical models' was the psalter due to its crucial role in the monastic liturgy.[18] It is, therefore, significantly revealing that one of the poems O'Camb uses to exemplify 'monastic poetics' – *The Order of the World* – is summarised as 'a didactic poem about poetic creation' which draws on imagery from Psalm 18. In other words, the psalms are not only at the core of what constitutes 'monastic poetics' for O'Camb but also the undergirding source of what the anonymous poet who composed *The Order of the World* considered to be the *hyge-cræft* (literally 'mind-skill') of creating poetry in the vernacular. This latter point perhaps requires some further development.

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[16] Hereafter 'the Exeter Book'.
[17] O'Camb, '*Exeter Maxims, The Order of the World,* and the Exeter Book of Old English Poetry', p. 411.
[18] See Foot, *Monastic Life in Anglo-Saxon England c. 600-900*, pp. 191 and 201-3 for an explanation of the centrality of the psalms in the rhythm of monastic daily life in early medieval England.

Ruth Wehlau (as O'Camb acknowledges[19]) first analysed the influence of Latin Psalm 18. 2-7 on the poem (which this poet calls a *here-spel*[20] 'praise-tale') within the poem that is *The Order of the World*.[21] She opens her analysis with the following:

> The Old English poem *The Order of the World* contains another poem within itself, a poem that is offered to the reader **with the specific purpose of providing a sample or model of good poetry**. Although this sample poem is to some extent based on Psalm 18, it is neither a translation nor a paraphrase of the psalm. Rather, it is a reconstruction of the psalm in an Old English idiom (emphasis mine).[22]

Furthermore, she also notes that this is the only such vernacular 'poetic manual' we know of which makes this poem 'worthy of attention'.[23] I agree with Wehlau regarding the need to pay attention to this OE 'poetic manual'. And, again, I would highlight how the psalms are interwoven into the fabric of the impulse to create poetry in the vernacular given that both the 'origin' poem, *Cædmon's Hymn*, and the only known OE 'poetry manual' are both inflected with psalter imagery. Or to quote Toswell in terms of the latter point: '[u]nsurprisingly, the first subject for a good poem is a psalm'.[24]

Notably, too, as O'Camb alludes to in the quotation above, the psalm-poet joins *The Order of the World* poet in their use of the compound *hyge-cræft*. For example, the opening membrum of Metrical Psalm 116. 1 reads: *Ealle þeode ecne Drihten / mid hyge-cræfte herigan wordum* 'Let all the nations render praise to the eternal Lord with mental vigor'.[25] The equivalent *Romanum*, however, reads: **Laudate Dominum omnes gentes; et conlaudate eum omnes populi**[26] 'Praise the Lord all of you people; and highly extol him all of you people'. And the closing membrum of Metrical Psalm 118. 61 reads: *…þæt ic æ þine / mid hyge-cræfte heolde and læste* 'that I your law, with *hyge-cræfte*, hold and follow', whereas

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[19] See O'Camb, '*Exeter Maxims, The Order of the World,* and the Exeter Book of Old English Poetry', n. 16, pp. 411 and 427. Also note that Toswell, too, assesses Wehlau's argument for the influence of Psalm 18 on this poem within the subsection 'The Psalms as Literary Source'. See Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, pp. 345-6.
[20] *The Order of the World*, l. 37, *ASPR*.
[21] Ruth Wehlau, 'Rumination and Re-Creation: Poetic Instruction in *The Order of the World*', *Florigium* 13 (1994), 65-77.
[22] *Ibid*., p. 65.
[23] *Ibid*., pp. 65-6.
[24] Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, p. 346.
[25] *OEP*, Ps. 116. 1 and translation O'Neill's, *OEP*, p. 469. Note that O'Neill translates *hyge-cræfte* 'mental vigor'.
[26] *LPR*, Ps. CVI. 1.

the equivalent *Romanum* reads: **et legem tuam non sum oblitus**[27] 'and I have not forgotten your law'.[28] Noticeably, in both these examples, the psalm-poet inserts *mid hyge-crœfte* without a direct precedent in the Latin. In other words, they move towards, here, *The Order of the World*-poet's praxis of reconstructing psalm text 'in an Old English idiom' to use Wehlau's assessment of this poet's craft. (Chapter 2, of course, outlined evidence of how on more than one occasion the psalm-poet inserted a landscape term, for example *beorg*, without a Latin precedent either.[29]) Lastly, it is important to highlight that the compound *hyge-crœft* is categorized as only occurring in poetry.[30]

What these strands of evidence (the psalmic diction in *Cædmon's Hymn*, psalm overtones in the vernacular 'poetry manual' in *The Order of the World* and the psalm-poet's use of the exclusively poetic compound *hyge-crœft*) point to is a symbiotic relationship between the psalms and vernacular poetry which this chapter seeks to explore and assess within the lenses of landscape, place and space.

In a chapter entitled 'What was a poet?', Emily Thornbury assesses evidence for what words were used for 'poet' in OE and Anglo-Latin. For the present discussion the OE compounds are especially revealing as will soon become clear.

Thornbury's data shows that the predominantly most common word for 'poet' was *scop* (115 total occurrences) – the other possibilities include *leoðwyrhta* 'song-worker' (six total occurrences), *meterwyrhta* 'verse-maker' (one occurrence), *woðbora* 'sound-bearer' (seven occurrences), *gleoman* 'jester' (twenty-four occurrences) and *sangere* 'singer' (thirty total occurrences).[31] She is also careful to contextualize this data and notes that Jeff Opland's study, *Anglo-Saxon Oral Poetry*, considered the valence of the term *scop* stating that it referred to 'a true poet' who was not an itinerant performer such as a *gleoman*. She observes, further, that Opland's work was focused 'purely on the *oral* poet' and was published the year before (1980) there was a machine-searchable corpus of OE texts.[32] As Thornbury's data could be drawn from both the *DOEC* and the *Thesaurus of Old English* we can be more

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[27] *LPR,* Ps. CVIII. 61.
[28] *D-RB*, Ps. 118. 61.
[29] For the analysis of the insertion of *beorg* without a Latin exemplar see Chapter 2, above, Section 2.2.
[30] *Word-Hord: A Lexicon of Old English Verse*, sv. *hyge-crœft*.
[31] Emily Thornbury, *Becoming a Poet in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 19. See, especially, Table 1.2 *Old English Words for Poet*, p. 21.
[32] See Jeff Opland, *Anglo-Saxon Oral Poetry* (Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1980), p. 257 and *Ibid*., pp. 19-20.

confident 'in establishing whom contemporaries or successors identified as poets; how (or whether) poets self-identified as such; and the general tenor of references to poets'.[33]

Why it is important to elaborate (as I have above) on the empirical 'backbone' and context of Thornbury's data is, for my purposes, the *scop* compounds. In a table entitled *Referents of* scop *and its compounds* it is immediately noticeable that *(p)s(e)almscop* 'psalmist' has the highest rate of occurrence by a significant margin. It occurs a total of sixty-two times which is more than double the twenty-six times (the next highest number in the table) which *ealascop* 'one who recites poetry in the presence of those drinking'[34] occurs.[35] Thornbury makes the following assessment:

> This data has several striking features; first, that **the people most likely to be called *scop* in the surviving texts were psalmists**, most commonly in the compound *sealmscop*. This emphasizes that the Anglo-Saxons accepted the Book of Psalms as poetry – not necessarily an inevitable position, given that none of their standard Latin versions were metrical – and that the word *scop* cannot have had negative connotations in itself (emphasis mine).[36]

An observation which can be implicitly extrapolated from Thornbury's data is that the poet who created the most extensive vernacular 'poem' in the extant corpus – the 5039 lines[37] of poetry known as the Metrical Psalms – is quite possibly the only known *scop* who could also be called a *(p)s(e)almscop*. In analysing Ælfric's evolving deployment of *psealmscop* to possibly his own coinage of *sealmwyrhta* 'maker of psalms', Toswell lists a range of meanings for the former namely 'poet of psalms', 'creator of psalms' or 'psalmist'.[38] Moreover, throughout this thesis, I adopted Anya Adair's terminology and referred to the creator of the Metrical Psalms as the 'psalm-poet'.[39] This term contains within it the seeds of the argument of the current chapter in that the creator of the 'largest single poetic work in Old English'[40] created *both* OE poetry and OE Psalms in their surviving 5039 lines of verse.

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[33] Thornbury, *Becoming a Poet in Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 20.
[34] *DOE*, sv. *ealuscop* or *ealascop*
[35] See Table 1.3 in Thornbury, *Becoming a Poet in Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 23.
[36] Thornbury, *Becoming a Poet in Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 23-4.
[37] Adair quotes this figure in Adair, 'Hateful Hills and Joyful Dread: Emotive "Filler Words" in the Old English Metrical Psalms', p. 15.
[38] Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, pp. 15-16.
[39] See Adair, 'Hateful Hills and Joyful Dread: Emotive "Filler Words" in the Old English Metrical Psalms'.
[40] Campbell, 'Knowledge of Rhetorical Figures in Anglo-Saxon England', p. 16

In this section I have sought to underline the role of the psalms within O'Camb's conceptualisation of 'monastic poetics'. I have also sought to highlight the role of psalm-imagery within the *hyge-cræft* of creating vernacular poetry. So, it is now appropriate to turn to my approach to the poems analysed.

The Approach to (and Rationale for) the Selected Poems

There is potential scope to trace the influence of psalmic landscape, place and space imagery on a broad range of OE poetry[41] – apart from *Cædmon's Hymn* and *The Order of the World* (discussed earlier) evidence of psalm-inflected patterns and imagery have been overtly traced in, for example, *Beowulf*,[42] *Christ I, II and III*,[43] *The Wanderer*[44] (*Wan*), *The Seafarer*[45] (*Sea*), *Wulf and Eadwacer*[46] (*Wulf*), *The Wife's Lament*[47] (*Wife*), *Resignation*[48] (*Res*), (somewhat less extensively) *The Ruin*[49] (*Ruin*), (also somewhat less extensively) *The Dream of the Rood*[50]

[41] It must be noted that apart from the Metrical Psalms (the largest portion of the poetic corpus) other OE poetry such as *Homiletic Fragment I* and *The Kentish Psalm* are adaptations of Latin Psalms 27 and 50 respectively. (See Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, pp. 300-3 and 333-39.) In other words, a significant portion of the OE poetic corpus is directly rooted in the Latin Psalter.

[42] See E. G. Stanley, *In the Foreground:* Beowulf (Cambridge: Brewer, 1994), p. 185 and pp. 210-11, Toswell, 'Psalm Genres in Old English Poetry', pp. 229-31. Note that Stanley traces the influence of the bird simile in Psalm 102. 5 (**renouabitur sicut aquilae iuuentus tua** 'your youth will be renewed like the eagle's', *LPR,* Ps. CII. 5) on the bird-like ship's neck image in lines 217-18 in *Beowulf* (p. 185) as well as the influence of the psalms' parallelism in the *Beowulf* poet's use of variation (pp. 210-11). Toswell refers to the latter in introducing her argument for traces of the genre of Praise Psalms in *Beowulf* (*Ibid*., p. 229, n. 37).

[43] See Patricia Hollahan, 'The Anglo-Saxon Use of the Psalms: Liturgical Background and Poetic Use' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1977), Chapter Four 'The Psalms in Old English Religious Poetry', pp. 136-67.

[44] See Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, pp. 354-8, Harriet Soper, '*The Wanderer* and the Legacy of Pathetic Fallacy', *Neophilologus*, 107 (2023), 103-25 (pp. 118-9 and 121-2) and Soper, 'Sorrow Renewed: *The Wanderer* and Psalm 38', *Notes and Queries*, 71 (2024), 130-4.

[45] See Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, pp. 351-4.

[46] See Toswell, 'Structures of Sorrow: The Lament Psalms in Medieval England', pp. 36-38.

[47] See *ibid.* and Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, pp. 350-51.

[48] See, especially, E. G. Stanley 'Old English Poetic Diction and the Interpretation of *The Wanderer*, *The Seafarer* and *The Penitent's Prayer*', *Anglia*, 73 (1956), 413-66, pp. 456-61, Thomas Bestul, 'The Old English *Resignation* and the Benedictine Reform', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 78 (1977), 18-23, Philip Pulsiano, 'Spiritual Despair in *Resignation B'*, *Neophililogus*, 79 (1995), 155-62 and Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, pp. 346-7.

[49] See Toswell, 'Psalm Genres in Old English Poetry', p. 227.

[50] See Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, p. 342, Éamonn Ó Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood: Liturgical Images and the Old English Poems of the* Dream of the Rood *Tradition* (London: British Library, 2005), pp. 321-23 and Éamonn Ó Carragáin, 'Sources or Analogues? Using Liturgical Evidence to Date *The Dream of the Rood*' in *Cross and Cruciform in the Anglo-Saxon World: Studies to Honor the Memory of Timothy Reuter*, ed. by Sarah Larratt Keefer, Karen Louise Jolly and Catherine E. Karkov, pp. 135-65 (p. 164).

(*Dream*) and (more recently) *Solomon and Saturn I and II*.[51] Recently, too, Harriet Soper has analysed the Exeter Book OE Riddles in parallel with the psalms in the context of the expression of emotion in both these bodies of text.[52]

However, with the exception of *Dream*, my analysis focuses on poems preserved in the Exeter Book and traditionally referred to as the elegies. This selection is informed by three considerations. The first consideration is Geoffrey Shepherd's assessment of the impact of the psalms on OE literature. He writes:

> There can be no surprise in finding that so many psalm passages were adapted into the vernacular. The influence is pervasive, often in phrase but also in form. The style and construction of many of the semi-lyrical, **semi-elegiac** pieces in the Exeter Book testify to this influence (emphasis mine).[53]

The second consideration is the relative lack of a known Latin source text for each of the poems analysed as this better highlights the effect of the psalms on the *hyge-cræft* of the *scop* composing 'original' vernacular poetry. Lastly, the final consideration is the fact that the only poems analysed in Malcolm Godden's seminal essay 'Anglo-Saxons on the Mind' (which inspired a sizeable body of scholarship around *mod*) were the well-known elegies *Wan* and *Sea* as these 'show a rich and complex picture of the workings of the mind'.[54] The connection between landscape, place, space and the mind is, of course, central to this thesis.

My approach to these selected poems is twofold. First, it is directed by Toswell's evidence of how psalm-structures such as 'lament' operate in the elegies *Wulf* and *Wife*, for example, or how psalm-genres can be traced in, for example, the elegy *The Ruin* (*Ruin*).[55] It moves from tracing evidence of psalm structures or genres to considering specific psalm-inflected lexis within the lenses of landscape, place and space established in the preceding chapters.[56]

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[51] Rachel A. Burns, 'The Wanderings of Saturn: Psychogeography, Psalms, and *Solomon and Saturn*' in *Ideas of the World in Early Medieval English Literature*, ed. by Mark Atherton, Kazutomo Karasawa, and Francis Leneghan (Turnhout: Brepols, 2022), pp. 69-101.
[52] See Harriet Soper, 'Emotional Anthologies: The Exeter Riddles and the Psalms'.
[53] Shepherd, 'Scriptural Poetry', p. 13.
[54] Godden, 'Anglo-Saxons on the Mind', p. 291.
[55] See Toswell, 'Structures of Sorrow: The Lament Psalms in Medieval England', pp. 36-8 and 'Psalm Genres in Old English Poetry', p. 227.
[56] Note that this move is in keeping with Shepherd's observation, quoted above, that the Psalter's influence is detectable in 'phrase' (in other words, lexis or diction) as well as 'form' (in other words, structure or genre). See Shepherd, 'Scriptural Poetry', p. 13.

Second, the approach is underpinned by Niles's articulation of the relationship between 'monastic poetics' and the Exeter Book. He says the following:

> Monastic poetics is thus a hybrid poetics, based on Latinate and Germanic models yet striving to achieve expansive new forms of expression in the medium of Old English alliterative verse. The chief purpose of this hybrid poetics was to glorify God. A concurrent aim was to astonish and delight. A third, dual purpose was to justify lives lived in accord with divine law, as expressed through the Scriptures and scriptural commentaries; and for cloistered persons, to reinforce the value system embodied in the Rule of Saint Benedict…The question might well be asked: is the term 'monastic poetics' uniquely applicable to the poems of the Exeter Anthology?[57]

Niles answers that question with a 'qualified' yes and includes *Dream* in the list of poems outside the Exeter Book which could be considered as applicable within the 'monastic poetics' designation.[58] This is one of the main reasons why *Dream* is included in this chapter. Niles does not specifically delineate here the Latinate and Germanic models on which monastic poetics draws. However, given that O'Camb (when developing an argument 'towards a monastic poetics') has observed that the 'psalms were regarded as the "type" of early medieval poetry more generally'[59] it could be considered implicit that the Latin psalter may be one prong of the 'Latinate' model that Niles refers to here. This implication is perhaps more overt when considering Niles's concluding comments to his first chapter entitled 'Monastic Poetics'. He observes that 'competent makers of English devotional verse' may have reached their proficiency from studying poems such as the *Advent Lyrics*, memorising 'religious epithets' and 'assimilating the special habits of appositive syntax'.[60] It is well-established that the psalms exhibit an appositive syntax[61] and so it is, in my view, important to make more

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[57] Niles, *God's Exiles and English Verse*, p. 5.
[58] *Ibid.*, p. 6.
[59] O'Camb, 'Toward a Monastic Poetics Envisioning King Edgar's Privilege for New Minster, Winchester, and Advent Lyric II', in *Anglo-Saxon England and the Visual Imagination* ed. by John D. Niles, Stacy S. Klein and Jonathan Wilcox (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2016), pp. 167-198 (p. 168, n. 4).
[60] Niles, *God's Exiles and English Verse*, pp. 19-20.
[61] See, for example, Robert D. Holmstedt, 'Hebrew Poetry and the Appositive Style', *Vetus Testamentum*, 69 (2019), 617-48. It must be acknowledged, here, that Fred Robinson has described an underlying 'contemplative' pattern of pausing in OE poetry as 'appositive'. See Fred C. Robinson, *'Beowulf' and the Appositive Style* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1985), p. 60 referred to in Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, p. 358. Also note that Niles mentions 'the daily recitation of the psalms' in his closing comments on 'Monastic Poetics'. See Niles, *God's Exiles and English Verse*, p. 20.

explicit the role of the psalms in the conceptualisation of monastic poetics which is one of the things the remainder of this chapter seeks to do.

This chapter, then, employs the concept of a *psalteratus* or *psalterata* as *scop*, outlined above, to argue for the tacit presence of psalmic diction (within the lenses of landscape, place and space) in the following poems: *Dream*, *Wan*, *Sea*, *Wulf*, *Wife*, *Res* and *Ruin*.[62]
Three main considerations govern this selection of poems: the imagery analysed within the three lenses established in Chapters 1 and 2, the already identified psalmic influence, and the guiding factors introduced earlier. The landscape feature selected for analysis within this particular lens is the tree, chosen for its symbolic prominence in Psalm 1 – the psalter's gateway – and for its sustained significance across the preceding chapters. The poem selected for the landscape lens is *Dream* – a natural choice given its well-known tree image complex. *Wulf* and *Wife* exhibit two obvious *loci horribiles* making these poems expressly suitable for the 'place' lens. Furthermore, there is some opaque evidence that *Ruin* may allude to a heavenly Jerusalem – a clear *locus amoenus* analysed in Chapters 1 and 2 – so this poem also comes within the 'place' lens. Finally, *Wan* and *Sea* exhibit well-known 'pathway' imagery and *Res* contains a 'pathway' hapax legomenon – *ferð-weg* (l. 72) – so all three of these poems come within the 'space' lens which has, of course, served as an umbrella under which to examine the valence of 'pathways' over the previous three chapters.

It must be acknowledged that a significant body of scholarship has arisen around the selected poems.[63] Thus far, though, they have not (to my knowledge) been explored in quite the manner I have undertaken here. It must also be acknowledged that the analysis in this chapter is informed by Toswell's approach to the argument for the influence of the psalms on

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[62] I approach the Exeter Book poems in the order in which they appear (interspersed with other material) in the codex as well as the order in which Klinck treats them.

[63] It is not possible to give a comprehensive list, but, as a starting point, see the following: Michael Swanton, 'Introduction' in Swanton, pp. 1-58, Éamonn Ó Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood: Liturgical Images and the Old English Poems of the Dream of the Rood Tradition* (London and Toronto: British Library and University of Toronto Press, 2005), Paul E. Szarmach, *'The Dream of the Rood* as Ekphrasis' in *Text, Image, Interpretation: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature and its Insular Context in Honour of Éamonn Ó Carragáin*, ed. by Alastair Minnis and Jane Roberts (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), Anne L. Klinck, 'Introduction', 'Bibliography' and 'Supplementary Bibliography' in Klinck, pp. 3-70, 307-76 and 376-80, Martin Green, ed., *The Old English Elegies: New Essays in Criticism and Research* (New Jersey: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1983), Peter Clemoes, '*Mens absentia cogitans* in *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer*', in *Medieval Literature and Civilization: Studies in Memory of G. N. Garmonsway* ed. by D. A. Pearsall and R. A. Waldron (London: Athlone, 1969), pp. 62-77 and Francis Leneghan, 'Preparing the Mind for Prayer: *The Wanderer*, *Hesychasm* and *Theosis*', *Neophilologus*, 100 (2015), 121-42.

some OE poetry – namely that the psalms are a 'pervasive, and occasionally obscure, background' for several OE poems in ways that are difficult to quantify 'but perhaps more significant'.[64] In other words, given that the psalms were such internalized texts for the *psalterati/ae*, their influence on the poems analysed below is often allusive and subtly discerned and not necessarily found in a direct quotation. So, consequentially, I trace trace-elements of psalm-imagery within the respective lenses, and this has allowed for a fresh way of viewing the image-complexes in these mostly well-known poems. My analysis, of course, cannot be exhaustive given the multivalent nature of these poems that have been interpreted in varied ways – a useful analogy, perhaps, is the asyndetic parataxis of the internalized psalm texts themselves. In other words, the 'link' between the respective poems' lexis and psalm imagery can be considered asyndetic in nature and not, obviously, syndetic.

4.2 Considering *Dream* Via the Psalms' Tree Imagery

I remarked earlier that *Dream* (preserved in the Vercelli Book, Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare, CXVII) is the outlier in terms of its inclusion in the selected poems for this chapter as it is the only poem not found in the Exeter Book – and, of course, also not traditionally considered one of the 'elegies'. It merits inclusion here, however, for two reasons. First, as I remarked on earlier, Niles has identified its potential to be considered under the 'monastic poetics' umbrella.[65] Second, the role of its vivid tree symbolism (the significance of trees has been analysed in all three preceding chapters) has generated a wealth of analysis. For example, Michael Swanton summarizes how the tree is the focal point for a 'fusion of symbol and realism' in the poem and highlights the significance of the 'bleeding tree' (powerfully evoked in lines 18-20 which describe how the tree first began to *swætan on þa swiðran healfe*[66] 'bleed on the right-hand side') for the 'early Anglo-Saxon church'. He observes further that trees were thought to have bled at the crucifixion to recognize the divinity of Christ as well as to signal 'the approach of Judgement Day'.[67] Lastly, he asserts the following:

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[64] Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, p. 339.
[65] Niles, *God's Exiles and English Verse*, p. 6.
[66] *Dream*, l. 20a. As noted already in Chapter 2, all quotations of *Dream* are from Swanton's edition. At times I have adapted his punctuation where it makes sense to do so.
[67] Swanton, pp. 64-5.

> The image here [in ll. 18-20] therefore tightens the structure of the poem, anticipating not only its climax in the crucifixion but also its final apocalyptic vision. The use of the verb *swætan* to describe the bleeding similarly looks forward to the identification of the tree with the physical person of Christ. And that the tree is specifically said to bleed on the right-hand side clearly anticipates the view not of the dreamer but of the tree and therefore of Christ himself.[68]

This obvious connection between the tree and the crucifixion in *Dream* is naturally important to hold in view as we move to consider the import of Psalm 1's tree allegory (specifically) on the poem.

Psalm 1's tree allegory and Dream

To date *Dream* has not (to my knowledge) been considered in light of Psalm 1 overtly. Given the role of the tree imagery in this psalm's crucial function as a 'gateway' psalm[69] and the powerful role of the tree symbolism in *Dream*, reading this poem via the tree allegory in Psalm 1 should prove worthwhile in generating a fresh understanding. Noticeably, as the quotation from Swanton highlights, the personified tree in *Dream* is the cross on which Christ is crucified. To move from the tree as the cross to the 'Tree of Life' image in Psalm 1 in *Dream*, we need to begin with the 'inhabited vine-scroll' on the Ruthwell Cross.

In any extended discussion of *Dream*, mention must be made of the well-known shorter, earlier version of the poem inscribed in runes on the panels of the late seventh or early eighth century Ruthwell Cross.[70] Again, Michael Swanton's description of the runic *Dream*'s material context is apposite. He observes:

> This [inhabited vine-scroll] is a Middle Eastern motif deriving from models like the Ravenna throne, where it fills the narrower panels of the framework. As it appears on the Ruthwell Cross it is made up of a continuous heavy stem with alternately placed side-volutes, each of which encloses a bird or some more fantastic animal which pecks at stylized leaves, flowers and bunches of grapes. The use of this 'Tree of Life' motif is as rare in Celtic sculpture as it is common in Northumbrian. Referring to the words

[68] *Ibid*. p. 65.
[69] See Chapter 1, above, Section 1.1.
[70] Swanton, p. 9

> *Ego sum vitis vera* ['I am the true vine']…(*John xv.* 1-7), and conflated by the Psalmist's account of the 'trees of the Lord' being the refuge of birds and beasts (*Psalm CIV*), it is generally recognized as a symbol of Christ in union with his church and the harmonious coexistence of transformed nature in the living God.
>
> **Appropriately it is the margins of these panels that bear the text of the *Dream of the Rood*** (emphasis mine).[71]

It is of course immediately noticeable in Swanton's account of the runic *Dream*, here, that the imagery in Psalm 104 plays a part in emphasizing the 'Tree of Life' motif in the poem. To turn back to Psalm 1, though, the 'Tree of Life' motif is implicit in the *Trees* subsection of Chapter 1 – especially the reference to William Brown's argument regarding Psalm 1's 'orienting power' derived in part by 'metaphor and image'.[72] Notably, too, Brown adduces evidence for how the tree image in this psalm is derived from 'Tree of Life' imagery 'in antiquity, both biblical and extrabiblical, literary and iconographic'.[73]

Furthermore, in her commentary for Psalm 1, Susan Gillingham observes that early Christian reception of this psalm drew parallels between **lignum** 'wood' and **aquarum** 'waters' and the wood of the cross and the waters of baptism.[74] She remarks, too, that psalm commentators, such as Hilary of Poitiers (c. 310-67), consider Christ '"hidden" in this psalm, especially in reference to "*the* tree of life"'. Also, significantly for the current discussion, she notes that Bede's *Abbreviated Psalter*[75] has selected the first three verses of Psalm 1 (which includes the tree allegory)[76] to epitomize this psalm. She observes, too, that for Bede 'this was a critical psalm' as he saw (following Cassiodorus) the **Beatus uir** 'Blessed man' as Christ as well as 'everyman – or rather, every monk in his monastery at Jarrow'.[77]

What this expansive reception history of Psalm 1 elucidates, then, is the multivalent character of the tree allegory, which is not only a fecund symbol of life, but also a symbol of the cross; the connection between Christ and the 'Blessed man' adds another layer of

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[71] *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.
[72] See Brown, *Seeing the Psalms*, p. 55 and Chapter 1, above, Section 1.2 (especially n. 84 which describes Gillingham's evidence for the connectivity between the tree in Psalm 1 and the 'Tree of Life').
[73] Brown, *Seeing the Psalms*, pp. 58-67.
[74] Susan Gillingham, *Psalms Through the Centuries: A Reception History Commentary on Psalms 1-72*, p. 15.
[75] I referred to Bede's *Abbreviated Psalter* in connection with his approach to Psalm 136 in Chapter 1. See Chapter 1, above, n. 219.
[76] See Browne, *The Abbreviated Psalter of the Venerable Bede*, p. 19.
[77] Gillingham, *Psalms Through the Centuries: A Reception History Commentary on Psalms 1-72*, p. 16.

complexity. In other words, if Christ is seen as the **Beatus uir** then he is like the **lignum** (which can also symbolise the cross) that is planted **secus decursus aquarum quod fructum suum dabit in tempore suo**.[78] This layered tree symbolism (so interwoven in the interpretation of Psalm 1) is certainly at play in the Vercelli text of *Dream* – not least in the opening description of that *syllicre treow* (l. 4) 'most wonderful tree' which is *begoten mid golde* (l. 7) 'infused with gold'. This *syllicre* and gold-infused tree is also, of course, Christ's cross. The following lines from the poem, perhaps, express this paradox best:

> Geseah ic þæt fuse beacen
> wendan wædum ond bleom; hwilum hit wæs mid wætan bestemed,
> beswyled mid swates gange, hwilum mid since gegyrwed. (*Dream*, ll. 21b-23)
>
> I saw that eager beacon change clothes and colour; at times it was drenched, soaked with the flow of blood; at times adorned with treasure.

When referring to how Riddle 53 (*Towering Tree*) 'flickers from one identity to another – now ram, now gallows' and so on – Jennifer Neville refers to these lines from *Dream* as a comparison. She observes that the vision of the cross here 'conveys both its reality as a wooden instrument of torture and its reality as an ornamented symbol of the triumph of Jesus Christ over sin and death'. In other words, the cross in *Dream* functions as two 'apparently incompatible things'.[79] What I would add to Neville's observations is that the *Dream*-poet's deployment of 'apparently incompatible' tree/cross imagery may perhaps stem from their having internalized Psalm 1's **lignum** image within the tradition of its layered interpretation as both the Tree of Life and the cross of Christ. The **lignum** in Psalm 1, then, as Gillingham's evidence quoted earlier attests, functions in a paradoxical and layered manner, which resembles the treatment of tree/cross (*fuse beacen*) imagery in *Dream*. Before moving to a broader consideration of psalter-inflected tree imagery in the poem, it is worthwhile to take a brief excursus to consider the import of Psalm 1's *titulus* and the *Dream* poem as the latter may well retain an oblique trace of the former.

[78] *LPR*, Ps. I. 3.
[79] Jennifer Neville, *Truth is Trickiest* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2024), p. 104.

The titulus *for Psalm 1 in P and the* Dream *poem – a hitherto unnoticed possible connection?*

Éamonn Ó Carragáin, in his rich monograph on the liturgical imagery in *Dream* includes a chapter entitled: 'Arbor Vitae: *the function of the Ruthwell vine-scrolls and their runic* tituli'.[80] He makes the following pertinent observation:

> Central to liturgical spirituality was **multivalence**, the idea that one perspective coexisted quite naturally with several others. Monastic writers like Bede rejoiced precisely in the variety of perspectives available to them at any one time…The Ruthwell designer placed his vine-scrolls and their *tituli* so as to show that the same principle of unity was at the centre of the monument's rich variety (emphasis mine).[81]

The psalms of course play a vital role in 'liturgical spirituality'[82] as Ó Carragáin makes clear, in his subsequent argument, by quoting the psalmody for the office of Lauds.[83] He then sums up the multivalent character of the Tree of Life image on the Ruthwell Cross with the following:

> But the Tree of Life on each narrow side, and its paired runic *tituli*, together suggest that, behind the multiple images of the broad sides, there lies a single unifying metaphor: that Christ's heroic death at the spring equinox leads to life and growth, not just for humans but for all creation. The ancient runes in *scriptura continua* emphasize that this metaphor was made real on a single day centuries before.[84]

As we have already seen, the 'Tree of Life' image and its connection to Christ's death on the cross (as Ó Carragáin adroitly pulls together) is clearly an undergirding conceptual premise for the *Dream* poem – pronouncedly evinced in its Ruthwell Cross runic recorded antecedent. While Ó Carragáin draws some attention (as noted above) to the role of the psalms in the liturgical context of *Dream* he does not, to my knowledge, highlight the role of Psalm 1 specifically. Psalm 1's Christian reception history (outlined earlier) made clear, though, that there is a long-standing interpretation of its tree allegory as both the Tree of Life and Christ's cross – exactly what Ó Carragáin points out about the Ruthwell Cross image and

[80] Ó Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood*, pp. 280-98.
[81] *Ibid*., p. 280.
[82] See Foot, *Monastic Life in Anglo-Saxon England c. 600-900*, pp. 191 and 201-3.
[83] Ó Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood*, p. 281.
[84] *Ibid*., p. 287.

accompanying runic *Dream* poem. Moreover, Ó Carragáin's focus on the function of the *tituli* on the Ruthwell Cross prepares the way for considering the import of Psalm 1's *titulus* in P.

Just to the right of the top portion of the letter 'B' for **Beatus**, a rubricated *titulus* goes across both the Latin and OE columns of text above Psalm 1 in P.[85] (I referred to this *titulus* in Chapter 2 in connection with the consideration of why *Ps(P)* 1 does not have a corresponding OE Introduction.[86]) It reads: *IOSEPH DICIT QUI CORPUS D[O]M[IN]I SEPELIUIT* 'Joseph says "who buried the body of the Lord"'.[87] Latin Psalm *tituli* (or rubrics) are acknowledged to be a difficult topic of study primarily because they do not typically conform to the patterns contextualized and described in the key text on the topic[88] – namely Pierre Salmon's *Les* 'Tituli Psalmorum' *des manuscrits latin*.[89] For my purposes here, though, Salmon's description of the rubrics for Psalm 1 in each of the six series he identifies points to the possibility that there may have been an early association between Psalm 1 and the Deposition of Christ in early medieval England and Ireland which the *Dream* poet may perhaps have known (from a familiarity with the psalter which undergirded the liturgy[90]) and incorporated into the poem.

In Chapter 2 I noted that the *Romanum* Psalms' *tituli* in P were from a series known as 'St Columba'.[91] Salmon notes that this series is both the oldest one attested and the one with the highest number of witnesses. He adds that all these witnesses (in England and insular missions on the Continent) appear to derive from a text in use in Ireland around the sixth century.[92] The *plus anciennement attestée* 'most anciently attested' (to use Salmon's phrase) character of this series is one of the reasons why I think the *Dream* poet/s may, possibly, have known of this association between Psalm 1 and the Deposition – given that the runic Ruthwell

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[85] See *PP*, fol. 1[r].
[86] See Chapter 2, above, Section 2.2.
[87] I am thankful for a conversation with Mildred Budny in which she helped with the transcription and translation here.
[88] See Jane Toswell's remarks in Toswell, 'Psalm Genres in Old English Poetry', n. 17, p. 224.
[89] Pierre Salmon, ed., *Les* 'Tituli Psalmorum' *des manuscrits latin*. I have had the opportunity to briefly discuss this *titulus* with Susan Gillingham and Monika Opalińska. Monika confirmed that Latin Psalm *tituli*, in her experience as well, do not readily conform to the six series laid out by Salmon.
[90] See Ó Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood*, p. 282. It is also implicit from the argument in the opening section of this chapter that the *Dream*-poet could perhaps be considered *psalteratus* or *psalterata* – in which case their familiarity with the psalms would be without question.
[91] See Chapter 2, above, Section 2.2 and Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, pp. 112-3 and 254.
[92] Salmon, *Les* 'Tituli Psalmorum' *des manuscrits latin*, p. 47.

Cross text of the poem dates, as I noted earlier, from the late seventh or early eighth century.[93] Furthermore, of the six series identified by Salmon, two (I, *Série de Saint Columba* 'Series of Saint Columba' and III, *Série inspire de Saint Jérome* 'Series inspired by Saint Jerome) contain a reference to Joseph's question: 'who buried the body of the Lord?' for Psalm 1.[94] The fifth series (V, *Série inspirée d'Origène* 'Series inspired by Origen') has the following *titulus* for Psalm 1: *Primus psalmus ostendit quod ipse sit lignum vitae* 'The first psalm discloses that he is himself [presumably Christ] the tree of life'. The fourth series (*Série traduite d'Eusèbe de Césarée* 'Series translated [from the Greek][95] of Eusebius of Caesura) contains an encouragement for piety and exhortation against the contrary in the *titulus* for Psalm 1. The second series (*Série de Saint Augustin de Cantorbéry* 'Series of Saint Augustine of Canterbury') does not list a specific *titulus* for Psalm 1, but does note that Psalm 1 pertains to Christ's sacrifice and that Christ is the *perfectus vir* 'perfect man' who has not walked in the counsel of the wicked. Finally, the sixth series (*Série de Cassiodore, résumée par Bède* 'Series of Cassiodorus, summarized by Bede) has the following opening for the *titulus* for Psalm 1: *Iste psalmus ideo non habet titulum* 'This psalm, therefore, does not have a heading'.[96] What this evidence from Salmon's six series reiterates is the multivalent character of the Christian tradition of interpreting the tree image in Psalm 1 (the tree can be the *lignum vitae* 'tree of life', Christ himself as well as, implicitly from the first and third series, Christ's cross) which I summarized earlier.

However, to turn now to the potential influence of Psalm 1's *titulus* in P on the *Dream*-poet, it is worthwhile to consider the following lines from the poem:

> Aledon hie ðær limwerigne, gestoden him æt his lices heafdum;
> beheoldon hie ðær heofenes Dryhten, ond he hine ðær hwile reste,
> meðe æfter ðam miclan gewinne. Ongunnon him þa moldærn wyrcan
> beornas on banan gesyhðe; curfon hie ðæt of beorhtan stane,
> gesetton hie ðæron sigora Wealdend.[97] (*Dream* ll. 63a-67a)

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[93] Swanton, p. 9.
[94] See Salmon, *Les* 'Tituli Psalmorum' *des manuscrits latin*, pp. 55 and 100.
[95] See *Ibid*., p. 117.
[96] See *Ibid*., pp. 138, 117, 121, 81 and 153, respectively. Note that in Chapters 1 and 2, of course, I refer to Cassiodorus's commentary on the fact that Psalm 1 should not have a heading in developing an argument for the function of the 'orienting' tree allegory. See Chapters 1 (Section 1.2) and 2 (Section 2.2).
[97] I have adapted Swanton's layout of the hypermetric verses so as not to break up the relevant lines.

> They laid there the limb-weary one, they stood at the head of his body; they beheld there the Lord of heaven, and he himself rested a while there, exhausted after that great battle. They began to make the tomb, the warriors in the slayer's sight; they carved that [tomb] of bright stone they set the victorious Ruler there.

These lines are narrated in the voice of the tree (cross)[98] and they come directly after we are told *Crist wæs on rode* (*Dream* l. 56) 'Christ was on the cross' and the tree proclaims: *eall ic wæs mid strælum forwundod* (*Dream* l. 71) 'I was all wounded with arrows' after the *hilderincas* 'warriors' *ahofon hine of ðam hefian wite* (*Dream* l. 61) 'lifted him [Christ] from that heavy punishment'. They also form part of (as Donald Scragg has pointed out) one of the two longest passages in hypermetric verse in the poem that surround the lines 'which describe Christ's last moments on the cross [*Dream* ll. 50-9], when darkness covered the earth and all Creation wept [*Weop eal gesceaft* (*Dream* l. 55)]'.[99]

The hypermetric verses in *Dream* (and *Judith*) are regularly commented on and noticed – not least in OE textbooks.[100] Jun Terasawa contextualizes this verse type as follows: 'The use of hypermetric verses might give **particular solemnity** or importance to the passages or achieve the effect of slowing down the narrative movement, but the exact functions of hypermetricity still remain unexplained' (emphasis mine).[101] In the case of *Dream* specifically, Scragg has suggested that the vacillation between normal and hypermetric verses may be because the poet wished to place different 'degrees of emphasis' on various parts of the poem.[102] Swanton, however, takes a musically inflected position and proposes that

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[98] The tree's speech opens at l. 27 with *Þæt wæs geara iu* 'that was of old years [ago]' and ends on l. 121 with *seo þe mid Wealdende; wunian þenceð* 'who thinks to live with the Ruler'. Also, Elaine Treharne provides a useful summary of the poem's theological import and narrative structure. She says: 'Within the structural framework of the text, phrasal parallels draw together the three central characters in the work: the poet, the Cross and Christ'. See Elaine Treharne, *Old and Middle English c.890-c.1450: an Anthology*, 3rd edn (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), pp. 118-20 (p. 120).

[99] Donald G. Scragg, 'The nature of Old English verse' in *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature*, 2nd edn, ed. by Malcolm Godden and Michael Lapidge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 50-65 (p. 64).

[100] See, for example, Peter S. Baker, *Introduction to Old English*, 3rd edn (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), pp. 131-2.

[101] Jun Terasawa, *Old English Metre: An Introduction* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), p. 47.

[102] Scragg, 'The nature of Old English verse', p. 64.

the two extended blocks of hypermetric verses are 'used contrapuntally to accommodate significantly more complex thematic material'.[103]

For the current analysis, then, the fact that the *Dream*-poet chose to include the description of the Deposition of Christ within the tree's speech as well as within one of the much commented on blocks of hypermetric verse (thought to possibly be used for the addition of emphasis) are two pieces of oblique evidence that they may have been influenced by a possible early Christian tradition of associating the tree allegory in Psalm 1 with the crucifixion narrative[104] – especially the Deposition given the reference to the body of Christ in the *titulus* for Psalm 1 in P.

Lastly, the final section (Section IV) of the runic text on the Ruthwell Cross adds ballast to the possibility I am suggesting. It reads:

miþ strelum giwundad.
Alegdun hiæ hinæ limwoerignæ, gistoddun him [.....]
licæs [hea]f[du]m;
[bi]hea[l]du[n] hi[æ] þe[r……..][105]

wounded with arrows. They laid him limb-wearied, [they] stood at the head of his body; they beheld [the Lord?] there.

Clearly, the Deposition of Christ was such an entrenched part of the crucifixion narrative within the cultural context that gave rise to the runic and Vercelli text of the *Dream* poem that it is included in both. Moreover, the inclusion of this scene in the final section of the runic text which surrounds the 'Tree of Life' image on the Ruthwell Cross[106] might be viewed as implicit evidence that those who conceived the Ruthwell Cross were influenced by the rich

[103] Swanton, 'Introduction' in Swanton, p. 61.
[104] See Salmon, *Les* 'Tituli Psalmorum' *des manuscrits latin*, p. 47, which I refer to earlier, where he notes the possibility that the *tituli* in the St Columba series (Psalm 1's, of course, refers to the Deposition) may originate in a sixth century Irish text. Moreover, in my brief conversation with Susan Gillingham about Psalm 1's *titulus* in P she mentioned the Stuttgart Psalter. This Psalter (c. 825) contains 'one multi-coloured image to encapsulate the 'story' of the entire psalm'. For Psalm 1 this image depicts 'the crucified Christ who hangs on the tree of life (verse 3)'. See Gillingham, *Psalms Through the Centuries: A Reception History Commentary on Psalms 1-72*, p. 19 and 'Glossary' sv. *Stuttgart Psalter*. Gillingham also notes in the description for this illustration that 'the image of the crucifixion for Psalm 1, used initially by Justin Martyr…was a popular motif in Christian art'., *Ibid*., n. 45, p. 19. In other words, an association between Psalm 1's tree allegory and the crucifixion narrative has broader evidence than just the *titulus* for Psalm 1 in P.
[105] See Swanton, p. 96.
[106] See Swanton, p. 13 quoted above.

interpretation tradition of Psalm 1; especially the connection between the tree allegory (sometimes interpreted as the Tree of Life[107]) and the burial of Christ evinced in the *titulus* for Psalm 1 in P.

Reading the Tree Imagery in Dream *through the 'Orienting' Function of Psalm 1's Tree Image for the Whole Psalter*

The *Trees* subsection of Chapter 1 harnessed Brown's assessment of the opening psalm's tree image as the 'hermeneutical entry point' to all 150 psalms (which exhibit, as Brown analyses too, both positive 'Tree of Life' imagery and its negative opposite[108]) to analyse the tree images in the *Romanum*. Two relevant facts emerged there that can be applied to *Dream*. First, the only other occurrence of the nominative, singular form (**lignum**) after Psalm 1 (in Psalm 104. 33) contains a mirror opposite image of the 'Tree of Life' – **et contriuit omne lignum finium eorum**[109] 'and he [God] destroyed every tree of their boundary / enclosure'. Second, the only other occurrence of *lignum* in the singular after Psalm 1 (dative, singular **ligno** in Psalm 95. 10) occurs uniquely in the *Romanum* and not the *Gallicanum* or *Hebraicum*.[110] The relevant verse reads: **dicite in nationibus Dominus regnavit a ligno**[111] 'declare among the nations the Lord reigned from a tree'. I will turn now to assess the implications of each of these for *Dream*.

Like the psalms, the *Dream* poem contains rich contrastive tree imagery. For example, we meet the *syllicre treow* (l. 4) 'wonderful tree', the *wuldres treow* (l. 14) 'glorious tree', the *wealdes treow* (l. 16) 'tree of the forest' (which is *bewrigene weorðlice* (l. 16) 'splendidly covered' with *gimmas* (l. 16) 'gems'), the *Hælendes treow* (l. 24) 'Saviour's tree' as well as the *gealg-treowe* (l. 146) 'gallows-tree'. For *treow*'s synonym *beam* we meet the *beama beorhtost* (l. 6) 'brightest of beams', the *sige-beam* (l. 13) 'victory-beam', *wuldres beam* (l. 95) 'glorious beam', the *beam* (l. 114) where the Lord had tasted *biteres* 'bitter' death, the *beame* (l. 122) to which the dreamer prays with a *bliðe mode* 'joyful spirit', and the *sige-beam*

[107] See Gillingham, *Psalms Through the Centuries: A Reception History Commentary on Psalms 1-72*, p. 15.
[108] See Brown, *Seeing the Psalms*, pp. 58-75.
[109] *LPR*, Ps. CIV. 33
[110] See Chapter 1, above, Section 1.2.
[111] *LPR*, Ps. XCV. 10.

(l. 127) 'victory-beam'. The multivalent nature of the tree and Cross imagery in *Dream* has, of course, been noticed before. Elaine Treharne says the following:

> The Cross [also the tree] is Christ's retainer, serving its lord as the Germanic *comitatus* member would serve; but it is also Christ's *bana* 'slayer' (line 66), a role that goes against all that the heroic code advocates. The reader or listener of the poem observes the Cross with the poet through a rich visual depiction: the Cross is mutable, covered in gems, then covered in blood. This duality represents the central paradox of the Cross.[112]

Also, most recently, Michael Bintley and Pippa Salonius include a reference to the tree in *Dream* which (along with the trees of the sun and the moon in *Alexander's Letter to Aristotle*) 'can speak directly revealing hidden wonders (and horrors)' in the concluding remarks of their essay collection – *Trees as Symbol and Metaphor in the Middle Ages*.[113] What has not been explicitly noticed, however, is the possibility that the complex duality of tree imagery (in other words the 'Tree of Life' and its opposite) in the psalter (analysed by Brown[114] and harnessed in the argument in *Trees* in Chapter 1) may have influenced the *Dream*-poet in their development of the layered tree imagery in the poem. Some indirect evidence for the psalter's metaphorical tree resonance in *Dream* is the fact that positive tree imagery far outweighs its opposite. For example, of the ten examples (including both *treow* and *beam*) I listed earlier only two have a negative connotation – the *gealg-treowe* (l. 146) and the *beam* in line 114 on which the Lord tasted bitter death. Why this fact can perhaps be viewed as an implicit signal of the psalms' influence is probably best articulated by Brown. He says:

> The psalmist has, in effect, placed a tree at the entrance to the Psalter, at the threshold of its refuge and the head of its pathway. Perhaps most significantly, the Psalter's opening "chapter" [Psalm 1] serves to shape the Psalter *as a book*, as a sacred deposit of devotion, worship, and authoritative guidance, in short, *tôrâ* [wisdom].[115]

In other words, the power of the 'Tree of Life' imagery in Psalm 1 at the threshold of the psalter outweighs and overcomes the negative tree imagery in the psalms. So, again, if we can

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[112] Treharne, *Old and Middle English c. 890-c.1450*, pp. 118 and 120.
[113] Michael D. J. Bintley and Pippa Salonius, 'Concluding Reflections', in *Trees as Symbol and Metaphor in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Michael D. J. Bintley and Pippa Salonius (Cambridge: Brewer, 2024), pp. 228-32 (p. 228).
[114] See Brown, *Seeing the Psalms*, pp. 58-75.
[115] *Ibid*., p. 75.

accept the *Dream*-poet may have been immersed in the psalms, then it is perhaps not an overreach to hypothesize that the psalter's tree imagery and the potent tree image in Psalm 1 may have shaped their *hyge-cræft* in the process of developing the layered tree imagery in the poem and thus resulted in the life-affirming tree depictions such as *syllicre treow* (l. 4), *wuldres treow* (l. 14), *beama beorhtost* (l. 6) and *sige-beam* (l. 13 and 126) offsetting the opposite such as *gealg-treowe* (l. 146).

It is well established, then, that the *Dream* poem exhibits multivalent tree and cross imagery that is both harrowing and glorious. What has not been considered before, though, is that the *Romanum*, specifically, may have helped shape the *Dream*-poet's *hyge-cræft* in constructing this imagery – especially an underlying implication of the Lord 'ruling from a tree'. As has been noted already the **Dominus regnauit a ligno** image (in *Romanum* Psalm 95. 10) does not appear in the two other Latin psalters.[116] It is intriguing, then, to consider (given the *Romanum*'s 'attachment' to England and the psalm-poet's, as well as all the OE glossators of *Romanum* glossed psalters, rendering of **a ligno** with a version of *from treowe*[117]) that this verse may be obliquely behind the construction of the following lines in *Dream.*

> … On me Bearn Godes
> þrowade hwile. Forþan ic þrymfæst nu
> hlifige under heofenum, ond ic hælan mæg
> æghwylcne anra þara þe him bið egesa to me. (*Dream*, ll. 83b-86)

On me God's Son suffered a while. For that reason I [the tree/cross] now glorious rise high under heaven, and I can heal each one of those who is in awe of me.
Of course this is not a direct quotation of *Romanum* Psalm 95. 10. However, adjectives such as *þrymfæst* and verbs such as *hlifige* indicate that the tree/cross is in a position to 'rule' with (implicitly) *Bearn Godes*.

[116] See Chapter 1, above, Section 1.2.
[117] See *Ibid*, p. 48, n. 113.

Before leaving *Dream* to turn attention to *Wan*, it is perhaps worthwhile to acknowledge the riddlic function of the tree in *Dream*, its connection with Exeter Riddle 30b[118] and the import of psalmic tree imagery traced in *Dream* in this section.

Dream's riddlic character has been noticed before.[119] Its parallel relationship with Riddle 30b, in particular, has also been remarked on before.[120] Moreover, Niles makes an illuminating observation (which I will come to) about the following closing three lines of Riddle 30b:

> Þonne ic mec onhæbbe, hi onhnigaþ to me
> modge miltsum, swa ic mongum sceal
> ycan upcyme eadignesse.
>
> When I raise myself, they, in high sprits,
> bow down to my humble self, where I must to many
> increase the burgeoning of blessedness.[121]

The reference to *Þonne ic mec onhæbbe* 'When I raise myself' carries distinct overtones of the following opening of the dreamer's vision in *Dream*:

> Þuhte me þæt ic gesawe syllicre treow
> on lyft lædan, leohte bewunden
> beama beorhtost.
>
> It seemed to me I saw that wonderful tree led [up] to the sky, enwrapped in light,
> brightest of beams.

Niles observes the following in regard to the connotations of *Dream* (and other poems) found in Riddle 30b: 'Not to be overlooked is the ambiguity of the Old English word that is the exact solution to Riddle 30b; for the noun *trēow* can mean either 'tree' or 'truth' (or 'faith'), with

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[118] The *ASPR* numbers this Riddle '30b' and Niles refers to it as such as well. However, *The Old English and Anglo-Latin Riddle Tradition*, DOML, ed. and trans. by Andy Orchard (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2021) numbers it 28b.
[119] Treharne, *Old and Middle English c. 890-c.1450*, pp. 118 and 120, p. 118.
[120] See *Ibid*., Orchard, *The Old English and Anglo-Latin Riddle Tradition*, p. 758 and Niles, *God's Exiles and English Verse: On the Exeter Anthology of OId English Poetry*, p. 75.
[121] OE text and translation from Orchard, *The Old English and Anglo-Latin Riddle Tradition*, pp. 340 and 341. Note that Orchard gives the solution to this Riddle as *beam* and notes that this covers all possibilities such as 'beam', 'tree', 'wood', 'beam of light' and 'cross' – see *Ibid*., p. 758.

the word often used in the latter of these two senses in religious contexts'.[122] What should also not be overlooked within this wordplay is the possible influence of psalmic tree imagery – and in this particular case of Riddle 30b – the influence of Psalm 1. We have already seen how psalm landscape imagery is multivalent[123] and earlier I examined the tree imagery in *Dream* in light of Psalm 1's reception history where the tree can be both the 'Tree of Life' and Christ's cross.

Riddle 30b closes with *ycan upcyme eadignesse* 'increase the burgeoning of blessedness' and it has to be pointed out in light of the argument in this section that a psalm-infused reader of Riddle 30b might well make a connection between *eadignesse* and the **Beatus uir** or *Eadig wer* 'Blessed man' in Psalm 1. In other words, the impact of the tree allegory in Psalm 1 and its rich reception history is, perhaps, tacitly embedded in both the *Dream*-poet's and the Riddle 30b-poet's poetic craft.[124] This potential link between the 'gateway' psalm, Psalm 1, and the *hyge-cræft* of possibly two OE poets points toward a broader underpinning of the psalms within a conceptualization of monastic poetics which I noted in *The salmscop-scop and 'monastic poetics'* section.

4.3 Approaching *Wan* Via Psalmic 'Water-Paths' and the 'Pathway' Psalm – Psalm 118

In Chapter 2 I highlighted the psalm-poet's preference for OE *stige* to render Latin *semita* in the psalms. One of the examples mentioned (in Psalm 76. 20 (16)) is pertinent here. The relevant Latin psalm-membrum reads: **in mari uia tua et semitae tuae in aquis multis**[125] 'your [God's] way is in the sea and your footpaths in many waters'. The psalm-poet renders this as follows: *Waerun wegas þine on widne sæ, / and þine stige ofer strang wæter* 'Your ways were in the spacious sea, and your paths upon powerful waters'.[126] What this psalm text points to (particularly the OE with the use of *strang* to convey **multis**) is how the conceptualization of arduous or *strang* pathways through/over water (so important in both *Wan* and *Sea*) may well, perhaps, have their genesis in the psalms. The section on *Sea*

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[122] Niles, *God's Exiles and English Verse: On the Exeter Anthology of OId English Poetry*, p. 75.
[123] See the 'Trees' and 'Water' subsections in Chapter 1, Section 1.2.
[124] It must be highlighted here that Harriet Soper has recently made a persuasive case for reading the OE riddles of the Exeter Book alongside the psalter as a 'parallel kind of anthology'. See Soper, 'Emotional Anthologies: The Exeter Riddles and the Psalms'.
[125] *LPR*, Ps. LXXVI. 20.
[126] *OEP*, Ps. 76. 16. Translation O'Neill's.

considers the possibility that the unique collocation of **semitas** with **maris** in the entire Vulgate Bible in Psalm 8. 9[127] may possibly have influenced the formation of the compound *brim-lade* 'sea-path' (*Sea,* l. 30) in that poem. The findings there can, of course, also be applied to *lagu-lade* 'water-path' (*Wan*, l. 3) in *Wan* analysed below. However, the reason for considering this example in the *Sea* section is that the simplex *lagu* can mean both 'water' and 'sea' whereas the simplex *brim* means 'sea' or 'ocean'.[128] In other words, it seems fitting to consider this 'sea-path' example from the Latin Psalms vis à vis a semantically exclusive 'sea' (not 'water') path in the OE within the well-known 'seafaring' OE poem.

Wan and *Sea* are, of course, both well-studied and commented on poems regularly included in OE textbooks.[129] They both typically travel together when analysed in terms of OE literature and the mind[130] as well as the influence of the psalms.[131] For the current analysis of *Wan*, though, there are two pieces of critical scholarship on this poem to directly highlight.

First, Toswell makes a persuasive argument for how *Wan* is structured (possibly even more than *Sea* which I come to later) like a lament psalm.[132] In terms of the distinctive structure of lament psalms she observes the following:

> More particularly, the lament psalms all evince the same basic structure and language of complaint and contemplation of the power of God; and the pattern of complaint followed by contemplation of God's power almost always leads near the end of the psalm to the promise of consolation. This pattern…is central to the human structure of grief and the Hebrew structure of the lament psalms.[133]

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[127] Note that the *DMLBS* lists only this example in Psalm 8. 9 for a 'paths of the sea' meaning indicating that this collocation is perhaps unique to the psalms across a broader range of Latin texts. See *DMLBS*, sv. *semita*.
[128] See *DOE* sv. *lagu-lad* and *brim-lad* respectively. Also note that the simplex *lagu* has a Proto-Northwest Germanic root *laguz 'water, the sea'. See Don Ringe and Ann Taylor, *The Development of Old English: A Linguistic History of English Volume II* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 191. So, evidently *lagu* has a long history of both a 'water' and 'sea' meaning. There is no entry for *brim* in Ringe and Taylor – see 'Index' in *Ibid*.
[129] See, for example, Bruce Mitchell and Fred C. Robinson, *A Guide to Old English*, 6th edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), pp. 268-82, Baker, *Introduction to Old English*, pp. 240-45 (*Wan*) and Treharne, *Old and Middle English c.890-c.1450: an Anthology*, pp. 54-66.
[130] See, for example, Peter Clemoes, '*Mens absentia cogitans* in *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer*', Godden, 'Anglo-Saxons on the Mind', pp. 291-5 and Harbus, *Cognitive Approaches to Old English Poetry*, pp. 40-9. Note that Harbus is considering the mind in *Wan* and *Sea* particularly within the phenomenon of 'Conceptual Metaphor' – see *Ibid*., pp. 24-30 for an overview of 'Theories of conceptual metaphor'.
[131] See Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, pp. 351-8.
[132] Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, pp. 354-8.
[133] *Ibid.*, p. 348.

Her argument then traces how the *Wan*-poet, in the style of a psalmist, opens the poem (*Wan*, ll. 1-7) with 'something of an extended rubric' akin to a *Ps(P)* Introduction which 'emphasizes the voice of the Wanderer' establishing that 'the poem to follow will be his work and his expression, and a sense of the context within which he is speaking'.[134] Lastly, she observes how *Wan*'s closing lines (*Wan*, ll. 112-115) in the voice of the *snotter on mode* (*Wan*, l. 112) 'one wise in mind' are a 'closing vow of praise, the sixth and last standard element of a lament psalm'.

Second, Francis Leneghan develops an appealing argument for how the movement in *Wan* from despair or the 'hope-less exile track of the Germanic world' to hope in the heavenly *fæstnung* 'stronghold' can be viewed via the early monastic lenses of *hesychasm* 'the harnessing of meandering thoughts prior to approaching the stillness of prayer' and *theosis* 'the belief that humankind can share in the divine nature of God through grace'.[135] Both Leneghan's and Toswell's arguments are undergirded by a sense of movement which manifests in *Wan* in the trajectory from the *wræc-lastas* (*Wan* l. 5) 'exile-paths' of the *eard-stapa* 'land-stepper' (*Wan* l. 6) to the *frofre* (*Wan* l. 115) 'comfort' from the 'Father in heaven' sought by the *snottor* (*Wan* l. 111) 'wise-one' at the end of the poem.[136] In other words, movement is essential in conceptualizing how *Wan* may operate as either a lament psalm or an *exemplum* of the early monastic practices of *theosis* and *hesychasm*.

Wan's *first path term* (lagu-lade) *and Psalm 118 – an interpretative crux*?

We have seen in Chapters 1 and 2 how Psalm 118, the longest psalm in the psalter, could be considered the 'pathway' psalm par excellence.[137] Notably, Cassiodorus is effusive about how **uia** is treated in this psalm[138] and, as commented on in Chapter 1, Brown highlights that for the psalmist in Psalm 118 the righteous 'are on the move' and this movement parallels the movement (from *tôrâ* 'obedience' in Psalms 1 and 2 to praise in the closing psalms) of the psalter as a whole.[139] Furthermore, as we saw in Chapter 2, the psalm-poet inserts *weg* (once

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[134] *Ibid.*, p. 355.
[135] Leneghan, 'Preparing the Mind for Prayer: *The Wanderer*, *Hesychasm* and *Theosis*'.
[136] I agree with Lumiansky's view that the *eard-stapa* and the *snotor* are one and the same person. See R. M. Lumiansky, 'The Dramatic Structure of the Old English Wanderer', *Neophilologus*, 34 (1950), 104-112 (p. 105).
[137] See Chapters 1 and 2, Sections 1.4 and 2.4 respectively.
[138] See Walsh, *Cassiodorus: Explanation of the Psalms*, Vol. 3, p. 189 and Chapter 1, above, Section 1.4.
[139] See Brown, *Seeing the Psalms*, pp. 32 and 17.

as part of the compound *eorð-weges* in Psalm 118. 87[140]) three times without a Latin precedent in an already 'pathway' laden psalm.[141]

In terms of the resonance of Psalm 118 in other OE poetry, Rachel Burns[142] has made a persuasive case for how 'Saturn's character and his wandering pursuit of knowledge' is a manifestation of the vice of *acedia*[143] which 'exposes a host of further correspondences between the Old English texts [the *Solomon and Saturn* poems] and Psalm 118'. Burns describes this psalm as 'structured around a sustained metaphor of travel in which obedience to the laws of God is configured as a foot-journey on correct 'ways' (*viae*), while acts of wandering or straying (*errare*) are associated with sin and disobedience'.[144] Given the ubiquity of the psalter in the context in which much OE poetry was composed[145] it should not be surprising if resonances of Psalm 118 extend beyond the *Solomon and Saturn* texts. In terms of *Wan*, Harriet Soper has recently highlighted this poem's psalmic heritage and argues for its 'close verbal links' to Psalm 38 specifically.[146]

That pathways were central to the *Wan*-poet's conception of exile is patently evident from the fact that the term *wræc-lastas* (*Wan* l. 5) 'exile-paths' occurs in the opening psalm-like 'rubric' (to use Toswell's term) which primes the reader or hearer for the poem's content. Reading *Wan* in situ of the most heavily pathway-laden psalm (and, indeed, the psalter's root metaphor of 'pathway') in the psalter should, therefore, prove illuminating[147] and I will now turn to do that beginning with the poem's well-known opening lines.

"Oft him anhaga are gebideð,
metudes miltse, þeah þe he mod-cearig
geond lagu-lade longe sceolde

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[140] See *OEP*, Ps. 118. 87.
[141] See Chapter 2, above, Section 2.4.
[142] See Rachel A. Burns, 'The Wanderings of Saturn: Psychogeography, Psalms, and *Solomon and Saturn*' in *Ideas of the World in Early Medieval English Literature*, ed. by Mark Atherton, Kazutomo Karasawa, and Francis Leneghan (Turnhout: Brepols, 2022), pp. 69-101.
[143] Burns makes this connection from evidence that *Solomon and Saturn I* (ll. 59b-61a) paraphrases Psalm 118. 28 in the Greek Septuagint which, in her translation, reads: 'my spirit has dripped away because of *acedia*'. See *Ibid.*, p. 84.
[144] *Ibid.*
[145] See 4.1 'The *Psalteratus* or *Psalterata* as *Scop*' above.
[146] See Soper, '*The Wanderer* and the Legacy of Pathetic Fallacy', pp. 118-9 and 121 and 'Sorrow Renewed: *The Wanderer* and Psalm 38'.
[147] To the best of my knowledge, the resonance of Psalm 118 and the psalter's 'root metaphor' of 'pathway' in *Wan* has not explicitly been considered before.

hreran mid hondum hrim-cealde sæ,
wadan wræc-lastas: wyrd bið ful aræd." (*Wan*, ll. 1-5[148])

Often the alone-thinker waits for grace, the compassion of God, though he mind-anxious must stir with [his] hands the frost-cold sea, throughout the water-way, to travel the paths of exile: fate is fully determined.

The very first pathway term that occurs here is *lagu-lade* 'water-way' and it is worthwhile to examine its import. In *Word-Hord: A Lexicon of Old English Verse* this compound is categorized as 'nearly-unique' – it occurs only here and in *Andreas* (l. 314a).[149] Such evidence immediately raises the question of why did the *Wan*-poet chose such a distinctive term in this well-known opening rubric for the poem? We have seen, in Chapter 2, how topographical place-name data offered an original view of both the paraphrast's (for example *cnolle*, in Psalm 41. 7) and the psalm-poet's (for example *burna*, in Psalms 77. 17, 106. 34, 135. 17 and 147. 7) use of landscape terms.[150] In this case, evidence for the path-term *gelād* 'difficult river-crossing'[151] is especially illuminating as should soon become clear.

It must be immediately noted that Gelling and Cole are careful to draw attention to the topographical distinction between *lād* 'dyked water-course, canal' and its semantic 'neighbour' *gelād*. They remark that Gelling made an initial attempt to draw a distinction between these terms in 1984 in *Place-Names in the Landscape*.[152] In the entry for *lād* it is noted that the two terms are related (and usually discussed together in prior scholarship) and that '[i]n literary OE *lād* means 'way, course, journey, conveyance', and from the last of these senses has developed modern *load*'.[153] This observation could, superficially, lead to a conclusion that the *Wan*-poet had the topographical sense of *lād* 'water-course' as opposed to *gelād* 'difficult river crossing' in mind when they used this term in the second element of *lagu-lade* in line three here. However, why I think there is convincing evidence that *gelād*'s sense cannot be ruled out is, first, the context of the only other occurrence of this compound in

[148] All quotations of *Wan* and the other OE elegies in this chapter are from Klinck's edition.
[149] Orchard, *Word-Hord: A Lexicon of Old English Verse*, sv. *laĝu-lād*.
[150] See Chapter 2, above, Section 2.2.
[151] Gelling and Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names*, p. 81.
[152] See *Ibid*., p. 20 and Margaret Gelling, *Place-Names in the Landscape* (London: J M Dent, 1984), pp. 23-5 and 73-5.
[153] Gelling and Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names*, p. 81.

Andreas (*And*). The *beorna breogo* 'ruler of men' (*And*, l. 305) says to St Andrew the following:

> 'Hu gewearð þe þæs, wine leofesta,
> ðæt ðu sæ-beorgas secan woldes,
> mere-streama gemet, maðmum bedæled,
> ofer cald cleofu ceoles neosan?
> Nafast þe to frofre on faroð-stræte
> hlafes wiste ne hlutterne
> drync to dugoðe? **Is se drohtað strang**
> **þam þe lago-lade lange cunnaþ**' (emphasis mine). (*And*, ll. 305-314) [154]
>
> How did that happen, most beloved friend, that you would seek sea-hills, the meeting of ocean-currents, deprived of treasure, over cold cliffs to search out a ship? Do you have nothing to comfort [you] on the tide-road – sustenance of a loaf or clear drink for sustenance [as well]? It is a tough life for the one long exploring the water-way.

The use of the adjective *strang* to describe the experience on the *lago-lade* is revealing. *A Thesaurus of Old English* has a total of thirteen entries for *strang*.[155] Its meaning can range from 'violent' to describe an illness (or violent force) to 'severe' to describe a bad feeling to 'resolute' and 'assured' to describe the nouns 'will' and 'truth' respectively. For the immediate discussion, the first of the thirteen listed semantic categories is apposite – namely 'current, rush of water' where *strang*'s meaning is listed as modern English 'strong'.[156] So, this context for the only other known occurrence of the compound *lagu-lade* lends implicit support to my assertion that the *Wan*-poet could have had *gelād*'s topographical sense of 'difficult river crossing' in mind when they selected this particular path term – it is 'difficult' to cross a river with a *strang* flowing current. (It is noteworthy that in both occurrences of this compound it appears in the relevant on-verse so the respective poet's choice is not governed by alliteration requirements.)

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[154] *Andreas an Edition* ed. by Richard North and Michael D. J. Bintley (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016), p. 134.
[155] See *A Thesaurus of Old English* 'Quick Search' result sv. *strang*, <https://oldenglishthesaurus.arts.gla.ac.uk/category-selection/?qsearch=strang>, [accessed 9 July 2024].
[156] *A Thesaurus of Old English*, s.v., "01.01.03.04|06 (adj.) Current, rush of water :: Strong", <http://oldenglishthesaurus.arts.gla.ac.uk/category/?id=428>, [accessed 9 July 2024].

The second reason why *gelād*'s topographical evidence cannot be ruled out is that Gelling and Cole acknowledge that the terms *gelād* and *lād* were previously discussed together by philologists such as Eilert Ekwall in the first half of the twentieth century.[157]

It also has to be noted, here, that the *Andreas*-poet's use of *strang* to describe the experience of the *lago-lade* echoes the psalm-poet's choice of this adjective to render **multis** in **semitae tuae in aquis multis** in Psalm 76. 20 referred to at the opening of this subsection.[158] It would appear, then, that the conceptualization of the experience of the *lago-lade* or *lagu-lade* (evinced in *Andreas* and *Wan*, respectively) may perhaps stem from psalmic imagery given the concept of the *psalteratus/a-scop* discussed in the opening of this chapter.

So, if we can accept that the opening lines of the poem function as a type of psalm rubric (as Toswell argues and which I noted earlier)[159] then it is instructive to evaluate what the poet may have wished to signal (in light of the topographical evidence previously discussed) by their use of the 'nearly unique' compound *lagu-lade* within the first three lines of the poem's 'rubric'.

One possibility is that the poet wished to indicate that the exiled condition of the *eard-stapa* 'land-stepper' (*Wan*, l. 6) – so powerfully expressed between lines 6 and 110 of the poem – is not static, however bleak it appears. The concept of 'difficult river crossing' evinced in *gelād*'s topographical context implies a journey to the other side. In other words, just as the paraphrast uses the 'motion' exile term *wræc-sið* in the Introductions to *Ps(P)* 22, 23 and 41 in the context of David's return from exile to indicate that exile is not stasis but a movement toward a place of refuge (as the relevant *Ps(P)* demonstrate),[160] the *Wan*-poet signals the movement to the coda of the poem expressed in the voice of the *snottor* 'wise one' (Wan, l. 111) with their use of this singular path term. Refuge is implicit in the *snottor*'s well-known closing lines which exhort the reader or hearer to seek *frofre to fæder on heofonum* 'comfort from the father in heaven' where all *fæstnung stondeð* 'security stands' (*Wan*, l. 115). This movement from exile to comfort has oblique points of contact with Psalm 118 and more broadly the root metaphors of 'pathway' and 'refuge'[161] in the psalter.

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[157] Gelling and Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names*, p. 20.
[158] See above.
[159] See Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, p. 355 and above.
[160] See *OEP*, pp. 72, 74 and 148 and Chapter 2, above, Section 2.4.
[161] See Brown, *Seeing the Psalms*, pp. 15-16, Chapters 1 and 2, p. 68 and p. 115, respectively.

In terms of the points of contact with Psalm 118, Burns's contextualization of this psalm's function and trajectory is relevant. She writes:

> The psalm opens with a benediction for those who 'ambulant in lege Domini' (walk in the law of the Lord, Ps. 118. 1), and closes with the singer's plea for help, as he has lost his way like a sheep ('erravi quasi ovis perdita', Ps. 118. 176). It is the first-person singing voice of the psalm which undertakes the metaphorical journeying in the text, often expressed as requests, for example, 'deduc me in semita mandatorum tuorum' (lead me in the path of your commandments, Ps. 118. 35), or as declarations of faith, for example, 'deduc me in semita mandatorum tuorum' (lead me in the path of your commandments, Ps 118. 35), or as declarations of faith, for example, 'recogitavi vias meas et converti pedes meos ad testimonia tua' (I have reflected upon my ways, and I have turned back my feet towards your testimonies, Ps. 118. 59). Crucially, the metaphorical pathways do not represent virtues, but rather the 'laws' (*mandati*) and 'commandments' (*leges*) of God, which are themselves virtuous; the direction of the singer's journey is governed by God's unquestionable authority.[162]

Burns demonstrates, further, how the experience of Saturn in the *Solomon and Saturn* texts 'correspond closely' with the 'singer' of Psalm 118'.[163] I would offer that the experience of the *eard-stapa* also corresponds with 'the singer' of Psalm 118, but this is manifested differently than the experience of Saturn. Sorrow is regularly expressed as movement over a pathway – prefigured by the adjective *mod-cearig* 'mind-anxious'[164] which describes the *eard-stapa*'s or *anhaga*'s state of mind (*mod*) as they must *wadan* 'go across' the *wræc-lastas* 'exile-paths' and cross the *lagu-lade* in the opening rubric. For example, the *eard-stapa* describes leaving the burial of his *gold-winne* 'gold-giving friend' (*Wan*, l. 22) this way:

> … ond ic hean þonan
> wod winter-cearig ofer waþema gebind

[162] Burns, 'The Wanderings of Saturn: Psychogeography, Psalms, and *Solomon and Saturn*', pp. 84-5.
[163] *Ibid*., p. 85.
[164] Recently Alice Jorgensen has analysed how *Wan* 'stands out as especially interested' in references to the mind and emotion – especially the emotion of 'sorrow'. She notes that in the 'first-person speech of the exile at lines 8-29a' there are 'no fewer than seven words for the heart or mind, counting duplicates'. Furthermore, she also notes that reference to sorrow and mental distress occur regularly throughout the poem – beginning with *mod-cearig* (l. 2) and including *winter-cearig* (l. 24) which occurs in the next example of sorrow and movement over a pathway. See Alice Jorgensen, *Emotional Practice in Old English Poetry* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2024), pp. 9-16 (p. 10).

sohte sele-dreorig sinces bryttan
hwær ic feor oþþe neah findan meahte
þone þe in meodu-healle mine wise
oþþe mec freondleasne frefran wolde,
weman mid wynnum. (*Wan*, ll. 23b-29a)

And I then, wretched, went winter-sorrowful across gathered waves [and], sad at the loss of a hall, sought, far or near, a distributer of treasure where I might find one who, wise, [could] care [for me] in [the] mead-hall, or would comfort me, friendless, [and] entice [me] with joys.

Here the verb *wod* 'went' (the first-person past indicative of the infinitive *wadan*) echoes *wadan* in *wadan wræc-lastas* (*Wan*, l. 5) and the second element of the adjective *winter-cearig* 'winter-sorrowful' echoes the second element of *mod-cearig* (*Wan,* l. 5) which occur in the opening rubric. This syntactic partial parallelism indicates the relationship between the poem's thematic content and its opening which in turn shows traces, perhaps, of the early Christian tradition of providing psalm *tituli* to guide the minds (with an applicable theme) of those encountering each psalm.[165] Furthermore, the first-person past indicative verb *sohte* 'sought' in *sohte…sinces bryttan* 'sought…[a] distributor of treasure' foreshadows its present indicative form *secað* in the poem's closing lines: *Wel bið þam þe him are secað / frofre to fæder in heofonum, þær us eal seo fæstnung stondeð* 'Well is the one who seeks grace; comfort from the Father in heaven, where [for] us all security stands' (*Wan*, ll. 114b-115). Notably, as well, the noun *are* 'grace' occurs only twice in the poem – here and in line 1 of the poem's opening. In other words, the *Wan*-poet reiterates the theme of 'moving across the path/s of exile' (eventually to refuge with the Father in heaven) established in the opening 'rubric' by strategically using the same or similar verbs, adjectives and nouns. This may not precisely mirror repetitive patterning in the psalms, but it certainly displays traces of it.[166]

[165] Psalm *tituli* were of course pertinent to the *Dream* analysis in this chapter. See Pierre Salmon, 'Introduction', in *Les 'Tituli Psalmorum' des manuscrits latins*, pp. 9-42 for a thorough explanation of this practice and Chapter 2, above, Section 2.4, for examples of how the paraphrast signals the theme (in this case return from *wræc-sið* 'exile') of a particular psalm in its respective Introduction.

[166] See Gillingham, *The Poems and Psalms of the Hebrew Bible*, p. 26 for a description of the use of repetition in Hebrew Poetry (of which the psalms are an obvious example) and Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, p. 47 for a description of how Bede uses examples from the psalter to explain the rhetorical device of 'Anaphora' (or

Psalm 118, specifically, is potentially invoked by the emphasis on pathways (and accompanying verbs such as *wadan* and *secan*) throughout *Wan*.

The next collocation between grief or sorrow and 'pathway' in the poem occurs in lines 50b-53 which read:

> … sorg bið geniwad[167]
> þonne maga gemynd mod geondhweorfeð;
> greteð gliwstafum georne geondsceawað
> secga geseldan. Swimmað eft on weg. (*Wan*, ll. 50b-53)[168]
>
> Sorrow is renewed when the memory of [a] kinsman pervades the mind; [he] greets [the memory?] with joy [and] eagerly examines the hall-companions of men [who] often swim [away] on [the] road.

Baker acknowledges that these lines are 'more difficult to interpret' than to read as either the remembered kinsman and *secga geseldan* float away on the implicit sea-road as the *eard-stapa* 'awakes' or what he thought he saw in his dream state was actually seabirds (which are implicitly – according to Baker – referred to in the next line – *fleotendra ferð* 'floating troop' (*Wan*, l. 54)) floating away from him.[169] Either way, what is evident here is that a sorrowful state of mind (*sorg bið geniwad*) is again associated with a watery road (*weg*) – the verb *Swimmað* in *Swimmað eft on weg* is a clear indication of a water 'pathway' or 'road' and not a physical road in the landscape. This association broadly resonates the theme established in the poem's opening and so again may perhaps be viewed as tacitly echoing the pathway psalm – Psalm 118 – given my preceding argument.

The final collocation between grief and 'pathway' occurs in how the death of the *eard-stapa*'s band of seasoned warriors (*duguþ* (*Wan*, l. 79)) is described. They are said to have been *ferede in forð-wege* 'carried in the way forward' (*Wan*, l. 81). In his introduction to the

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'bearing back') in *De Schematibus et tropis*. Also see Soper, '*The Wanderer* and the Legacy of Pathetic Fallacy', pp. 118-9 for how the Psalms are a 'crucial context' for *Wan* and other OE poetry.

[167] It must be noted that Harriet Soper has recently made an interesting and persuasive argument for the influence of Ps. 38: 2-3 on lines 50b-57 of *Wan* – especially the phrase *sorg bið geniwad* (l. 50b). The closing membrum of Ps. 38. 3 in both the Vulgate (*Gallicanum*, see *LVB*, Ps. 38. 3) and *Romanum* (see, *LPR,* Ps. XXXVIII. 3)*,* reads: **et dolor meus renovatus est** 'and my sorrow was renewed'. See Soper, 'Sorrow Renewed: *The Wanderer* and Psalm 38'.

[168] I have altered Klinck's punctuation here to follow Baker's (Baker, *Introduction to Old English*, p. 242) as it better expresses the collocation between sorrow and pathway in two syntactical units.

[169] *Ibid.*, note 13 and 14.

Battle of Maldon, Baker notes that 'the most common euphemism meaning "to die" [in OE] is *forðferan* "go forth", attested hundreds of times in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and elsewhere'.[170] The compounding of *forð* with *weg* here indicates how the *Wan*-poet conceived of death as not a final end-point but a journey forward – implicitly a journey toward *frofre* 'comfort' with the Father in heaven expressed in the poem's closing lines discussed above.

What must be highlighted here after this consideration of the trajectory of the *eard-stapa* alongside the singer's of Psalm 118, is that within the first twenty verses of this very long psalm the singer describes themselves as **incola ego sum terra**[171] 'I am a traveler on the earth'. Notably, **incola** can carry the meaning of 'foreign resident' or *inwoner zonder burgerrechten* 'resident without civil rights'[172] and the *D-RB* translates this term as 'sojourner'.[173] There is, evidently, a clear echo of **incola ego sum terra** in the well-known compound, *eard-stapa*, after which the *Wan* poem is named. Furthermore, this psalm's final verse reads: **erraui sicut ouis quae perierat require seruum tuum Domine quia mandata tua non sum oblitus**[174] 'I have wandered like a lost sheep, seek your servant Lord for I have not forgotten your commandments'. A reader steeped in the psalms would perhaps not fail to see the echo, here, of the *eard-stapa* who finally reaches the *fæstnung* 'stability' (*Wan*, l. 115) of the Father in heaven in *Wan*'s final line – particularly when seen in conjunction with the **incola** at the beginning of the psalm.

So, while the movement along the pathways in *Wan* is not explicitly the same as the singer of Psalm 118 who is perpetually seeking to follow God's 'ways' or 'laws' it implicitly resonates Psalm 118's exhortation and trajectory (described earlier in the quotation from Burns) in that the *eard-stapa* makes (or describes others making) a journey over water to reach a final *fæstnung*. In this way the poem also evokes the two 'root' metaphors of the psalter (discussed previously as well) namely 'pathway' and 'refuge'. The *Wan*-poet, demonstrably (as the manner in which they develop the theme of the opening 'rubric' shows), was likely steeped in the psalms – a possible *psalmscop-scop*.

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[170] *Ibid.*, p. 228. Note that Baker highlights *forðweg* here in *Wan* as well as the narrator in *Dream* lamenting that 'his friends *forð gewiton* 'have gone forward' into death' when contextualizing this OE euphemism.
[171] *LPR*, Ps. CVIII. 19.
[172] See 'LewisShort' and 'LaNe' on Logeion, sv. *incola* < https://logeion.uchicago.edu/incola> [accessed 1 August 2025].
[173] See *LVB*, Ps. 118. 19.
[174] *LPR*, Ps. CVIII. 176.

4.4 *Sea* and *semitas maris* 'paths of the sea' in Psalm 8. 9 – the Conceptual Root of *brim-lade* 'sea-path' (l. 30)?

As has already been noted, *Sea* is a well-studied poem. In the twentieth century there was considerable focus on the poem's structure.[175] Roy Leslie, in 1983, acknowledged that most scholars accept the poem has two parts and it is open to both literal and allegorical interpretation.[176] Treharne summarizes the poem's bifurcated structure as follows:

> From line 64b, the motif of a personal sea-faring experience (from which the poem was given its title in the nineteenth century) evolves into a universal debate on the mortality of mankind, the futility of earthly wealth, the morality of Christian living, and the need to be judged worthy of *lof* ('praise').[177]

Notably, Dorothy Whitelock's seminal essay, 'The Interpretation of *The Seafarer*'[178] argued for the speaker's desire to embark on their sea-journey in order to *elþeodigra eard gesecan* 'to seek those living in a foreign land' (*Sea*, l. 38) to be viewed as an example of a *peregrinatio pro amore Dei*.[179] This reading of the poem likely initiated the general practice of interpreting the speaker's sea-journey on two levels – literally and figuratively.

More recently, Toswell has developed an argument for how 'alternations' which are 'typical of lament psalms' are detectable in *Sea* and that it, perhaps, 'bears comparison' with Psalm 106. 23-31[180] which describes those that 'go down to the sea in ships' and who endure storms and waves before rejoicing that God has stilled these.[181] She also highlights that the sea

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[175] See, for example, A. D. Horgan, 'The Structure of *The Seafarer*', *The Review of English Studies, New Series*, 30, (1979), 41-9, Roy F. Leslie, 'The Meaning and Structure of *The Seafarer*', in *The Old English Elegies: New Essays in Criticism and Research*, ed. by Martin Green (New Jersey: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1983), pp. 96-122 and Peter Orton, 'The Form and Structure of *The Seafarer*', *Studia Neophilologica*, 63 (1991), 37-55.
[176] Leslie, The Meaning and Structure of *The Seafarer*', p. 96.
[177] Treharne, *Old and Middle English c. 890-c. 1450*, p. 60.
[178] Dorothy Whitelock, 'The Interpretation of *The Seafarer*', in *The Early Cultures of North-West Europe* ed. by Cyril Fox and Bruce Dickins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950), pp. 261-72.
[179] *Ibid.* Note that becoming a *peregrinatio pro amore Dei* 'exile/traveler for the love of God' is a practice considered unique to Celtic Christianity – 'early Irish Saints are known to have believed in white martyrdom' where they renounced everything and traveled to foreign lands. See Catherine Maignant, 'Alternative Pilgrimages: Postmodern Celtic Christianity and the Spatialisation', *Nordic Irish Studies*, 6 (2007), 17-28 (p. 17). Also see Juliet Mullins, '*Herimum in mari*: Anglo-Saxon Attitudes towards *Perigrinatio* and the Ideal of a Desert in the Sea' for the different attitudes (between English and Irish poets) to the concept of *Perigrinatio*.
[180] Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, pp. 352-4.
[181] See *D-RB*, Ps. 106. 23-31.

imagery, which Whitelock referred to in her argument for the *perigrinus* or spiritual sea-journey interpretation of *Sea*, is 'endemic in the psalms'.[182]

Could the **semitas maris** *in Psalm 8. 9 be an underlying source for* brim-lade *in Sea*?
What, to the best of my knowledge, has not been explicitly noticed before is the possibility that *Sea*'s undergirding motif (both literal and allegorical) evinced in the compound *brim-lade* 'sea-path' (*Sea*, l. 30) may well have its conceptual roots in Psalm 8: 9 which (in both the *Romanum* and *Gallicanum*) reads: **uolucres caeli, et pisces maris qui perambulant semitas maris** 'the birds of the air, and the fishes of the sea, that pass through the **paths of the sea**' (emphasis mine). The OE term *brim* for 'sea', of course, occurs mainly in poetry[183] and it is perhaps worth noting that there is one occurrence of it in the Metrical Psalms in the closing membrum of Psalm 106. 28 which reads: *bliðe weorðað, þa þe brimu weþað* '[they] become happy when the seas calm'.[184] This occurrence is, unsurprisingly, in the portion of psalm text for which Toswell drew a comparison with *Sea* mentioned earlier.

The broader theme of Psalm 8, which Gillingham describes as 'plainly' a 'hymn of creation' likely composed with 'Genesis 1 in mind',[185] does not directly resonate with the theme of *Sea*. However, how the concept of **semitas maris** 'paths of the sea' may have influenced the *Sea*-poet in their use of the compound *brim-lade* is potentially discernible in the psalm commentaries – particularly the *Enarrationes in Psalmos* and *Expositio Psalmorum*. To begin with Augustine, the following is what he says regarding this phrase in Psalm 8. 9:

> Look also upon the fishes of the sea, the eager seekers who pass through the paths of the sea, those who delve deep into the affairs of this world for temporal gains which vanish and perish, like the paths in the sea the moment the waters meet together again after parting to make way for passing ships or for anything that **ploughs the waves or walks the waters** (emphases mine).[186]

Cassiodorus, characteristically, develops Augustine's interpretation of the 'eager seekers' and says the following:

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[182] Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, p. 352.
[183] See Orchard, *Word-Hord: A Lexicon of Old English Verse*, sv. *brim*.
[184] *OEP*, Ps. 106. 28
[185] Gillingham, *Psalms Through the Centuries: A Reception History Commentary on Psalms 1-72*, p. 72.
[186] *St Augustine on the Psalms:* Enarrationes in psalmos, Vol 1: Psalms 1-29, trans. by Dame Scholastica Hebgin and Dame Felicitas Corrigan (New York: Newman Press, 1960), p. 107.

> *The fishes of the sea* perhaps denote philosophers who with roaming curiosity survey the nature of this world, for just as fish direct their heads and **open for themselves paths through the troubled waters of the sea**, so philosophers drop their heads and by human reason and remitting toil seek out the courses of the world (emphasis mine).[187]

Both these interpretations, characteristically, offer a metaphorical interpretation and introduce a note of 'difficulty', perhaps, with the verb 'ploughs' for Augustine and the adjective 'troubled' for Cassiodorus. For the current discussion, it is again Cassiodorus (given, as we saw in Chapter 1, the emphasis placed on the *Expositio*) who is perhaps most relevant in how he emphasises the 'troubled waters of the sea' which a *psalteratus/a* would perhaps see as an oblique allusion to the hardship of seafaring so powerfully expressed by the speaker in *Sea* in, for example, the following lines:

> Calde geþrungen
> wæron mine fet, forste gebunden,
> caldum clommum, þær þa ceare seofedun
> hat' ymb heortan, hungor innan slat
> mere-werges mod. (ll. 8b-12a)

> My feet were oppressed with cold, bound with frost, in cold chains, where those sorrows lamented hot around (my) heart, hunger cut within – mind of the sea-weary one.

Moreover, it is worth highlighting two points here. First, the collocation of *semitas* with *maris* only occurs here in Psalm 8. 9 in the entire *LVB*.[188] Second, it is perhaps also worth noting that an ancient reference to a path through the sea (with which the *Sea*-poet would quite likely be familiar) is the one the Israelites took through the Red Sea when escaping Pharaoh. The *Exodus*-poet describes this crossing vividly. Moses lifts his *hlude stefne* 'loud voice' (*Exodus* (*Ex*), l. 276) and declares:

> Yð up færeð, ofstum wyrceð
> wæter on wealfæsten. Wegas syndon dryge,

[187] Walsh, *Cassiodorus: Explanation of the Psalms*, Vol. 1, pp. 114-5.
[188] See search results of the *LVB* sv. *semitas maris*.

hawse here-stræte, holm gerymed,
ealde staðolas þa ic ær ne gefrægn
ofer middan-geard men gefaran,
fage feldas, þa forð heonan
in ece tid yðe þeccað. (*Ex*, ll. 282-9)[189]

The sea[190] goes up [and] quickly works the water into a rampart. The ways are dry, the silvery army-street, the sea is opened, the ancient foundations which I have never earlier heard tell of men throughout middle-earth going across, the variegated fields, which the waves, henceforth, in perpetual time, will cover.

Shortly after this description of the parting of the sea, which the speaker has never heard of happening before, the *Ex*-poet masterfully uses variation to describe how the *feorðe cyn* 'fourth tribe' (*Ex*, l. 310) went first and *wod on wæg-stream* 'waded the wave-stream' (*Ex,* l. 311) and went in a group *ofer grenne grund* 'over green ground' (*Ex*, l. 312) hastening upon the *uncuð gelad* 'unknown path/difficult water crossing' (*Ex*, l. 313). This striking imagery underscores the development and influence of the conceptual schema of a pathway across water.[191] Furthermore, the use of the verb *wod* and noun *gelad* could be viewed, broadly, as an echo of the opening 'rubric' of *Wan* where the '*anhaga*' long must '*geond lagu-lade*' stir the ice-cold sea as well as wade the paths of exile. Also, the topographical evidence for *gelād* 'difficult river-crossing' may well have some resonance here (in the *uncuð gelad* in *Ex*, l. 313) when considering the context of this 'first' crossing of the Red Sea by the 'fourth tribe' to escape Pharoah's army.[192] Lastly, the fact that the sole collocation of *semitas* with *maris* in the *LVB* (for which both Augustine and Cassiodorus emphasize a note of difficulty in their respective interpretations) occurs in the psalms is an indicator of the psalter's role in how a

[189] *Exodus*, ed. by Peter J. Lucas (London: Methuen, 1977), pp. 114-5. All further references to *Ex* are to Lucas's edition.
[190] I use Lucas's designation of the nominative, feminine, singular noun *yð* in this context as 'sea' as it is more fitting than the usual designation 'wave' found in *B-T*. See, 'Glossary' in *Ibid*., sv. *yð*.
[191] See Harbus, Chapter 2, 'Conceptual Metaphors' in '*Cognitive Approaches to Old English Poetry*, (pp. 24-51) for a consideration (drawing predominantly on the field of Cognitive Linguistics – especially the work of Lakoff and Johnson) of how conceptual schemas are formed and their relevance to OE poetry – especially *Wan* and *Sea*. Admittedly, there is a subtle difference between path *over* the sea in a ship (as the speaker in *Sea* undertakes) and pathway *through* the sea on land as the Israelites take in these lines quoted from *Ex*.
[192] See above (Section 4.3) for the discussion of the toponym *gelād*'s evidence in relation to *Wan*'s opening rubric earlier in this chapter.

'path through/across the sea' may have been conceptualized in OE poetic discourse[193] – in *Ex* this is a water-crossing to the 'promised land' where the Israelites' *hæft wæs onscæled* 'captivity was unloosed' (*Ex,* l. 584) and in *Wan* this is an implicit water-crossing to *frofre* 'comfort' (*Wan*, l. 115) with the Father in heaven. I will now turn to examine how this 'water/sea-pathway/passage' mental schema is deployed in *Sea*.

The compound *brim-lad* occurs only in poetry and a total of two times in the entire OE corpus – in *Sea* (l. 30) and in *Beowulf* (*Beo*) (l. 1051).[194] In *Sea* its context is the following:

> Forþon him gelyfeð lyt, se þe ah lifes wyn,
> gebidan in burgum, bealo-siþa hwon,
> wlonc ond wingal, hu ic werig oft
> in brim-lade bidan sceolde. (*Sea* ll. 27-30)
>
> Thus he believes little, who possesses life's pleasure, few terrible journeys [and] abides in the city – proud and overflown with wine; how, I, weary, often, must endure the sea-voyage.[195]

However, in *Beo* its context is the following:

> Đa gyt æghwylcum eorla drihten
> þara þe mid Beowulfe brim-lade teah
> on þære medu-bence maþðum gesealde,
> yrfe-lafe, ond þone ænne heht
> golde forgyldan, þone ðe Grendel ær
> mane acwealde – swa he hyra ma wolde,
> nefne him witig God wyrd forstode
> ond ðæs mannes mod. (*Beo*, ll. 1050-7a)[196]

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[193] Note of course that Psalm 76. 20 (referred to at the opening of the section on *Wan*) also contains evocative imagery of pathways through the sea. As a reminder, this psalm verse in full reads: **in mari uia tua et semitae tuae in aquis multis / et uestigia tua non cognoscentur** 'your [God's] way is in the sea and your paths in many waters / and your footsteps will not be known'. See *LPR*, Ps. LXXVI. 20 and above.

[194] See Orchard, *Word-Hord: A Lexicon of Old English Verse*, sv. *brim-lād*.

[195] I have used one of Orchard's translations of *brim-lād*, 'sea-voyage', as I think this most clearly expresses how this compound carries the theme of the entire poem. See *Ibid*.

[196] *Klaeber's Beowulf*, 4th edn, ed. by R. D. Fulk, Robert E. Bjork and John D. Niles (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), p. 37.

> To those, also, who had undertaken the sea-voyage with Beowulf the lord of earls gave precious gifts, to each an heirloom; and he directed that recompense in gold should be made for the one whom Grendel had earlier criminally killed – as he would have killed more of them if watchful God and the courage of that man had not prevented that outcome.[197]

For the current discussion, the *Beo* context of *brim-lad* is relevant in that it implicitly echoes a potential note of difficulty contained in the element *lad*[198] as only those who had the courage to undertake the 'difficult' *brim-lad* with Beowulf were given an *yrfe-laf* 'heirloom'.

To return to *Sea*, *brim-lade* in line 30 is the first time the poet uses a specific 'pathway' term to denote a sea-crossing or journey. The speaker opens the poem narrating their *Bitre breost-ceare* 'bitter breast-care' (*Sea*, l. 4) as they were, torn by hunger, obliged to endure a winter on the *wræccan lastum* 'paths of exile' (*Sea*, l. 15) on the *iscealdne sæ* 'ice-cold sea' (*Sea* l. 14). So, while a difficult sea-journey is implicit in the poem's opening lines this is the first time it is directly referred to. Given the topographical evidence for the potential note of 'difficult river crossing' in the second element *lad* of *brim-lade* (analysed in relation to *lagu-lade* in *Wan*[199]) it is possible the *Sea*-poet may have made a deliberate choice by deploying this nearly unique compound here to emphasize the physical and emotional struggle of the sea-voyage that functions as the fulcrum on which the entire poem operates.

It must be noted that the *Sea*-poet employs another 'sea-path' term later in the poem – namely *flod-wegas* 'sea-ways' (*Sea*, l. 52). In this case the context is shifted somewhat as the speaker describes blossoming groves and beautiful plains which *gemoniað* 'prompt' (*Sea*, l. 50) a person to go on these *flod-wegas*. Moreover, Niles makes a compelling argument (drawing on Psalm 106. 35 in P) for how the term *ham* 'home' (*Sea*, l. 117) in *Sea*'s closing lines, which, among other encouragement, exhort the reader or listener to *hyht in heofonum* 'hope in heaven' (*Sea*, l. 122), is a reference to a place 'where refuge, rest or satisfaction is found'.[200] Niles's argument offers the possibility that the movement in *Sea* along the *brim-lade* to a place of refuge echoes the movement in *Wan* on the *lagu-lade* to implicit 'refuge' in

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[197] Translation from *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, ed. and trans. by S. A. J. Bradley (London: Everyman, 1982), p. 439.
[198] See the discussion drawing on topographical evidence for *lād* and *gelād* in the context of the compound *lagu-lade* in *Wan*, above, Section 4.3.
[199] See *Ibid*.
[200] Niles, *God's Exiles and English Verse: On the Exeter Anthology of OId English Poetry*, pp. 219-20.

frofre with the Father in Heaven. This echo further implies that *Sea* as a poem may carry overtones of the 'movement psalm' – Psalm 118 – analysed in the context of *Wan*. In other words, *Sea* may also reflect the 'root metaphors' of the psalter – namely 'pathway' and 'refuge'.[201]

Lastly, given the concept of the *psalterati/ae*, the singular collocation of **semitas** with **maris** contained in Psalm 8. 9 (and possibly other ancient conceptualizations of paths across the sea such as the one the Israelites took through the Red Sea), cannot be ruled out of the *Sea*-poet's consciousness when they chose to deploy this nearly unique compound.[202] Furthermore, as noted in the section on *Wan*, the evidence produced here for *brim-lade*'s 'conceptual root' possibly stemming from **semitas maris** in Psalm 8. 9 could equally apply to this term's synonym, *lagu-lade*, in *Wan*.

4.5 *Wulf* and *Wife*: A Possible Psalmic *locus horribilis* in Each Poem?

Both *Wulf* and *Wife* are usually considered enigmatic poems which express potent emotions of sorrow and loss from a female speaker's point of view and as such they have, of course, attracted notable scholarly attention.[203] In terms of the relationship between these poems and the psalms, Toswell has made a persuasive case for how both *Wulf* and *Wife* echo the lament psalms.[204] In the case of *Wulf* she notes this is 'a profoundly allusive and complex poem' which uses repetitive vocabulary, parallelism and anaphora to cumulatively build meaning incrementally. Her synopsis of how the *Wulf*-poet does this is worth quoting in full:

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[201] See Brown, *Seeing the Psalms*, p. 16 and the discussion in Section 4.3 – especially p. 220-1.
[202] There is potential, beyond the scope of this chapter, to trace the possible impact of *semitas maris* in Psalm 8. 9 more broadly in the OE poetic corpus. For example, the unique compounds *flot-weg* 'sea-way' and *mere-lad* 'sea-path' occur in *The Husband's Message* (l. 42 and 28), the nearly unique compound *mere-stræt* 'sea-path' occurs in *Beo* (l. 514) and *Elene* (l. 242), the unique compound *faroþ-stræt* 'sea-path' occurs in *And* (l. 440) and the unique compound *lagu-stræt* 'sea-path' occurs in *Beo* (l. 239). The terms *lagu-lade* (*Wan* l. 30), as already mentioned, and *flod-wegas* (*Sea*, l. 50), considered in this chapter, would also be relevant. See Orchard, *Word-Hord: A Lexicon of Old English Verse*, sv. *flot-weg*, *mere-lād*, *mere-stræt*, *faroþ-stræt* and *laĝu-stræt* respectively.
[203] See, for example, Klinck, 'Introduction', pp. 47-54 and 'Animal Imagery in *Wulf and Eadwacer* and the Possibilities of Interpretation', *PLL*, 23 (1987), 3-13, Ruth P. Lehmann, 'The Metrics and Structure of *Wulf and Eadwacer*', *Philological Quarterly*, 48 (1969), 151-65, Stanley B. Greenfield, '*Wulf and Eadwacer*: All Passion Pent', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 15 (1986), 5-14, Fiona and Richard Gameson, '*Wulf and Eadwacer, The Wife's Lament*, and the Discovery of the Individual in Old English Verse' in *'Doubt Wisely'*, pp. 457-74, John D. Niles, 'The Problem of the Ending of *The Wife's Lament*', *Speculum*, 78 (2003), 1107-50 and Amy W. Clark, 'As Though "Wit" Never Were: the Dual Pronoun as Interpretative Crux in *The Wife's Lament*', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 121 (2022), 321-41.
[204] See Toswell, 'Structures of Sorrow: The Lament Psalms in Medieval England'.

> The poem sets up oppositions, between the two islands on which the protagonist and her Wulf find themselves, between the two individuals and their enemies, and the result of their being together (which may be their love or their child, or their wolf-cub) which is carried away from them. In the last lines of this short poem (fourteen lines in total), the narrator makes it clear that the two individuals never really found their way together, in that 'Þæt mon eaþe tosliteð þætte næfre gesomnad wæs, | uncer giedd geador' (someone easily tears apart that which never was joined as one, our twofold lament together). The lack of consolation is absolute, because there never was a sense of completion, of having found or even sought the opportunity for some certainty, the kind of salvation available through Christianity. The poem offers only the first part of a lament psalm, the expressions of anguish and the horror of enemies who are attempting to destroy the narrator. The first-person female narrator is lamenting the loss of a lover, or a child, or a lover and a child, **but does so in the concrete language of the Psalms** (emphasis mine).[205]

And in the case of *Wife*'s psalmic-tenor Toswell says the following:

> It [*Wife*] begins, as many of the lament psalms do, with the first-person misery of the female narrator: 'Ic þis giedd wrece bi me ful geomorre, | mine sylfre sið' (I make this lament about my own journey (experience), about myself, the very sorrowful one). If the journey is metaphorically the woman's journey through life, reflecting the biblical image of life as pilgrimage, then the opening statement marks the misery, the isolation, and the creative ability of the speaker, voicing her own pain in a poem. **The resemblances to the very personal misery of David in the penitential psalms and the other psalms ascribed to him are not few** (emphasis mine).[206]

Toswell goes on to observe that like the psalms 'the images of suffering are clear and potent and absolute' and that right through the poem 'the speaker is threatened by water' – she is separated by it from her lover and she envisages it cutting him (*min freond* 'my friend' (*Wife*, l. 47)) dangerously off from 'safety and security in the world'.[207]

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[205] *Ibid*., p. 36. Note that Toswell also uses Klinck's edition for the Old English text.
[206] Toswell, 'Structures of Sorrow: The Lament Psalms in Medieval England', p. 37.
[207] *Ibid*.

To begin locating a possible psalmic *locus horribilis* in these poems it is useful to return to Psalm 62. 3 – analysed as an example of the *locus horribilis* in the 'Place' section in Chapter 1 – and consider how the psalm-poet treats this verse. *Romanum* Psalm 62. 3, in full,[208] reads: **in deserto et in inuio et in inaquoso; sic in sancto apparui tibi; ut uiderem uirtutem tuam et gloriam tuam**[209] 'in a desert and where there is no way, and no water: so in the sanctuary have I come before thee, to see thy power and thy glory'. The equivalent verse in the Metrical Psalms, however, reads: *On westene and on wege swylce and* ***on wæter-flodum*** *wene ic swiðe, þæt ic ðe on halgum her ætywe, þæt ic þin wuldur and mægen wis sceawige* 'In the desert and on the road and also in water-floods, I earnestly anticipate appearing before you here on earth among the holy ones, so that, now wise, I can witness your glory and power' (emphasis mine).[210] Noticeably, the psalm-poet has included *on wæter-flodum* 'in water-floods' without a Latin precedent. I would suggest that this is an indication that, for the psalm-poet and their immediate community perhaps, being overwhelmed by water was highly suggestive of the *locus horribilis* evoked in David's description of a desert in this psalm-verse.[211] Such an association is not surprising, perhaps, given what Nicholas Howe has noticed about how the sea in winter functions as a 'primeval wilderness in the Anglo-Saxon landscape' for the *Wan*-poet.[212] Also, Juliet Mullins' analysis of the concept of a *herimum in mari* 'desert in the sea' in OE poetry reinforces Howe's assertion here – especially as evinced in *Wan* and *Sea*.[213] Of course both speakers in *Wulf* and *Wife* are not at sea in the way the speakers of *Wan* and *Sea* are; however water, or rather, the psalm-poet's vision of the *locus horribilis* in Psalm 62. 3 is potentially detectable in both these female speakers' experience of isolation in a 'desert' surrounded/threatened by water.

To begin with *Wife* the relevant lines are:

Wulf is on iege, ic on oþerre.

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[208] It was referred to partially in Chapter 1 – see above, Section 1.3.
[209] *LPR*, Ps. LXII. 3
[210] OE text: *OEP*, Ps. 62. 3; translation O'Neill's p. 227.
[211] Grateful thanks are due to my supervisor, Alice Jorgensen, for her comments on this insertion by the psalm-poet which she mentioned to me after my paper ' The Imagery of the Old English Psalms of the Paris Psalter – a metaphorical bridge from crisis in the *locus horribilis* to peace in the *locus amoenus*' at the IMC in Leeds, July 2024.
[212] Nicholas Howe, 'The Landscape of Anglo-Saxon England: Inherited, Invented, Imagined', p. 104. Note that I refer to this point of Howe's in the *locus horribilis* discussion in Chapter 1. See Chapter 1, above, Section 1.3.
[213] See Mullins, '*Herimum in Mari*: Anglo-Saxon Attitudes towards *Perigrinatio* and the Ideal of a Desert in the Sea', pp. 60-1.

Fæst is þæt eg-lond, fenne biworpen.
Sindon wælreowe weras þær on ige.
Willað hy hine aþecgan gif he on þreat cymeð.
Ungelice is us. (*Wulf*, ll. 5-9)

Wulf is on an isle, I on another. Fast is that island fen surrounded. Ferocious men were there on the isle. They will consume him if the throng come on him. It is different for us.

Noticeably, the *Wulf*-poet deploys island terms (in the feminine, dative singular simplexes *iege* and *ige* (ll. 5 and 7) and in the neuter, nominative, singular compound *eg-lond* (l. 6)[214]) in a striking manner to emphasize the speaker's isolation. It is worthwhile to consider that the speaker's island, denoted by the only occurrence of the compound *eg-lond* in the poem, differs from her lover Wulf's island (*iege*) in some subtly nuanced ways. *B-T* list 'water-land' as a possible meaning for *eg-lond* whereas the *DOE* has 'a fenland island, dry land surrounded by marshes' for this instance of this compound.[215] Gelling and Cole's toponymic evidence for *fenn* indicates that this term refers to 'soggy salt marshes on the coast'.[216] So, we can begin to detect here that the speaker's island is potentially 'soggy', 'wet' land (indicated by *fenne biworpen*) holding her mind (*mod*) *fæst*. Water has a dual role, then, in making her environment susceptible to flooding[217] (echoing the *wæter-flodum* in Metrical Psalm 63. 2) and separating her from her lover *Wulf*. As the lament psalms' structure has already been detected in this poem, it is perhaps not too much of a stretch to imagine that the speaker's experience of isolation on her *eg-lond* may possibly echo the *locus horribilis* of the desert described by the psalm-poet in Psalm 62. 3 – a psalmic *locus horribilis*.

To turn to *Wife*, as I quoted earlier, Toswell has noticed how the speaker is isolated by water and imagines it cutting off her 'lord' or 'friend' in the poem's final lines. She also

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[214] Note that *B-T* designates *eg-lond* as 'water-land' or 'island' see *B-T* sv. *eg-land*. Also note that I have followed both Ruth Lehmann and Stanley Greenfield in translating *iege* and *ige* as 'isle' and *eg-lond* as 'island'. See Lehmann, 'The Metrics and Structure of *Wulf and Eadwacer*', p. 164 and Greenfield, *Wulf and Eadwacer*: All Passion Pent', p. 6.
[215] See *B-T*, sv. *eg-lond* and *DOE*, sv. *ig-land*.
[216] Gelling and Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names*, p. 44.
[217] For how fens can be susceptible to flooding see *Fens for the Future* <https://www.fensforthefuture.org.uk/challenges/> [accessed 1 August 2025]. Also see *Britannica Academic*, sv. 'fen' <https://academic-eb-com.elib.tcd.ie/levels/collegiate/article/fen/33964 > [accessed 1 August 2025] for how fens experience 'near constant inundation with water'.

observes, in relation to the analysis of the lament-psalmic pattern in *Wife*, that water is regularly threatening in the psalms.[218] We saw, of course, in Chapter 1 that water can be both destructive and cleansing in the psalms.[219] For example, as also highlighted in Chapter 1, Psalm 123. 5 reads: **torrentem pertransiuit anima nostra; forsitan pertransisset anima nostra aquam intolerabilem**[220] 'our soul passed through a torrent; perhaps our soul had passed through unbearable water' – notably Cassiodorus interprets the **torrentem** here 'as the turbulent course of this world'.[221]

In light of these observations above, a water-inflected, psalmic *locus horribilis* can perhaps be discerned in potentially two distinct ways. First, it appears in the speaker's predicament of being 'threatened by water' when her *hlaford* 'lord' (*Wife*, l. 6) departs *ofer yða gelac* 'over the sea of waves' (*Wife*, l. 7) and commands her to live *in þam eorð-scræfe* 'in the earth-cave' (*Wife*, l. 29) beneath an oak tree. In other words, her *hlaford* abandons her via water – the *yða gelac* indicate she may be trapped by **aquam intolerabilem** (Psalm 123. 5) in her earth-cave. Second, a water-inflected *locus horribilis* reemerges in the speaker's imagined portrayal of her *freond* 'friend' (*Wife*, l. 47) in the poem's closing. The relevant lines read:

> …. þæt min freond siteð,
> under stan-hliþe, storme behrimed
> wine werig-mod wætre beflowen,
> on dreor-sele … (*Wife*, ll. 47b-49a)
>
> … that my friend sits, under a stone slope frosted by a storm a friend sad at heart,
> surrounded by water in a dismal hall…

Here the imagined water-soaked isolation of the speaker's *freond* echoes the psalm-poet's description of the *wæter-flodum* in the *locus horribilis* described in Psalm 62. 3 – phrases such as *storme behrimed* and *wætre beflowen* convey this echo most noticeably.

Before leaving *Wife* to move to *Res*, a word needs to be raised regarding the term *wræc-sið* 'exile-journey' which the *Wife*-poet uses twice in: *A ic wite won minra wræc-siða* 'I

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[218] Toswell, 'Structures of Sorrow: The Lament Psalms in Medieval England', p. 37.
[219] See Chapter 1, above, Section 1.2 and Brown's chapter entitled 'The Voice of Many Waters: From Chaos to Community' in Brown, *Seeing the Psalms*, pp. 105-34.
[220] *LPR*, Ps. CXXIII. 5.
[221] See Walsh, *Cassiodorus: Explanation of the Psalms,* Vol. 3, p. 284.

forever suffered the punishment of my exile-journey' (*Wife*, l. 5) and *þær ic wepan mæg mine wræc-siðas* 'where I can weep of my exile-journeys' (*Wife*, l. 38). We saw in Chapter 2 that the paraphrast uses this compound in three of their Introductions and this usage is unique across the extant corpus of psalms in OE. It was noticeable that in every Introduction where *wræc-sið* was used the accompanying psalm contained an image of 'refuge' and I argued, drawing on Stanley Greenfield's data on exile terms,[222] that perhaps the paraphrast made a deliberate choice to use this 'motion' exile term (as opposed to other 'exile' terms such as *wine-leas* 'friendless') in order to convey a conceptualization of exile (in this case David's exile) as not permanent, but a journey toward refuge. I also drew on Niles's homiletic evidence (Blickling homily 2), which demonstrated that both the *Sea* and *Wan* poets evoke 'the fundamental Christian paradox that the present life of humankind on earth is a form of exile (*wræc-sið*) from our true home',[223] to posit that perhaps the paraphrast joins the *Wan* and *Sea* poets in this conception of exile as an impermanent condition – one that contains within itself the 'seeds' of movement toward 'home' or refuge.

Here in *Wife* unlike both *Wan* and *Sea*, as has, of course, been observed before,[224] there is no explicit evocation of comfort or refuge. However, at least one scholar (D. R. Howlett), more than forty years ago, proposed an argument that *Wife* and *The Husband's Message* (*Husb*) form a 'diptych' of 'elegy and consolation' in that the latter 'echoes or answers' the former in the same order.[225] Klinck disagrees with Howlett's view and asserts that the 'similarity [between *Wife* and *Husb*] derives from a circumstance common in heroic life and poetry, and from a conventional structure and diction'.[226] However, given Niles's more recent argument for reading the contents of the Exeter Book in toto as this codex (despite appearing randomly organized) displays an 'overall structure that is comprehensive to

[222] See Greenfield, 'The Formulaic Expression of the Theme of "Exile" in Anglo-Saxon Poetry'.
[223] See Chapter 2, above, Section 2.4 and Niles, *God's Exiles and English Verse*, p. 233.
[224] See Toswell, 'Structures of Sorrow: The Lament Psalms in Medieval England', p. 38.
[225] See D. R. Howlett, '*The Wife's Lament* and *The Husband's Message*', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 79 (1978), 7-10. Also note that Bernard Muir has observed '*The Husband's Message* and *The Wife's Lament* are often treated as complementary by critics, as suggested by their editorial titles, but any relationship seems merely coincidental to the present editors'. See *The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry*, 2nd edn., 2 vols., ed. by Bernard J. Muir (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 2000), p 694. Of course, Muir and the other editors appear to agree with Klinck's view rejecting Howlett's hypothesis.
[226] Klinck, 'Introduction', p. 58.

the point of being *quasi-cosmological*',[227] it is feasible to revisit Howlett's 'diptych' view of these poems. If we can accept the possibility that the *Husb*-poet may be urging the speaker in *Wife* to *Ongin mere secan* 'Set out to seek the sea' (*Husb*, l. 26) to find her man (*ofer mere-lade* 'over the sea-path' (*Husb*, l. 28)) who has *wean oferwunnon* 'overcome woes' (*Husb*, l. 45), then a pathway opens to consider the possibility that the *Wife*-poet may have deliberately chosen the 'motion' exile term *wræc-sið* to convey the possibility of the speaker ultimately finding 'refuge'. Interestingly, shortly after her *hlaford* has left *ofer yða gelac* (*Wife*, l. 7) at the poem's opening the speaker says that she departed on her journey to *folgað secan* 'seek refuge' (*Wife*, l. 9).[228] This usage of *folgað* certainly adds ballast to the argument that the 'motion' exile term *wræc-sið* was used to indicate a possibility of the speaker ultimately finding refuge.

Notably, Amy Clark has recently argued persuasively (by utilising the dual pronoun *wit* 'we two' as an interpretive crux) for reading the poem's final 'hortatory' lines as a 'plea for reunification'. She writes:

> The speaker of *The Wife's Lament* isolates her lord not for the sake of punishment but in order to bring his *mod* – his experience of the world back – back into alignment with her own: "Let that young man be ever sad in spirit" as *she* is sad in spirit, so that he too "will remember more joyful homes". It is in memory, in heart and mind, that the two have been severed; thus, for the speaker, it is in heart and mind that a reckoning must set things right. The speaker of *The Wife's Lament* ultimately constructs a tripartite argument for wholeness.[229]

Clark's argument certainly addssome weight to the possibility that the 'motion' exile term *wræc-sið* was deliberately selected to indicate that the speaker in *Wife* was seeking 'refuge' with her *hlaford* (*Wife* l. 15) who may be (if we accept Howlett's view) the speaker in *Husb*. If this is the case, the *Wife* and *Husb* poets are mirroring the pattern in *Sea* and *Wan* as well as evoking the two 'root metaphors' of the psalter – 'pathway' and 'refuge'.

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[227] Niles, *God's Exiles and English Verse*, p. 71. See *Ibid*., pp. 71-4 for the manuscript's 'five main principles of order'.
[228] I follow Treharne here in translating *folgað* as 'refuge'. See Treharne, *Old and Middle English c.890-c.1450: an Anthology*, p. 89. The *DOE* says this term conveys 'those in service of a leader; a retinue, a following' in this context. See *DOE*, sv. *folgað*.
[229] Clark, 'As Though "Wit" Never Were: the Dual Pronoun as Interpretative Crux in *The Wife's Lament*', p. 341.

4.6 *Res*: A Psalter-Inflected Rationale for the Hapax Legomenon *ferð-weg* 'soul-road' (l. 72)

Res, also known as *The Penitent's Prayer,*[230] is something of a partial outlier in that although the resonance of the psalms (particularly the penitential psalms[231]) have long been detected in this poem, its diction does not evoke the same weight of the lament psalms as the poems analysed so far do. In this vein, Toswell observes that *Res*'s 'resonance with the psalms is not a deep one, although it does seem likely that psalmic imagery and structure underlie the shifting misery of the poet and narrator'.[232]

The poem has been regularly treated as two separate fragments – *Resignation A* (a prayer) and *Resignation B* (a lament)[233] – or two related fragments of a single poem titled *Contrition*.[234] Recently, Niles has taken the view that *Res* is two related poems not two parts of a single poem and he labels these *Contrition* and *The Penitent's Prayer*.[235] Notably, however, Anne Klinck made a strong case to treat both parts of *Res* as a single poem[236] and it is included as a single whole in her edition of the poems which I refer to in this chapter.

There has been disagreement about where to divide the poem;[237] however, for my purposes, the term I am considering, *ferð-weg*, occurs near the top (the second line) of fol. 119r[238] usually seen as the beginning of *Resignation B* or *The Penitent's Prayer* (*Res,* ll. 70-118).[239] This term occurs, then, in the opening lines of a lament 'which speaks of a voyage (lines 97b-104), although in this case the journey is never realized because the narrator is too

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[230] E. G. Stanley's influential article 'Old English Poetic Diction and the Interpretation of *The Wanderer*, *The Seafarer* and *The Penitent's Prayer*', *Anglia*, 73 (1956), 413-66, referred to *Resignation* as *The Penitent's Prayer*.
[231] See, especially, Pulsiano, 'Spiritual Despair in *Resignation B'*. The seven penitential psalms are Psalms 6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129 and 142. See *Ibid*., p. 155.
[232] Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, p. 347.
[233] See Alan Bliss and Allen J. Frantzen, 'The Integrity of Resignation', *The Review of English Studies*, *New Series*, 27 (1976), 385-402.
[234] See Muir, *The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry*, pp. 670-1.
[235] See Niles, *God's Exiles and English Verse*, p. 73.
[236] See Klinck, '*Resignation*: Exile's Lament or Penitent's Prayer'.
[237] See Klinck, 'Introduction', p. 55.
[238] See fol. 119r in the Exeter Book available at: <https://theexeterbook.exeter.ac.uk/viewer.html?imageset=single&image=119r > [accessed 4 July 2025].
[239] See the list of 'Folio-by-Folio Contents of the Exeter Anthology' in Niles, *God's Exiles and English Verse*, p. 250.

poor to buy passage'.[240] Klinck interprets this voyage as both literally a voyage out of exile back home as well as, symbolically, the death journey.[241]

> The relevant lines read as follows:
> Hwæþre ic me ealles þæs ellen wylle
> habban, ond hlyhhan, ond me hyhtan to,
> frætwian mec on **ferð-weg**, on fundian
> sylf to þam siþe þe ic asettan sceal,
> gæst gearwian, ond me þæt eal for gode þolian
> bliþe mode, nu ic gebunden eom
> fæste in minum ferþe (emphasis mine). (*Res*, ll. 70-6a)
>
> Nevertheless I will have all this courage to laugh, and to hope [and] to equip me on the soul-road, to hasten myself to the journey which I must take [and] make ready [my] spirit, and to endure all that for good [with] a joyful mind, now I am bound secure in my soul.

Klinck observes that *ferð-weg* is a 'hapax legomenon, but readily comprehensible'.[242] Nearly seventy years ago E. G. Stanley summarized the history of the treatment of this term by various editors as follows:

> Thorpe followed by Grein's *Bibliothek* emended [*ferð-weg*] to "forðweg" so that neither Bosworth-Toller[243] nor Grein-Köhler records "ferðweg" at all. Wülker [following Grein in *Germania*, vol. x (1865), p.427] restored the MS. reading translating it 'lebensweg' [life path]…In the context (cf. especially "gæst gearwian" 74), however, 'via anima' [soul way] seems a more likely rendering, and that is, no doubt, what Mackie intended to convey by 'my pilgrimage' in his translation.[244]

[240] Klinck, 'Introduction', p. 55.
[241] See *Ibid.*, p. 56 and Klinck, '*Resignation*: Exile's Lament or Penitent's Prayer'.
[242] Klinck, 'Textual Notes: *Resignation*', p. 193.
[243] It is still not recorded in the online *B-T*, but it is included in the *DOE* – see *DOE* sv. *ferð-weg*.
[244] Stanley, 'Old English Poetic Diction and the Interpretation of *The Wanderer*, *The Seafarer* and *The Penitent's Prayer*', pp. 457-8.

What this philological history of *ferð-weg* immediately points to is a semantic affiliation with *forð-weg* which is one of the 'path' terms discussed in *Wan*[245] in terms of that poem's reverberation of the 'pathway' psalm – Psalm 118 – and, in turn, the root metaphor of 'pathway' (identified by Brown) in the psalter.[246] In other words, approaching this particular hapax legomenon via the psalms offers the possibility that the *Res*-poet formed this 'unique' compound in a psalm-soaked atmosphere where the soul's journey is implicit not only in the pathway laden psalm (Psalm 118) but in the practice of the weekly monastic *cursus* where the *psalterati/ae* would move through all 150 psalms in one week.[247]

Moreover, the *Res*-poet's use of the verb *hlyhhan* 'to laugh' (l. 71) and the noun phrase *bliþe mode* 'joyful mind' (l. 75) to describe the state of mind in which the speaker is ready to undertake this *ferð-weg*, broadly echoes both the opening membrum of Psalm 125. 2 and the closing membrum[248] of this psalm's final verse (verse six). These psalm texts read: **tunc repletum est gaudio os nostrum et lingua nostra exultatione** 'then was our mouth filled with gladness and our tongue with joy'[249] and **venientes autem venient in exultatione portantes manipulos suos** 'but coming they shall come with joyfulness, carrying their sheaves'.[250] This psalm opens with a reference to the Lord 'bringing back' the captivity of 'Sion' which is followed by the description of the Israelites mouth/s being filled with **gaudio** 'joy'. The second psalm text, quoted above, is preceded by a description of the Israelites 'going' and 'weeping' and 'scattering their seed'.[251] It is noticeable how a journey out of captivity in this psalm is accompanied by **exultatione** 'joy' and replete with **gaudio** also 'joy'. It is possible (given the concept of a *salmscop-scop* discussed in the opening section of this chapter) that such a collocation between joy and a journey out of captivity toward 'home' or 'refuge' detectable in Psalm 125 may have been present in the *Res*-poet's mind when they composed the lines quoted above. This possibility, if indeed the case, adds some support to my view that the compound *ferð-weg* was forged in a psalm-soaked atmosphere.

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[245] Notably both Stanley and Klinck have discussed parallels between the 'soul journey' theme in *Res* and the thematic content of *Sea* and *Wan* – See *Ibid*, pp. 452-66 and Klinck, '*Resignation*: Exile's Lament or Penitent's Prayer'.
[246] See above, Section 4.3.
[247] See Chapter 1, above, n. 66 for a brief overview of the *cursus*.
[248] Note that in the *LVB* this closing membrum is a separate verse – see *LVB*, Ps. 125. 7
[249] Latin text: *LPR*, Ps. CXXV. 2. Translation: *D-RB*, Ps. 125. 2.
[250] Latin text: *LPR*, Ps. CXXV. 6. Translation: *D-RB*, Ps. 125. 7.
[251] See *LVB*, Ps. 125. 6.

Lastly, there is another implication of *ferð-weg* to consider and that is its resonance in *Bede's Death Song*. The 'typical psalmic pattern', detectable in this short piece of verse, has been noticed and analysed before.[252] It reads as follows:

> For þam nedfere næni wyrþeþ
> þances snotera, þonne him þearf sy
> to gehicgenne ær his heonengange
> hwæt his gaste godes oþþe yfeles
> æfter deaþe heonan demed weorþe.[253]
>
> No one considers, before that enforced journey, [even] for the ones wiser in mind, as to how it is appropriate (a requirement) for one to ponder what the spirit might have earned, both good and evil, going forward after death.[254]

By creating the singular compound *ferð-weg* to describe a journey that, following Klinck, I interpret symbolically as the death journey,[255] the *Res*-poet may be not only activating the psalter's root metaphor of pathway but also echoing Bede's description of the *nedfere* 'enforced journey'. That Bede could be considered a primary example of a *psalteratus* has already been established.[256] So, the *Res*-poet's mirroring of *Bede's Death Song* is yet another possible iteration of a *psaltertus* or *psalterata* as *scop* – a *psalmscop-scop*.

4.7 *Ruin*: Is There an Implicit Allusion to the Heavenly Jerusalem – As Expressed in Psalm 45. 5 – in the Poem's Closing Lines?

Ruin is of course the last poem (traditionally considered an elegy) in the Exeter Book before the Riddles – which are the final lines of poetry in the manuscript. As a result of this fact, 'it has suffered the most from the burning, and substantial portions of the text are irretrievably damaged, so that the total effect of the poem is lost to us'.[257] Klinck summarizes the poem's trajectory as follows:

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[252] See Toswell, 'Psalm Genres in Old English Poetry', pp. 220-1.
[253] OE text from Richard Marsden, *The Cambridge Old English Reader* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 167-9 quoted in *Ibid*., p. 220.
[254] The Translation is Toswell's – see 'Psalm Genres in Old English Poetry', p. 220.
[255] See Klinck, 'Introduction', p. 55.
[256] See Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, pp. 42-64 and Chapter 1, above, Section 1.1.
[257] Klinck, 'Introduction', p. 61. See *Ibid*, pp. 12-3 for a brief description of what may have caused the burn damage to the Exeter Book manuscript.

> As far as we can see, the overall pattern consists of an alternating movement between past [a description of the ruined city or, possibly, Roman Bath[258]] and present, the poet dwelling increasingly on the past, until, in the second half of the poem, his attention remains fixed there. This shifting movement culminates in the impressive period beginning at line 31b, which piles phrase on phrase up to the climactic and comprehensive on *þas beorhtan burg braden rices* (line 37) ['this bright city of a broad kingdom']. Thereafter the syntax becomes simpler and the sentences shorter, as the focus narrows to a contemplation of the marvellous baths.[259]

Klinck also notes that it has been suggested (by Hugh Keenan in 1966[260]) that the ruined city is Babylon not Roman Bath as previously put forward in the nineteenth century.[261] Much more recently Niles has put forward a persuasive argument for how *Ruin* fits within the overall schematic structure of the Exeter Book[262] and how the portrayal of a 'decayed city' (at the end of the book) forms a 'contrastive pair' with *Advent Lyric 3* (at the beginning of the book) where 'we encounter a hymn in praise of the Heavenly Jerusalem, the *visio pacis* or 'mystical vision of peace', as the city's name was thought to signify'.[263]

In terms of *Ruin*'s reflection of the psalms, Toswell has noticed that the imagery in some psalms (such as the lament for Jerusalem in Psalm 136) which express lament for a lost city is certainly evident in this poem.[264] Moreover, in Chapters 1 and 2 we saw how the *locus horribilis* that is Babylon and the *locus amoenus* that is Jerusalem are important constructs in the psalter.[265] As has been indicated already, the damaged state of the folios which contain the poem means that there is a necessary opacity in interpreting the final lines which ostensibly 'remember' the ruined city's (possibly Babylon's) former glory. In my view, however, there are some pointers which indicate that the *Ruin*-poet may have been tacitly evoking a heavenly Jerusalem (perhaps at the same time as remembering a physical ruined city) in the poem's final lines – possibly as evinced in Psalm 45. 5.

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[258] Note that Klinck cites two nineteenth century scholars – Heinrich Leo (1865) and John Earle (1870-73) – who concluded that the 'ruin' in this poem was Roman Bath. See *Ibid*, p. 61.
[259] *Ibid*.
[260] See Hugh T. Keenan, '*The Ruin* as Babylon', *TSL* 11 (1966), 109-17 referred to in *Ibid*, p. 62.
[261] Klinck, 'Introduction', p. 62
[262] See Niles, *God's Exile's and English Verse*, pp. 187-92. Note that Niles also, usefully, summarizes various critical approaches to the poem.
[263] *Ibid*., p. 187.
[264] See, Toswell, 'Psalm Genres in Old English Poetry', p. 227.
[265] See Chapters 1 and 2, Section 1.3 and Section 2.3 respectively.

The first pointer is the two compounds *seoro-gimmas* 'crafted-gems' (*Ruin*, l. 35) and *eorcan-stan* 'precious-stone' (*Ruin*, l. 36) which have the following context: *seah on sinc, on sylfor, on searo-gimmas, / on ead, on æht, on eorcan-stan, / on þas beorhtan burg bradan rices* 'seen in treasure, in silver, in crafted-gems, in riches, in possessions, in precious-stone, in this bright city of a broad kingdom' (*Ruin*, ll. 35-7). These lines come just after the beginning (at line 31b) of what Klinck calls 'the impressive period' where the *Ruin*-poet 'piles phrase on phrase up to the climactic and comprehensive *on þas beorhtan burg bradan rices* (line 37)'.[266] They ostensibly refer to the ruined city's former glory, however, anyone familiar with the description of the heavenly Jerusalem in the biblical book of Revelation (as the *Ruin*-poet and their immediate audience more than likely were) possibly could not fail to hear its resonance in the singular use of variation in these lines – namely the repetition of terms referring to precious stones or gems. The relevant lines in Revelation read as follows:

> Et sustulit me in spiritu in montem magnum et altum, et ostendit mihi civitatem sanctam Jerusalem descendentem de caelo a Deo, habentem claritatem Dei: et lumen ejus simile lapidi pretioso tamquam lapidi jaspidis, sicut crystallum…Et fundamenta muri civitatis omni lapide pretioso ornata. Fundamentum primum, jaspis: secundum, sapphirus: tertium, calcedonius: quartum, smaragdus: quintum, sardonyx: sextum, sardius: septimum, chrysolithus: octavum, beryllus: nonum, topazius: decimum, chrysoprasus: undecimum, hyacinthus: duodecimum, amethystus.

> And he took me up in spirit to a great and high mountain: and he showed me the holy city Jerusalem coming down out of heaven from God, having the glory of God, and its light was like a precious stone, like the jasper stone, or even crystal…And the foundations of the wall of the city were adorned with all manner of precious stones. The first foundation was jasper: the second, sapphire: the third, a chalcedony: the fourth, an emerald: the fifth, sardonyx: the sixth, sardius: the seventh, chrysolite: the eighth, beryl:

[266] Klinck, 'Introduction', p. 61.

> the ninth, a topaz: the tenth, a chrysoprasus: the eleventh, a jacinth: the twelfth, an amethyst.[267]

The possibility, then, that the *Ruin*-poet may have wished to allude to the heavenly Jerusalem (so vividly described with no less than twelve different gems associated with its twelve *fundamenta* 'foundations') when they chose to use two terms referring to precious stones (both in the off-verses of succeeding lines) cannot be entirely ruled out.

The second pointer, namely the repetition of *stream* 'stream' or 'moving water' (*Ruin*, ll. 38 and 43) in possible reference to the last legible word in the poem – *burg* 'city' (*Ruin,* l. 49) – and Psalm 45. 5 is admittedly oblique. Given the concept of the *psalmscop-scop*, though, it is still perhaps a possibility. This psalm opens with a reference to God as **noster refugium et uirtus**[268] 'our 'refuge and strength' and verse five reads: **fluminis impetus laetificat ciuitatem Dei sanctificauit tabernaculum suum Altissimus**[269] 'the current of the river makes the city of God joyful: the most High has sanctified his own tabernacle'. The *DMLBS* lists 'forward rush', 'onrush', 'current', 'stream', 'at a rush' and 'headlong' as some of the possible meanings for **impetus** and notes that 'current' or 'stream' apply to rivers.[270] *B-T* on the other hand, lists 'stream', 'current' or 'flowing water' as some of the possible meanings for OE *stream*.[271] There are only two references to water in *Ruin* and in both cases the *Ruin*-poet has selected *stream*[272] (and not another water term such as *mere* 'sea' or 'pool' or *flod* 'flood' or 'tide'[273]) presumably to indicate the rush of the current. The use of the verb *geotan* 'to gush' (*Ruin*, l. 42) is implicit further evidence that the *Ruin*-poet was seeking to indicate the power or *impetus* of this moving water. The last lines of the poem are, of course, badly damaged but they read as follows: *…re þæt is cynelic þing / huse*[274]*...burg* '…re that is a royal thing; a house (?)…a city' (*Ruin*, ll. 48-9). It is an intriguing possibility to consider that this possibly 'royal' city may *geotan* 'gush' with *hate streamas* 'hot rivers' (*Ruin*, l. 43) which, in

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[267] Latin Text: *LVB*, Revelation 21: 10-11 and 19-20. Adapted translation: *D-RB*, *Ibid*.
[268] *LPR*, Ps. XLV. 2.
[269] *LPR*, Ps. XLV. 5.
[270] See *DMLBS*, sv. *impetus*.
[271] See *B-T*, sv. *stream*.
[272] Note that in both cases *stream* is of course modified with *hate* 'hot' which no doubt led to the nineteenth century Roman Bath interpretation – see Klinck, 'Introduction', p. 61.
[273] See *B-T*, sv. *mere* and *DOE*, sv. *flod*.
[274] Note that I have followed *ASPR* with *huse* here. Klinck emends to *hu se*, but *huse* seems to fit with the orthography – see fol. labelled 'Folio 124b' in Klinck.

turn, may allude to the 'rushing river' that makes the city of God (another possible allusion to a heavenly Jerusalem) joyful in Psalm 45. 5.

Moreover, Brian Cook has relatively recently put forward a fascinating argument for how the *Ruin* poem 'bears a striking resemblance to the origin legend of the method of *loci*' and that a possible source text for the poem is a commentary (*c.* 460) on Psalm 98 by Arnobius Iunior that urges the reader to paint in their minds' eye all the specific architecture and contours of the heavenly Jerusalem.[275] Cook explains that we know of the legend of Simonides of Ceos (d. 468 BCE) discovering the method of *loci* – essentially the 'placing of mental images of the thing to be remembered into a clearly defined order within an imaginative architectural structure' – from Cicero's *De oratore*. How he detects this practice and ultimately the possible source text by Arnobius Iunior in *Ruin* is by first referencing Klinck's observation,[276] in line with many readers of the poem, that the 'descriptions are oddly specific for Old English poetry'. Referring to lines 32b-37b (which include the *searo-gimmas* discussed above) he observes that: 'The objects named in the list serve as images meant to help the reader recall memories, as they synecdochically represent the city in its former glory'.[277] He then highlights Leslie Lockett's observation that the poem uses human body parts (bosom of the buildings[278]) to describe the ruined city and Megan Cavell's observation that the poem uses the same language 'for both architecture and the mind, specifically the verb *gebræd* (braided)'.[279] In other words, Cook argues that the poem's highly specific descriptions, combined with its deployment of language applicable to the mind and body, vividly convey the physical ruin. Through this interplay, he suggests that the reader or listener is prompted to construct in his or her mind's eye a complete mental architecture of a city which could be the heavenly Jerusalem – a concept that derives from Arnobius Iunior's commentary on Psalm 98. Cook does not refer directly to the psalms or to the portion of Revelation mentioned above. Nevertheless, if his argument is persuasive – as I believe it is – it

[275] See Brian Cook, '*The Ruin*: An Old English Mnemonic', *Neophilologus*, 105 (2020), 123-136 (pp. 134-5) and Mary Curruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images*, *400-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 135 quoted in *Ibid.*
[276] See Klinck, p. 61.
[277] Cook, '*The Ruin*: An Old English Mnemonic', pp. 126, 129-30.
[278] See *Ruin*, l. 40.
[279] Cook, '*The Ruin*: An Old English Mnemonic', p. 133. Also see Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies*, p. 67 and Megan Cavell, *Weaving Words and Binding Bodies: The Poetics of Human Experience in Old English Literature* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), p. 74.

lends some support to my interpretation of the poem, albeit with a different emphasis. Where Cook draws on psalm commentary, I notice the oblique influence of specific psalm text in a possible allusion to the heavenly Jerusalem.

Lastly, in opening the section 'The place of *The Ruin* in the microcosm that is the book' Niles says the following:

> Whether or not the Exeter Anthology was compiled with an eye to its possible instructional use, the regime of reading that codex today in a manner consistent with the way that it is likely to have been read most often in a monastic institutional setting – that is folio by folio, starting from the beginning and proceeding to the end – will yield insights into the overall picture to which each part contributes.[280]

Niles takes the view that in the ruined city in *Ruin* we encounter a 'wasteland' which is a counterpoint to the city of Jerusalem praised as *burga betelicast* 'the most excellent of cities' in *Advent Lyric 3*. His own reading of the poem accords with those who read the poem in keeping with the medieval genre of *excidium urbis* 'the ruination of a city'. This genre encompasses the view of an 'Old Testament concept of a fearful deity' who would destroy earthly cities in consequence of people's sins.[281]

My reading of *Ruin*, of course, diverges from Niles's one in that I detect hints of a reference to a psalmic heavenly Jerusalem or heavenly *ham* 'home'. It offers the possibility, then, that not only does the *Ruin*-poet mirror the *Wan* and *Sea* poets in including a reference to a heavenly 'refuge' at the closing of a poem reflecting on loss, they also, in turn reflect (as with nearly all the poems analysed in this chapter) the two root metaphors of 'pathway'[282] and 'refuge' in the psalms.

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[280] Niles, *God's Exile's and English Verse*, p. 187.
[281] *Ibid*., p. 188. Note that Niles also points out that seeing the destruction of a civilization as punishment for sin is 'characteristic of the psalms, with their repeated allusions to God's just destruction of earthly civilizations'.
[282] See Klinck, 'Introduction', p. 61, for a description of how a pattern of 'alternating movement' is detectable in *Ruin*.

Conclusions

This chapter has utilized the three lenses established in the preceding chapters, and the concept of a *psalteratus/a* as *scop*, to position an argument for how tree, *locus horribilis*, *locus amoenus* and pathway imagery in some OE poems is potentially psalm-derived.

In terms of the lens of 'landscape', the tree allegory in Psalm 1 and its import for *Dream* offered a fresh way of interpreting the multivalent character of the tree imagery in that poem. Furthermore, Psalm 1's *titulus* in P (which has Joseph asking the question of who buried the body of the Lord) when considered in parallel with *Dream* opened a possible rationale for the inclusion of a vivid description of the burial of Christ in both the runic and Vercelli texts of the poem.

The lens of 'place' facilitated reading the *locus horribilis* in *Wulf* and especially in *Wife* via the psalms and opened the way to reading the respective speaker's exile within a psalmic *locus horribilis*. Moreover, the *Wife*-poet's use of the 'motion' exile term *wræc-sið* is potentially oblique evidence that they were signalling a movement towards a reconciliation or 'refuge' of some kind. If this is the case, then *Wife* can take its place (as it were) alongside *Wan* and *Sea* in 'mirroring' the psalter's root metaphors of 'pathway' and 'refuge'.

The lens of 'space' opened the way to read *Wan* alongside the 'movement psalm' – Psalm 118. Significantly, the poem's first path-term (*lagu-lade*) can be harnessed as an interpretative crux – especially because it occurs within its psalmic opening rubric.

Analysing the compound *brim-lade* in *Sea* alongside the collocation of **semitas** and **maris** in Psalm 8. 9 offered evidence for the possibility that the psalms may have had a pivotal role in the conceptualization of this well-known construct of a path over the sea. Notably, *Wan* and *Sea*'s importance to the study of conceptual metaphor in OE poetry is well established – especially THE MIND AS A WANDERING ENTITY example.[283] What this chapter has hopefully made the case for, then, is the vital role the psalms play within the 'native fluency in metaphor creation and conceptual blending'[284] of OE poets.

Lastly, reading the hapax legomenon *ferð-weg* in *Res* via the psalter's root metaphor of 'pathway', and in the context of Psalm 125. 2, brought to light a possible context for why the 'soul-road' was associated with the act of laughing and a *bliþe mode*. Also, the possibility that

[283] See Harbus, *Cognitive Approaches to Old English Poetry*, pp. 40-9.
[284] *Ibid*., p. 31.

Ruin may be alluding to a heavenly Jerusalem in its closing lines (as obliquely expressed in Psalm 45. 5) opens a way of viewing the final poem in the Exeter Book (before the Riddles) as another psalm-inflected *exemplum* of 'an innovative mode of poetry that adapted monastic rhetorical models to cultivate contemplative, visionary experiences in its readers'.[285] In all the poems considered here the *hyge-cræft* of the respective poets showed some possible implicit traces of the psalms.

[285] O'Camb, '*Exeter Maxims, The Order of the World*, p. 411.

Conclusion

I come to a close by reviewing the conclusions of the previous chapters and by offering some potential broader implications of this study both in terms of themes running across all four chapters as well as some possible inferences from psalmic landscape metaphor in modern English. Finally, I comment on the therapeutic implications of the internalization of psalm texts (which the *psalterati/ae* were required to do) and their capacity for instilling joy.

This thesis set out to investigate how Latin (*Romanum*) and OE psalmic landscape, place and space imagery would have impacted the thought life of individuals required by the Rule of Saint Benedict to internalize the entire psalter and recite it every single week of the year. As could be expected, such deep internalisation of these texts impacted both artistic production (noticeable in the OE poetry analysed and the illustrations in P) as well as the act of producing a psalter such as P itself.

The first chapter established, via recourse to the likely preferred (or readily available) commentary of the period (the *Expositio*),[1] the metaphorical import of imagery within each of the three lenses. The landscape lens featured trees, water features and grass. The place lens considered the *locus amoenus* in Psalm 1's tree image and the Jerusalem imagery in Psalm 136 versus the *locus horribilis* in Psalm 62. 3's desert image and the Babylon imagery in Psalm 136. The space lens considered the nuanced valence of the path terms **uia** and **semita** as well as the impact of the 'pathway' psalm – Psalm 118.

The second chapter built upon this foundation and analysed the choice of OE lexis (within landscape, place and space) of both the paraphrast and the psalm-poet. It was noticeable how landscape imagery formed a central prong of both these individual's interpretation of the psalms. For example, for the paraphrast, the role of landscape features in some of their intratextual insertions – such as the trees which *tacniað ofermodra manna*

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[1] See Chapter 1, above, n. 37 and 42. Notably, Weaver comments (referring to Michael Lapidge's evidence) that 'Cassiodorus was a popular author in early medieval England, although only one complete manuscript of his *Expositio* survives (Durham, Cathedral Library, B. II. 30)'. See Weaver, *The Hermeneutics of Distraction in Early Medieval England*, p. 43, n. 48. Certainly, Lapidge's evidence shows that the *Expositio* was included in the sources cited by several 'principal authors of Anglo-Saxon England' namely Theodore and Hadrian, Bede, Alcuin, Asser, Lantfred of Winchester, Abbo of Fleury and Ramsey and Byrhtferth. See Michael Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 176, 205, 230, 238, 241, 244 and 269, respectively. Also see *Ibid*., pp. 41, 119 and 125 for Lapidge's comments on the engagement, respectively, of Alcuin, Asser and Byrhtferth with the *Expositio* – he describes the latter two, respectively, as making 'unambiguous' and 'frequent' referral to Cassiodorus's psalm commentary.

anweald in *Ps(P)* 28. 5. For the psalm-poet this landscape-inflected hermeneutic took the form of their interlocking of landscape features (such as mountains and water) with their well-known use of emotive 'filler-words' such as *laðne* in *laðne beorh* (Psalm 103. 17) and *laþum wætrum* (Psalm 143. 12).

The third chapter considered the impact of how being *psalteratus* may have influenced P's known scribe, Wulfwinus Cada, in the design of the codex. He laboured to create a singular manuscript whose design shows traces of the psalter's root metaphor of 'pathway'. Also, analysing the illustration programme via the lenses of landscape, place and space led to some interesting findings (for example, a more embodied approach (than the Utrecht parallel) to the psalms in the illustration of the man and lion in Illustration 11) that show an intellect very much at home in both the *Romanum* and OE Psalms in P. Notably, M. B. Parkes observes the following about scribal work roughly when P was created:

> By this time [the eleventh century] the copying of books had long since ceased to be regarded as a menial task and the scribe's role was regarded with more respect. In the sixth century Cassiodorus saw the scribe as a warrior fighting with pen and ink against the fraudulent wiles of the devil, since Satan receives a wound from every word a scribe writes.[2]

It is intriguing, then, to think of Wulfwinus as both *psalteratus* and 'warrior' working away in a monastic setting to create the labour-intensive P manuscript which has served as such an appropriate vehicle for investigating the earliest extant fully bilingual (*Romanum* and OE) psalter via landscape, place and space.

The final chapter drew on the fact that the largest body of poetry within the OE corpus is the 100 Metrical Psalms in P to change course, slightly, and examine psalmic landscape, place and space imagery within individual OE poems (landscape in *Dream*, space in both *Wan* and *Sea*, place in, *Wulf* , *Wife* and *Ruin* and space in *Res*). The poems were selected primarily for two reasons: first psalmic overtones had been detected in them before and, second, their relative lack of a direct Latin source text which better highlights the psalms' influence on each of the respective poet's *hyge-cræft*. Psalm 1's tree imagery and *titulus* in P offered a fresh reading of *Dream*'s tree imagery and the inclusion of the Deposition of Christ (in both the

[2] Parkes, *Their Hands Before our Eyes*, p. 13. The reference is Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, ed. by R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937), p. 75.

runic and Vercelli texts) respectively. Also, the *Romanum*, particularly, with its 'extra' tree image (not found in the *Gallicanum* and *Hebraicum*) in Psalm 95. 10, which speaks of the **ligno** from which **Dominus regnauit**, could be implicitly detectable throughout the tree/cross image complex in *Dream*. In both *Wan* and *Sea* the psalter's two root metaphors of 'pathway' and 'refuge' are noticeable in that both poems utilize path terms (*lagu-lade* and *brim-lade* respectively) and conclude with an image of refuge. Also, reading *Wan* alongside the pathway psalm (Psalm 118) demonstrated a tacit influence of the latter on the former – especially considering the reference to **incola ego sum terra** in Psalm 118. 19 which is immediately apparent in the concept of an *eard-stapa*. Given the concept of a *psalteratus/a-scop*, the unique (in the *LVB*) collocation of **semitas** and **maris** in Psalm 8. 9 could perhaps be a conceptual root of not only *brim-lade* in *Sea* but also *lagu-lade* in *Wan*. Furthermore, reading the hapax legomenon *ferð-weg* in *Res* via the joy of returning from captivity expressed in Psalm 125. 2 offers a possible rationale for why this term is associated with laughter in that poem. Finally, there is, perhaps, an echo of a heavenly Jerusalem (detectable in the reference to *seoro-gimmas* (l. 35) and the repetition of *stream/streamas* (ll. 38 and 43) when viewed alongside the description of the stream of the river making the city of God glad in Psalm 45. 5) in *Ruin*'s damaged final lines. This chapter argues, too, for the role of the psalms to take up a more prominent place in the concept of 'monastic poetics' coined by Brian O'Camb and harnessed by John Niles in *God's Exiles* – especially considering the concept of a *psalteratus/a-scop*.

Now that the chapter conclusions have been reviewed, it remains to offer some final thoughts on broader threads running through the four chapters, how psalmic landscape metaphor examined in this study may have possibly shaped modern perceptions of the same in modern English, and, lastly, the psalms' therapeutic potential and their overarching orientation toward the emotion of 'joy' over negative emotions such as 'sorrow' or 'fear'.

The first theme to highlight is the valence of the tree allegory in Psalm 1 – the 'gateway psalm'. Trees were noticeably an important landscape feature in the translation strategies of both the paraphrast and the psalm-poet – the former includes them in their intratextual interpretation scheme, for example, and the latter inserts *treow* once (in Psalm 57. 8) and its synonym *beam* twice (in Psalms 104. 34 and 143. 14) without a direct Latin precedent. Psalmic trees (especially the layered meaning of the tree allegory in Psalm 1) are a

significant feature, too, in the iconography of P's illustration programme and the *Dream*-poet's deployment of the tree/cross image complex in that poem.

Another theme to consider is the landscape-inflected hermeneutic of the paraphrast and psalm-poet (and possibly P's creator as well) and what this implies about ruminating on the psalms in Latin versus OE. For example, the paraphrast's unique use of the toponym *cnoll* in the extant psalms in OE and the psalm-poet's singular (in the *DOEC*) use of the term *geswyru* for 'hill' are both indicators that internalizing the psalms in Latin was a slightly different process to internalizing them in OE. In other words, the OE landscape terms, in these cases, indicate a heightened specificity for hills which alludes to Nicholas Howe's observation, quoted in the Introduction, that speakers of OE could read the vocabulary of the landscape as a modern person reads a text.[3] So, for a *psalteratus*/*a* the OE had the potential, here, to 'ground' the relevant psalmic landscape image more concretely within their immediate environment making it more tangible. It could perhaps be argued, too, that the pronounced use of groundlines to situate the landscape in the illustration programme is an indicator that the illustrator (possibly Wulfwinus as well) was also affected by this landscape-driven hermeneutic evinced by both the paraphrast and psalm-poet's psalmic praxis.

A final theme to highlight is pathways. Pathways are a central construct in the psalms (both individually, in a Psalm such as Psalm 118, and the psalter as a whole) and this was evinced, in different ways, in all four chapters. For example, in Chapter 1 the influence of the monastic *cursus* through the psalms (which could be considered a representation of a pathway through all 150 psalms) was detectable in the computistic writings of both Bede and Byrhtferth. In Chapter 2, we saw that the psalm-poet not only introduces *weg* into the already pathway laden Psalm 118, they also, in contrast to the paraphrast, use different OE path terms (*siðfæt* and *stig*) to convey **iter** and **semita**, respectively, indicating an intellect that was alert to the valence of this psalmic construct. In Chapter 3, of course, it was noticed that P's unusual long and narrow structure as well as the use of alternating, coloured initials for psalm-verses in the Latin and OE could both be viewed as visual representations of 'pathway'. Finally, in Chapter 4, it was observed that psalmic pathways are detectable in the image constructs of both *Wan* and *Sea*.

[3] See Howe, 'The Landscape of Anglo-Saxon England: Inherited, Invented, Imagined', p. 94 and the Introduction.

Psalmic metaphor (as understood by both Cassiodorus in the *Expositio* and Brown in *Seeing the Psalms*) has, of course, been central to this study. To quote the literary critic M. H. Abrams: '[m]etaphors are essential to the functioning of language and have been the subject of copious analyses, and sharp disagreements, by rhetoricians, linguists, literary critics, and philosophers of language'.[4] Notably, cognitive or conceptual theories of metaphor (which rose to the fore in the 1980s) made the case for how metaphors are central to how we think in everyday language and not the sole preserve of 'poetic' or 'rhetorical' language. They also replaced previous vocabulary for discussing metaphor with the now well-known concepts of source and target domains where 'part of the conceptual structure of the source domain is "mapped" onto the conceptual structure of the target domain'.[5] (In Chapters 2 and 4 I have highlighted Antonina Harbus's application of conceptual metaphor theory (see below) to OE poetry in the course of my argument on the valence of 'pathway/s' in, respectively, the Metrical Psalms and *Wan* and *Sea*.[6])

In the foundational text on conceptual metaphor – Lakoff and Johnson's *Metaphors We Live By* – the treatment of A MOUNTAIN IS A PERSON (person = 'source domain' and mountain = 'target domain') is perhaps instructive for reasons which should soon be clear. In contextualising 'idiosyncratic metaphorical expressions' they write:

> These are well-known expressions like the *foot* of the mountain, a *head* of cabbage, the leg of a table, etc. These expressions are isolated instances of metaphorical concepts, where there is only one instance of a used part (or maybe two or three). Thus the *foot* of the mountain is the only used part of the metaphor A MOUNTAIN IS A PERSON. In normal discourse we do not speak of the *head*, *shoulders*, or *trunk* of a mountain, though in special contexts it is possible to construct novel metaphorical expressions based on these unused parts.[7]

They go on to state that metaphorical expressions like A MOUNTAIN IS A PERSON deserve to be called 'dead' because they are so common place and 'they do not systematically interact with other metaphorical concepts'.[8] Given the important valence of mountains in the *Romanum* and

[4] M. H. Abrams, *A Glossary of Literary Terms,* 7th, p. 98.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 157.
[6] See, respectively, Chapter 2, Section 2.4 (the closing remarks on Psalm 118) and Chapter 4, n. 191.
[7] George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1980), p. 54
[8] See *Ibid*., pp. 54-5.

(especially) OE Psalms in P – most perceptible, perhaps, in the psalm-poet's embellished personification of *beorgas* which *bliðe sæle* and the *gesweoru on sele-dreame* in Psalm 113 – it can perhaps be suggested that the conceptual metaphor A MOUNTAIN IS A PERSON was not dead, but very much alive for the *psalteratus/a* who composed the Metrical Psalms and possibly others as well. In other words, given the ubiquity of the psalms in the early Middle Ages and beyond,[9] it could potentially be posited that this 'dead' landscape metaphor may have entered the language (in this case modern English) via the psalms which habitually personify mountains. Abrams acknowledges, too, that '[t]he recorded history of language indicates that most words that we now take to be literal were, in the distant past, metaphors'.[10]

In Chapter 3 I referred to Augustine's views on the therapeutic potential of the psalms in the context of Mayr-Harting's assessment of the value of the much-copied Utrecht Psalter. I am aware of one recent scientific study that has sought to investigate this psalmic 'therapeutic potential'.[11] Button and De Pretto conducted a randomised controlled trial (RCT) and allocated participants (from a dispersed Christian population) to either a 'control' group or an 'intervention' group. The latter were given daily instructions 'for lectio divina (LD) meditation' on a Psalm reading for seven days. Three different measures (the Integrative hope scale, PERMA-profiler (developed to measure well-being) and the Core flow state scale-2 (an abbreviated scale of one designed for elite athletes)) were used.[12] The results indicate that while some of the measures used (for example 'Trust and Confidence' or 'Meaning') showed no real change, other measures, for example, 'Positive emotion', 'Lack of Perspective' and 'Social Relations and Personal Values', showed improvement – positive emotions, in particular, were 'significantly elevated'.[13] One of the factors given to account for these significantly elevated levels was the fact that 'the positive themes of the psalms elevated spiritual emotions, as also demonstrated in other research using the psalms, including hope'.

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[9] Milton, for instance, translated Psalms 1-8 and 80-88 into English verse and the title of Oscar Wilde's posthumously published letter to Alfred Douglas, *De Profundis*, is from Psalm 130 (129 in the Vulgate). See Pascoe-van Zyl, 'A Report on the "Medieval Fragmentology and the Fragmented Old English Glossed N-Psalter" Conference', Edward Chauncey Baldwin, 'Milton and the Psalms', *Modern Philology*, 17 (1919), 457-463, p. 457 and *Britannica Academic*, sv. 'De Profundis' <https://academic-eb-com.elib.tcd.ie/levels/collegiate/article/De-Profundis/484488> [accessed 2 September 2025].
[10] Abrams, *A Glossary of Literary Terms*, p. 98.
[11] Matthew Button and Laura De Pretto, 'A Psalm a Day: A Randomised Controlled Trial Examining the Effects of a 1-week, Daily Psalm Meditation on Hope, Flow and Wellbeing', *Pastoral Psychology*, 72 (2023), 187-204.
[12] See *Ibid*., pp. 192-3.
[13] *Ibid*., pp. 198-9.

Button and De Pretto go on to observe that anecdotal evidence shows the psalms are also believed to induce both joy and gratitude.[14]

What this evidence affirms, then, is that modern scientific methods have offered a means of measuring the positive benefits that meditation using psalters such as P or internalizing psalm texts, generally, can bring. It is unlikely that these effects were wholly unknown to someone like Wulfwinus Cada and other *psalterati/ae* who either produced or utilised psalters (or both), especially given the value placed on psalters in the period as their high survival rate, in comparison with other categories of codices, indicates – not to mention, too, the Benedictine requirement (which underpinned Chapter 1[15]) to recite all 150 psalms in the course of one week.

Finally, that the psalms are thought to induce joy is upheld (in an OE context) by Michiko Ogura's rigorous study *Words and Expressions of Emotion in Medieval English*. In a table comparing words for ANGER, FEAR, SORROW, JOY, COMFORT, PRIDE and HATE in five OE psalters including P (the others are A, D, E and I) the words for JOY and COMFORT noticeably outnumber the other emotions – especially those for JOY.[16]

The lenses of landscape, place and space, then, have offered three illuminating avenues of exploring how the profound emotions expressed in the psalms as found in their Latin (*Romanum*) and OE (Prose and Metrical) iterations in P shaped the thought life and artistic production (the illustrations in P and the OE poetry considered in Chapter 4) of individuals required to internalize these texts. It should be stated that although it might be tempting to consider the psalms as quotidian or pedestrian, given their ubiquity in the period and their role as an initial text for acquiring literacy,[17] this temptation needs to be resisted. The psalms express a range of emotion very much situated within landscape, place or space, but they persistently resist sentimentality. The paraphrast and the psalm-poet, repeatedly, demonstrate that they understood this fact in their respective careful renderings in OE.

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[14] *Ibid*., p. 198. For the study, referred to, examining the psalms' potential to induce 'elevated spiritual emotions', see June Frances Dickie, 'Lament as a Contributor to the Healing of Trauma: An Application of the Form of Biblical Poetry', *Pastoral Psychology*, 68 (2019), 145-56.
[15] See Chapter 1, above, n. 66, for the contextualization of the *cursus*.
[16] Michiko Ogura, *Words and Expressions of Emotion in Medieval English* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2013), p. 40.
[17] See F. O. Büttner, 'Der illuminierte Psalter im Westen' in *The Illuminated Psalter: Studies in the Content, Purpose and Placement of its Images,* ed. by F. O. Büttner (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 1-106 (p. 3) for how the term *psalteratus* means '*literatus, qui scit legere* [a literate person, who knows how to read]'.

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