



HAL
open science

The First Psalters in Old French and Their 12th Century Context

Vladimir Agrigoroaei

► **To cite this version:**

Vladimir Agrigoroaei. The First Psalters in Old French and Their 12th Century Context. Actes de colloque international, Jun 2018, Alba Iulia, Romania. pp.29-37. halshs-02181546

HAL Id: halshs-02181546

<https://shs.hal.science/halshs-02181546v1>

Submitted on 28 Aug 2019

HAL is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.

The First Psalters in Old French and their 12th Century Context

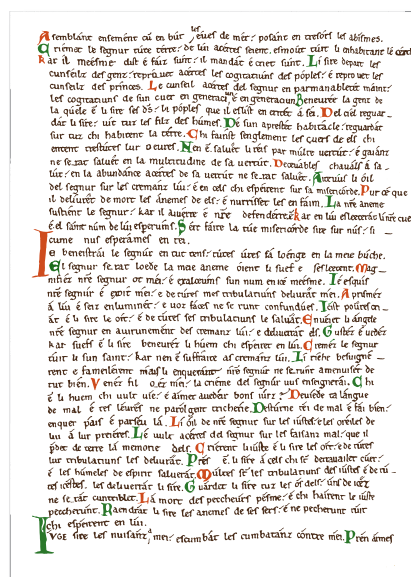
Vladimir Agrigoroaei

Center for Advanced Studies in Medieval Civilization,
Poitiers (CÉSCM, UMR 7302) - CNRS

There are two ways in which one may write the introduction to the history of medieval French literature. The first one – more common – starts with the *Song of Roland*. The second one – just as acceptable – starts with the *St Albans Psalter* (nowadays preserved in Hildesheim, Cathedral Library of Saint Mary, without a designated number). It was there, in this Psalter, that one of the most seminal texts of the Middle Ages was written – the *Song of St Alexis* –, but it was also from this Latin Psalter that the first translations of the sacred texts into French were ever made.

The *Oxford Psalter*, the very first French medieval translation of the Psalter and the most extensively copied,¹ is arguably one of the best word-by-word translations of the Psalms and Old Testament Canticles ever made, and it stems from that particular text. The autograph of this translation² is preserved in the Douce 320 manuscript of the Bodleian Library in Oxford. Completely different from the mise-en-page of the other French Psalters of the time, its avatars, the *Oxford Psalter*'s layout presents us with a monolingual codex. It dates back to the first half of the 12th century and it was written in England, in the Anglo-Norman dialect of the time. Nothing is known about the original context in which it was produced. The only thing known for certain is that the *Oxford Psalter* was part of the library of the Benedictine abbey of Montebourg, in Normandy, at the beginning of the 14th century, where it was bound with a copy of a French translation of the *Rule of Saint Benedict* – dating back to the beginning of the 13th century – in what is nowadays known as the composite manuscript Douce 320. This is why it was also called the *Montebourg Psalter* for quite some time. Its new name, the *Oxford Psalter*, refers only to the place where it is nowadays preserved.

Unlike the first manuscript of the *Song of Roland* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 23 – a pocketbook for a troubadour), the Douce 320 manuscript is a normal size codex, of 29 x 20 cm. Its text is written in a single block of text, on an average of forty lines per page, with little space left for the margins. The red and green initials and letrines were used in an



▲ Fig. 1. *Oxford Psalter*, f. 43^r.
End of Ps 32:7-22, Ps. 33 and beginning
of Ps 34:1-2.
Drawing after a photo of the author.

Notes

- 1 For the 12th and 13th century manuscripts presenting the *Oxford Psalter* version, see Dean, MacCann Boulton 1999, no. 445, 239-240.
- 2 For this notion, see Short, Careri, Ruby 2010.

citadine de la tue
la tue crieme. **S**ire

guardement la mei
chre aouranz e. li g
icels d's. **D**echeden

bute icels kar il ent
en parmanabletet
chi aiment le tuen
de la tue bone.

Sire ne me ar
d'un sire qua

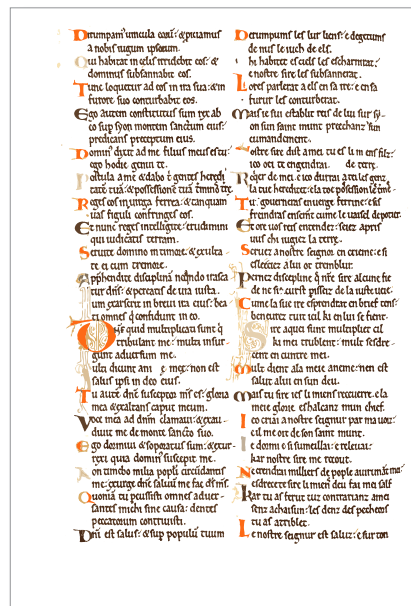
alternate manner. It contains the translation of the 150 Psalms of a mixed version of the *Gallicanum*, followed by the canticles of Isaiah, Ezekiel, Anna, Moses, Habakkuk, Moses again, and the children of Israel. It was written in prose, contrary to the general Anglo-Norman preference for verse translations, and its text was edited twice: first in the middle of the 19th century, and recently, in 2015.³

It has been often implied that the *Oxford Psalter* could be a copy of a bilingual codex, but newer hypotheses have recently showed that the *Oxford Psalter* is an original, that certain translation choices link it to the peculiar Latin version preserved in the *St Albans Psalter*, and that its scribe may have been one of the copyists working on the latter manuscript. But what is truly interesting is that the *Oxford Psalter* was copied in a countless number of manuscripts.

Most of these manuscripts are double-columned. It is the case of the *Winchester Psalter*, also known as the *Psalter of Henry of Blois*, a manuscript dating back to ca. 1160 (London, British Library, Cotton Nero c iv). It contains the *Oxford Psalter* French translation of the Psalms and the Latin text of the *Gallicanum*, copied on separate parallel columns, folio by folio. This manuscript also has a calendar and a famous Christological image cycle with legends in French. The picture cycle is inserted between the calendar and the French-Latin text of the Psalms.⁴ It was probably painted at the Saint Swithun priory, close to Winchester, and it was intended for Henry of Blois, the bishop of Winchester (1096-1171, bishop 1126-1171), whence its second name. The fact that such a richly illustrated Psalter contains a French version of the Psalms testifies perhaps to the usefulness of translation. It must have been copied at the request of the bishop, although the bishop knew Latin very well and did not really need a translation. The French text had both a pedagogical and an esthetical value.

These double psalters, also referred to as ‘parallel’ or ‘bilingual’ Psalters,⁵ contain the two main texts (Latin and French) written on two separate columns: the Latin text often occupies the more prestigious place, on the left, and the French text occupies the right column, but this is not always so. Changes may take place according to a logic that nowadays eludes us. All the double Psalters are avatars of the translation transcribed in the *Oxford* Douce manuscript and one of the best examples is the manuscript from Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France n. acq. lat. 1670. It is not necessarily the most ancient of them all, for it dates back only to the end of the 12th century, but its layout is somehow ‘classical’. We may find the same layout in many other manuscripts, with minor changes. The symmetry of the two columns structures the manuscript in a perfect manner: each Latin verse is followed, in the right column, by a French verse which occupies the same number of lines. Identical ornate initial letters introduce the various segments of the two text; they were written by the same copyist. It has been said that the “text editing comes before the text itself.”⁶

Text editing became a general rule for the double Psalters. However, another manuscript, dating from the last quarter of the 12th century, introduced a slightly compositional variation. It is a Paris codex preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (lat. 768), once called the *Corbie Psalter*, although it probably originated in Canterbury. When reading it, one is again face to face with a version derived from that of the *Oxford Psalter*. The French was erased on the first pages of the psalms, until Ps 68 (f. 10^r-58^v), and it occupies the second place, on the right column. Some-



◀ Fig. 2. *Oxford Psalter* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 320), f. 37^r. Detail. The high number of erasures and emendations in this manuscript, some of whom are visible in the photo, is proof of its autograph nature.

Photo of the author, courtesy of The Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford.

▲ Fig. 3. *Psalter of Henry of Blois*, f. 46^r. End of Ps 2:3-13 and beginning of Ps 3:2-9. Drawing after the online facsimile available at bl.uk.

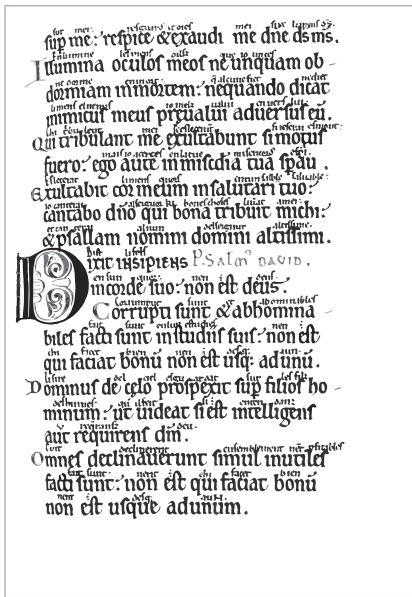
Notes

³ Short 2015. For the very first edition of this text, see Michel 1876.

⁴ For this image cycle, see Witzling 1984.

⁵ Ruby 2010, who speaks of “bilingual parallel Psalters” (p. 173); and Careri, Ruby, Short 2011, who consider them as “parallel Psalters”.

⁶ « La mise en texte [...] semble primer sur le texte ». Careri, Ruby, Short 2011, p. 200 (for the quotation).



▲ Fig. 4. *Arundel Psalter*, f. 16r: End of Ps 12:4-6 and beginning of Ps 13:1-3. Drawing after a microfilm facsimile.

Notes

⁷ “Un souci d’équilibre entre les deux colonnes”; Careri, Ruby, Short 2011, p. 170 (for the quotation and for the description). Cf. Ruby 2010, p. 174, 176; Avril, Stirnemann 1987, no. 75; Brayer, Bouly de Lesdain 1968, p. 74.

⁸ For the French version, see Skårup 1977, p. 90-94. For the modern Icelandic translation of the Psalms, see Kirby 1986, p. 127 et seqq. Cf. Ruby 2010, p. 178; Careri, Ruby, Short 2011, p. 40.

⁹ For the two fragments, see Kerr 1954. Cf. Ruby 2010, p. 178, 180; Careri, Ruby, Short 2011, p. 67, who also edit the French fragments.

¹⁰ Talbot 1952, p. 272.

¹¹ Careri, Ruby, Short 2011, p. 108.

¹² Ch. Ruby 2010, p. 180 (for the quotation).

¹³ For an edition of this fragmentary text, see Samaran 1929.

¹⁴ Cf. Beyer 1887; Beyer 1888. A. Beyer also edited the Latin text.

¹⁵ Careri, Ruby, Short 2011, p. 68. Cf. Short, Careri, Ruby 2010, p. 39.

¹⁶ For a different opinion, see Rector 2009, p. 201, who considers it an independent version, without providing further arguments. For the study of the language of the manuscript, see Pignatelli 2015.

times there is a balance problem between the two columns.⁷ The copyist therefore had problems with the disparities created by the different sizes (and number of words) in the two texts.

The same layout, with the French text on the second column, opposite the Latin text, is to be found in the *Copenhagen Psalter* (Universitetsbiblioteket Arnemagnasanske Samling 618 4o). It dates back to the last third of the 12th century and it was written somewhere in England. The French text, transcribed by the same copyist who copied the first column, that of the Latin *Gallicanum*, is irretrievably lost. It was erased so that the second column encloses an Icelandic translation of the Psalms, dated 1586.⁸ Another Psalter is preserved in a fragmentary manner, in the parchment leaves included in the binding of a book of 1593: Oxford, Saint John’s College, HB4 / 4.a.4.21 (I.subt.1.47).⁹ There is the Additional 35283 manuscript in the British Library. It dates back to the last quarter of the 12th century, or – more likely – from the first part of the next century.¹⁰ And there are many more manuscripts like these. But there is also proof of a certain evolution in this long line of Latin-French double Psalters.

The three folios of a bilingual Psalter, preserved today at Maidstone, in the Kent County Archives, in the file Fa Z 1, contain only the verses Ps 55: 7-Ps 59: 10, and Ps 68: 15-70, but these fragments are enough to identify the French text with an avatar of the *Oxford Psalter*.¹¹ With regard to their layout, it gives the impression of being similar to that of the double Psalters. The text has been transcribed on two columns, except that it no longer presents two autonomous texts. Latin and French verses alternate within each column. There is only one text, of a composite nature, and the hierarchy of languages dictates only that the *Gallicanum* should be copied first. This witness marks the passage to another group or category of bilingual (and even trilingual) Psalters, where the French language occupies the place reserved for glosses. This transformation would seem natural after the strict symmetry of the two-column Psalters. It is “of the greatest convenience in reading, in order to establish the linguistic correspondences.”¹²

This other tradition starts with the *Orne Psalter* (Paris, Archives nationales, AB XIX 1734, Orne dossier), a mid-12th century manuscript fragment preserving an intercalary translation.¹³ This bifolio leaf was also part of a book binding. It contains two fragments of an interlinear translation of Ps 77:40-62 and Ps 87:10-Ps 87:14, similar in aspect to a Medieval Latin gloss. This layout dictated that the translation choices be very close to the structure Latin text, so much so that it is difficult to say whether it is a different translation or a very free adaptation of the Oxford version.

The *Arundel Psalter*, sometimes called the *London Psalter* (British Library, Arundel 230), is the second best example in the category of interlinear translations of Psalms.¹⁴ It dates back to the end of the 12th century.¹⁵ Nonetheless, it has nothing in common with the *Orne Psalter*, except for the use of an intermediate gloss. The *Arundel Psalter* better integrates the series of double Psalters. In most cases, its interlinear gloss is servile to the *Oxford Psalter*’s translation choices. That is why it used to be considered a redesign of the latter,¹⁶ but the question is much too complicated and it may well also be that the Arundel translator had to make the same translation choices because of his idiolect or sociolect.

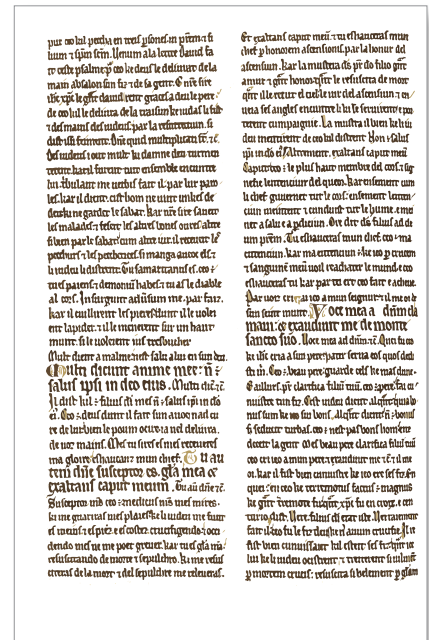
The usage of these French Psalters is debated, and it should perhaps still remain mysterious. No one can really argue that they have been used in liturgy, for it was forbidden to hold mass in another language than Latin.

Several other interpretations have been proposed, most of them speaking of the private reading of these manuscripts, but these hypotheses are conjectural and resemble other hypotheses proposed for the early Psalters in Czech, Hungarian, English, or even in Romanian for that matter. The private use of these Psalm translations can be ascertained only for a third category of manuscripts: the Psalm commentaries in French, among which many are accompanied by a French interlinear translation of the Latin text. I do not intend to present here the three versions (nor the five or six rewritings) of these commentaries on the Psalms. On the merits of the case, however, some general notes are essential to be made.

Only the first *Commentary to the Psalms*, continental in its origin (and not British), will be mentioned here, because some of its copies are the only ones preserving an interlinear translation of the *Gallicanum*. This first French *Commentary*, written for Laurette of Alsace in the second half of the 12th century, was copied with the *Gallicanum* in three of its manuscript witnesses.¹⁷ The Latin text, transcribed in large letters, is accompanied by a French interlinear translation which doesn't seem to be clearly related to the *Oxford Psalter* version, to the *Arundel*, to the *Orne*, nor to the *Eadwine Psalter* (which will be immediately discussed). The most important manuscript of this *Commentary*, preserved in New York (Pierpont Morgan Library, codex 338), has the Latin text copied on the interior side of the folio, on a tight column, with a small vernacular gloss following it word by word. The bulk of the French commentary – itself translated from an avatar of the *Media Glossatura* – is arranged in a much wider lateral margin and continues on the following lines, covering the whole width of the page. The Latin text is therefore interrupted by the French commentary, the *Gallicanum* verses are isolated from each other, they do not form an autonomous text, but it is just as obvious that this layout follows in fact the *cum textu* disposition of the Medieval Latin commentaries.

A slightly different, word-by-word, translation was copied in another manuscript of the same *Commentary*, nowadays in Hereford (Cathedral Library, o III 15). It dates back to the end of the 12th century, the Latin *Gallicanum* is written on the entire width of the folio, as in the *Orne Psalter*, but the disposition of the interlinear gloss and the commentary copied after it remains more or less the same. It is thought that this codex, clearly produced in England, must have adapted its continental model – such as one may see in the Morgan 338 manuscript – to a slightly different insular practice where intercalary glosses had reached a certain stability. Finally, a book in Durham (Cathedral Library, A II 11), the first of a series of three codices containing a complete copy of the *Commentary*, lacks this interlinear translation. The editor of the first version of the *Commentary* (Ps 1-50), argued that other similar aspects to those of the *Oxford Psalter* may be found in the Morgan manuscript, at least in the parts written by a certain scribe, whom he names “h3”. It is therefore possible to imagine that a local interlinear translation, made in England, might have influenced the one transcribed in the continental *Commentary on the Psalms*, that the interlinear gloss in Morgan 338 may simply perpetuate a local fashion. Nevertheless, the same editor argued that the links with the *Oxford Psalter* cannot be proven, and that the translation copied in the three manuscripts of the first *French Commentary to the Psalms* must have been independent, done directly on the basis of the Latin text copied in these manuscripts.¹⁸

Another separate interlinear French translation is found in the *Eadwine*



▲ Fig. 5. Durham manuscript A II 11 of the *Psalm Commentary for Laurette of Alsace*, f. 7^r (without interlinear translation). From the end of Ps 3:2 to the beginning of Ps 3:5. Drawing after the online facsimile available at <https://iiif.durham.ac.uk>.

Notes

¹⁷ For an edition of the first version of this text (Ps 1-50), see Gregory 1990.

¹⁸ For all these date, and for other notions mentioned below, see Gregory 1990, vol. 1, p. 6-10. For the presentation of the manuscripts, see also Careri, Ruby, Short 2011 (who do not deal with the manuscript from Durham).



Passio pro tunc. I. hinc sol. paulatim
 Assumit donec usq. clarescat. sic xps.
 hic q. orat. assumpcio. p. q. p. m. t. u. r.
 passio. exp. ite. q. si sit. h. p. t. o. n. o. q.
 p. h. e. a. p. d. id. q. d. sequitur. i. p. a. s. s. i. o.
 u. o. n. e. n. o. t. a. t. q. d. p. e. c. c. a. t. i. o. n. e. s.
 & i. n. t. o. q. d. p. a. s. s. i. o. s. a. l. m. u. n. d. i. s. :

Expi. sub persona ueris hois. na. uer. ho.
 ni. conhrus et cruce cu. illo. a
In finem p. assumptione matucina ps. dauid.

Cu. iste ps. sufficere
 m. t. e. s. t. i. m. o. n. i. u. m. p. a. s. s. i. o. n. i. s. :
 neq. sit. alicui. exercitatio.
 sequunt. & Alii. u. i. t. de
 eadem. re. ap. t. e. s. e. p. t. i. m.
 xxxiii. l. i. m. l. xviii.
 e. v. m.

In fine p. assumptione
 matucina ps. d.
 de passione.

Uicor. p. eius. matuc.
 eno. can. uba. x.
 cum. pateretur.

Prima. cogitatio de derelictione.
 ne non. & oratio. sicut. mon. i. b. s.
 psalm. de. passione. **Ps. gemi.**
 nar. ex. affectu. l. d. s. omni. u. m. i. s.
 p. p. r. e.

Deus meus respice
 me. quare
 me dereliquisti. longe a
 salute mea. uerba delictorum
 meorum. Deus meus clama
 bo p. diem & non exaudies. &
 nocte & non ad insipientiam
 michi. Tu autem in scō habitas.

Qu. h. in cruce dicit.
 p. l. a. t. u. m. i. t. u. d. e. s. e. s. e. p. t. i. m.
 i. n. d. i. c. a. u. r. t.

Deus meus respice
 me. quare
 me dereliquisti. longe a
 salute mea. uerba delictorum
 meorum. Deus meus clama
 bo p. diem & non exaudies. &
 nocte & non ad insipientiam
 michi. Tu autem in scō habitas.

Deus cu. eo.
 s. p. n. o. b. i. s. q. u. i. e. o. t. o. r. p. e. t. i.
 me dereliquisti. longe a
 salute mea. uerba delictorum
 meorum. Deus meus clama
 bo p. diem & non exaudies. &
 nocte & non ad insipientiam
 michi. Tu autem in scō habitas.

longe et a salute. quia longe est a peccatoribus sal.
ecce.
me dereliquisti. longe a salute mea. uerba delictorum meorum.
mea derelicta sua fecit.
ur sua iura. facit meam.
ita se longe. s. de nob. corpe suo die. h. forte cu. dicit. tunc at a me calix. i.
puratur. tunc misse mo.
ri. s. p. t. u. s. i. n. f. i. r. m. i. s. q.
uamert. mori. h. dicit.
se. h. i. g. o. r. o. s. e. m. b. r. o. r. u. m.
e. d. a. m. i. e.
s. d. e. u. t. q. s. a. d. s. a. p. i. e. n. t. i. a. n. a. u. d. i. t. d. s. a. d. u. o. l. u. n. t. a. t. e. s. a. d. s. a. l. u. t. e.
s. h. u. r. s. a. p. i. e. n. t. i. a. m. q. u. i. d. c. l. a. m. a. u. i. d. u. m. s. i. t.
s. h. i. c. a. n. t. a. t. e. q. s. f. a. c. i. t. i. n. t. e. l. l. i. g. e. q. d. a. d. s. a. l. u. t. e.
scōs. n. a. u. d. i. t. u. r.
p. a. u. t. e. m. a. d. d. a. p. n. a. t. i. o. n. e. m. m. a. l. o. r. u. m.

Non p. diem. quia mille meo tenebre.
 & tu n. audietur. ad salute.

In scō hab. & ita mirū. quia pa
 tres libasti. ego autē sū uermis.

GALL.

ROM.

HEBR.

Psalter, the most famous codex of our corpus, but this other *Psalter* contains a translation that has nothing to do with all the previous translations. The *Eadwine* represents a completely different tradition. This other translation is preserved in two manuscripts only. The first is one is now preserved in Cambridge (Trinity College R.17.1) and was written in ca. 1155-1160 at the priory of Christ Church, in other words in the cultural context of Canterbury Cathedral.¹⁹ The main scribe's portrait (*Eadwinus*) at the end of the codex gave its modern name. The second codex, a copy of the first,²⁰ is nowadays preserved in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 8846), but is of a later date and it contains only the translation of Ps 1-97. Both of these manuscripts are rich in miniatures and they belong to the tradition of the *Utrecht Psalter*, a Carolingian manuscript, from an iconographic point of view.²¹

The *Eadwine Psalter* contains the complete text of the French inter-linear translation.²² Its layout is simply stunning. The manuscript contains, on three columns, the three Latin versions of the *Psalter*. The *Gallicanum* gets the lion's share: its column occupies about half of the written space on the folios. The other two versions (*Romanum* and *Hebraicum*), transcribed on smaller columns, occupy the rest of the space. One should also pay attention to the miniatures in this manuscript, covering the entire width of the folios, and located at the beginning of each psalm. And that is not all; the manuscript has a critical apparatus. The copyists have transcribed a modified version of the *Parva Glossatura*, with additions, on

Notes

¹⁹ Gibson 1992b, p. 209-210. Cf. De Poerck, Van Deyck 1970, p. 27, who date it back to 1120.

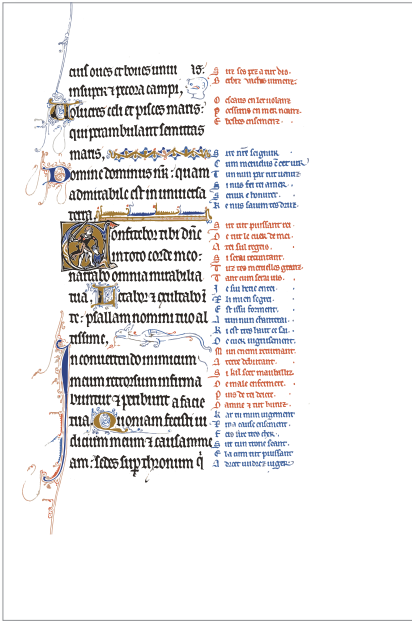
²⁰ Stirnemann 1992. Cf. Avril, Stirnemann 1987, no. 76 ; Dodwell 1990.

²¹ The *Utrecht Psalter* arrived in Canterbury in ca. 1000.

²² For an edition of this text, see the PhD thesis of Markey 1989, who also edited the Latin text of the *Hebraicum* version from this manuscript. For the very first edition of this text, see Michel 1876.

◀ Fig. 6-7. Entire folio and detail of the French and English gloss of the *Eadwine Psalter* (ms. Cambridge, Trinity College R.17.1), f. 36^v. Ps 21:2-4. © Courtesy of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College Cambridge.





▲ Fig. 8. *Oscott Psalter* (Additional 50000 ms of the British Library), f. 25^r. End of Ps 8:8-10 and beginning of Ps 9:2-5. Drawing after the online facsimile available at bl.uk.

▲ Fig. 9. *Harley 4070 ms* of the British Library, f. 28^r-29^r. End of Ps 8:8-10 and beginning of Ps 9:2-5. Drawing after the online facsimile available at bl.uk.

the margins of the *Gallicanum*.²³ Finally, two vernacular translations gloss over each Latin word, in between the lines of the non-liturgical versions. The interline of the *Romanum* version has Old English glosses. The one of the *Hebraicum* has an Anglo-Norman translation copied in small letters above the Latin words. This French translation is a fairly faithful translation of the Latin text and does not have any clear link with the *Oxford Psalter* either, simply because it was grafted on another Hieronymian text, the *Hebraicum*.²⁴

This other group of Psalters is even more puzzling from the point of view of their use. Nobody can really tell what these manuscripts were really used for. The only clue that may point towards their probable usage is the lavish nature of their images and the encyclopaedically structured layout. If they were used, they were supposed to impress their readers with their beauty as well as with their multi-layered contexts. Perhaps the same may be said about the last category of this short presentation: the verse translations of the Psalms.

Of course a verse translation had no practical purpose. Long before the Reformation, these verse translations could not be sung during the church service. But still, such French Psalters did indeed exist.²⁵ One of them, the very first one in verse, was copied in two manuscripts and it was written in stanzas of six verses, rhymed AAB CCB. This translation dates from the end of the 12th century or from the beginning of the next and each Latin verse of the Psalter is paraphrased in three up to six verses in French. The long poem is still unedited²⁶ and it was copied in two 13th century manuscripts preserved nowadays in the British Library.

The Additional 50000 manuscript (*Oscott Psalter*, richly illuminated) gives the impression of the most important manuscript because of its size and layout. However, the other manuscript (*Harley 4070*) appears to be much closer from a textual point of view to the lost autograph source. Its text favours the French version, carefully copied as the principal text, with Latin lemmas in the margins for references, most of them abbreviated; while the version copied in the Additional manuscript sacrifices sometimes entire verses of the French text, because the vernacular text

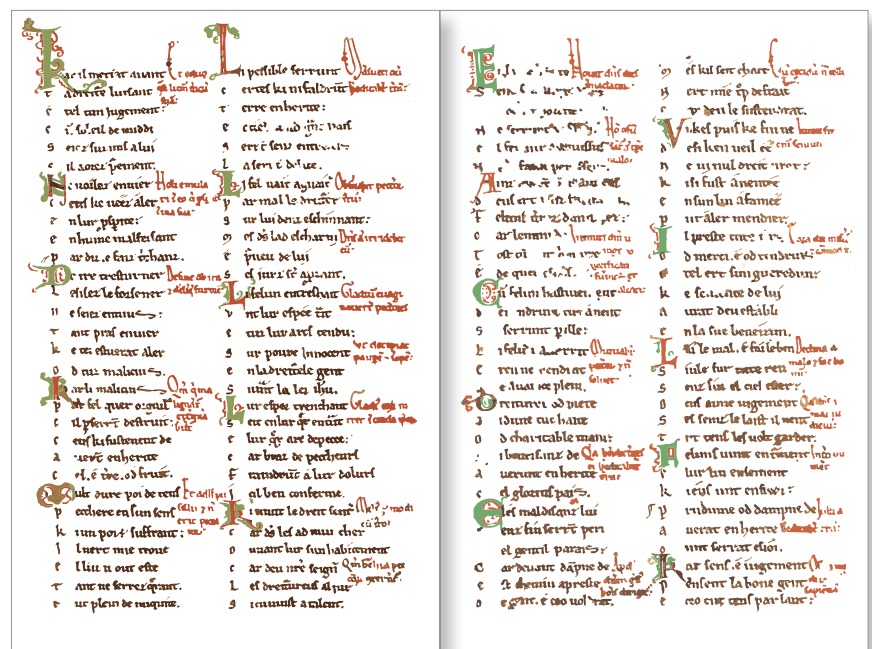
Notes

23 Gibson 1992a, p. 108-110.

24 Margarete Förster considers that the various similar translation choices between the Oxford and Eadwine Psalter translations may be explained by the derivation of the latter from the first (a hypothesis that does not hold), but also because certain biblical words could have already been present in Old French (an idea that deserves to be highlighted). Cf. Förster 1914.

25 Agrigoroaei 2017.

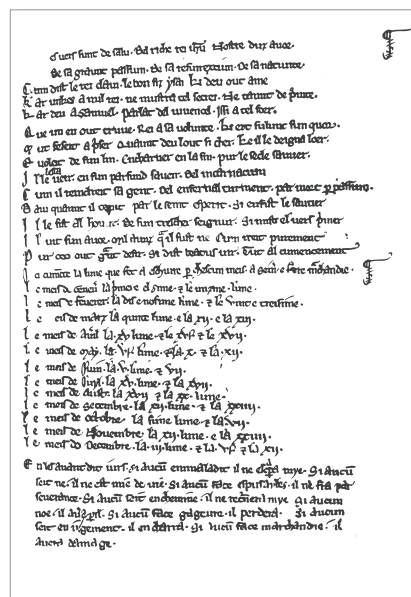
26 Three passages (two stanzas of the prologue, the translation of Ps 41, and two stanzas of the Ps 44) have been published by Bonnard 1884, p. 130-132. The poem has been briefly analysed by Goedicke 1910, who quoted other short passages; and Meyer 1866 edited the prologue from the Arundel 230 manuscript version.



was supposed to accompany the Latin text on its margins, in red and blue ink, meaning that the French text had to adapt to the Latin one.²⁷ The Harley manuscript also contains a short prologue of seven stanzas which was copied as an introduction to the *Arundel Psalter* prose translation at a later date. On the contrary, the Additional seems to be a normal Latin psalter (with a calendar, with an image cycle, with canticles) on whose margins the French poem plays a marginal if not ornamental role.²⁸

Nevertheless, even in the early verse translations, at a time when the notion of ‘translation’ was not at all definite, when it meant what best suited its author, from adaptation and paraphrase to literary translation or to a word by word translation, these verse translations were not very different from the prose translations like the Oxford Psalter. It may have been that the authors were sharing a common language, maybe even a common sociolect, and that most of them had to appeal to the same words in their translations. This happened because the French language was not ready, from a cultural linguistic point of view, to adapt and interpret such complicated grammatical and lexical structures such as those from Latin. And it was not ready even after two more centuries, because the translator of the *Lorraine Psalter*, also known as the *Metz Psalter* (1370) confessed these problems in the prologue of his work:²⁹

Quar pour tant que laingue romance et especiaulment de Loreenne est imperfaite, et plus asseiz que nulle aultre entre les langaiges perfaiz, il n'est nulz, tant soit boin clerz ne bien parlans romans, qui lou latin puisse translateir n romans quant a plusour mos dou latin; mais couvient que, per corruption et per diseite des mos françois, que en disse lou romans selonc lou latin, si com : iniquitas ‘iniquiteit’, redemptio ‘redemption’, misericordia ‘misericorde’; et ainsi de mains et plusours aultres telz mos, que il couvient ainsi dire en romans comme on dit en latin. Aucune fois li latins ait plusours mos que en romans nous ne poions exprimeir ne dire proprement, tant est imperfaite nostre laingue, si com on dit on latin : erue, eripe, libera me, pour les quelz .iii. mos en latin nous disons un soul mot en romans : ‘delivre moi’; et ainsi de maint et plusours aultres telz mos, des quelz je me coise quant a present pour cause de briesteit. Aucune fois li latin warde ses rigles de gramaire et ses congruiteiz et ordenances en figures, en qualiteiz, en comparison, en persones, en nombres, en temps, en declinesons, en causes, en muef, et en perfection : que en romans ne en françoiz on ne puet proprement wardeit, pour les varieteiz et diversiteiz des lainguaiges et lou deffault d’entendement de maint et plusour, qui plus souvent forment lour mos et lour parler a lour volenteit et a lour guise que a veriteit et au commun entendement. Et pour ceu que nulz ne tient en son parler ne rigle certenne, mesure ne raison, est laingue romance si corrupue qu’a poinne li uns entent l’aultre, et a poinne puet on trouver a jour d’ieu persone qui saiche escrire, anteir ne prononclieir en une meismes semblant meniere; mais escript, ante et prononce il uns en une guise et li aultre en une aultre.



▲ Fig. 10. *Arundel Psalter*, f. 6r. The verse prologue added at a later date.

Drawing after a microfilm facsimile.

Notes

²⁷ See for this De Fonblanque 1994, who deals with this subject from the point of view of an art historian.

²⁸ The manuscript was mainly studied by art historians. See for this Neiswander 1979, who studied the image cycle; but also Morgan 1988, p. 139; Brown, Meredith-Owens, Turner 1961; and Turner 1969. From the point of view of the style and execution of the paintings, the *Oscott Psalter* has been compared to the *Salvin Horae* (ms Additional 48985 of the British Library). See e. g. Brown 1957.

²⁹ Bonnardot 1884, p. 1-2.

Bibliographical Abbreviations

- Abaffy 1990** *Czech-kódex: 1513*, ed. Csilla N. Abaffy, intr. Csilla N. Abaffy, Csaba Csapodi, Budapest, 1990.
- Abaffy 1996** *Festetics-kódex: 1494 előtt*, ed. Csilla N. Abaffy, Budapest, 1996.
- Abaffy, Szabó 1995** *Döbrentei-kódex: 1508*, eds. Csilla Abaffy and Csilla T. Szabó, Budapest, 1995.
- Adamska 1999** Anna Adamska, “The Introduction of Writing in Central Europe (Poland, Hungary and Bohemia)”, in *New Approaches to Medieval Communication*, eds. M. Mostert, intr. Michael Clanchy, Turnhout, 1999.
- Adamska, Mostert 2004** *The Development of Literate Mentalities in East Central Europe*, eds. Anna Adamska, Marco Mostert, Turnhout, 2004.
- Agrigoroaei 2017** Vladimir Agrigoroaei, “Les traductions en vers du Psautier au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance”, in *La traduction entre Moyen Âge et Renaissance: Médiations, auto-traductions et traductions secondes*, eds. Claudio Galderisi, Jean-Jacques Vincensini, Turnhout, 2017, p. 139-158.
- Andriescu 1978** Al. Andriescu, “Studiu introductiv”, in *Dosoftei: Opere*, ed. N. A. Ursu, Bucharest, 1978.
- Anghelescu, Bogdan 1970** Mircea Anghelescu, Emil Bogdan, *Dicționarul de terminologie literară*, Bucharest, 1970.
- Avram, Bogdan 2015** Bogdan Laurențiu Avram, Simona-Loredana Bogdan, “Cartea românească veche de pe valea Gurghiului în colecția Arhiepiscopiei Ortodoxe Române a Alba Iuliei”, *Satu Mare*, 31, 2, 2015, p. 57-62.
- Avril, Stirnemann 1987** Françoise Avril, Patricia Danz Stirnemann, *Manuscrits enluminés d'origine insulaire. VII^e-XX^e siècle*, Paris, 1987.
- Bach, Galle 1989** Inka Bach, Helmut Galle, *Deutsche Psalmendichtung vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte einer lyrischen Gattung*, Berlin / New York, 1989.
- Balázs 1990** *Szent Margit élete: 1510*, ed. Balázs János P., Budapest, 1990.
- Balázs, Uhl 1995** *Thewrewk-kódex: 1531*, eds. Balázs Judit, Uhl Gabriella, Budapest, 1995.
- Balmuş 2013** Pavel Balmuş, *Mitropolitul Dosoftei în contextul culturii române medievale. interpretări, reevaluări, sinteze*, Kishinev, 2013.

- Philipp August Becker, *Clément Marots Psalmenübersetzung*, Marburg, 1921 **Becker 1920**
- Marie Benešová, Kamil Boldan, “Metody vizualizace filigránů a využití filigranologie pro datování nejstarších českých tisků na příkladu tzv. Nového zákona se signetem”, in *Výzkum a vývoj nových postupů v ochraně a konzervaci písemných památek (2005–2011)*, eds. Marie Benešová et al., Prague, 2011, p. 117-131. **Benešová, Boldan 2011**
- A. Beyer, “Die Londoner Psalterhandschrift Arundel 230”, *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 11, 1887, p. 513-534. **Beyer 1887**
- A. Beyer, “Die Londoner Psalterhandschrift Arundel 230 (S. Ztschr. XI 513)”, *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 12, 1888, p. 1-56. **Beyer 1888**
- The Middle English Glossed Prose Psalter. Edited from Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS Pepys 2498*, eds. Robert Ray Black, Raymond St-Jacques, 2 vols., Heidelberg, 2012. **Black, St-Jacques 2012**
- Florin Bogdan, *Carte și societate în județul Mureș*, Sibiu, 2010. **Bogdan 2010**
- Florin Bogdan, *Cărți sfinte, sfinții cărților, cărțile sfinților*, Sibiu, 2016. **Bogdan 2016**
- Florin Bogdan, *Tipăritu-s-au în Ardeal, în cetatea Belgradului. 450 de ani de la tipărirea primei cărți la Alba Iulia*, Sibiu / Cluj-Napoca, 2017. **Bogdan 2017**
- Florin Bogdan, Elena Mișu, *500 de ani de tipar românesc (1508-2008). Catalog de expoziție*, Sibiu, 2008. **Bogdan, Mișu 2008**
- Mirjam Bohatcová, *Česká kniha v proměnách staletí*, Prague, 1990. **Bohatcová 1990**
- Kamil Boldan, “Filigranologie a datace nejstarších plzeňských tisků”, *Minulostí Západočeského kraje*, 46, 2011, p. 28-59. **Boldan 2011**
- Kamil Boldan, “Písař a tiskař Martin z Tišnova”, *Studie o rukopisech*, 42, 2012, p. 7-27. **Boldan 2012**
- Kamil Boldan, Bořek Neškudla, Petr Voit, *Bohemia and Moravia I. The Reception of Antiquity in Bohemian Book Culture from the Beginning of Printing until 1547*, Turnhout, 2014. **Boldan, Neškudla, Voit 2014**
- Jean Bonnard, *Les Traductions de la Bible en vers français au Moyen Âge*, Paris, 1884. **Bonnard 1884**
- Le Psautier de Metz : texte du XIV^e siècle*, ed. François Bonnardot, Paris, 1884. **Bonnardot 1884**
- Alán Boros, *Zsoltárfordítás a kódexek korában*, Budapest, 1903. **Boros 1903**
- Gedeon Borsa, *Alte siebenbürgische Drucke (16. Jahrhundert)*, Cologne / Weimar / Vienna, 1996. **Borsa 1996**
- Monica Bottai, “La ‘Paraphrasis in triginta Psalmos versibus scripta’ di Marcantonio Flaminio: un esempio di poesia religiosa del XVI secolo”, *Rinascimento*, 40, 2000, p. 157-268. **Bottai 2000**
- Monica Bottai, “Bibbia e modelli classici nella parafrasi salmica del Flaminio”, in *La scrittura infinita. Bibbia e poesia in età medievale e umanistica. Atti convegno di Firenze, 26-28 giugno 1997, promosso dalla Fondazione Carl Marchi, dal Centro Romantico del Gabinetto Vieusseux, dalla SISMEL e da Semicerchio. Rivista di poesia comparata*, ed. Francesco Stella, Florence, 2001, p. 105-115. **Bottai 2001**
- Félix Bovet, *Histoire du Psautier des Églises réformées*, Neuchâtel / Paris, 1872. **Bovet 1872**
- Leonard E. Boyle, “Innocent III and the Vernacular Versions of Scripture”, in *The Bible in the Medieval World: Essays in memory of Beryl Smalley*, eds. Katherine Walsch, Diana Wood, New York, 1985, p. 97-107. **Boyle 1985**
- Édith Brayer, Anne-Marie Bouly de Lesdain, “Les prières usuelles annexées aux anciennes traductions du Psautier”, *Bulletin de l’Institut de recherche et d’histoire des textes*, 15, 1967-1968, p. 69-120. **Brayer, Bouly de Lesdain 1968**

- Brown 1957** Thomas Julian Brown, "The Salvin Horae", *British Museum Quarterly*, 21, 1, 1957, p. 8-12.
- Brown 1999** George H. Brown, "The Psalms as the Foundation of the Anglo-Saxon Learning", in *The Place of the Psalms in the Intellectual Culture of the Middle Ages*, ed. Nancy Van Deusen, Albany, 1999, p. 1-24.
- Brown, Meredith-Owens, Turner 1961** Thomas Julian Brown, Glyn Munro Meredith-Owens, D. H. Turner, "Manuscripts from the Dyson Perrins Collection", *The British Museum Quarterly*, 1961, p. 27-38.
- BRV I-IV** Ion Bianu, Nerva Hodoș, Dan Simonescu, *Bibliografia românească veche 1508-1830*, 4 vols., Bucharest, 1903-1944.
- BRVAC** *Bibliografia românească veche. A-C*, Bucharest, 2004.
- Buciumeanu 2001** Dan Buciumeanu, *Dosoftei, o hermeneutică a „Psaltirii în versuri”*, Bucharest, 2001.
- Buicliu 2000** Dan Râpă Buicliu, *Bibliografia românească veche. Additamenta I (1536-1830)*, Galați, 2000.
- Candrea 1916** I. A. Candrea, *Psaltirea Scheiană comparată cu celelalte psaltiri din sec. XVI și XVII traduse din slavonește*, Bucharest, 1916.
- Careri, Ruby, Short 2011** Maria Careri, Christine Ruby, Ian Short, *Livres et écritures en français et en occitan au XII^e siècle. Catalogue illustré*, Rome, 2011.
- Cartoian 1980** Nicolae Cartoian, *Istoria literaturii române vechi*, Bucharest, 1980.
- Catalog Teleki I-III** *Catalogul cărților tipărite în secolul al XVII-lea din Biblioteca Teleki-Bolyai, Tg. Mureș*, 3 vols., ms. electronically available on www.telekiteka.ro.
- Catalogus I** *Catalogus librorum sedecimo saeculo impressorum Bibliothecae Teleki-Bolyai. Novum Forum Siculorum*, vol. 1, Târgu-Mureș, 2001.
- Chindriș 1995** *Samuil Micu: Istoria românilor*, ed. Ioan Chindriș, vol. 2, Bucharest, 1995.
- Chindriș, Iacob, Mârza, Tatay, Urs, Crăciun, Moldovan, Roman-Negoi 2016** Ioan Chindriș, Niculina Iacob, Eva Mârza, Anca Elisabeta Tatay, Otilia Urs, Bogdan Crăciun, Roxana Moldovan, Ana Maria Roman-Negoi, *Cartea românească veche în Imperiul Habsburgic (1691-1830). Recuperarea unei identități culturale*, Cluj-Napoca, 2016.
- Chițimia 1981** I. C. Chițimia, "Urme probabile ale unei vechi traduceri din latină în Psaltirea Scheiană", *Revista de istorie și teorie literară*, 30, 2, 1981, p. 151-156.
- Chițulescu 2008** Policarp Chițulescu, *Manuscrise din Biblioteca Sfântului Sinod al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române*, Bucharest, 2008.
- Copinger 1971** Walter Arthur Copinger, *Supplement to Hain's Repertorium Bibliographicum, Part I*, London, 1875 (1971).
- Crețu 2003** Bogdan Crețu, "Dinspre Arghezi către Dosoftei", *Convorbiri literare*, 5 (137), 5, 2003, p. 71-72.
- Csepregi et al. 2018** *Legenda vetus, acta processus canonizationis et miracula Sanctae Margaritae de Hungaria/The Oldest Legend, Acts of the Canonization Process, and Miracles of Saint Margaret of Hungary*, eds. Ildikó Csepregi, Gábor Klaniczay, Bence Péterfi, transl. Ildikó Csepregi, Clifford Flanigan, Louis Perraud, Budapest / New York, 2018.
- Cuddon, Habib 2013** *A Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*, ed. J. A. Cuddon, revised by M. A. R. Habib, Chichester, 2013.
- Curticăpeanu 1998** Doina Curticăpeanu, "Dosoftei, 'învățător de lume'", *Familia*, 34, 1998, p. 10-12.
- De Fonblanque 1994** Virginia Margaret Blanche De Fonblanque, *Choice and Change in the Mise-en-page of the Oscott Psalter, London, British Library, Additional Manuscript 50.000*, PhD thesis of the University of London (Courtauld Institute of Art), 1994.

- Guy De Poerck, Rika Van Deyck, “La Bible et l’activité traductrice dans les pays romans avant 1300”, in *Grundriss der romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters*, VI, *La littérature didactique, allégorique et satirique*, ed. Hans Robert Jauss, 1 (*Partie historique*), Heidelberg, 1968, p. 21-48; 2 (*Partie documentaire*), Heidelberg, 1970, p. 54-80. **De Poerck, Van Deyck 1970**
- Ruth J. Dean, Maureen Barry MacCann Boulton, *Anglo-Norman Literature: A Guide to Texts and Manuscripts*, London, 1999. **Dean, MacCann Boulton 1999**
- Der Münchener Kodex, II. Das ungarische Hussiten-Evangeliar aus dem 15. Jahrhundert*, ed. Décsy Gyula, Wiesbaden, 1966. **Décsy 1966**
- Der Münchener Kodex, I. Ein ungarisches Sprachdenkmal aus dem Jahre 1466. Einleitung und Faksimile*, participation of Décs Gyula, ed. Julius von Farkas, Wiesbaden, 1958. **Décsy, von Farkas 1958**
- Demény Lajos, Lidia A. Demény, *Carte, tipar și societate la români în secolul al XVI-lea*, Bucharest, 1986. **Demény, Demény 1986**
- Ovid Densusianu, *Histoire de la langue roumaine*, vol. 2, Paris, 1938. **Densusianu 1938**
- Robert Dittmann, “Jazyková stránka předkralických biblí”, in *Bible česká ve fondu Moravské zemské knihovny v Brně: katalog výstavy*, Brno, 2015, p. 54-71. **Dittmann 2015**
- Charles Reginald Dodwell, “The Final Copy of the Utrecht Psalter and its Relationship with the Utrecht and Eadwine Psalters: Paris, B. N. Lat. 8846, Ca. 1170-1190”, *Scriptorium*, 44, 1990, p. 21-53. **Dodwell 1990**
- Emmanuel Orentin Doruen, *Clément Marot et le Psautier huguenot : étude historique, littéraire, musicale et bibliographique, contenant les mélodies primitives des psaumes...*, 2 vols., Paris, 1878-1879. **Doruen 1878-1879**
- Ana Dumitran, “Aspecte ale politicii confesionale a Principatului calvin față de români: confirmările în funcțiile eclesiastice și programul de reformare a Bisericii Ortodoxe din Transilvania”, *Mediaevalia Transilvanica*, 5-6, 1-2, 2001-2002, p. 113-181. **Dumitran 2002**
- Ana Dumitran, “Reforma protestantă și literatura religioasă în limba română tipărită în Transilvania în secolele XVI-XVII”, *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai, Theologia graeco-catholica Varadiensis*, 48, 2, 2003, p. 145-161. **Dumitran 2003**
- Ana Dumitran, “Privilegiile acordate preoților români de principii calvini ai Transilvaniei”, in *Cultură și confesiune. In honorem Ion Toderășcu*, Iassy, 2004, p. 71-100. **Dumitran 2004a**
- Ana Dumitran, “Preoți români ortodocși din Transilvania înnoșiți în secolul al XVII-lea”, *Cultura creștină*, 7, 3-4, 2004, p. 82-97. **Dumitran 2004b**
- Ana Dumitran, “Episcopatul românesc reformat din secolul al XVI-lea”, in *Evoluția instituțiilor episcopale în Bisericele din Transilvania, I. De la începături până la 1740*, eds. Nicolae Bocșan, Dieter Brandes, Olga Lukács, Cluj-Napoca, 2010, p. 121-151. **Dumitran 2010a**
- Ana Dumitran, “Moștenirea Mitropolitului Simion Ștefan. Comentarii, ipoteze, reevaluări”, in *Mitropolitul Simion Ștefan teolog, cărturar și patriot*, Alba Iulia, 2010, p. 170-328. **Dumitran 2010b**
- Richard Maidstone’s Penitential Psalms edited from Bodleian Ms Rawlinson A 389*, ed. Valerie Edden, Heidelberg, 1990. **Edden 1990**
- Fejér Tamás-Gábor, *Învățământul din Făgăraș în secolul al XVII-lea*, PhD thesis of the Babeș-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca, 2011. **Fejér 2011**
- Les Paraphrases bibliques aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles. Actes du Colloque de Bordeaux des 22, 23 et 24 septembre 2004*, eds. Véronique Ferrer, Anne Mantero, Geneva, Droz, 2006. **Ferrer, Mantero 2006**

- Forshall, Madden 1850** *The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments, with the Apocryphal Books, in the Earliest English Versions, Made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and His Followers*, eds. Josiah Forshall, Frederic Madden, Oxford, 1850.
- Förster 1914** Margarete Förster, *Die französischen Psalmenübersetzungen vom xii. bis zum Ende des xviii. Jahrhunderts: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der französischen Übersetzungskunst*, PhD thesis of the Friedrich-Wilhelms University in Berlin, 1914.
- Fuchs 2009** *Helius Eobanus Hessus: Psalterium universum*, ed. Mechthild Fuchs, Berlin, 2009.
- Gaertner 1956** Gaertner, "Latin Verse Translations of the Psalms. 1500-1620", *The Harvard Theological Review*, 49, 1956, p. 271-305.
- Gáldi 1971** László Gáldi, *Introducere în istoria versului românesc*, Bucharest, 1971.
- Gant 1959** W. Leonard Grant, "Neo-Latin Verse-Translations of the Bible", *The Harvard Theological Review*, 52, 3, 1959, p. 205-211.
- Garnier-Mathez 2006** Isabelle Garnier-Mathez, "Traduction et connivence: Marot, paraphraste évangélique des psaumes de David", in *Les Paraphrases bibliques aux xv^e et xvii^e siècles. Actes du Colloque de Bordeaux des 22, 23 et 24 septembre 2004*, eds. Véronique Ferrer, Anne Mantero, Geneva, 2006, p. 241-264.
- Gherman 1973** Alin-Mihai Gherman, "O psaltire calvino-română necunoscută", în *Lucrări și comunicări științifice*, 1, 1973, p. 179-191.
- Gherman 1982** Alin-Mihai Gherman, "Versificația în psaltirile calvino-române", *Revista de istorie și teorie literară*, 31, 2, 1982, p. 176-182.
- Gherman 1990** Alin-Mihai Gherman, "Păreri despre limbă la Teodor Corbea", *Cercetări de lingvistică*, 35, 1, 1990, p. 13-20.
- Gherman 1993** Alin-Mihai Gherman, "Un experiment poetic în secolul al xvii-lea: Teodor Corbea", *Steaua*, 44, 2, 1993, p. 48-49.
- Gherman 2001** *Teodor Corbea: Dictiones latinae cum Valachica interpretatione*, ed. Alin-Mihai Gherman, Cluj-Napoca, 2001.
- Gherman 2008** Alin-Mihai Gherman, "Despre cronologia și tipologia textelor lui Dosoftei", *Annales Universitatis Apulensis. Series Historica*, 12, 2, 2008, p. 161-175.
- Gherman 2010a** *Teodor Corbea: Psaltirea în versuri*, ed. Alin-Mihai Gherman, Bucharest, 2010.
- Gherman 2010b** Alin-Mihai Gherman, *Un umanist român: Teodor Corbea*, Cluj-Napoca, 2010.
- Gheție 1969** Ion Gheție, "Textele rotacizante și originile scrisului literar românesc. Chestiuni de metodă", *Studii de limbă literară și filologie*, 1, 1969, p. 189-241.
- Gheție 1973** Ion Gheție, "Simbolul atanasian din Psaltirea Scheiană", *Limba română*, 22, 3, 1973, p. 241-248.
- Gheție 1982a** Ion Gheție, "A existat un izvor latin al psaltirilor românești din secolul al xvi-lea?", *Limba română*, 31, 2, 1982, p. 181-185.
- Gheție 1982b** *Fragmentul Todorescu*, ed. Ion Gheție, in *Texte românești din secolul al xvi-lea*, ed. Ion Gheție, Bucharest, 1982.
- Gheție, Mareș 1985** Ion Gheție, Alexandru Mareș, *Originile scrisului în limba română*, Bucharest, 1985.
- Gheție, Mareș 1994** Ion Gheție, Alexandru Mareș, *Diaconul Coresi și izbânda scrisului în limba română*, Bucharest, 1994.
- Ghosh 2002** Kantik Ghosh, *The Wycliffite Heresy: Authority and the Interpretation of Texts*, Cambridge, 2002.

- Margaret Gibson, "The Latin Apparatus", in *The Eadwine Psalter. Text, image, and monastic culture in twelfth-century Canterbury*, eds. Margaret Gibson, T. A. Heslop, Richard W. Pfaff, London / University Park PA, 1992, p. 108-122. **Gibson 1992a**
- Margaret Gibson, "Conclusions: The Eadwine Psalter in Context", in *The Eadwine Psalter. Text, image, and monastic culture in twelfth-century Canterbury*, eds. Margaret Gibson, T. A. Heslop, Richard W. Pfaff, London / University Park pa, 1992, p. 209-213. **Gibson 1992b**
- Wilhelm Goedicke, *Über den anglonormannischen Schweifreimpsalter*, BA paper of the University of Halle, 1910. **Goedicke 1910**
- Julien Gœury, *La muse du consistoire. Une histoire des pasteurs poètes des origines de la Réforme jusqu'à la révocation de l'édit de Nantes*, Geneva, 2016. **Gœury 2016**
- Frederick R. Goff, *Incunabula in American libraries: a third census*, Millwood (NY), 1973. **Goff 1973**
- The Twelfth-century Psalter Commentary in French for Laurette d'Alsace: An Edition of Psalms I-L*, ed. Stewart Gregory, 2 vol., London, 1990. **Gregory 1990**
- George Buchanan: Poetic Paraphrase of the Psalms of David*, ed. Roger P. H. Green, Geneva, 2011. **Green 2011**
- Dieter Gutknecht, "Die Rezeption des Genfer Psalters bei Caspar Ulenberg", in *Der Genfer Psalter und seine Rezeption in Deutschland, der Schweiz und den Niederlanden: 16.-18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Eckhard Grunewald, Henning P. Jürgens, Jan R. Luth, Tübingen, 2004, p. 253-262. **Gutknecht 2004**
- Keszthelyi-kódex: 1522*, ed. Lea Haader, Budapest, 2006. **Haader 2006**
- Lea Haader, "Arcképtörédékek ómagyar scriptorokról", in *'Látjátok feleim...': Magyar nyelvemlékek a kezdetektől a 16. század elejéig*, ed. Edit Madas, Budapest, 2009. **Haader 2009**
- Apor-kódex: 15. század első fele, 15. század vége és 1520 előtt*, eds. Lea Haader, Réka Kocsis, Klára Korompay, Rudolf Szentgyörgyi, Budapest, 2014. **Haader et al. 2014**
- Kulcsár-kódex: 1539*, eds. Lea Haader, Zsuzsanna Papp, Budapest, 1999. **Haader, Papp 1999**
- Hannibal Hamlin, *Psalms Culture and Early Modern English Literature*, Cambridge, 2004. **Hamlin 2004**
- Eadwine's Canterbury Psalter, part 2: Text and Notes*, ed. Fred Harsley, London, 1889 (New York, 1987). **Harsley 1889**
- János Horváth, *A magyar irodalmi műveltség kezdetei Szent Istvántól Mohácsig*, Budapest, 1931. **Horváth 1931**
- H. Hotson, *Paradise Postponed: Johann Heinrich Alsted and the Birth of Calvinist Millenarianism*, Dordrecht / Boston 2013. **Hotson 2013**
- Anne Hudson, "A Lollard Sect Vocabulary?", in Anne Hudson, *Lollards and Their Books*, London, 1985, p. 165-180. **Hudson 1985**
- Anne Hudson, *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History*, Oxford, 1988. **Hudson 1988**
- Two Revised Versions of Rolle's English Psalter Commentary and the related Canticles*, ed. Anne Hudson, 3 vols., Oxford, 2012-2014. **Hudson 2012-2014**
- Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la Istoria Românilor*, vol. II/5, Bucharest, 1897. **Hurmuzaki 1897**
- Istoria literaturii române*, Bucharest, 1970. **Istoria 1970**
- George Ivaşcu, *Istoria literaturii române*, Bucharest, 1969. **Ivaşcu 1969**
- Michel Jeanneret, *Poésie et tradition biblique au xv^e siècle*, Paris, 1969. **Jeanneret 1969**
- Peer-kódex*, eds. Andrea Kacs Kovics-Reményi, Beatrix Oszkó, Budapest, 2000. **Kacs Kovics-Reményi, Oszkó 2000**

- Karataev 1861** Иван Прокофьевич Каратаевъ, *Хронологическая роспись славянскихъ книгъ, напечатанныхъ кирилловскими буквами. 1491-1730*, Saint Petersburg, 1861.
- Kerr 1954** Neil R. Kerr, *Fragments of Medieval Manuscripts Used as Pastedowns in Oxford Bindings with a Survey of Oxford Binding c. 1515-1620*, Oxford, 1954.
- Kessner 2004** Lars Kessner, "Lutherische Reaktionen auf den Lobwasser-Psalter: Cornelius Becker und Johannes Wüstholtz", in *Der Genfer Psalter und seine Rezeption in Deutschland, der Schweiz und den Niederlanden: 16.-18. Jahrhundert*, eds. Eckhard Grunewald, Henning P. Jürgens, Jan R. Luth, Tübingen, 2004, p. 283-293.
- Kirby 1986** Ian J. Kirby, *Bible Translation in Old Norse*, Geneva, 1986.
- Kocsis 2015** Réka P. Kocsis, "Mikor íródtak az Apor-kódex marginális bejegyzései?", in *Anyanyelvünk évszázadai, I*, eds. Réka P. Kocsis, Rudolf Szentgyörgyi, Budapest, 2015, p. 21-27.
- Kreuzer 1951** James Roosevelt Kreuzer, "Thomas Brampton's Metrical Paraphrase of the Seven Penitential Psalms. A Diplomatic Edition of the Version in MS Pepys 1584 and MS Cambridge University Ff 2.38 with Variant Readings from All Known Manuscripts", *Traditio*, 7, 1949-1951, p. 359-403.
- Kuczynski 2010** Michael P. Kuczynski, "An unpublished Lollard Psalms catena in Huntington library MS HM 501", *Journal of the Early Book Society*, 13, 2010, p. 95-138.
- Kyas 1962** Vladimír Kyas, *Česká předloha staropolského žaltáře*, Prague, 1962.
- Kyas 1997** Vladimír Kyas, *Česká bible v dějinách českého písemnictví*, Prague, 1997.
- Lázs 1984** *A Jordánszky-kódex. Magyar nyelvű bibliafordítás a xvi. század elejéről: 1516-1519*, ed. Sándor Lázs, Budapest, 1984.
- Lázs 2016** Sándor Lázs, *Apácaműveltség Magyarországon a xv-xvi. század fordulóján: Az anyanyelvű irodalom kezdetei*, Budapest, 2016.
- Leblanc 1960** Paulette Leblanc, *Les paraphrases françaises des Psaumes à la fin de la période baroque (1610-1660)*, Clermont-Ferrand, 1960.
- Lewalski 1979** Barbara K. Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric*, Princeton, 1979.
- Lobrichon 2001** Guy Lobrichon, "Les paraphrases bibliques comme instruments théologiques dans l'espace roman des XII^e et XIII^e siècles", in *La scrittura infinita. Bibbia e poesia in età medievale e umanistica. Atti convegno di Firenze, 26-28 giugno 1997, promosso dalla Fondazione Carl Marchi, dal Centro Romantico del Gabinetto Vieusseux, dalla SISMELE e da Semicerchio. Rivista di poesia comparata*, ed. Francesco Stella, Florence, 2001, p. 155-176.
- Lupan, Hațegan 1974** Doina Lupan, Lucia Hațegan, "Cartea veche românească în biblioteca Muzeului de Istorie din Alba Iulia", *Apulum*, 12, 1974, p. 359-394.
- Lupaș 1940** Ioan Lupaș, *Documente istorice transilvane*, vol. 1, 1599-1699, Cluj, 1940.
- Macé 2006** Stéphane Macé, "Le psautier de Racan, laboratoire d'expériences et terrain polémique", in *Les Paraphrases bibliques aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles. Actes du Colloque de Bordeaux des 22, 23 et 24 septembre 2004*, eds. Véronique Ferrer, Anne Mantero, Geneva, 2006, p. 359-374.
- MacRobert 1998** Catherine M. MacRobert, "The Textual Tradition of the Church Slavonic Psalter up to the Fifteenth Century", in *Interpretation of the Bible*, ed. Jože Krašovec, Ljubljana / Sheffield, 1998, p. 921-942.
- Madas 2013** Edit Madas, "'Kintornáljatok bölcsen': Zsoltározás a liturgikus gyakorlatban, zsoltárok a közösségi és magánájtatosságban", in *Nyelv, lelkiség és regionalitás a közép- és kora újkorban: Előadások a VII. Nemzetközi Hungarológiai Kongresszuson, Kolozsvár, 2011. augusztus 22-27*, eds. Csilla Gábor et al., Cluj, 2013.

- The Manuscripts of the Unitarian College of Cluj / Kolozsvár in the Library of the Academy in Cluj-Napoca. Catalogue*, Szeged, 1997. **Manuscripts 1997**
- Alexandru Mareş, “Originalele primelor traduceri româneşti ale Tetraevanghelului şi Psaltirii”, in *Cele mai vechi texte româneşti. Contribuţii filologice şi lingvistice*, ed. Ion Gheţie, Bucharest, 1982, p. 183-205. **Mareş 1982a**
- Alexandru Mareş, “Filiaţia psaltirilor româneşti din secolul al XVI-lea”, in *Cele mai vechi texte româneşti. Contribuţii filologice şi lingvistice*, ed. Ion Gheţie, Bucharest, 1982, p. 207-261. **Mareş 1982b**
- Alexandru Mareş, “Consideraţii pe marginea datării Psaltirii Hurmuzaki”, *Limba română*, 49, 4-6, 2000, p. 675-683. **Mareş 2000**
- Alexandru Mareş, “Note despre prezenţa Simbolului atanasian în vechile texte româneşti”, in *In honorem Gheorghe Mihăilă*, ed. Mariana Manguilea, Bucharest, 2010, p. 169-183. **Mareş 2010**
- Dominique Markey, *Le Psautier d'Eadwine. Édition critique de la version 'Iuxta Hebraeos' et de sa traduction interlinéaire anglo-normande : Mss Cambridge, Trinity College, R.17.1 et Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 8846*, 3 vol., PhD thesis of the University of Ghent, 1989. **Markey 1989**
- Dan Horia Mazilu, “Dosofoei versificator ‘more rhetorico’”, *Lucefărul*, 41, 1990, p. 7. **Mazilu 1990**
- Dan Horia Mazilu, “Spre un alt Dosofoei”, *Limbă şi literatură*, 38, 1993, p. 132-137. **Mazilu 1993**
- Eva Mârza, *Din istoria tiparului românesc. Tipografia de la Alba Iulia*, Sibiu, 1998. **Mârza 1998**
- Eva Mârza, Doina Dreghiciu, *Cartea românească veche în judeţul Alba. Secolele XVI-XVII. Catalog*, Alba Iulia, 1989. **Mârza, Dreghiciu 1989**
- Paul Meyer, “Bribes de littérature anglo-normande”, *Jahrbuch für romanischen und englischen Literatur*, 7, 1866, p. 37-57. **Meyer 1866**
- Claudio Mésoniat, “Il problema estetico del conflitto fra Bibbia e poesia”, in *La scrittura infinita. Bibbia e poesia in età medievale e umanistica. Atti convegno di Firenze, 26-28 giugno 1997, promosso dalla Fondazione Carl Marchi, dal Centro Romantico del Gabinetto Vieusseux, dalla SISMELE e da Semicerchio. Rivista di poesia comparata*, ed. Francesco Stella, Florence, 2001, p. 5-14. **Mésoniat 2001**
- Libri psalmodum versio antiqua gallica e codice ms. in bibliotheca Bodleiana asservato una cum versione metrica aliisque monumentis pervetustis*, ed. Francisque Michel, Oxford, 1860. **Michel 1860**
- Le Livre des psaumes : ancienne traduction française publiée pour la première fois d'après les manuscrits de Cambridge et de Paris*, ed. Francisque Michel, Paris, 1876. **Michel 1876**
- Elena Mihiu, “Cartea veche românească în judeţul Mureş provenită din centrele tipografice ale vremii”, *Îndrumător bisericesc, misionar şi patristic*, 11, 1987, p. 82-87. **Mihiu 1987**
- Elena Mihiu, “Documente inedite privind anul revoluţionar 1848-1849 pe valea Mureşului Superior şi a Gurghiului”, *Marisia*, 36, 2000, p. 263-276. **Mihiu 2000**
- Elena Mihiu, Florin Bogdan, *Carte românească veche în judeţul Mureş. Catalog (secolul al XVII-lea)*, Sibiu, 2009. **Mihiu, Bogdan 2009**
- F. Miklošič, *Lexicon Palaeoslovenico-Graeco-Latinum*, Vienna, 1862-1865. **Miklošič 1862-1865**
- Gabriela Mircea, *Tipografia din Blaj în anii 1747-1830*, Alba Iulia, 2008. **Mircea 2008**
- Dragoş Moldovanu, *Dimitrie Cantemir între Orient şi Occident*, Bucharest, 1997. **Moldovanu 1997**

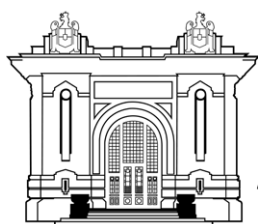
- Moldovan 2017** Dragoş Moldovan, “Influenţa Psaltirii calvine în versuri a lui Ştefan din Făgăraş (Fogarasi) asupra Psaltirii lui Dosoftei”, *Analele ştiinţifice ale Universităţii ‘Al. I. Cuza’ din Iaşi. Lingvistică*, 53, 2017, p. 23-36.
- Monti Sabia 2008** *Elisio Calenzio, La guerra della ranocchie: Croaco*, ed. Liliana Monti Sabia, Naples, 2008.
- Morgan 1988** Nigel Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles*, 2 vols., London, 1982-1988, vol. 2 (1988).
- Mosora, Hanga 1991** *Catalogul cărţii vechi româneşti din colecţiile B.C.U. „Lucian Blaga” Cluj. 1561-1830*, Cluj-Napoca, 1991.
- Muir 1935** Laurence Muir, “The Influence of the Rolle and Wycliffite Psalters upon the Psalter of the Authorized Version”, *Modern Language Review*, 30, 1935, p. 302-310.
- Munteanu 2008** Eugen Munteanu, *Lexicologie biblică românească*, Bucharest, 2008.
- Murdock 1995** Graeme Murdock, “Between Confessional Absolutism and Toleration: the Inter-Denominational Relations of the Hungarian Reformed and Romanian Orthodox Churches in Early Seventeenth Century Transylvania”, in *Europa Balcanica-Danubiana-Carpathica* (= 2A, *Annales Cultura-Historia-Philologia*), 1995, p. 216-223.
- Nazzaro 1983** Antonio V. Nazzaro, “La parafrasi salmica di Paolino di Nola,” in *Atti del convegno xxxi Cinquantenario della morte di S. Paolino di Nola (431-1981), Nola, 20-21 marzo 1982*, Rome, 1983, p. 93-119.
- Nazzaro 2001** Antonio V. Nazzaro, “Poesia biblica come espressione teologica: fra tardoantico e altomedioevo”, in *La scrittura infinita. Bibbia e poesia in età medievale e umanistica. Atti convegno di Firenze, 26-28 giugno 1997, promosso dalla Fondazione Carl Marchi, dal Centro Romantico del Gabinetto Vieusseux, dalla SOSMEL e da Semicerchio. Rivista di poesia comparata*, ed. Francesco Stella, Florence, 2001, p. 119-153.
- Neiswander 1979** Judith A. Neiswander, *The Iconography of the New Testament Cycle of the Oscott Psalter*, PhD thesis of the University of London (Westfield College), 1979.
- Noailly 2006** Jean-Michel Noailly, “Présentation de la Bibliographie des psaumes imprimés en vers français”, in *Les Paraphrases bibliques aux xvi^e et xvii^e siècles. Actes du Colloque de Bordeaux des 22, 23 et 24 septembre 2004*, eds. Véronique Ferrer, Anne Mantero, Geneva, 2006, p. 225-240.
- Núñez Rivera 1993** José Valentín Núñez Rivera, “La versión poética de los Salmos en el Siglo de Oro: vinculaciones con la oda”, in *La oda*, ed. Begoña López Bueno, Seville, 1993, p. 335-383.
- Núñez Rivera 2000** José Valentín Núñez Rivera, *Poesía y Biblia en el Siglo de Oro: estudios sobre los Salmos y el Cantar de los Cantares*, Madrid, 2010.
- Nyíri 1971** *A Müncheneri Kódex 1466-ból. Kritikai szövegkiadás a latin megfelelővel együtt*, ed. Nyíri Antal, Budapest, 1971.
- Ó Néill 1992** Patrick P. Ó Néill, “The English Version”, in *The Eadwine Psalter. Text, image, and monastic culture in twelfth-century Canterbury*, eds. Margaret Gibson, T. A. Heslop, Richard W. Pfaff, London / University Park PA, 1992, p. 123-138.
- Orth 2007** Peter Orth, “Metrische Paraphrase als Kommentar: Zwei unedierte mittelalterliche Versifikationen der Psalmen im Vergleich”, *The Journal of Medieval Latin*, 17, 2007, p. 189-209.
- Pantaleoni 2008** Daniele Pantaleoni, *Texte româneşti vechi cu alfabet latin: Psalterum Hungaricum în traducerea anonimă din secolul al xvii-lea*, Timişoara, 2008.
- Patraş 2003** Antonio Patraş, “Dosoftei – descoperirea poeziei”, *Convorbiri literare*, 5 (137), 5, 2003, p. 69-70.

- Eugen Pavel, *Carte și tipar la Bălgrad (1567-1702)*, Cluj-Napoca, 2001. **Pavel 2001**
- Eugen Pavel, "Modelul slavon versus modelul latin în textele biblice românești", *Revista de istorie și teorie literară*, 7, 1-4, 2013, p. 23-36. **Pavel 2013**
- Jaroslava Pečirková, "Czech Translations of the Bible", in *Interpretacija Svetega pisma / Interpretation of the Bible. The International Symposium in Slovenia*, ed. Jose Krasovec, Sheffield, 1998, p. 1167-1200. **Pečirková 1998**
- Gheorghe Perian, "Dosofoei și începuturile tradiției culte în poezia românească", *Tribuna*, 4, 1994, p. 2. **Perian 1994**
- Bruno Petey-Girard, "Le poète érudit : Desportes traducteur des psaumes", *Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France*, January-March 2005, p. 37-53. **Petey-Girard 2005**
- Philippe Desportes: *CL Psaumes de David - Prières et méditations chrétiennes - Poésies chrestiennes*, ed. Bruno Petey-Girard, Paris, 2006. **Petey-Girard 2006a**
- Bruno Petey-Girard, "Les oraisons méditatives catholiques sur les pénitentiels : la paraphrase au service de la vie spirituelle", in *Les Paraphrases bibliques aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles. Actes du Colloque de Bordeaux des 22, 23 et 24 septembre 2004*, eds. Véronique Ferrer, Anne Mantero, Geneva, 2006, p. 289-300. **Petey-Girard 2006b**
- Bruno Petey-Girard, "Malherbe et la paraphrase des psaumes", in *Pour des Malherbe*, eds. Laure Himy-Piéri, Chantal Liaroutzos, Caen, 2008, p. 193-208. **Petey-Girard 2008**
- Bruno Petey-Girard, "Les rois, les poètes et les psaumes. Sur quelques contextes des premières mises en vers français du Psautier (c. 1540-c. 1550)", *Viator. Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 43, 2012, p. 271-298. **Petey-Girard 2012**
- Petrik Géza, *Magyarország bibliográfiája*, Budapest, 1971. **Petrik 1971**
- Ester Pietrobon, *La penna interprete della cetra: I Salmi in volgare e la tradizione della poesia spirituale italiana nel Cinquecento*, PhD thesis at the University of Padua, 2015 (available online at <http://paduaresearch.cab.unipd.it/8028/>). **Pietrobon 2015**
- Cinzia Pignatelli, "Le traitement des possessifs dans deux Psautiers anglo-normands du 12^e siècle : des indices pour l'émergence d'une syntaxe française", in *Le Français en diachronie. Nouveaux objets et méthodes*, eds. Anne Carlier, Michèle Goyens, Béatrice Lamiroy, Bern, 2015, p. 35-58. **Pignatelli 2015**
- Jacques Pineaux, *La poésie des protestants de langue française, du premier synode national jusqu'à la proclamation de l'Edit de Nantes: 1559-1598*, Paris, 1971. **Pineaux 1971**
- Eyal Poleg, *Approaching the Bible in Medieval England*, Manchester, 2012. **Poleg 2012**
- Augustin Z. N. Pop, *Glosări la opera mitropolitului Dosoftei*, Chernivtsi, 1944. **Pop 1944**
- Dosofoei: Psaltirea în versuri, 1673*, ed. Nicolae A. Ursu, Iassy, 1974. **Psaltirea 1974**
- Psaltirea de la Alba Iulia, 1651, tipărită acum 350 de ani sub păstoria lui Simion Ștefan, Mitropolitul Ardealului*, reprinted under the patronage of Archbishop Andrei of Alba Iulia, unspecified editor, Alba Iulia, 2001. **Psaltirea 2001**
- Sextil Pușcariu, *Istoria literaturii române. Epoca veche*, Sibiu, 1930. **Pușcariu 1930**
- Beth Quitslund, *The Reformation in Rhyme: Sternhold, Hopkins and the English Metrical Psalter, 1547-1603*, Aldershot, 2008. **Quitslund 2008**
- Geoff Rector, "An Illustrious Vernacular: The Psalter en romanz in Twelfth-Century England", in *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain. The French of England*, ed. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, Woodbridge, 2009, p. 198-206. **Rector 2009**
- Lobkowitz-kódex: 1514*, ed. Andrea Reményi, Budapest, 1999. **Reményi 1999**
- Catherine Reuben, *La traduction des Psaumes de David par Clément Marot. Aspects poétiques et théologiques*, Paris, 2000. **Reuben 2000**

- RMK I-II** Szabó Károly, Hellebrant Árpád, *Régi magyar könyvtár*, 2 vols., Budapest, 1879.
- RMNY I-II** *Régi magyarországi nyomtatványok*, 2 vols., Budapest, 1971-1983.
- Ruby 2010** Christine Ruby, “Les psautiers bilingues latin/français dans l’Angleterre du XII^e siècle. Affirmation d’une langue et d’une écriture”, in *Approches du bilinguisme latin-français au Moyen Âge : linguistique, codicologie, esthétique*, eds. Stéphanie Le Briz, Géraldine Veysseyre, Turnhout, 2010, p. 167-190.
- Sajó, Soltész 1970** Sajó Géza, Soltész Erszébet, *Catalogus incunabulorum quae in bibliothecis publicis Hungariae asservantur*, 2 vols., Budapest, 1970.
- Samaran 1929** Charles Samaran, “Fragment d’une traduction en prose française du Psautier, composée en Angleterre au XII^e siècle”, *Romania*, 55, 1929, p. 161-173.
- Sanders 2001** Ben Sanders, *Jan Kochanowski’s Psalterz Dawidów in the context of the European tradition*, PhD at the University of St Andrews, 2001 (available online at: <https://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/handle/10023/13326>).
- Schatz, Stoica 2007** Elena-Maria Schatz, Robertina Stoica, *Catalogul colectiv al incunabilelor din România*, Bucharest, 2007.
- Short 2015** *The Oxford Psalter (Bodleian MS Douce 320)*, ed. Ian Short, Oxford, 2015.
- Short, Careri, Ruby 2010** Ian Short, Maria Careri, Christine Ruby, “Les Psautiers d’Oxford et de Saint Albans : Liens de parenté”, *Romania*, 128, 1-2, 2010, p. 29-45.
- Sichálek 2016** Jakub Sichálek, “European Background: Czech Translations”, in *The Wycliffite Bible. Origin, History and Interpretation*, ed. Elizabeth Solopova, Leiden, 2016, p. 66-84.
- Silași 1875** Grigore Silași, “Psaltirea calviniano-română versificată”, *Transilvania*, 8, 12 / 15 June 1875, p. 141-145.
- Sipos 1997** Sipos Gábor, “Calvinismul la românii din Țara Hațegului la începutul secolului al XVIII-lea”, in *Nobilimea românească din Transilvania*, ed. Marius Diaconescu, Satu-Mare, 1997.
- Skårup 1977** Povl Skårup, “Les manuscrits français de la collection Ama-Magnéenne”, *Romania*, 98, 1, 1977.
- Sorohan 2003** Elvira Sorohan, “Dosoftei în perspectiva istorică”, *Convorbiri literare*, 5 (137), 5, 2003, p. 65-68.
- Stamatakis 2012** Chris Stamatakis, *Sir Thomas Wyatt and the Rhetoric of Rewriting: ‘Turning the Word’*, Oxford, 2012.
- Stegmann 1978** André Stegmann, “L’apport des traductions des psaumes à l’esthétique du Baroque poétique français (1590-1600)”, in *Szenci Molnár Albert és a magyar késő-renaissance*, Szeged, 1978, p. 155-162.
- Stevenson 1847** *Anglo-Saxon and Early English Psalter: Now First Printed from Manuscripts in the British Museum*, ed. Joseph Stevenson, 2 vols., London, 1843-1847.
- Stirnemann 1992** Patricia Stirnemann, “Paris, BN, MS lat. 8846 and the Eadwine Psalter”, in *The Eadwine Psalter. Text, image, and monastic culture in twelfth-century Canterbury*, eds. Margaret Gibson, T. A. Heslop, Richard W. Pfaff, London / University Park PA, 1992, p. 186-192.
- Stotz 2005** Peter Stotz, “Zwei unbekannte metrische Psalmenparaphrasen wohl aus der Karolingerzeit,” in *Biblical Studies in the Early Middle Ages. Proceedings of the Conference on Biblical Studies in the Early Middle Ages. Università degli Studi di Milano, Società Internazionale per lo Studio del Medioevo Latino, Gargnano on Lake Garda, 24-27 June 2001*, eds. Claudio Leonardi, Giovanni Orlandi, Florence, 2005, p. 239-257.
- Sutherland 2015** Annie Sutherland, *English Psalms in the Middle Ages: 1300-1450*, Oxford, 2015.

- Andrea Svobodová, Klárka Matiasovitsová, “Počešťování názvů vybraných biblických knih v pramenech 14. až 16. Století”, in *Cizí nebo jiný v českém jazyce a literatuře*, ed. Mieczysław Balowski, 2019 (in print). **Svobodová, Matiasovitsová 2019**
- The Lanterne of Light*, edited from ms. Harley 2324, ed. Lilian M. Swinburn, London, 1917. **Swinburn 1917**
- C. H. Talbot, “Cistercian Manuscripts in England”, *Collectanea Ordinis Cisterciensium Reformatorum*, 14, 1952, p. 208-212, 264-277. **Talbot 1952**
- The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 20 vols., Oxford, 1980. **The New Grove 1980**
- Thomas Thompson, “The Latin Psalm Paraphrases of Théodore de Bèze”, in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Guelpherbytani. Proceedings of the 6th International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies, Wolfenbüttel 12 August to 16 August 1985*, eds. S. P. Revard, F. Rädle, M. Di Cesare, Binghamton (NY), 1988, p. 353-363. **Thompson 1988**
- Coresi, Psaltirea slavo-română (1577) în comparație cu Psaltirile coresiene din 1570 și 1589*, ed. Stela Toma, Bucharest, 1976. **Toma 1976**
- M. J. Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, Turnhout, 2014. **Toswell 2014**
- D. H. Turner, “Two Rediscovered Miniatures of the Oscott Psalter”, *The British Museum Quarterly*, 1969, p. 10-19. **Turner 1969**
- Otilia Urs, *Catalogul cărții românești vechi din Biblioteca Academiei Române filiala Cluj-Napoca*, Cluj-Napoca, 2011. **Urs 2011**
- Dumitru Vacariu, “Dosoftei 300”, *Cronica*, 28, 15, 1993, 15, p. 1. **Vacariu 1993**
- Andrei Veress, *Documente privitoare la istoria Ardealului, Moldovei și Țării Românești*, I. *Acte și scrisori (1527-1572)*, Bucharest, 1929. **Veress 1929**
- Andrei Veress, *Bibliografia română-ungară*, vol. 1, Bucharest, 1931. **Veress 1931**
- Josef Vintr, *Die älteste tschechische Psalterübersetzung*, Vienna, 1986. **Vintr 1986**
- Josef Vintr, “Prvotisky staročeského žaltáře”, in *Čeština v pohledu synchronním a diachronním: Stoleté kořeny Ústavu pro jazyk český*, Prague, 2012, p. 179-184. **Vintr 2012a**
- Josef Vintr, “Staročeský žalm – dvousetleté hledání srozumitelnosti a poetičnosti”, *Listy filologické*, 135, 2012, p. 43-62. **Vintr 2012b**
- Jaroslav Vobr, “Kdo byl prvním pražským knihtiskařem v roce 1487?”, *Miscellanea oddělení rukopisů a starých tisků Národní knihovny v Praze*, 13, 1996, p. 24-38. **Vobr 1996**
- Petr Voit, *Katalog prvotisků Strahovské knihovny v Praze*, Prague, 2015. **Voit 2015**
- Petr Voit, *Český knihtisk mezi pozdní gotikou a renesancí II, Tiskaři pro víru i tiskaři pro obrození národa 1498–1547*, Prague, 2017. **Voit 2017**
- Kateřina Voleková, “Mariánské hodinky v kontextu staročeského překladu žaltáře”, in *Karel IV. a Emauzy. Liturgie – text – obraz*, eds. K. Kubínová, K. Benešová, V. Čermák, T. Slavický, D. Soukup, Š. Šimek, Prague, 2017, p. 220-230. **Voleková 2017**
- Staročeské biblické předmluvy*, eds. Kateřina Voleková, Andrea Svobodová, Prague, 2019 (in print). **Voleková, Svobodová 2019**
- Érdy codex*, ed. György Volf, 2 vol., Budapest, 1876. **Volf 1876**
- Mara R. Witzling, “The Winchester Psalter: A Re-Ordering of Its Prefatory Miniatures according to Scriptural Sequence”, *Gesta*, 23, 1, 1984, p. 17-25. **Witzling 1984**
- Bernard Wodecki, “Polish Translations of the Bible”, in *Interpretacija Svetega pisma / Interpretation of the Bible. The International Symposium in Slovenia*, ed. Jose Krasovec, Sheffield, 1998, p. 1201-1234. **Wodecki 1998**
- Thomas Young, *The Metrical Psalms and Paraphrases*, London, 1909. **Young 1909**
- Rivkah Zim, *English Metrical Psalms: Poetry as Praise and Prayer. 1535-1601*, Cambridge, 1987. **Zim 1987**

*Vernacular Psalters and the
Early Rise of Linguistic Identities
The Romanian Case*



**MUZEUL
NATIONAL
AL UNIRII
ALBA IULIA**



Consiliul Județean Alba
Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia
Arhiepiscopia Ortodoxă a Alba Iuliei

WITH THE HELP OF:

Centre national de la recherche scientifique (CNRS)

Centre d'Études Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale, Poitiers (UMR 7302)

Biblioteca Academiei Române, Filiala Cluj-Napoca

Patriarhia Română - Biblioteca Sfântului Sinod, București

Biblioteca Centrală Universitară "Lucian Blaga", Cluj-Napoca

Eparhia Reformată din Ardeal – Biblioteca Documentară "Bethlen Gábor", Aiud

Biblioteca Județeană Mureș – Biroul Colecții Speciale / Biblioteca Teleki, Târgu-Mureș



*Vernacular Psalters and the
Early Rise of Linguistic Identities
The Romanian Case*

Proceedings of the conference edited by
Vladimir Agrigoroaei and Ileana Sasu

Exhibition and presentation texts by
Ana Dumitran and Vladimir Agrigoroaei

Exhibition catalogue by Florin Bogdan



București 2019

COVER ART AND PHOTOGRAPH: Vladimir Agrigoroaei – mouse and open book (Psalter?) in a *trompe l'oeil* cupboard painted in a niche of the St Valentine church in Termeno sulla Strada del Vino / Tramin an der Weinstraße (close to Bolzano, Italy), early 15th century (see page 8).

EXHIBITION CATALOGUE: Florin Bogdan, translated by Ileana Sasu.

EXHIBITION TEXTS: Vladimir Agrigoroaei (v.a.) and Ana Dumitran (A.D.) with the help of Iosif Camară (i.c.) and Lidia Coțovanu (L.C.); translated by Vladimir Agrigoroaei and Ileana Sasu.

ARTICLE TRANSLATIONS: Ileana Sasu (articles of Ana Dumitran and Alin-Mihai Gherman).

LINGUISTIC SUPERVISION: Ileana Sasu & Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

DECORATIVE PATTERN: Anca Crișan, from a miniature painted in the Psalter and Book of Hours, ms. Bucharest, Holy Synod Library, II 294.

ALL FACSIMILE MANUSCRIPT / PRINT DRAWINGS: Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

CONCEPT, DESIGN & EDITING: Vladimir Agrigoroaei.

Descrierea CIP a Bibliotecii Naționale a României

VERNACULAR PSALTERS AND THE EARLY RISE OF LINGUISTIC IDENTITIES THE ROMANIAN CASE. Conference (2018 ; Alba Iulia)

Vernacular psalters and the early rise of linguistic identities the Romanian case : proceedings of the conference, 2018, Museikon - Alba Iulia / ed. by Vladimir Agrigoroaei and Ileana Sasu ; exhibition and presentation texts by Ana Dumitran and Vladimir Agrigoroaei ; exhibition catalogue by Florin Bogdan. - București: Dark Publishing, 2019

Conține bibliografie

ISBN 978-606-94751-5-7

I. Agrigoroaei, Vladimir (ed.)

II. Sasu, Ileana (ed.)

III. Dumitran, Ana (ed.)

IV. Bogdan, Florin (ed.)

811.135.1

Table of Contents

VLADIMIR AGRIGOROAEI: <i>'Captatio benevolentiae'. A Different History of the Early Romanian Psalters</i> (p. 7)	CATALOGUE <i>Psalter with commentaries</i> (manuscript, 17 th -18 th c.) / <i>Psalter</i> (Blaj, 1764) / <i>Psalter and Book of Hours</i> (manuscript, 18 th -19 th c.) / <i>David's Psalms in Hebrew</i> (Leida, 1615) / <i>Greek Psalter</i> (Snagov, 1700) / <i>Slavonic Psalter</i> (Venice, 1546) / St Joseph Mary Tomasi CR, <i>Psalter with canticles</i> (Vienna, 1735) / St Augustine, <i>Commentary on the Psalms</i> (Basel, 1489) (p. 10) Károlyi Gáspár, <i>Holy Bible</i> (Vizsoly, 1590) (p. 62) Coresi, <i>The Romanian Psalter</i> (Braşov, 1570) / <i>Psalter</i> (Alba Iulia, 1651) x 2 (p. 88) Louis Gauvain, <i>A New Version of the Psalms in French Verse</i> (Jena, 1677) / Jean Le Preux, Theodore Beza, George Buchanan, <i>The Holy Psalms</i> (Morgiis, 1581) / <i>David's Psalms in German</i> (Hanau, 1612) / John Viski, <i>Psalter</i> (manuscript, Sântămărie Orlea, 1697) (p. 108) Stephen Istvánházi, <i>Psalter</i> (manuscript, Râu de Mori, 1703) / Szenci Molnár Albert, <i>Psalter of David the Prophet</i> (Hannoviae, 1608) / Szenci Molnár Albert, <i>The 150 Psalms of David the King and Prophet</i> (Cluj, 1681) / Tofeus Mihály, <i>Interpretation of the Holy Psalms</i> (Cluj, 1683) / Enyedi György, <i>The Old and the New Testament</i> (Cluj, 1619) / Szatmár-Némethi Mihály, <i>St David's Psalter</i> (Cluj, 1679) / Dosoftei, <i>The Metrical Psalter</i> (Uniev Monastery, 1673) (p. 126) Dosoftei, <i>Slavonic-Romanian Psalter</i> (Iassy, 1680) / <i>Psalter</i> (Iassy, 1743) / <i>The Psalter of David the Prophet and Emperor</i> (Bucharest, 1694) (p. 156) Bibliographical Abbreviations (p. 162)
STUDIES	
VLADIMIR AGRIGOROAEI: <i>The First Psalters in Old French and Their 12th Century Context</i> (p. 29)	
ILEANA SASU: <i>Perfect Psalms for Perfect Men: The Use of Lollard Biblical Translations in Middle English Vernacular Preaching</i> (p. 39)	
KATEŘINA VOLEKOVÁ: <i>The Old Czech Psalter and its Manuscript Tradition in Late Medieval Bohemia</i> (p. 47)	
ANDREA SVOBODOVÁ: <i>The New Old Czech Translation of the Psalter in the First Printed Bibles</i> (p. 55)	
ÁGNES KORONDI: <i>Hungarian Psalm Translations and Their Uses in Late Medieval Hungary</i> (p. 64)	
IOSIF CAMARĂ, MĂDĂLINA UNGUREANU: <i>The Sources of the Oldest Romanian Versions of the Psalter</i> (p. 79)	
EMANUEL CONȚAC: <i>The Influence of Johannes Piscator's Scholarship on the 'Preface to the Reader' Published in the 'Alba Iulia Psalter' of 1651</i> (p. 99)	
ANA DUMITRAN: <i>Making the Best of Both Worlds. The Historical Background of the Protestant and Orthodox Romanian Early Modern Psalters</i> (p. 119)	
ALIN-MIHAI GHERMAN: <i>The Literary Status of the Metrical Psalters</i> (p. 145)	