The Middle English Prose Psalter of Richard Rolle of Hampole. II. The Connexion between Rolle's Version of the Psalter and Earlier English Versions

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THE MIDDLE ENGLISH PROSE PSALTER OF RICHARD ROLLE OF HAMPOLE.

II.

THE CONNEXION BETWEEN ROLLE'S VERSION OF THE PSALTER AND EARLIER ENGLISH VERSIONS.

IN addition to the prose Psalter, the manuscripts of which were discussed in an earlier article, a Middle English metrical version of the Psalter, often called the *Surtees' Psalter*¹, was at one time attributed to Rolle. It was included by C. Horstman in the second volume of his edition of the works of Richard Rolle², with the remark that 'a tradition ascribes this Psalter to R. Rolle.'

The origin of this remark is a note, written in what Horstman admits to be a modern hand, in the Egerton MS. of the Metrical Psalter³. The book to which the writer of the note refers is Wharton's *Appendix* to the first volume of W. Cave's *Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Historia Literaria* (London, 1688-98), but neither Wharton nor Usher, to whom he in turn refers, appears to mention the Metrical Psalter⁴. The Psalter to which they refer can be no other than Rolle's Prose Psalter⁵.

Besides the testimony of this note, now shown to be valueless, the only reason for attributing the *Metrical Psalter* to Rolle is the similarity of phrase and vocabulary between it and his prose Psalter. Since, however, the language of the *Metrical Psalter* points to its having been

¹ It was edited by J. Stevenson for the Surtees Society (1843-1847).

² Horstman, C., *Richard Rolle of Hampole*, London, 1896.

³ The note runs: 'Videtur hoc Psalterium in linguam anglicanam transtulisse et versibus haud elegantibus concinasse Richardus de Hampole, vero nomine Rollus, gente Anglus, Ebor. comit., ord. August. eremita; in coenobio Hampoliense prope Doncastrum vixit; obiit anno 1349. Praeter hoc varia scripsit. Vide Cave hist. lit. vol. i, p. 35 Append.'

⁴ Wharton, H., *Appendix to Script. Eccles. Hist. Lit.*, i, p. 35: 'Psalterium illum in linguam Anglicanam transtulisse, et in versum illum Davidis (ne auferas de ore meo verbum veritatis usquequaq; judicium suum de necessitate Scripturarum vernacularum proposuisse ex MS. quodam Codice testatur R. R. Usserius in Historiae Dogmaticae Controversiarum Specimine MS.' The reference is to Psalm cxviii, 43. See Usher, J., *Hist. Dogm. Controversiae de Scripturis et Sacris Vernaculis* (London, 1690), pp. 162, 163. Speaking of Rolle, he says: 'Psalterium in linguam Anglicanam transtulit, et in versum illum Davidis (ne auferas de ore meo verbum veritatis usquequaque) judicium suum de necessitate Scripturarum Vernacularum proposuit.'

⁵ In the comment on Psalm cxviii, 43, as printed by Bramley, Rolle does not mention the need for translations of the Bible, however. Wharton in his book *Auctarium Historiae Dogmaticae J. Usserii* (London 1689), pp. 427, 428 adds the remark that no such comment is to be found, after again quoting Usher's remarks. Possibly Usher had seen some interpolated copy of Rolle's *Psalter*, which contained this comment, though none of the interpolated copies I have examined contain it.

338 *The Middle English Prose Psalter of Richard Rolle*

written before Rolle's birth, or when he was very young, and it is not proveable that it was originally written in the Northern dialect¹, this similarity must be explained in some other way than by attributing both Psalters to the same writer. An alternative suggestion made by Horstman is that 'the prose translator (Rolle) is largely indebted to the older (Metrical) Psalter²,' and investigation has shown that, though the connexion between the two Psalters is not as simple as this, there can be no doubt that some relationship exists between them. The facts seem to indicate that the same source was used in both.

This statement can only be substantiated, and the nature of the source revealed, by means of a detailed comparison of the Psalters³.

The following passages show how constant and close the similarity between the two Psalters is. Allowance must, of course, be made for the fact that one version is in prose and the other in verse. In order to make the similarity of the two translations as clear as possible, those words in the Metrical Psalter which do not translate any word in the Vulgate, and which serve no other purpose than to fill out the verse, are in italics.

Rolle's Version.	Metrical Version.
<i>Psalm iv.</i>	<i>Psalm iv.</i>
44. And wites for lord selkouthid has his haligh; lord sall here me when i haf cried til him.	4. And wites þat lauerd his haligh sel- koupede <i>he</i> ; When i to him crie, lauerd sal here me.
5. Wrethis and will noght synne that 3e say in 3oure hertes, and in 3oure dennes ere stongen.	5. Wrethes, and ne wiles sinne; þat your hertes sayne withinne, And in your kleues <i>you betwene</i> <i>Sar þat ye stangen</i> ⁵ bene.
6. Offres the offrand of rightwisnes; and hopes in lord; many sais wha shewis us goods.	6. Offres offrand ofe rightwisnesse, And hopes in lauerd <i>mare and lesse</i> , Many <i>with þar mouth</i> sais <i>þus</i> : 'Wha sal goddes schewe til us?'
7. Takynd is on us the lyght of thi face, lord; Thou has gifen faynes in my herte.	7. Takened light ofe þi face, lauerd, ouer us es, þou gafe in to my herte faynes.

¹ See E. Wende's dissertation on the *Metrical Psalter*, entitled *Überlieferung und Sprache der mittenglischen Version des Psalters* (Breslau Diss., 1884). He accepts the date usually given for the Psalter—namely, the second half of the thirteenth century (p. 1). He will not state definitely that the original Psalter was written in the Northern dialect, though he thinks it not improbable (p. 26).

² *Richard Rolle of Hampole*, II, Introduction, p. v.

³ For comparison, Bramley's edition of Rolle's *Psalter*, and Horstman's edition of the *Metrical Psalter* (*Richard Rolle of Hampole*, II, pp. 180 ff.) have been used, all the three MSS. given by Horstman having received attention. Quotations are mainly from MS. Vespas. D. vii, but readings from the Egerton and Harleian MSS. are given when they agree with Rolle's *Psalter* and Vespas. D. vii does not.

⁴ The numbering of Psalms and verses is that of Bramley's edition of the Prose Psalter.

⁵ 'Stungen' is the reading in Egert. 614 and Harl. 1770.

Rolle's Version.

Psalm iv (contd.).

8. Of the froit of whet of wyne and of
thaire oile: thai ere multiplide.
9. In pees in it self: i sall slepe and i
sall rest.
10. For thou lord: syngulerly in hope
has sett me.

Psalm xvii.

8. And he herd of his holy tempile my
voice: and my cry in his sight injede
in the eris of him.
9. The erthe is stirid and it quoke:
the grundis of hilles ere drouyd,
stirid thai ere for he is wrethid til
thaim.
10. Reke steghe in the ire of him, and
ire brent of his face: coles ere
kyndild of him.
11. He heldid heuens and he lightid
down: and myrknes undire his fete.
12. And he steghe abouen cherubyn and
he flow: he flow abouen the fethirs
of wyndes.
22. And he out led me in breed: he
made saf me, for he wild me.
23. And lord sall zeld til me eftere my
rightwisnes: and eftere the purte of
my hend he sall zeld til me.
24. For i kepide the wayes of lord: i
bare me noght wickidly fra my god.
25. For whi all the domes of him ere ay
in my sight: and his rightwisnesis
i put noght fra me.
47. Thou sall out take me fra the gayn-
saiynges of folke: thou sall sett me
in heued of genge.
48. Folke that i knew noght serued til
me: in herynge of ere he boghed
til me.
49. Othere sonnes leghid til me: other
sonnes eldid ere, and thai haltid fra
thaire stretis (MS. Sid. Suss. stighes).
50. Lord lifes and blissid my god: and
heghed be god of my hele.

Metrical Version.

Psalm iv (contd.).

8. Ofe fruit of whete, of his oli and
wyne
Are þai manifolded *ine*;
9. In pees in himselfe *is beste*,
Sal i slepe and sal i reste;
10. For þou, lauerd, sengely
In hope set me *witerly*.

Psalm xvii.

8. And he herd fra his hali kirke mi
steuen,
And mi crie in his sighte in eres
yhode euen.
9. Stired and quoke þe erthe *þare*,
Groundes of hilles todreued are,
And þai ere stired, *ofe þaim be lath*,
For þat he es with þaim wrath.
10. Upstegh reke in his ire,
And ofe face ofe him brent þe fire;
Koles *þat ware dounfalland*
Kindled ere ofe him *glouand*.
11. He helded heuens, and doune come
he;
And dimnes under his fete *to be*.
12. And he stegh ouer cherubin, and
fleg *þare*;
He fleg ouer fetheres ofe windes
ware.
22. And he led me in brede *to be*:
Saufe made he me, for he wald me.
23. And foryhelde to me lauerd sal
After mi rightwisenes *al*,
And after clensing ofe mi hende
Sal he yhelde to me *at ende*.
24. For waies of lauerd ymed I,
Ne fra mi god did I wickedly.
25. For al his domes in mi sighte ere *þa*,
And his rightwisenes noght put I
me fra.
47. Outtake fra ogainsaghes (E. again-
sainges) of folk þou sal,
In heued of genge me set *with-al*.
48. Folke, wilke I ne knewe, serued
to me;
In heringe of ere me boghed he.
49. Outen sones to me lighed þai.
Outen sones elded er þai;
And þai halted *þare þai yhode*,
Fra þine sties *þat ere gode*.
50. Lauerd liues! and mi god blissed be!
And god ofe mi hele uphouen be he!

340 *The Middle English Prose Psalter of Richard Rolle*

Rolle's Version.

Psaln xxxvii.

4. For my wickidnessis ouergane ere
my heued : as heuy birthyn heuyd
thai ere on me.
5. Thai rotid and thai ere brokyn, myn
erres¹: fra the face of myn unwit.
6. Wrechid i am made and krokid i am
in til the end : all the day sary i jede.
7. For my lendis ful ere fild of hethyn-
gis : and hele is not in my fleysse.
8. I am tourmentid and i am mekid
ful mykill : i romyd² fra the sorow
of my hert.
9. Lord bifor the all my desire : and
my sorowyngne fra the is not hid.
10. My hert is druuyd, my vertu has
forsaken me : and light of myn
eghen, and it is not with me.
11. My frendis and my neghburs : agayns
me neghid and stode.
12. And thai that ware beside me stode
olenght : and fors thai made that
soght my saule.

Psaln lxxxvii.

1. Lorde god of my hele : in daye I
cryid and in night before the.
2. In ga in thy sight my prayer : heilde
thin ere till my bede.
3. For fulfilled is of illes my sawle :
and my life neghid till hell.
4. I am wenyd with lightand in the.
lake : maide I am as man withouten
helpe I mange dede free.
10. I till the lorde cryid : all day i sprad
my hands till the.
11. Whether to deade thou sall doe
wounders : or leches sall raise and
thai sall shrive till the.
12. Whether any in grave sall tell thy
mercy : and thi softfastnes in tin-
sill³.

Metrical Version.

Psaln xxxvii.

4. For mi wicnesses mi heued ere
ouergon,
Als heui birpin heuied me on.
5. Stanke and roten mine erres¹ ere ma,
Fra face of mine unwise dome *swa*.
6. Wrecched and croked til ende am I ;
Alle dai dreried I inwent *for-þi*.
7. For mi lendes filled with bismers
(E. H. hepinges) are,
And hele in mi flesche es na mare.
8. I am twinged and meked *for un-
querte*,
I romied² fra sighinge (E. sorgh) of
mi herte.
9. Lauerd, bifor þe alle mi yorninge,
And fra þe noght hid es mi sighinge.
10. Mi hert is droued *withinne me*,
And forsoke mi might *with me to be* ;
And light of mine eghen *twa*,
And it es noght with me *swa*.
11. Mine frendes and mine neghburs
gode
Ogaines me neghed and stode ;
12. And þat bi me ware, þai stode o-
lenght,
And [þat] soght mi saule, þai maked
strenght.

Psaln lxxxvii.

1. Lauerd, god of mi hele, in dai cried i
And bi nighte bifore þe, *sothli*.
2. Inga in þi sight bede mine,
Unto mi praier helde ere þine.
3. For fulfilled es mi saule of wa,
Mi life neghed to belle *als-swa*.
4. I am wened *in ilka land*
To þas þat ere in flosche falland,
Made ain i als man *to se*
Withouten help, bitwix dede fre ;
10. Lauerd, to þe al dai i cried,
Mine hend to þe i outspred.
11. Wher wondres to dede saltou do ?
Ore leches sal rere (E. H. rise) and
schriuie þe to ?
12. Wher ani in thrughes sal telle þi
miltnes,
Ore in tinsel³ þi sothnes ?

¹ Vulgate 'cicatrices.'

² V. 'rugiebam.'

³ V. 'perdicione.'

Rolle's Version.

Psalms lxxxvii (contd.).

13. Whether sal be knawen in mirkenes
thi woundirs : and thi rightwisnes
in land of forgettyng.

Psalms ci.

3. In what day that i hafe inkald the :
swiftly thou here me.
4. For my dayes failyd as reke : and
my banys as kraghan¹ dryid.
5. Smytyn i am as hay and my hert
dried : for i forgat to ete my brede.
9. All day upbraydid til me my fas :
and tha that louyd me agayns me
thai sware.
10. For aske i ete as brede : and my
drynke i mengid with gretynge.
11. Fra the face of the wreth of thi
dedeyn : for upliftand thou down-
smate me.
12. Mine dayes as shadow heldid : and
i dried as hay.

Metrical Version.

Psalms lxxxvii (contd.).

13. Wher knawen sal be þi wondres in
mirkenes,
Or þi rightwisenes in land ofe for-
getelnes ?
(E. Or in land ofe forgetting þi right-
wisnes.)

Psalms ci.

3. In whatkin dai i kalle þe,
(E. In what dai kald haue I þe)
Swithlike (E. H. Swiftli) þan here
þou me.
4. For waned als reke mi daies *swa*,
And mi banes als krawkan¹ dried þa.
5. I am smiten als hai, dried mi herte,
For i forgate to ete mi brede *in*
querte.
9. Alle dai upbraided me mi faa,
And þate me looued ogain me swore
þa :
10. For askes (E. H. aske) als ite ware
brede i ete,
And i mengid mi drinke with grete :
11. Fra face ofe wreth, ofe dedeinyhe
of þe ;
For upheueand tognodded þou me.
12. Mine daies als schadwe helded þai,
And i dried als it ware hai.

In these and many other passages, verse after verse corresponds in the two versions in vocabulary and sentence structure. It must be admitted, however, that in many passages which show similarities, no unusual words occur, and the constructions merely follow those of the Vulgate. In ii, 13, for instance, Rolle's *Psalter* has 'When his ire has brent in short,' and the *Metrical Psalter* has a similar phrase, 'When in schorte his wreth tobrent has he,' but both are clearly only literal translations of the Vulgate words, 'Cum exarsit in brevi ira eius.'

It may be contended, therefore, that many of the passages showing resemblances furnish little evidence that the two versions were connected, since both are translations from the Vulgate, and they were written within a century of one another.

While acknowledging the force of this contention, it is still possible to show that the facts point unmistakably to the existence of some connexion. In addition to the many continuous passages which correspond in the two *Psalters*, but which are simple in construction and

¹ V. 'cremium.'

342 *The Middle English Prose Psalter of Richard Rolle*

vocabulary, there are numbers of more or less isolated verses which show striking and significant similarities. In some, the Vulgate is translated so curiously that it is hardly credible that two writers could have chosen the same words and phrases independently of one another. A verse in which both show the same unusual translation is xxvii, 3. The Vulgate is 'Ne simul tradas me cum peccatoribus.' Rolle's version is 'Gif me noght samen with synful,'—the Metrical version 'Ne samen gif me with sinnand.' The expression 'gif...samen' is unusual. The Wycliffite versions have 'Ne take thou me togidere with synneres,' or 'Bitake thou not me togidere with synneris.' Unusual words occur in both Psalters in Psalm ii, 1 (V. 'Quare fremuerunt gentes: et populi meditati sunt inania'). The *Metrical Psalter* has,

Wharefore gnaisted gomes (H. genge) swo,
And folke unnait thoght þai þo?

Rolle translates, 'Whi gnaistid the genge: and the folke thoght unnayte thyngs.' In cxxviii, 3, the Vulgate words 'Supra dorsum meum fabricauerunt peccatores: prolongauerunt iniquitatem suam,' are translated in the *Metrical Psalter*,

Ouer mi bake smithed sinful ai;
Pair wickednesse forlengped pai.

Rolle has both the verbs used in the *Metrical Psalter*. 'Abouen my bak synful smythed: thei lengthid thair wickidnes.' The verb 'to smith' does not occur elsewhere in his *Psalter*. In vii, 2 (V. 'Ne quando rapiat ut leo animam meam: dum non est qui redimat neque qui saluum faciat'), both English versions translate 'rapiat' by the word 'reue' and 'redimat' by 'byes.' The word mostly used in Middle English to mean 'redeem' is 'aʒenbie,' which is found in both the Wycliffite versions. Instead of the more common words 'searching' or 'seeking,' 'ransa-kand' is used in the *Metrical Psalter* and by Rolle to translate the Latin 'scrutans' in vii, 10. In xlv, 1 the rare word 'riftid'² occurs in both to translate 'eructauit.' Other rare words and phrases that are common to both versions are 'umgifen with sernes' (=circumdata varietate)³, 'lopird' (=coagulatus)⁴, 'shamel' (=scabellum)⁵, 'be littid' (=intinguatur)⁶, and 'offrandis merghid' (=holocausta medullata)⁷.

The closeness of the two versions compared with any other English

¹ Rolle might have translated 'rapiat' by 'rauysche' as the Wycliffite versions do. The word was known to him, for he uses it in the comment on Psalm cvi, 5.

² The *N.E.D.* only records its use once (in a passage from the *Cursor Mundi*) before the sixteenth century.

³ See xlv, 11.

⁴ lxvii, 16.

⁵ cix, 2.

⁶ lxvii, 25.

⁷ lxx, 14. The word *merȝ* (=marrow) is common enough, but the verb 'to be full of marrow' only seems to occur in these two Psalters.

version of the Psalter again points to some connexion between them. When the most simple passages in Rolle's *Psalter*—passages containing nothing remarkable in vocabulary or syntax—are compared with the Wycliffite versions, the differences between them will be found far greater than those between Rolle's *Psalter* and the *Metrical Psalter*. Yet little more than fifty years separates the two later versions, and both are in prose.

The chief fact, however, which points to a connexion between Rolle's *Psalter* and the *Metrical Psalter* is one that has already been mentioned, but which needs emphasizing, since it is probably the most significant of all. It is the continuous appearance of similarities throughout the whole Psalter. There seems to be no Psalm in which there are not many verses similar in vocabulary and syntax in the two versions, and in the large majority of Psalms there are verses that are identical. Unimportant as many of the similarities undoubtedly are in themselves, their cumulative significance must be admitted. It can hardly be mere coincidence that in one Psalm after another the same words and turns of phrase have been chosen in both versions to translate the Vulgate. This fact, together with the other evidence, may be taken to prove some connexion between the two. The nature of the connexion has yet to be decided. An examination of the ways in which the two versions differ is likely to throw some light on the problem.

Differences in vocabulary occur most frequently. Often neither version uses an uncommon word, and, consequently, there is nothing significant in the differences between them. Different words of native origin, all in common use, are found in the following verses:

Rolle's Version, Psalm cxii, 1: Barnys louys oure lord louys the name of lord.

Metrical Version: Herihes lauerd, þat childer be;
Name ofe lauerd herihe ye.

Rolle's Version, Psalm xxi, 1: God my god loke in me whi has thou me forsakyn: fere fra my hele the wordis of my synnys.

Metrical Version: God, mi god, in me bise,
Wharfor forletedest þou me?
Ful fer fra mi hele ere þa
Wordes of mi giltyes *ma*.

More often Rolle uses a word of French origin, where the older *Metrical Psalter* has a native word. The Latin word 'virtue' is always translated 'vertu' by Rolle, but 'might' by the author of the *Metrical Psalter*¹; the

¹ See Psalms xvii, 43; xx, 1; xxi, 15; xxviii, 10; xxxvii, 10; etc.

word 'vox' is always 'voice' in the former, and 'steuen' in the latter¹. Rolle uses 'ioy'², 'enmy'³, 'bataile'⁴ regularly where the Metrical version has 'blisse,' 'fa,' 'fight.' There are many verses in which all the differences are of this kind⁵.

Occasionally the differences in vocabulary are more striking. The *Metrical Psalter* sometimes has an unusual word which is not found in Rolle's translation. The former sometimes translates 'malediccio' by 'mallok,' whereas Rolle has the more usual 'weriyng'⁶; the former has 'yhoten'⁷, 'pild'⁸, 'ferinkli'⁹, where Rolle has 'geaunt,' 'paciens,' 'sodanly.' Some of these words must have been archaic in Rolle's time, and unintelligible to him. Some of them may even have been archaic at the time when the *Metrical Psalter* itself was written¹⁰.

Different interpretations of the Vulgate are sometimes found in the two versions. Rolle translates 'pestilencie' by 'pestilens' (Psalm i, 1), but the Metrical version has 'storme.' In xli, 9 'catharactum' is translated 'gutters' by Rolle, 'takenes' in the *Metrical Psalter*. These readings from the *Metrical Psalter* perhaps hardly deserve the name of different interpretations. They are better classed with the many instances of faulty translation. Some of the mistakes in translation occur frequently, and are easily explained. The writer of the *Metrical Psalter* often chooses the wrong meaning for a Latin word which is capable of being translated in more than one way. In Psalm cxxxi, 5 the word 'temporibus' occurs in the Vulgate¹¹, meaning 'temples.' Rolle so translates it, but the earlier Psalter uses the meaning 'time,' and translates 'And rest to mine times.' The Latin word 'os' is wrongly rendered 'mouth' in the *Metrical Psalter* more than once¹², while Rolle has the correct translation 'bane.' A similar mistake is the apparent confusion between 'insipiente' which appears in the Vulgate, Ps. lxxiii, 23 (V. 'eorum que ab insipiente sunt,' Rolle, 'of tha that ere of the unwise'), and 'incipiente' (the *Metrical Psalter* translates: 'of þa whilke ai Are fra þe beginnand'). In Psalm lvii, 5 'venefici' is translated 'venym makere' by Rolle, and 'hunter' in two MSS. (E.H.) of the *Metrical Psalter*, evidently because it has been confused with the verb 'venari' (to hunt). The writer of the *Metrical Psalter* frequently mistakes the

¹ See Psalms v, 2; vi, 8; xvii, 8; xxvii, 2, 8; xxviii, 7; etc.

² Psalm vii, 5; viii, 6; xvi, 17; xxiii, 7, 8; xxv, 8; xxviii, 8; xxix, 14; etc.

³ Psalm v, 9; vi, 7; xii, 3; xvi, 14; xvii, 4, 41, 44; etc.

⁴ Psalm xvii, 37, 43; xxvi, 6; lxxv, 3; lxxxviii, 42.

⁵ See xvi, 17; xvii, 8; xviii, 5; xx, 9; xxix, 11; etc.

⁶ See xviii, 6.

⁷ See lxi, 5.

⁸ See ix, 29; xiii, 6.

⁹ See lxii, 4.

¹⁰ See p. 348 for a possible explanation of the appearance of these archaic words in the *Metrical Psalter*.

¹¹ V. 'et requiem temporibus meis.'

¹² See ci, 6; cxxxviii, 14.

significance of verb forms. He translates a perfect tense as a present when confronted by a verb in which the ending of 3rd person sg. is the same in both and even in some cases where the forms are distinct. For example 'conuertit' (xxii, 2) is translated 'tornes' (contrast Rolle's 'turnyd'), though the other verb in the same verse is in the perfect¹. Less frequently he has the reverse mistake². Sometimes he uses the active present infinitive to translate the Latin passive imperative (2nd person sg.)³. Deponent verbs confuse him too. In Psalm ix, 34 'oblitus est deus' is translated 'god forgeten is' (Rolle, 'god has forgetyn'); in cxliii, 9 'locutum est' is translated 'spekes' (Rolle, 'spak'); 'letatus sum' is translated 'I am faine' (Ps. cxxi, 1, Rolle, 'I was glad'). In lvii, 9 the wrong person is used, 'absorbet' being rendered 'salt þou... Swelyhe' (Rolle, 'it sall...swelugh'). In xxvi, 18 'sibi' is wrongly translated (V. 'mentita est iniquitas sibi'; *Met. Ps.* 'And leghed to þam þair wickenes'; Rolle, 'and wickidnes has leghid til it self'). In xxxiii, 3 'in idipsum' is rendered 'in him-selfe' (Rolle, 'in itselfe')⁴.

All these instances of faulty translation are found in the *Metrical Psalter* only; Rolle steers clear of them. On the other hand there are a certain number of mistakes to be found in Rolle's version and not in the earlier version. Among these are the use of the 2nd person plural of the present indicative passive, 'þe ere heghid' to translate the imperative passive (*Met. Ps.* 'uphouen be yhe'). 'Hec' is wrongly rendered by 'there' in xli, 4 (*Met. Ps.* 'þis'), and 'surde' by 'dounge' (*Met. Ps.* 'def') in lvii, 4. Middendorff in his study of Rolle's *Psalter*⁵ mentions a good many more faulty translations, mostly due to misunderstanding of verb forms.

When these facts are brought to bear upon the problem of the connexion between Rolle's *Psalter* and the *Metrical Psalter*, it is clear merely from the number of differences that exist between them that the connexion cannot have been an extremely close one⁶. There are

¹ See also x, 8; xxi, 25; lxvii, 9; lxviii, 18.

² See xi, 5; lvii, 7; cxii, 5.

³ Psalm cix, 3; V. 'dominare in medio inimicorum tuorum'; Rolle 'be lord in middes of thin enmye'; *Metrical Psalter* 'To be lauerd thugh þe land. In middes of pine illeuilland.'

⁴ A mistake due simply to a misreading of the Latin is to be found in Ps. xxvi, 7 and is pointed out by Horstman, p. 157. The Vulgate has 'Unam pecii a domino,' which Rolle correctly translates 'Ane i askid of lord,' but the author of the *Metrical* version has read 'Vitam' instead of 'Unam,' and translates 'Life ofe lauerd asked i.'

⁵ *Studien über R. Rolle von Hampole*, by H. Middendorff, Magdeburg, 1888.

⁶ The instances of mistranslations of the Vulgate on the part of both versions are too few in number and too unimportant to be of any use in proving a close connexion. They might easily all be due to coincidence. In Psalm ii, 10 'erudimini' is translated in both by the 2nd person plural of the present indicative passive, whereas it is the 2nd pers. pl. of the imperative passive. (See both Wycliffite Versions.) In cxxvi, 4 the Vulgate has

three ways in which the two might have been connected. Rolle might have had a copy of the *Metrical Psalter* beside him as he worked and have constantly referred to it, or he might have read the *Metrical Psalter* (or heard it read or repeated) before he made his own translation. If he had read it or heard it several times, he would perhaps have known parts of it by heart, and the similarities between it and his work would occur when he remembered the words of the *Metrical Psalter*. Either of these suppositions implies a direct connexion between the two. Thirdly, there might have been an indirect connexion through some earlier Psalter version which the authors of both the later versions used. Whether the connexion was a direct one or not cannot be positively decided by considering differences in vocabulary. There was nothing to prevent Rolle from using the French words, which were becoming daily more common, instead of native words, even though he had the *Metrical Psalter* in front of him. Yet the number of these French words would be a little surprising if Rolle were actually referring to the earlier Psalter verse by verse. The fact that Rolle translates correctly where the *Metrical Psalter* has mistakes proves nothing, for we know that Rolle was a fair Latin scholar and he might easily have recognised and avoided the mistakes of the earlier version as he went along. Yet again the number of instances of this kind is surprising, since if Rolle were using as a source a complete Psalter written so near his own time, he would be less on his guard against such mistakes than if he were labouring unaided, or even with some far older or less complete version to help him. That Rolle makes mistakes where the earlier Psalter does not is more significant. This would hardly occur if there were direct connexion. Such mistakes are, however, not very numerous, and it is hardly safe to base any conclusion upon them.

These are indications only that the connexion between the two was not a direct one. There is one consideration that seems to prove this. Supposing that Rolle were reading the *Metrical Psalter* verse by verse, or were repeating what he remembered of it to himself, it would have seemed inevitable that he should introduce some of the tags which that version contains. Yet there is no instance of this in the whole of his

'ecce hereditas domini filii merces fructus ventris.' The later Wycliffite version translates 'lo! the eritage of the lord is sones (filii = nom. pl.), the mede is the fruyt of woombe,' but both Rolle and the earlier writer take 'filii' as gen. sg. (Rolle: 'lo the heritage of lord mede of sun, froyt of wambe'; *Met. Ps.* 'Loke eritage ofe lauerd ofe blisse Sones hires, fruite ofe wambe isse'). Both translate 'gratis' by a similar phrase 'of selfe will' (Rolle), 'selwilli' (*Met. Ps.*), thus differing from Wycliffe's translation 'without cause' (*Ps. cviii, 2*). Rolle's comment, however, runs, 'this thai did of selfe will, that is, withouten rightwis chesun,' showing that he knows the true meaning of the word.

Psalter; he does not even incorporate the little word 'swa,' which occurs so often in the Metrical version for the sake of the rhyme¹.

There remains only the possibility of an indirect connexion. The hypothesis of an early Middle English (Northern²) interlinear gloss on the Vulgate³ would, I think, solve the problem of the connexion between the two versions. Its restraining influence would account for the numerous verses in which the Latin constructions, and sometimes even the Latin order of words are preserved in both⁴, and would explain, to some extent, the pooriness of Rolle's translation of the Vulgate, as compared with his other translations. The constant similarity in unimportant words and phrases between Rolle's *Psalter* and the *Metrical Psalter*, and the more striking similarities that occur less frequently would be accounted for if both used the same earlier Psalter. At the same time, if it were but a gloss, it would not be intended to be intelligible apart from the Latin, and consequently the authors who used it would continually be forced to rely upon their own wits in expanding it if they were making versions which purported to be real translations. Differences in construction between the two Psalters can be explained in this way. The gloss would be used, especially by a writer like Rolle, who had a considerable knowledge of Latin, rather as a dictionary than as a source. He would turn to it for suggestions, not use it as a model to be slavishly copied. Hence he would not scruple to introduce new words in place of those which were becoming archaic, and he would correct mistranslations he might find there. The writer of the *Metrical Psalter*, on the other hand, translating many years earlier, would be able to use many of the words which Rolle found archaic. He even seems to have preserved some which were out of date in his own day, probably because his knowledge of Latin, clearly inferior to Rolle's, was too slight to enable him to substitute others. This slight knowledge of Latin explains his numerous

¹ See *Met. Ps.* vii, 5; ix, 7, 16; xiii, 5, 7; xvi, 14, 15; xvii, 36; etc.

² I suppose it to have been Northern because of the numbers of words of Scandinavian origin that are found in both Psalters.

³ The gloss may well have been of the same kind as the O.E. Vespasian Psalter. Like it, it may have had translations of the Canticles which Rolle could have used.

⁴ *Ps.* ix, 42 is an instance. Neither author appears to grasp the meaning of the Latin. Each Latin word is translated into English, but the result is nonsense. The Vulgate version is 'ut non apponat ultra magnificare se homo super terram'; Rolle has—'that man sett noght ouer to wirschip himself abouen erth,'—the Metrical version 'and noght set he Our mikel him man ouer erpe.' If there were an early gloss something like this (the words in brackets are doubtful):

ut non apponat ultra magnificare se homo super terram.
that noght sett ouer (to wirschip) him(self) man (abouen) erth,
the clumsy versions of Rolle and the *Metrical Psalter* are explained as attempts to make something intelligible out of this gloss.

mistranslations, which he either inherited unknowingly from the earlier gloss, or perpetrated himself in elaborating that gloss.

A further indication of the nature of the gloss used by the writers of the two Psalters is possibly to be obtained by following up a suggestion of Horstman's with regard to the archaic character of the vocabulary of the *Metrical Psalter*. He suggested (see *Richard Rolle of Hampole*, II, p. 130, Note) that it might be due to the translator's having 'utilized ags. glosses or versions...retaining many of the words found there... even such as he no longer understood and therefore misread or mis-applied.' M. Konrath¹ pours scorn on this suggestion, and declares it impossible that a translator of the thirteenth century should have been influenced by O.E. Glosses. Yet the instances of words and phrases which are similar, and often identical, in the *Metrical Psalter* and one or other of the O.E. Glosses are striking and numerous enough to prove some connexion. The commoner instances of similarity have been omitted from the list below and only those which are remarkable are quoted²:

<i>Metrical Psalter.</i>	<i>O.E. Glosses.</i>
Psalm	
i, 4. Whate swa he does sal sounde- fulle. (cf. xliv, 5.)	swahwæt swa deð beoð zesundfullude quecu[m]que fecerit prosperabuntur. (Cambridge Psalter, cf. Cant. Ps.)
ii, 8. And þine aghte, meres of lande.	Ʒ onæhte pine gemæru eorðan et possessionem tuam terminos terre. (Camb. Ps., cf. Vesp. Ps.)
iv, 1. Þou tobredest to me. (cf. xvii, 40.)	þu tobræddyst me dilitasti me. (Camb. Ps., cf. Vesp.)
vi, 6. With my teres witerli Mi straile sal i wete for-þi (H.).	mid tearum strelum minum ic wete lacrimis stratum meum rigabo. (Cant. Ps.)
ix, 15. Genge feste are in forward ³ .	ongefæstnode synt þeode on forwyrd infixe sunt gentes in interitu. (Camb. Ps., cf. Cant., Vesp.)
xvii, 46. And I sal gnide als duste.	ic forenide (forȝnide) hie swa swa dust. et comminuum illos ut puluerem. (Camb. Ps., see variant MS. readings.)

¹ See *Archiv für das Stud. der neu. Sprachen*, Vol. 99, pp. 158 ff.

² The O.E. Psalter Versions used for the comparison are the 'Vespasian Psalter' (MS. Cotton Vesp. A1), edited by H. Sweet (*Oldest English Texts*, London 1885); 'Eadwine's Psalter' (Trinity Coll., Camb.), edited by F. Harsley (E. E. T. S., London 1889); 'Cambridge Psalter' (Ff. 1. 23 Univ. Lib., Camb.), edited by K. Wildhagen, Hamburg 1910; J. Spelman's printed text (1640), from MS. Stowe 2 (British Museum).

³ This reading appears to be due to a confusion on the part of the writer of the *Metrical* version between the O.E. word 'forwyrd' meaning 'destruction' and the word 'forward' (= agreement), which is found more commonly than the former in his day.

<i>Metrical Psalter.</i>	<i>O.E. Glosses.</i>
Psalm xxix, 7. I sothlik saide in mi might- somnes ¹ .	zenihtsumnysse abundantia (Camb. Ps., cf. Cant., Vesp.)
xxxvii, 7. For mi lendis filled with bis- mers are.	ʒefyllȝd ys bysmyrnyssum co[n]pleta est inlusionibus. (Camb. Ps., cf. Cant., Vesp.)
lix, 9. In Ydume sal I þinne ¹ mi scho.	ic aðennu extendam. (Vesp. Ps., cf. Camb., Cant.)
lxi, 5. For fra him al þe bild of me.	forðan from him ys ʒeþyld min quoniam ab ipso est patientia mea. (Camb. Ps., cf. Vesp., Cant.)
lxiii, 4. Ferinkli (E.H. feringli ¹) schote him sal þai swa.	færinȝa scotydon hine subito saȝitabunt eum. (Camb. Ps., cf. Vesp.)
lxvii, 4. setelgange.	settlȝonȝ occasum. (Camb. Ps., see variant MS. readings.)
civ, 38. ...and come þe edissehenne...	...com heom erschenn (edischen, Spelman) uenit eis coturnix. (Camb. Ps., and note, cf. Vesp.)
cix, 2. Schamel of þi fete.	...scæmel fot þine scabellum pedum tuorum. (Cant. Ps., cf. Camb., Vesp.)
cxvii, 18. ʒraihand lauerd me ʒrahed me ¹ .	...þreazynde he þreade me castigans castiȝauit me. (Camb. Ps., cf. Vesp.)
cxlvii, 17. He sendes as snodes his cristal.	...snæda... bucellas. (Spelman.)

In every one of the instances given above the *Metrical Psalter* uses curious words or phrases, many of which are not found elsewhere in Middle English. In every instance, something similar occurs in the O.E. Glosses². This can hardly be mere coincidence, and must point to a connexion between them and the *Metrical Psalter*. The author of the *Metrical Psalter* did not use as source any copy of the O.E. Glosses

¹ This word is mentioned by Horstman as one which was taken over from the O.E. Glosses and misread, because it was obsolete. It may, on the other hand, have been a new formation, as Konrath suggests, though the evidence of all the other similarities is against this. 'pinne' and 'ferinkli' may also be misreadings of the O.E. forms, and 'ʒraihand,' 'ʒrahed.'

² There are other curious words which are possibly to be explained as misreadings of the O.E. Glosses. Psalm lxxiii, 21 has the word 'sestrede' (E. cestered) meaning 'obscurati' (cf. also cxxxviii, 11), which may be derived by misreading or sound substitution from O.E. *peostrian*. This is the suggestion of the *N.E.D.* The O.E. Glosses have 'apȝstrude' (Camb.), 'apeostrade' (Vesp.). There may be some remote connexion between the curious word 'storspeches' in the Harleian MS. of the *Metrical Psalter* (E. *forspeches*, Vesp. *storest speches*) meaning 'inrepationes' and the word 'onȝepræorspreca' in the Cant. Ps. (Ps. xxxvii, 15).

known to us, however. There are several archaic or curious words used in the *Metrical Psalter* which do not correspond to anything in these O.E. Psalter Glosses. Such is the word 'lickam,' always wrongly used to mean 'face'.¹ Others are 'liþerand' (malignancium, xxi, 16), 'rorde' (sonus, xvii, 4), 'beryhingēs' (saluacionum, xxvii, 11). Moreover, those words which do correspond to forms in the Glosses, show, as a rule, signs of change², as though there were some intermediate stage between the O.E. Glosses and the Middle English words. May not this stage be a partially modernised form of the O.E. Glosses, written at some period between their compilation and the writing of the *Metrical Psalter*? If this hypothesis is accepted, there seems no serious objection against identifying the modernised gloss with that which Rolle and the writer of the *Metrical Psalter* both used. Naturally they did not treat it alike, and Rolle, being the greater scholar, and further removed from it, followed it less closely than the earlier writer.

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¹ See x, 8; xv, 11; xvi, 3; xvii, 46, etc.

² See p. 347, note 4, and p. 349, note 2, above.