

**The Psalter in English:  
Wycliffite Interpretations in Context**

DPhil Thesis

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Trinity 2022



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## Abstract

**The Psalter in English: Wycliffite Interpretations in Context**  
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**Trinity Term 2022**

This thesis interrogates the interpretive approaches taken up across the diverse corpus of Psalm materials associated with the Wycliffites. This corpus includes English versions of the biblical text; glosses to the text as most prominently evidenced in the margins of Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 554; the declaration of the text's meaning as witnessed in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Trinity College 93; and, most extensive of all, the Revisions to Richard Rolle's English Psalter Commentary. Reading each of these as a *translatio* of the Psalter into English, it contends that they together witness a dynamic and multi-dimensional, if not definitely coordinated, effort not only to translate the biblical text, or even to translate informative exegesis, but also to form a readership for the English Psalms.

The thesis thus seeks to draw out the simultaneous diversity of Wycliffite Psalm projects and their cohesion as expressions of a common impetus to extend both exegetical and spiritual formation to readers of the English Psalms. On the one hand, it highlights the diversity of manuscript settings for Psalm translations, and the diverse forms of commentary associated with these. On the other hand, it draws out the convergences between the readings of the Psalter, and moreover between ways of reading the Psalter, across the corpus, seeking to situate them in the context of scholasticism and reformist thought alike.

## Acknowledgements

My thanks must go first to my supervisor, Professor Annie Sutherland; her wide-ranging knowledge and thorough appreciation of the topic, her commitment to clarity, and her kind solicitude have been exemplary, and have made the writing process a satisfying one. I am deeply grateful for her ever-insightful advice and unstinting encouragement.

The community of Wycliffite scholars in Oxford and further afield has proven a very supportive one. I am grateful to Professor Kantik Ghosh, Dr. Elizabeth Solopova, and Professor Mishtooni Bose for their comments on my work, and to Professor Anne Hudson for her scholarly generosity in discussing the project. Professor Michael Kuczynski has been likewise generous with encouragement and suggestions. I am also indebted to Prof. Kuczynski, Prof. Ghosh, and Dr. Hannah Schühle-Lewis for sharing pre-publication versions of their work – and, in the latter case, a transcription of Trinity 93's Psalter section – with me. Dr. Schühle-Lewis, Antje Chan (née Carrel), Dr. Tim Glover, Dr. Daniel Sawyer, Dr. Alicia Smith, and Dr. Cosima Gillhammer have shared their enthusiasm and acumen over the course of the project, and I would like to thank each of them. I must also thank Dr. Gillhammer for involving me in the Medieval Commentary Network, which has helped me to crystallize my thoughts on Wycliffite biblical commentary as well as gaining a sense of its broader context.

I must also express my immense gratitude to the Intercollegiate Studies Institute for the generous Weaver Fellowship which supported my studies, and to Merton College for the travel grant which enabled me to visit a number of significant manuscripts. Merton's own librarians, and especially Dr. Julia Walworth, the Fellow Librarian, have been most supportive (not to mention generous in the purchase of needful books), and I was deeply touched by their attentiveness during the challenges of 2020-2021. I have had much reason to be grateful for the kind assistance of the librarians in the Bodleian network (notably those in the manuscripts room at the Weston), the British Library, and Cambridge University Library, and would like to particularly thank Jessica Woodward of Pusey House Library for allowing my books to accrue there, and to Dr. Adam Crothers, and the Master and Fellows of St. John's College, Cambridge, for allowing me to consult and quote from their collection.

Numerous other institutions and communities have greatly enriched my doctoral studies. I have enjoyed many formative conversations and well-ordered intellectual community at the Pusey House Scriptorium, the Canterbury Institute, and the Oxford Pastorate. St. Ebbe's, Oxford Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Merton Chapel, Pusey House, and St. Michael's in the North Gate have all been places of great encouragement, and I am thankful to have sung and said the Psalms at each one.

The litany of thanks to all the friends in these communities who have shared warm encouragement and thought-provoking dialogue throughout the DPhil would be a long one indeed, but the thesis itself would be much the poorer, or indeed incomplete, were it not for conversations with Jordan Maly-Preuss (whom I must thank for proofreading parts of the thesis); Alex Peplow, Henry Tann, and José Maria Andres Porras (whom I must thank for the

delightful camaraderie of the Medieval Book Club); Dr. Ida Glaser (who has shared many exegetical breakfasts); Emilie Lavallée; Alicia Smith; Antje Chan; Bond West; Becky Short; Dr. Rebecca Menmuir; Dr. Jane Bliss; Dr. Raphaela Rohrhofer; Jarek Jankowski; Dr. Myriam Burstow (née Frenkel); and David Elliott. I am also grateful to Lizzy Nesbitt for introducing me to Dr. Gordon Wenham, whose comments on the Psalter revived my passion for the topic at a key point.

I am above all thankful for the encouragement of my sisters Emily and Jane, who have shown great patience waiting for me to ‘just finish a chapter’ over the years, and of my parents, whose own love of the Psalms, and tireless efforts in education, have been an inspiration to me.

*Lineae ceciderunt mihi in pulcherrimis et hereditas speciosissima mea est.*

*Psalm 15:6  
(Hebraicum)*

## Abbreviations

- B554 Kuczynski, Michael P. (ed.). *A Glossed Wycliffite Psalter*: Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 554. EETS O.S. 352-353. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019. 2 vols.
- DMLBS The Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources
- DVSS Buddensieg, Rudolf. *John Wyclif's De Veritate Sacrae Scripturae*. Wyclif Society 29-31. London: Trübner, 1905. 3 vols.
- EETS Early English Text Society
- EV Forshall, Josiah, and Frederick Madden (eds.). *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*. Oxford: OUP, 1850. 4 vols.
- IMEP Index of Middle English Prose
- Glossa Ordinaria* *Bibliorum Sacrorum cum Glossa Ordinaria*. Venice, 1603. 6 vols. Online. <[https://lollardsociety.org/?page\\_id=409](https://lollardsociety.org/?page_id=409)>. Last accessed 4 October 2022.
- LV Forshall, Josiah, and Frederick Madden (eds.). *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*. Oxford: OUP, 1850. 4 vols.
- MED* *Middle English Dictionary*. Online. <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary>. Last accessed 4 October 2022.
- PL Patrologia Latina
- PL 191* Lombard, Peter. *Commentaria in Psalmos*. Ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, PL 191. Paris, 1854.
- OTHS* Levy, Ian Christopher (trans.). *John Wyclif: On the Truth of Holy Scripture*. Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute, 2001.

- Postilla Litteralis*      *Bibliorum Sacrorum cum Glossa Ordinaria*. Venice, 1603. 6 vols.  
<[https://lollardsociety.org/?page\\_id=409](https://lollardsociety.org/?page_id=409).> Last accessed 4 October  
2022
- RVs*                      Hudson, Anne (ed.). *Two Revisions of Rolle's English Psalter  
Commentary and the Related Canticles*. EETS O.S. 340, 341, 343.  
Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. 3 vols.
- T93*                      Schühle-Lewis, Hannah. *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Trinity College  
MS 93: A Study and Partial Edition*. Unpublished DPhil Thesis,  
University of Oxford, 2019. 2 Parts.

## Manuscript Abbreviations

Arundel 104	London, British Library MS Arundel 104
Ashmole 1288	Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 1288 (1)
Beinecke 360	New Haven, Yale University Library MS Beinecke 360
BL Add. 10046	London, British Library MS Additional 10046
BL Add. 10047	London, British Library MS Additional 10047
BL Add. 15580	London, British Library MS Additional 15580
BL Add. 17010	London, British Library MS Additional 17010
BL Add. 17011	London, British Library MS Additional 17011
BL Add. 27592	London, British Library MS Additional 27592
BL Add. 31044	London, British Library MS Additional 31044
BL Add. 35284	London, British Library MS Additional 35284
BL Add. 74953	London, British Library MS Additional 74953
Bodley 85	Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 85
Bodley 277	Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 277
Bodley 288	Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 288
Bodley 296	Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 296
Bodley 416	Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 416
Bodley 554	Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 554
Bodley 771	Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 771
Bodley 877	Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 877
Bodley 959	Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 959
CCCC Parker 147	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Parker MS 147
CCCO 4	Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 4
CCCO 20	Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 20
Christ Church 145	Oxford, Christ Church MS 145
CUL Add. 6680	Cambridge, University Library MS Additional 6680
CUL Add. 6681	Cambridge, University Library MS Additional 6681
CUL Dd.1.27	Cambridge, University Library MS Dd.1.27
CUL Dd.11.82	Cambridge, University Library MS Dd.11.82
CUL Ee.1.10	Cambridge, University Library MS Ee.1.10

CUL Mm.2.15	Cambridge, University Library MS Mm.2.15
Cotton Claudius E.II	London, British Library MS Cotton Claudius E.II
Douce 246	Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 246
Douce 258	Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 258
Douce 275	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 275
Douce 369	Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 369
Emmanuel 21	Cambridge, Emmanuel College MS 21
Emmanuel 246	Cambridge, Emmanuel College MS 246
Fairfax 2	Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Fairfax 2
Harley 1896	London, British Library MS Harley 1896
Harley 2249	London, British Library MS Harley 2249
Hatton 111	Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Hatton 111
Hereford O.VII.1	Hereford, Cathedral Library MS O.VII.1
Hunter 472	Glasgow, University Library MS Hunter 472 (v.6.22)
Hunter 512	Glasgow, University Library MS Hunter 512 (v.8.15)
Huntington HM 148	San Marino, Huntington Library MS HM 148
Huntington HM 501	San Marino, Huntington Library MS HM 501
John Rylands Eng.88	Manchester, John Rylands Library MS Eng.88
Lambeth 25	London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 25
Lambeth 1033	London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 1033
Lansdowne 454	London, British Library MS Lansdowne 454
Laud Misc.182	Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud Misc.182
Laud Misc.286	Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud Misc.286
Lincoln 92	Lincoln, Cathedral Chapter Library MS 92 (A.5.16)
Lincoln Lat.119	Oxford, Lincoln College MS Latin 119
Longleat 3	Warminster, Longleat House MS 3
Magdalen Lat.52	Oxford, Magdalen College MS lat.52
Merton 94	Oxford, Merton College MS 94
New College 66	Oxford, New College MS 66
New College 320	Oxford, New College MS 320
Queen's 324	Oxford, Queen's College MS 324

Queen's 388	Oxford, Queen's College MS 388
Rawlinson C.699	Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson C.699
Richardson 36 36	Cambridge, MA, Harvard Houghton Library MS Richardson
Royal 1.C.VIII	London, British Library MS Royal 1.C.VIII
Royal 18.B.XXI	London, British Library MS Royal 18.B.XXI
Royal 18.D.I	London, British Library MS Royal 18.D.I
Scheide 12	Princeton, University Library MS William H. Scheide 12
Sion ARC L40.2/E.1	London, Sion College MS ARC L40.2/E.1
St. John's 7	Oxford, St. John's College MS 7
St. John's G.24	Cambridge, St. John's College MS G.24
St. John's E.14	Cambridge, St. John's College MS E.14
St. John's E.18	Cambridge, St. John's College MS E.18
Tanner 16	Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Tanner 16
TCC B.5.25	Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.5.25
TCD 66	Dublin, Trinity College MS 66
TCD 70	Dublin, Trinity College MS 70
TCD 72	Dublin, Trinity College MS 72
Trinity 93	Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Trinity College 93
University College 64	Oxford, University College MS 64
University College 74	Oxford, University College MS 74
University College 179	Oxford, University College MS 179
Worc.Cath.F.172	Worcester, Worcester Cathedral Library, MS Worc.Cath.F.172
Yates Thompspon 52	London, British Library MS Yates Thompson 52 ( formerly Additional 36683)

## Referencing Practice

The producers of the various texts in the Wycliffite Psalms corpus remain anonymous, and indeed the number of individuals or stages involved in each project as well as the details of their coordination remain in many cases obscure. For this reason, I have often opted to refer to texts or manuscripts as a metonymy for those who made them. I am aware, however, that the texts are not autonomous entities, but the work of translators, compilers, revisers, scribes, etc. Where I do allude to a producer of one of these works in the singular, this should be understood as a reference of convenience, rather than an indication of independent production by a sole individual, unless explicitly stated.

Throughout the thesis, I use bold typeface or dotted underlining of various kinds to draw attention to particular words or place values within quotations, so that similarities and variations between different versions are more easily identifiable, or so that repeated words stand out. Continuous underlining, however, is original to the sources.

I have attempted to reflect something of the distinctively continuous presentation of Rolle's Psalter Commentary and the Revisions in quoting the Latin text, English translation, and English commentary as a unit where possible; in these cases, the Vulgate text is set down as recorded in the standard editions of the Psalter Commentary; I have followed Anne Hudson's practice of setting the Latin in bold typeface and the English in italics in her edition of the Revisions.

Apart from these cases, unless otherwise stated, all quotations from the Vulgate are taken from Bonifatius Fischer and Robert Weber (eds.), *Biblia Sacra: Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem* (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1975). Quotations of the Psalm translations are cited only by Psalm and verse, and drawn from the following:

### **Richard Rolle's English Psalter Commentary**

Bramley, Henry Ramsden (ed.). *The Psalter: Or Psalms of David and Certain Canticles*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1884.

### **RV1 and RV2**

Hudson, Anne (ed.). *Two Revisions of Rolle's English Psalter Commentary and the Related Canticles*. EETS O.S. 340, 341, 343. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. 3 vols.

### **The Earlier and Later Versions of the Wycliffite Bible (EV and LV)**

Forshall, Josiah, and Frederick Madden (eds.), *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*. (Oxford: OUP, 1850), 4 vols.

### **The Middle English Glossed Prose Psalter**

Black, Robert Ray, and Raymond St-Jacques (eds.). *The Middle English Glossed Prose Psalter: Edited from Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS Pepys 2498*. Middle English Texts 45-46. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2012.

**Type IA Primer**

Littlehales, Henry (ed.), *The Prymer or the Lay Folks' Prayer Book*, EETS O.S. 105 (London, 1895), 2 vols.

**Type IB Primer**

Maskell, William (ed.), *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (Oxford, 1846), 3 vols.

**Type II Primer**

Littlehales, Henry (ed.), *The Prymer or Prayer-Book of the Lay People in the Middle Ages in English Dating about 1400 AD* (London, 1891), 2 vols.

For Lyra's *Postilla Litteralis* and the *Glossa Ordinaria*, I quote from *Bibliorum Sacrorum cum Glossa Ordinaria* (Venice, 1603), 6 vols., [https://lollardsociety.org/?page\\_id=409](https://lollardsociety.org/?page_id=409).

Throughout, I quote primary sources from the standard edition, citing these by the name of the editor or translator after the first instance in the thesis; in a few frequently recurring cases, I instead use an abbreviation for the text, which appears in the table of abbreviations above. Similarly, I cite full publication information for secondary sources and manuscripts only on their first appearance within the thesis.

One major primary source, Trinity 93, does not yet exist in a full edition; I am grateful to Hannah Schühle-Lewis for sharing her transcription of the Psalter section, which I have used, with some small corrections and adaptations. I have silently expanded abbreviations from manuscript sources, including Trinity 93. Unless otherwise noted, all other transcriptions from the manuscripts are my own. Where not otherwise stated, all translations of the Latin are my own.

## Introduction

### Overview

Across the various controversies that shaped their reception from the fifteenth century through the Reformation to the present day, the Wycliffites are perhaps most consistently remembered as translators. From relatively early on, of course, the first translation of the full Bible into English has been associated with John Wyclif's own name by his critics and admirers alike.<sup>1</sup> The precise connections between the fourteenth-century Oxford reformist and the English translators associated with his thought remain difficult to reconstruct, but it is now understood that these latter undertook the translation, rather than Wyclif himself. Throughout this thesis, I shall use the term 'Wycliffites' in the broad sense of those whose work reflects a culture of reform influenced by Wyclif and his direct followers.<sup>2</sup> While recent scholarship has in some ways moderated these translators' reputation for advancing the radical accessibility of the biblical text, it has also given new insight into the significant resources and scholarly attention that they devoted to presenting the Scriptures in English.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See Henry Knighton, *Chronicon*, ed. Joseph Rawson Lumby, *Chronicon Henrici Knighton, Vel Cnitthon, Monachi Leycestrensis. Volume 2* (Cambridge, 2013), vol. 2, pp. 151-152; Thomas Arundel, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*, ed. David Wilkins (London, 1737), 3 vols, vol. 3, p. 350; Hus, *Contra Iohannem Stokes*, in *Magistri Iohannis Hus Polemica*, ed. Jaroslav Eršil (Prague, 1966), pp. 61-62; cf. Hudson's discussion of these in *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History* (Oxford, 1988), hereafter *Premature Reformation*, pp. 240-241. See also, for instance, John Bale, *Catalogus* (Basel, 1557), p. 456.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Fiona Somerset, *Feeling Like Saints: Lollard Writings after Wyclif* (Ithaca, 2014), hereafter *Feeling Like Saints*, p. 16. For a very different perspective, which I do not address here, see Henry Ansgar Kelly, *The Middle English Bible: A Reassessment* (Philadelphia, 2016). See also Michael Wilks, 'Misleading Manuscripts: Wyclif and the Non-Wycliffite Bible', in *Wyclif: Political Ideas and Practice: Papers by Michael Wilks, Selected and Introduced by Anne Hudson* (Oxford, 2000), hereafter *Wyclif: Political Ideas and Practice*, pp. 85-101. Wilks' suggestion of 'a takeover of an originally independent English Bible project in the decade or so after Wyclif's death' is not incompatible with the general trajectory described below.

<sup>3</sup> Elizabeth Solopova registers both tendencies in her recently edited volume, noting that, among its other contributions, the research collected there exposes the 'scale' and 'unique achievement' of the aggregation of projects related to the Wycliffite Bible as well as challenging 'traditional accounts of WB [. . .] as produced for a lay audience without the knowledge of Latin, as a deliberate attempt to loosen the hold of the clergy [. . .] on

This dissertation explores the multidimensional scope of Wycliffite biblical translation in the case of the Psalter, with respect to both the materials translated and the interpretive approaches represented across the Wycliffite Psalms.

Nowhere is the scope of Wycliffite translation more apparent than in their engagement with the Psalter. The extant English Psalm materials associated with the Wycliffites take diverse forms, pointing to a range of interpretive activities: translating and glossing the text itself, or revising existing translations, and moreover selecting, synthesizing, translating, and revising authoritative commentaries on the text. A recent proliferation of scholarship on Wycliffite manuscript culture and exegesis has brought renewed attention to each of these forms. Though the ‘Towards an Edition of the Wycliffite Bible’ project did not include a modern edition of the Psalms in the so-called Earlier and Later Versions (EV and LV) in which the Bible translation circulated, it has galvanized current work on many of the issues integral to exploring these translations, and Wycliffite interpretation more generally.<sup>4</sup> Meanwhile, Annie Sutherland and Kathleen Kennedy’s parallel work highlighting the dependence of the vernacular Psalms in English Books of Hours, or Primers, on the Wycliffite translations has cast new light on these translations and their impact.<sup>5</sup> Michael

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the primary source of religious belief and practice’, ‘Introduction’, in Solopova (ed.), *The Wycliffite Bible: Origin, History and Interpretation* (Leiden, 2017), p. 2. Any number of other recent publications – including the editions of Wycliffite Psalm materials listed below – would tend to corroborate the enormity of the tasks involved in Wycliffite translation as well as the complexity of its engagement with the established scholarly norms. Cf. Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, p. 242.

<sup>4</sup> See the list of related publications on the project website, ‘Publications’, *The Wycliffite Bible: Digital Edition* ([wycliffite-bible.english.ox.ac.uk/#/page/publications](http://wycliffite-bible.english.ox.ac.uk/#/page/publications)). The project’s influence extends beyond its printed or digital impact, ‘Academic Conferences’, *The Wycliffite Bible: Digital Edition* ([wycliffite-bible.english.ox.ac.uk/#/page/academicconferences](http://wycliffite-bible.english.ox.ac.uk/#/page/academicconferences)).

<sup>5</sup> Sutherland, *English Psalms in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2015), hereafter *English Psalms*, especially pp. 137-158; Kennedy, ‘Reintroducing the English Books of Hours, or “English Primers”’, *Speculum* 89.3 (2014): pp. 693-723. See also Sutherland, ‘The Wycliffite Psalms’, in Solopova (ed.), *The Wycliffite Bible: Origin, History and Interpretation*, hereafter ‘The Wycliffite Psalms’, pp. 183-201. I will refer to these texts as Primers for simplicity, but readers should note Sutherland’s differentiation of Primers in this sense from elementary schoolbooks, *English Psalms*, pp. 18-19.

Kuczynski's excavation and edition of the extensive glosses on the Psalms in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 554 (hereafter Bodley 554) – and of the related set of glosses shared across various Psalters – has exposed a major exegetical project associated with Wycliffite Psalm translation, as has Hannah Schühle-Lewis's reappraisal of Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Trinity College 93 (hereafter Trinity 93), which includes what it calls a 'declaracioun' of the Psalter among its synopses of the biblical books.<sup>6</sup> Anne Hudson's edition of two of three known Revisions to Richard Rolle's English Psalter Commentary has greatly facilitated exploration of another body of interpretation long acknowledged as a landmark in Wycliffite exegesis but hitherto difficult to analyse, as a text by definition in motion.<sup>7</sup> As these scholarly developments have advanced contemporary understanding of the attention the Wycliffites devoted to the Psalter, they invite further interrogation into the 'Wycliffite Psalms', both as individual works and as a corpus of translations. Indeed, considered together, as well as individually or in subgroups as in the scholarship up to this point, this range of activities prompts inquiry into how and whether the 'Wycliffite Psalms' cohere together as expressions of related approaches to translating the Psalms.

The range of interpretive activities represented within the Wycliffite Psalms corpus encompasses the multidimensionality of translation itself. The interweaving of biblical translation with the translation of biblical exegesis, and even the development of exposition, in the corpus as outlined above epitomizes the definitional 'imbrication' of translation and

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<sup>6</sup> Michael Kuczynski, *A Glossed Wycliffite Psalter: Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 554*, EETS O.S. 352-353 (Oxford, 2019), 2 vols., hereafter *B554*; Hannah Schühle-Lewis, *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Trinity College MS 93: A Study and Partial Edition* (Unpublished DPhil Thesis, University of Oxford, 2019), hereafter *T93*. Schühle-Lewis' thesis includes an edition of the Penitential Psalms, though not of the rest of the Psalter in Trinity 93; more importantly, her careful work on the manuscript has illuminated many aspects of Trinity 93 as a whole, including the sources for what it calls its 'declaracioun' of the Psalter.

<sup>7</sup> Anne Hudson, *Two Revisions of Rolle's English Psalter Commentary and the Related Canticles*, EETS O.S. 340, 341, 343 (Oxford, 2012), 3 vols., hereafter *RVs*.

interpretation more broadly conceived.<sup>8</sup> More broadly still, in its most literal sense of ‘carrying over’, ‘translatio’ can apply not only to texts but also to cultures, practices, traditions, and ways of reading. In this vein, the Wycliffite Psalms further instantiate the impulse ‘to “translate”, more or less out of the blue, not just authoritative materials but in effect an entire academic discourse, method and *mentalité*’ which Kantik Ghosh appreciates in the Wycliffite Bible prologues.<sup>9</sup> Indeed, this thesis finds that the Wycliffite Psalms translate traditions of devotional, moral, and even contemplative discourse as well as academic discourse traditions. The Wycliffite Psalms emerge throughout the thesis as experiments in translating the very interpretive process to their English readers through the vernacularisation of biblical and exegetical texts. Precisely this inventiveness locates them firmly within the ‘experimental’ tradition of scholastic commentary, as described by Andrew Kraebel, as well as in the ‘experiment’ in ‘the making of the English language’ which Jeremy Catto identifies as ongoing in this same period.<sup>10</sup>

In the interest of structural simplicity, each chapter of this thesis concentrates on one type of interpretive activity, as witnessed in one of the sources listed above: translating the Psalm text in Chapter 1; glossing it in Chapter 2; ‘declaring’ the Psalms, to use Trinity 93’s own term, in Chapter 3, and revising Rolle’s English Psalter Commentary in Chapter 4. A

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<sup>8</sup> Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 87. Copeland traces the multivalence of both the Greek *hermeneia* and the Latin *interpretatio* in the following section, pp. 87-97. Cf. Dove’s comment that, despite ‘Wyclif and the Wycliffites’ profound unease with glossing’, the translators ‘in practice [. . .] discovered that there is no hard and fast line between literal translation and supplementary explanation’, *The First English Bible: The Text and Context of the First English Versions* (Cambridge, 2007), hereafter *The First English Bible*, p. 153.

<sup>9</sup> ‘The Prologues’, in *The Wycliffite Bible: Origin, History, Interpretation*, hereafter ‘The Prologues’, p. 182.

<sup>10</sup> Kraebel, *Biblical Commentary and Translation in Later Medieval England: Experiments in Interpretation* (Cambridge, 2020), hereafter *Biblical Commentary and Translation*, p. 6; Catto, ‘Written English: The Making of the Language 1370-1400.’ *Past & Present* 179 (2003), pp. 24–59, p. 54. Cf. also Hope Emily Allen’s characterization of Rolle’s English in his English Psalter Commentary as ‘experimental’, in *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle* (New York, 1927), p. 184, and in *English Writings of Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole* (Oxford, 1931), p. 2.

final chapter, which serves by way of conclusion, engages various sources in a more comparative analysis of specific topics. And yet the thesis as a whole concerns itself with how these various projects cohere, or otherwise, with one another and their broader hermeneutic context. Before entering into the specific arguments of the chapters, then, this introduction surveys the idea of translation in that context from two angles: firstly, it traces two major strands of late medieval controversy surrounding Bible translation, and secondly, it gives closer attention to a constellation of Wycliffite interpretive values revolving around the ideal of ‘openness’. These two angles provide a framework for appreciating the variations and continuities in the practice of Wycliffite Psalm translation as these arise over the individual chapters of the thesis.

## **1. The Language and the Audience: Two Major Concerns in the Translation Debate**

### ***1.1 Translating the Sense***

The Wycliffites’ reputation as Bible translators owes much to the controversy surrounding biblical translation in late medieval England.<sup>11</sup> In 1409, Arundel’s Constitutions famously condemned the reading of translations from the time of Wyclif or afterward and forbade further projects without episcopal sanction.<sup>12</sup> Article 7 grounds this interdiction in the danger and difficulty of translation described by Jerome:

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<sup>11</sup> It would also be true to say that the Wycliffites’ involvement in translation contributed to the controversy over translation. See, for instance, Thomas Palmer’s citation of the Lollard view that Scripture contains all truth, and of the misunderstandings propagated by their translation, within arguments against translating any Scripture into English in ‘De translacione scripture sacre in linguam anglicanam’, in *From the Vulgate to the Vernacular*, ed. Solopova *et al.* (Toronto and Oxford, 2020), pp. 156, 164.

<sup>12</sup> I here cite the date for the official promulgation of the Constitutions, though of course they originated in the 1407 Council of Oxford.

Periculosa quoque res est, testante beato Jeronymo, textum sacrae scripturae de uno in aliud idioma transfferre, eo quod in ipsis translationibus non de facili idem in omnibus sensus retinetur, prout idem beatus Jeronymus, etsi inspiratus suisset, se in hoc saepius fatetur errasse [. . .]<sup>13</sup>

[The translation of the text of Holy Scripture out of one tongue into another is a dangerous thing, as blessed Jerome testifies, because it is not easy to make the sense in all respects the same; as the same blessed Jerome confesses that he made frequent mistakes in this business, although he was inspired [. . .]]<sup>14</sup>

In citing Jerome's description of translation as 'periculosum opus' [a perilous work], in his preface to the Pentateuch, the Constitutions evoke a whole milieu of scholastic disputation over the legitimacy and value of biblical translation, as attested in the tracts emerging from Oxford debates on the subject throughout the year 1400-1401.<sup>15</sup> The description of translation as 'periculosum' or 'dangerous', augmented by Lyra's gloss reinforcing the difficulty expressed by Jerome, features among the objections that Ullerston attributes to his opposition at the beginning of his more favourable treatment of the question.<sup>16</sup> And indeed, Palmer's argument against translation appeals to Jerome's self-acknowledged mistakes at multiple points.<sup>17</sup> Palmer insists on the particular danger and difficulty of translation into English, naming, among other reasons, the impasse between word and sense translation; the disparity in grammar and vocabulary between the two languages, on the one hand, and the

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<sup>13</sup> *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*, ed. David Wilkins, vol. 3, p. 317.

<sup>14</sup> *A Collection of All the Ecclesiastical Laws, Canons, Answers, or Rescripts [...] Concerning the Government, Discipline and Worship of the Church of England, from its First Foundation to the Conquest [...] and of All the Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiastical, Made since the Conquest and before the Reformation [...]*, trans. John Johnson (England, 1720), 2 vols, vol 2, p. 466.

<sup>15</sup> 'Prologus Sancti Hieronymi Presbyteri in Pentateucho' in *Biblia sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, ed. Weber *et al.* (Stuttgart, 1975), p. 3. See the introduction to Solopova *et al.* (eds.), *From the Vulgate to the Vernacular*, p. xvi, which sets the texts edited in the volume in the context of these debates in Oxford: Richard Ullerston's *determinatio* and *First seip Bois*, an English treatise based on it; William Butler's *principium* in response to Ullerston; and Thomas Palmer's *disputatio* on biblical translation. All quotations of these materials below are from this edition. For more on the vernacular extension of this debate, see also the polemical materials edited by Mary Dove in *The Earliest Advocates of the English Bible* (Exeter, 2010), as cited below.

<sup>16</sup> Ed. Solopova *et al.*, p. 8.

<sup>17</sup> Ed. Solopova *et al.*, p. 170, and p. 184.

multiple meanings of the Latin, on the other, makes either impossible.<sup>18</sup> Ullerston, by contrast, distinguishes ‘difficultas’ [‘difficulty’] from what is ‘impossibile’ [‘impossible’], arguing that ‘sacra scriptura’, for all its multiplicity of apparent meaning, ‘potest [. . .] transferri a sententia in sententiam in uulgare [. . .] per hoc quod crebro a sanctis patribus sic est factum’ [‘Holy scripture is capable of being translated into the vulgar tongue sentence by sentence [. . .] [for the very reason that] it has often been accomplished by the holy fathers’].<sup>19</sup> What Arundel deploys as a decisive factor against translation is in fact a common reference point in a debate which, in typical scholastic fashion, builds opposing arguments around shared proof texts.

Though composed some years before either the Oxford debates of 1400-1401 or Arundel’s Constitutions, the General Prologue which appears in some copies of the Wycliffite Bible participates in the same tradition of debate, preempting its contours just as the Constitutions recall them. It, too, acknowledges the ‘perel’ of translation, specifically where one word has multiple meanings, citing Augustine’s insistence that such equivocations must be translated according to ‘þe sense or vndurstandyng of þe autour’.<sup>20</sup> In this, the General Prologue anticipates Ullerston’s stance on difficulty in translation and especially on how equivocations may be resolved by sense translation. It also recalls Wyclif’s defence of Scripture’s truth in the midst of equivocation and apparent contradiction. Wyclif takes pains to locate the truth of Scripture in the sense intended by the divine author, as distinguished from the signs of this truth, which can only be described as Scripture insofar as they convey

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<sup>18</sup> Ed. Solopova *et al.*, p. 170.

<sup>19</sup> Ed. Solopova *et al.*, p. 112; trans. *ibid.*, p. 113.

<sup>20</sup> Ch. 15, ed. Dove, p. 84.

it, and insists that understanding the truth of Scripture requires seeking this intended sense.<sup>21</sup>

As his distinction of Scripture as such from its corruptible signs serves to advance his defence of Scripture's truth, it also bolsters a foundation for translation according to the sense, leaving room for new signs, that is a new language, to convey the same truth.

It is on the basis of such a distinction between the universal sense and the particular language conveying it that the General Prologue can advocate a translation into English as equivalent or superior to the Latin in 'openness':

Pe best translating is, out of Latyn into Englisch, to translate aftir þe sentence and not oneli aftir þe wordis, so þat þe sentence be as opene or openere in English as in Latyn, and go not fer fro þe lettre. And if þe lettre mai not be sued in þe translatyng let þe sentence euere be hool and open, for þe wordis owen to serue to þe entent and sentence, and ellis þe wordis ben superflu or false.<sup>22</sup>

For all the stridency with which it affirms the possibility and value of sense translation, this statement also serves as an acknowledgment of the difficulty of translation, and indeed of transferring the sense conveyed by the Latin letter. So does the subsequent enumeration of several specific 'resolucions' that can 'make þe sentence open' when 'translatyng into Englisch'.<sup>23</sup> Notably, the presence of these latter suggests a high degree of attentiveness to the Latin 'wordis'. What is true of the examples of translation practice in the General Prologue is also true of the LV translation with which it appears, including the rendition of the Psalter. Compared with the LV translation, other translations of the Psalms associated with the Wycliffites take an even more literal approach, in the sense of preserving even

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<sup>21</sup> On the relation of the manuscripts to the eternal intent of God, see, for instance, *De Veritate Sacrae Scripturae*, ed. Rudolf Biddensieg, *John Wyclif's De Veritate Sacrae Scripturae*, Wyclif Society 29-31 (London, 1905), 3 vols., hereafter *DVSS*, vol. 1, pp. 114-115; trans. Ian Christopher Levy, *On the Truth of Holy Scripture* (Kalamazoo, 2001), hereafter *OTHS*, pp. 101-102. Cf. Wyclif's outline of five levels of Scripture, *DVSS*, vol. 1, p. 107ff; trans. *OTHS*, p. 97ff. On the pursuit of the divine intent in interpretation, see *DVSS*, vol. 1, p. 44; trans. *OTHS*, p. 65.

<sup>22</sup> Ch. 15, ed. Dove, p. 81.

<sup>23</sup> Ch. 15, ed. Dove, p. 81.

greater proximity to the Latin. This Latinate approach might seem to belie the subordination of words to sense that grounds biblical translation into English, according to its advocates and sympathizers. And yet this tension may be in large part a function of the discrepancy between medieval and modern conceptions of translation. James Cline submitted that ‘we have no expression today for what was meant by translation after the word, which was little more than a complete and inflected glossary’; ‘open translation’, according to Cline, is thus ‘what we should call literal translation: a translation as close to the original as can be accomplished without doing violence to English idiom’.<sup>24</sup> If many of the Wycliffite translations seem to err on the side of proximity to the original at the expense of English idiom, that merely demonstrates the difficulty of this sort of translation, and the caution with which the translators approach their sources. The very multiplicity of Psalm translations underlines the lack of direct equivalents for the Latin, and the ongoing pursuit of English words and constructions which convey the same Latin sense.

We shall return to the ideal of ‘open’ translation in more detail later in this introduction, but, keeping the focus on the translation debate for the moment, I would like to suggest that these Psalm translations, by their multiplicity, serve as arguments for and experiments in the capacity of the English language to articulate biblical complexity in the climate of the translation debate. As noted above, Palmer stresses not only the difficulty of translation in general but the deficiency of English vocabulary, especially when it comes to

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<sup>24</sup> ‘Chaucer and Jean de Meun: *De Consolatione Philosophiae*’, *ELH* 3.2 (1936): pp.170-181, at p. 178. Cf. Copeland’s admonition that ‘we can never take for granted the value of these formulas when we encounter them in late medieval translators’, ‘The fortunes of “non verbum pro verbo”: or, why Jerome is not a Ciceronian’, in Roger Ellis (ed.), *The Medieval Translator: The Theory and Practice of Translation* (Cambridge, 1989): pp. 15-35, at p. 34.

scholarly terms, and to its lack of grammar.<sup>25</sup> Ullerston lists various iterations of the same concerns, including the description of the vernacular as ‘*ydioma non gramaticatum et barbaricum*’ [‘an ungrammatical and barbarous tongue’], and Roger Bacon’s more general insistence that certain kinds of vocabulary, including the scholarly lexis of theology, cannot be translated from one language to another.<sup>26</sup> As the citation from Bacon illustrates, these sorts of concerns long predate the specific contributions of Ullerston and Palmer to the debate, such that translators with the scholarly background in evidence across the Wycliffite translations may well have had them in mind as they set about their work. As well as demonstrating this scholarly background more generally, the scrupulosity of certain revision processes within the Psalm translations, described in Chapter 1, indicates ongoing efforts to develop English vocabulary and grammar that would clearly represent the Latin sense.<sup>27</sup>

Beyond the translations as such, the interpretive materials related to them manifest a similar attention to the development of a specific vocabulary of exegesis. Quite apart from the question of whether or to what degree the various versions of the biblical text can be described as ‘sense’ translations, the interpretive materials that comprise such a significant proportion of the Wycliffite Psalms corpus can be understood as translations of the sense in their own right. The abundant glosses comparing the Vulgate with the Hebrew, or defining Hebrew terms, in the margins of Bodley 554 stand out as conspicuous extensions of the

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<sup>25</sup> Palmer describes English and other vernaculars as ‘*regulis gramaticalibus minime regulatur*’ [‘hardly governed at all by the rules of grammar’], ed. Solopova *et al.*, p. 168; trans. p. 169, and complains of its lack of vocabulary for the transcendentals, Aristotelian categories, and logical terms, p. 170.

<sup>26</sup> See objection 20, ed. Solopova *et al.*, p. 12; trans. p. 13. Ullerston cites Roger Bacon’s *Opus tertium* in objection 9, p. 6.

<sup>27</sup> In this, I extend Solopova’s suggestion that the vocabulary of EV and LV in particular imply the translators’ interest in ‘the development of standard terminology for theological and devotional discourse’, ‘The Wycliffite Psalms’, in Tamara Atkin and Francis Leneghan (eds.), *The Psalms and Medieval English Literature: From the Conversion to the Reformation* (Cambridge, 2017), hereafter ‘The Wycliffite Psalms’, p. 145. Such a development directly counters Bacon’s concern.

translation in their effort to establish the original sense of the Psalms. Certain similar comments appear, though much less frequently, in Trinity 93, and even the Revisions appeal to the meaning of the Hebrew as part of their more figurative reading. These figurative readings themselves represent attempts to articulate the fundamental sense in English, whether by translating the sense as articulated by Latin authorities, as in so many of the marginal glosses and in Trinity 93, or by developing an English author's articulation of the sense (itself a development of the Latin exegetical tradition), as in the Revisions. Figurative readings and statements of the Hebrew meaning alike can appear flush with the translation of the Psalms in the text block, as well as in paratextual materials of the kinds described above; Chapter 1 enumerates intertextual glosses, typically but not always distinguished from the translated text by underlining, that record an alternate philological sense or the spiritual sense of an individual word. The placement of these intertextual glosses underscores, often literally, the integral importance of establishing the sense to Wycliffite Psalm translation, at every level.

### ***1.2 Transforming the Audience***

Translation always requires navigating not only the demands of fidelity to the original sources but also the demands of accessibility to the new audience, and the Wycliffite Psalms corpus demonstrates a keen awareness of the latter as well as the former. While the provision of interpretive aids – in forms as diverse as intertextual glosses, marginal comments, the ‘declaracioun’ of the Psalms, and extensive verse-by-verse commentary – manifests an effort to ensure the clarity of the biblical text in the English language, it also suggests an effort to form and empower an English readership. Just as the diverse articulations of the sense reflect argument in the translation debate over the adequacy or otherwise of the English language for

translation, so they also reflect another major thread of argument in that debate, namely, over the adequacy or otherwise of the English-speaking people.

The danger of an unworthy audience recurs as prominently among the list of objections that Ullerston ascribes to the opposition as does the difficulty of translation into a barbarous tongue. Heretics, women (presumed to have a particular predilection toward heresy), and inappropriately ambitious laity are specified as especially problematic readers of a vernacular Bible, but the concerns apply to ‘the common people’ as such.<sup>28</sup> Ullerston reports an objection that a vernacular translation would make the gospel accessible ‘indifferenter populis omnibus’ [‘to everybody without distinction’], citing Lyra’s reading of Matthew 13:11 to indicate that ‘secretum ecclesie militantis uulgaribus turbis eciam incredulis phariseis, non est concessum intelligere’ [‘the mysteries of the church militant should not be divulged to the common people or to the unbelieving Pharisees’].<sup>29</sup> In his response, Ullerston reclaims Lyra’s authority from the argument against translation by insisting that his comment does not exclude all translation or exposition, and appealing to Lyra’s comment on the subsequent verse to support an incremental approach to instruction.<sup>30</sup> Because, as Lyra points out, ‘habentibus deuocionem et fidem [. . .] datus est intellectus uerus sacre scripture’ [‘a true understanding of scripture is given to those who had devotion and faith’], Ullerston argues, ‘Debent ergo scripture primo proponi populis grosso modo, deinde eis exponi, et eis potissime qui absque exposiccione non sufficiunt intellectum spiritualem carpere’ [‘So the scriptures should first be put before the people in a simple form, and then explained to them, and expounded above all to those who, without explanation, lack

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<sup>28</sup> See, for instance, objections 13- 17 and 22, ed. Solopova *et al.*, pp. 8-12.

<sup>29</sup> Ed. Solopova *et al.*, p. 13; trans. p. 15.

<sup>30</sup> Ed. Solopova *et al.*, pp. 100-102; trans. pp. 101-103.

the spiritual understanding to grasp it’].<sup>31</sup> Implicitly, a vernacular Bible requires a programme of vernacular instruction.

This stipulation is pre-emptively fulfilled in the ample and multifaceted resources that attend the Wycliffite Psalter. One cannot help but imagine that Butler could have been thinking of the ‘doctors’ in the margins of Wycliffite Psalters, interwoven with the Psalms in Trinity 93, or underneath the Psalms in the Revisions when he specifically denied the effectiveness of this precaution:

Mihi uidetur sequi, quid propter subilitatem litteralis artificii ipsius sacre scripture, et hec per doctorum plana testimonia, quod sacra scriptura nec pro parte eius plana, nec pro parte eius obscura, nec cum doctorum approbatorum exponentibus quomodolibet a wlgari populo sit legenda.

[It seems to me that the subtle artistry of the literal sense of scripture, on the clear witness of the doctors, precludes the reading of the Bible by ordinary people, either in its literal or in its more hidden senses, not even with the commentaries of doctors however much approved by the church.]<sup>32</sup>

Butler admits, of course, that ‘legere expositiones sanctorum erit omnino utile’ [‘reading the expositions of the saints is [. . .] highly useful’], preserving readers from error.<sup>33</sup> But he insists that, precisely because ‘non est magis scrutinium de Deo quod cognoscendo expositiones doctorum beatorum’ [‘no study of God is closer than knowledge of the expositions of the holy doctors’], it should not be available to ‘inperfectis’ [the ‘imperfect’], but only to ‘perfectis’ [‘the perfect’].<sup>34</sup> Instead of knowing God by study, he maintains, the ‘simplic[i]’ [‘ordinary people’], may only know God ‘per fidem’ [‘by faith’].<sup>35</sup> Palmer, in his *disputatio* on the question of translation, goes so far as to argue that keeping the most

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<sup>31</sup> Ed. Solopova *et al.*, p. 102; trans. p. 103.

<sup>32</sup> Ed. Solopova *et al.*, p. 140; trans. p. 141.

<sup>33</sup> Ed. Solopova *et al.*, p. 136; trans. p. 137.

<sup>34</sup> Ed. Solopova *et al.*, p. 136; trans. p. 137.

<sup>35</sup> Ed. Solopova *et al.*, p. 136; trans. p. 137.

difficult parts of Scripture from the ‘simplicibus’ [‘simple folk’] not only preserves them from erroneous interpretation but also preserves the merit of their faith.<sup>36</sup> Palmer quotes Gregory’s statement that ‘fides non habet meritum ubi humana ratio prebet experimentum’ [‘faith has no merit when reason finds a proof’] and Hugh of St Cher’s explanation that it is for this reason that, according to Ecclesiasticus, ‘multa sunt abscondita tibi a Domino’ [‘many things are hidden from you by the Lord’].<sup>37</sup> By these lights, again long pre-existing the specific translation debate at the turn of the fifteenth century, understanding and education represent a danger as great as if not greater than misunderstanding the Scriptures.

Ullerston, by contrast, insists on the value of understanding, specifically for fervency in devotion. Responding to the objection that the Psalms, among other resources which the ‘laici devote’ [‘pious lay people’] already used, would be weakened by translation and thus would weaken their devotion, he distinguishes three kinds of prayer.<sup>38</sup> Ullerston elevates prayer with linguistic understanding [literally, ‘per modum simplicis gramatici’, ‘like a simple grammar pupil’] above prayer where the language is not understood, and elevates prayer with understanding of the ‘verborum sententiam spiritualem’ [‘the spiritual meaning of the words’] above both of the others.<sup>39</sup> Once again, the power of the words is located in their sense; here, the spiritual sense is specified alongside the literal sense, with the focus turning from the words themselves to the comprehension of the one engaging with them.

It is in keeping with this position that the Wycliffite translations of the Psalms evince an effort to give their readers the tools for discerning the sense of Scripture for themselves as well as to reiterate the sense of Scripture in English. Some texts, notably the philological and

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<sup>36</sup> Ed. Solopova *et al.*, p. 172; trans. p. 173.

<sup>37</sup> Ed. Solopova *et al.*, p. 172-174; trans. pp. 173-175.

<sup>38</sup> See objection 9, ed. Solopova *et al.*, p. 12; trans. p. 13, and Ullerston’s response, p. 78.

<sup>39</sup> Ed. Solopova *et al.*, p. 78; trans. p. 79.

historical glosses in Bodley 554, seem more attentive to translating linguistic understanding, while the Revisions concentrate primarily on the spiritual meaning over literal interpretation. That said, the Revisions do facilitate the learning of grammar by providing, and expanding on, an English translation (as prefaced by Rolle's oft-cited objective 'þat þei þat knowen not Latyn, bi þe Englisshe may come to many Latyn wordis'), while Bodley 554, among other glossed Psalters, also provides a rich diet of moral and spiritual readings.<sup>40</sup> Between them, the wide range of Wycliffite Psalm materials cultivates both literal and spiritual understanding, supporting the scholarly and devotional reading of the Psalter in English; the individual chapters of this thesis discuss the relevance of certain specific manuscripts containing Wycliffite Psalms to either or both types of reading, and indeed to the contexts of Lollard 'scoles' and devotional communities. The particular attention to Psalm exposition in both veins within the Wycliffite corpus implies a primacy of place for the Psalter within a programme of formation, however aspirational, for English readers. Perhaps, in their effort not only to convey the sense of the Scriptures but also to give readers the tools to access the sense in all its fullness for themselves, they take the approach that Jerome recommends for the training of a child, and in fact a daughter: 'Discat primo Psalterium' ['Let her become acquainted first with the Psalter'].<sup>41</sup>

## 2. Open Translation

Having sketched the Wycliffite Psalms against the backdrop of ongoing disputes over the capacity of either the vernacular language or vernacular audiences to comprehend the

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<sup>40</sup> *RVs*, vol. 1, p. 7

<sup>41</sup> *Epistola CVII: Ad Laetam de institutione filiae*, PL 22.876, translation my own. Ullerston quotes Jerome's instruction as part of his response to objection 16, that a vernacular translation of the Bible would make it all the easier for women to invent heresies, ed. Solopova *et al.*, p. 72.

sense of Scripture, I would like to set them in the more immediate context of Wycliffite interpretive values. In particular, I would like to revisit the ideal of ‘open’ translation that is articulated explicitly in the General Prologue that accompanies some copies of the Wycliffite Bible, as quoted above, and the broader ideal of ‘opening’ the biblical text that has become part and parcel of the Wycliffites’ reputation. Though the origins of the General Prologue, and its authority as a statement of the translators’ intent or process, remain in question, its frequent use of the lexis of ‘openness’ to describe the interpretive project serves as a helpful starting point for enumerating the range of resonances this term can connote as it applies to Wycliffite interpretations of the Psalms.<sup>42</sup>

The above-mentioned normative statement that ‘þe best translating’ in English must be ‘as open or opener’ than the Latin most ostensibly prizes clarity in representing the original ‘sentence’.<sup>43</sup> Presented as a function of proximity to and yet flexibility toward ‘þe lettre’, and glossed with a series of concrete examples of English equivalents for Latin words and constructions, the term ‘open’ seems to refer in this case to a particular translation technique, in contrast with translation ‘aftir þe wordis’. Setting aside at this point the specifics of this technique and whether any of the Wycliffite Psalms put it into practice, the context of this statement in the final chapter of the General Prologue as a whole casts this clarity of sense as a matter of accessibility, for lay people in particular. It opens with a miniature catena of passages, beginning with Psalm 18:4 and Psalm 86:6 as expounded by Jerome, which it reads as prophecies of the translation for ‘þe [lewid] peple’ who ‘crie after

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<sup>42</sup> On its problematic presentation and survival in the manuscripts, and the consequent doubtfulness of its authority, see especially Hudson, ‘The Origin and Textual Tradition of the Wycliffite Bible’, in Solopova (ed.), *The Wycliffite Bible: Origin, History and Interpretation*, pp. 133-161, hereafter ‘The Origin and Textual Tradition of the Wycliffite Bible’, at pp. 147-149.

<sup>43</sup> General Prologue, ch. 15, ed. Dove, p. 81.

holy writte to kunne it and kepe it'.<sup>44</sup> Both Psalm references incidentally feature, though to different ends, in the texts from the 1400-1401 translation debate in Oxford. In his argument against translation, Palmer reads Psalm 18:4, and with it the Great Commission to which the General Prologue alludes as its fulfilment, as referring exclusively to the apostles.<sup>45</sup> Ullerston, by contrast, quotes Jerome's exposition of Psalm 86:6 in support of making the gospel universally available, though, in the context of the same argument, he maintains that different standards will apply for different audiences, implying that the laity should access the gospel in a simpler form than the learned.<sup>46</sup> Both Ullerston and the General Prologue moreover discern contemporary fulfilment of Christ's prophecy in Luke 19:40 that the very stones would cry out, both condemning the clergy's failure to proclaim, or to permit the proclamation of, the gospel, when the people would so profit from it.<sup>47</sup> In addition to further implicating the General Prologue in the context of scholastic debate revolving around common proof texts, its use of these passages highlights the anticipated trajectory of the translation toward 'þe puple'.

Chapter 15 goes on to almost invite popular efforts to continue the clarification of the text. It parallels the openness of the translation, compared to the Latin Vulgate, with the openness of exposition it enables, compared to the Latin exegetical tradition:

And no doute a symple man wiþ Goddis grace and greet trauele myzte expowne  
myche openliere and shortliere þe Bible in English þan þe elde greet doctours han

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<sup>44</sup> General Prologue, ch. 15, ed. Dove, p. 80. The translation of Psalm 18:4 generally follows LV but shares the vocabulary for 'terram' with Rolle and the Type II Primer, while the second resembles EV, a possible example of the spontaneous translation from a memorized text, informed by multiple existing strains, proposed as a basis for the Type II Primer in Chapter 2.

<sup>45</sup> Ed. Solopova *et al.*, p. 186.

<sup>46</sup> Ed. Solopova *et al.*, p. 97.

<sup>47</sup> General Prologue, ch. 15, ed. Dove, p. 80; ed. Solopova *et al.*, p. 82. They read the significance of the stones themselves slightly differently, Ullerston understanding them as sins, and the General Prologue developing a more elaborate reading of the stones as the 'lewid puple' of England.

expowned it in Latyn, and myche sharplier and groundliere þan many late postilatours or expositours han do.<sup>48</sup>

The description of the ‘elde doctours’, at least, as ‘greet’, moderates the dismissiveness of the comparison; the writer casts English exposition as superior to the authoritative exegetes not so much in the quality of the exposition as in its ‘open-ness’ and brevity. As Ghosh observes, the General Prologue can be understood as a translation of ‘Augustinian hermeneutic theory’ in its own right, presenting itself as ‘a pedagogical tool for an intellectually ambitious laity without university-training as well as for clerically trained Wycliffite teachers and polemicists’.<sup>49</sup>

The concept of ‘open-ness’ applies to exposition as much as to translation throughout the General Prologue. Its summary of the Psalter ends with a prayer to teach the Psalms ‘openli’ to Christians and Jews:

Perfor God 3yue grace to vs to lyue wel in charite and seie it deuoutli and vndurstonde it treuli, and to teche it openli to cristen men and Iewis, and brynge hem þerbi to oure cristen feiþ and brennynge charite.<sup>50</sup>

This stipulation raises the question of how to ‘teche’ the Psalter ‘openli’ – as well as how to ‘vndurstonde it treuli’, ‘seie it deuoutli’, and ‘lyue’ it charitably – in practice – not to mention the question of whether the Wycliffite materials on the Psalms achieved these aims. In the subsequent chapter on hermeneutics, the direction that figurative readings of Scripture must be ‘grounded openli’ in Scripture or in ‘open resoun’ indicates that ‘open’ interpretation involves something akin to the reproducibility which serves as a cornerstone of the modern scientific method:

And þes þre gostli vndurstandingis ben not autentik or of bileue [. . .] but if þei ben groundid openli in þe text of hooli scripture in oo place or oþer, or in open resoun þat

<sup>48</sup> General Prologue, ch. 15, ed. Dove, p. 82.

<sup>49</sup> ‘The Prologues’, p. 181.

<sup>50</sup> General Prologue, ch. 11, ed. Dove, p. 59.

mai not be distried, or whanne þe gospelers or oþere apostlis taken allegorie of þe elde testament and confermen it [. . .]<sup>51</sup>

Audiences do not need to recognize the interpretation except insofar as they can see how it emerges from the text for themselves, whether through cross-referencing or through indisputable logic. The connotation of ‘openness’ with reproducibility builds on its more commonplace connotations with accessibility and clarity: readers must be able to access the process of interpretation, as it were, and find it clear.<sup>52</sup>

This conceptualization of ‘open’ interpretation as a matter of ‘groundedness’ in the text allows for a simultaneity of multiple interpretations – what could be called ‘open-ended’ interpretation. The General Prologue does not explicitly use the word in this sense, but it does enter an Augustinian discussion of how the ‘same wordis of scripture’ can convey ‘tweyne or moo’ things and how these multiple readings can be maintained if clearly grounded elsewhere in Scripture – again, predicating the legitimacy of interpretation, or of the co-existence of multiple interpretations, on its or their reproducibility, in this case from other texts.<sup>53</sup>

Such open-endedness towards a multiplicity of interpretations, and even the implicit ‘open-ness’ of both, on the basis of different cross-references, may seem to conflict with the ‘openness’ in the sense of plainness which the General Prologue so emphasizes, and on which any certainty in interpretation presumably relies. And yet the General Prologue, like so many medieval texts, seems to find resolution in Augustine’s insistence that all Scripture

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<sup>51</sup> General Prologue, ch. 12, ed. Dove, p. 63.

<sup>52</sup> As I will suggest in Chapter 1, the concept of reproducibility may also apply to the translation as such; see the invitation to correction in the General Prologue, ch. 15, ed. Dove, p. 82; cf. Rolle’s comment on learning Latin via the English, *The Psalter: or Psalms of David and Certain Canticles*, ed. Bramley (Oxford, 1884), p. 4.

<sup>53</sup> General Prologue, ch. 12, ed. Dove, p. 65.

fundamentally signifies ‘charite’, such that this one sense comprises both what is ‘open’ in Scripture and what is not:

In þat þat þou vndurstondest in scripturis charite is opyn, and in þat þat þou vndurstondest not charite is hid. Þerfor he þat holdiþ charite in vertues or in good condicions holdiþ boþe þat þat is open and þat þat is hid in Goddis wordis.<sup>54</sup>

The accompanying emphasis on living out ‘charite’, as opposed to the ‘open’ sin decried by contemporary authorities and interpreters as well as biblical figures, introduces a further forum for ‘open’ interpretation, with all the valences of clarity, accessibility, and reproducibility that entails – namely, one’s own life.

On the one hand, this final mode of interpretation represents the culmination of translation and exegesis. On the other hand, the General Prologue implies that the right apprehension and communication of the sense require personal sanctity.<sup>55</sup> Similarly, it indicates that translating the sense of the text requires determining that sense through exegesis, just as much as the translation enables English exegesis as described above.<sup>56</sup> Far from discrete or even consecutive processes, the three modes of interpretation to which the General Prologue ascribes ‘openness’ contribute inextricably to the same interpretive journey.

The multiple dimensions of ‘openness’ designated in these different contexts similarly feed into one another. As described above, clarity of sense contributes to the expansion of accessibility to which the Wycliffite translation purportedly aspired. The

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<sup>54</sup> General Prologue, ch. 12, ed. Dove, p. 66.

<sup>55</sup> See the assertion that ‘wiþ good lyuyng and grete trauele men moun come to trewe and cleer translatyng and trewe vndurstondyng of hooli writ’ which follows the discussion of translation practice at the end of ch. 15, p. 85 – so ‘abruptly’, as Hudson notes, as to seem hasty and incomplete, ‘The Origin and Textual Tradition of the Wycliffite Bible’, p. 149.

<sup>56</sup> See its outline of the elements required for the translation, with the study of the text and establishment of the sense at the most difficult points preceding the translation, ch. 15, p. 80, as contrasted with the reference to ‘open’ exposition, ch. 15, p. 82.

reproducibility suggested by appeals to ‘open’ grounding in Scripture and ‘open resoun’ contributes to both ends, making not only the results but also the process of their discovery or demonstration clear and accessible. It is in their capacity to contribute to this clarification and extension of access to the process of interpretation that I would include the two further dimensions of ‘openness’, neither referred to under that name in the General Prologue, or indeed in Middle English: openness to any justifiable sense, and openness to the divine law of charity, complement the openness to the audience that is more frequently remarked. The former open-endedness assumes universal grounds for legitimate interpretation, and prioritizes the expression of its basis, not only giving audiences insight into the process by which a particular interpretation was reached but also teaching them how to engage in the interpretive process. The latter form of openness, or acceptance, toward charity makes the fundamental sense of Scripture clear and accessible even when the mediating grounds of interpretation are less so, giving audiences an even more direct key to the text, and elevating a mode of interpretation which they must necessarily enact for themselves.

Because of the repeated appeals to the ideal of openness in the General Prologue, among other texts, it is already a commonplace in modern scholarship on the Wycliffites. Up to this point, however, the scholarship has tended to use ‘open’ univocally, concentrating on its most conspicuous connotations with the perspicacity of Scripture itself and plainness in its interpretation, as distinct from the other values implied in and associated with this multivalent term.<sup>57</sup> That is not to say the scholarship has ignored the Wycliffite ideals of ‘grounded’ interpretation, or the importance of reading with a proper lived orientation to the

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<sup>57</sup> Cf. ‘openen’ (v.) in the *Middle English Dictionary*, Online, <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary>, hereafter *MED*; see especially the sense of permission involved in Def. 1a and the more figurative sense, ‘to make (the heart) receptive or attentive’, with an example from EV, in Def. 1h. See also ‘open’ (adj.), especially Def. 1b, ‘unconfined’.

divine ‘law’; these topoi and terms are too foundational across the Wycliffite corpus to have been neglected. It has tended, however, to treat these separately from the idea of ‘openness’, or even as inconsistent with it. In his monograph on Wycliffite hermeneutics in context, Ghosh in particular has contrasted the Wycliffite commitment to a biblical text whose meaning is ‘open’ with a simultaneous ‘emphasis [. . .] on the unfathomable complexity and multivalence of the Bible’, especially evident in the acknowledgment of more than one potential meaning.<sup>58</sup> Where Ghosh draws out the tensions that this poses within Wycliffite hermeneutics, I take note of how these elements in tension advance broader continuities within Wycliffite thought, operating as different facets of the same underlying pursuit of ‘openness’. That is, I will draw out how ‘open’ can refer analogously to these different layers of the Wycliffite *translatio* of the Psalms.

Across its discussion of different forms of Wycliffite Psalm translation, this thesis probes the interplay and mutual reinforcement of these various connotations of openness. The different forms of interpretation, and thus the different chapters of the thesis, map roughly onto these different dimensions of openness, but also exist in dialogue with one with another.

The translations of the Psalm text in EV and LV, and the Primers, as influenced by the Wycliffite translations, invite analysis in terms of the most self-evident dimensions of openness. The accessibility and clarity of the English text have received much comment, but the pursuit of reproducibility I have linked with them has attracted less attention. Chapter 1 addresses how the translations manifest ‘openness’ in this sense of reproducibility, including through the presentation of alternative options which I have described as open-endedness, as

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<sup>58</sup> *The Wycliffite Heresy: Authority and the Interpretation of Texts* (Cambridge, 2002), hereafter *The Wycliffite Heresy*, p. 128.

part of its larger exploration of the dynamism of the translations. It considers not only the dynamism of the translation process but also that of its presentation and use. The diversity of manuscript contexts in which the Wycliffite Psalms appear illustrates the inextricability of Psalm translation from English exegetical and lay devotional contexts. Subsequent chapters accordingly consider the opening of the Psalms through the *translatio* of the exegetical tradition and devotional practice.

Chapter 2 examines the glosses that accompany numerous copies of the Wycliffite Psalms, specifically LV; it gives particular attention to Bodley 554, both as a uniquely extensive instance of such glossing and as a witness to a set of glosses present, if only partially, in so many other manuscripts. These glosses stand out for their frequent open-endedness: they often record alternative possibilities for the translation or indeed the base text (as especially evident in Bodley 554's copious glosses on the Hebrew), alternative readings of the text, and alternative approaches to reading the text (as especially evident in the juxtaposition of 'literal' and 'gostli' interpretations in many of Bodley 554's title glosses). In this, the glosses merely translate – and augment – the method of their sources, the authoritative exegesis of Nicholas of Lyra, Augustine, and the *Glossa Ordinaria*. Nonetheless, such open-endedness could seem to contradict the emphasis on the perspicacity of Scripture and the critical attitude to the prevarications of glossators expressed throughout Wycliffite writings, and to undermine the translation as such, compounding the often-touted problem introduced by the mere presence of the glosses.<sup>59</sup> Chapter 2 contends, however, that the glosses contribute to rather than detract from the opening of the Psalms by inviting the readers of the text into the process of Psalm exposition. In addition to granting further access

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<sup>59</sup> See *B554*, vol. 1, p. xlix.

to the translation process and enhancing its reproducibility (or its correctibility, as the case may be), the provision of alternative versions of the text in the glosses enables English audiences to participate in the analysis of the letter of Scripture. The use of alternatives more generally models the scholastic method, teaching readers how to interpret the Psalms for themselves, or how to teach others to do so, and thus again supporting direct engagement with the letter. Other glosses model the extrication of the moral sense from the letter, demonstrating the openness to the divine law of charity described above. The chapter as a whole affirms not only the coherence its editor has attributed to Bodley 554 in itself, but also the coherence of the glosses with the translation and with the trajectory toward living the Psalms, while also seeking to account for the various tensions that operate within and among the glossed Psalters.<sup>60</sup> Indeed, Chapter 2 as a whole locates the glosses' coherence in these tensions as they reflect their functionality for teaching.<sup>61</sup>

If anything, Trinity 93 witnesses even more clearly to the translation of an academic method as well as academic materials. In fact, it does not provide a full translation of the Psalms at all, including the biblical text only in short fragments as these structure the comments it translates from authoritative exegetes. Trinity 93 thus exacerbates the questions regarding the relationship of translation to interpretation, and of Wycliffite readings of the Psalms to academic contexts, raised by the glossed manuscripts. Chapter 3 considers the mutual dependency and apparent equation of biblical text and commentary material in Trinity 93 before analysing its translations of each both as scholarly productions and as tools for further scholarship and indeed the teaching of scholarly approaches to the Psalms. Like the

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<sup>60</sup> *B554*, vol. 1, p. xix.

<sup>61</sup> See Anne Hudson's description of Lollard ambitions for educational reform, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 174-175, and her account of Lollard 'scoles', p. 180ff.

glosses, Trinity 93 preserves a certain open-endedness in its presentation of the interpretive tradition, sharing their pedagogical trajectory toward reader participation. In particular, Chapter 3 highlights the prominence of the Psalter's affective capacity in the organization and recurring themes of Trinity 93, indicating its concern with classifying, if not evoking, the spiritual openness that I argue is integral to Psalm interpretation as envisioned by the Wycliffites.

Of all the materials considered here, the Revisions engage most extensively in this last type of opening, that of the reader to the Psalms as well as the Psalms to the reader. Chapter 4 contends that the Revisions translate a spiritual approach to Psalm reading hitherto associated with contemplative contexts and with solitude into a basis for communal sanctity. Close comparison of the most independent sections of the Revisions with Rolle's commentary reveals the careful development and use of a vocabulary of spiritual discipline, recalling similar care taken over the vocabulary of the Psalm text. In their revision of this vocabulary, I argue, the Revisions do not so much reverse as extend Rolle's devotional model, opening his appropriation of the Psalmist's voice for spiritual formation to proactive participation on the part of all seeking the reformation of the church.

Though particularly concerned with the Revisions as they invite proactive engagement, Chapter 5 explores how Wycliffite exegesis more generally frames the ultimate translation of the Psalms into ethical living. The centrality of the will in ethical readings across the corpus aligns them not only with the interiority foundational to Rolle's Psalter Commentary but also with Wyclif's own articulation of the dynamic between divine and human volition. Comparison of the will's place in Wyclif's comments on penance, persecution, and prayer and in the comments on the Psalter highlights the underpinnings of

Wycliffite Psalm exegesis in scholastic thought. At the same time, it also illustrates the transformation of scholastic formulations such as Wyclif's own into exegetical insights to be put into practice in the multidimensional opening of the Psalter.

The ethical reading of the Psalms extends still further into Wycliffite polemic, where the Psalms feature as a major reference point. However, this thesis concentrates on the Wycliffite presentation of the Psalms as such, seeking to illumine the diverse interpretive processes that comprise the Wycliffite *translatio* of this highly versatile biblical text. In many respects, the study of the Wycliffite Psalms expands the 'range of related editorial projects with sometimes varying intellectual or polemical agenda' surrounding the Wycliffite Bible, as postulated by Ghosh in his analysis of the prologues that circulate variably with EV and LV.<sup>62</sup> At the same time, I would not wish to suggest that the corpus of Wycliffite Psalms are 'related' as a single monolithic endeavour, or even a series of concentric readings rippling out from a single translation (any more than the prologues are 'related' by direct links of this kind).<sup>63</sup>

From the beginning, I emphasize the multiplicity of Psalter translations associated with the Wycliffite corpus, with further ways of reading overlapping as they extend out from each. The high degree of overlap between these interpretations in many cases reflects the common academic formation of the interpreters who produced these works, more than any definite collaboration between them. And yet that common formation – presumably at Oxford, the location posited for most of these productions themselves – suggests a likely

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<sup>62</sup> 'The Prologues', p. 166.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Ghosh, 'The Prologues', pp. 165-166.

scenario for cross-pollination.<sup>64</sup> The collaboration hypothesized within the production of the discrete sources – most notably the Wycliffite Bible translations, the Revisions, and Trinity 93 – makes at least some intersection of these teams all the more likely, especially if they were indeed working within the same city, on the basis of similar academic training.<sup>65</sup> The producers of the glossed Psalters, Trinity 93, and the Revisions in particular would have needed to know and have access to the same works of scholastic exegesis, and it is not impossible that particular volumes and scholars informed more than one of these works.

The probability of contact, if not close cooperation, between those who produced these various materials is only augmented when one considers that the sources reflect not only a shared milieu of scholastic Psalm exegesis but also shared preoccupations with the Psalter's ethical import – and, moreover, common concerns with transmitting both in the dissemination of the English Psalms. That is, the producers of these materials seem to hold both a scholastic and a moral formation in common, and to extend both to an audience of English-Psalms-readers. That these same elements of formation were expressed in the full gamut of interpretive projects, even surrounding a single book, is testament to the thorough entrenchment of the Wycliffite biblical translation within its scholastic and spiritual context. It is no less a testament to the creativity and expansiveness of efforts to cultivate an audience both academically and spiritually ready to open the Psalms in English – and to open itself to them in turn.

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<sup>64</sup> Jeremy Catto, 'The Wycliffite Bible: The Historical Context', in Solopova (ed.), *The Wycliffite Bible: Origin, History, and Interpretation*: pp. 11-26, at p. 11; Hudson, 'The Origin and Textual Tradition of the Wycliffite Bible', pp. 159-160; Kuczynski, *B554*, vol. 1, pp. xxxiv, liv; Schühle-Lewis, *T93*, Part I, pp. 29, 45, 59; Hudson, *RVs*, vol. 1, pp. cxc-cxci, and, 'Five Problems in Wycliffite Texts and a Suggestion', *Medium Aevum*, 80 (2011), pp. 301-324.

<sup>65</sup> Hudson, 'The Origin and Textual Tradition of the Wycliffite Bible', pp. 159-160, and *RVs*, vol. 1, p. cxci; Schühle-Lewis, *T93*, Part I, pp. 12-13.



## Chapter 1

### Translating the Psalms

It is only fitting to begin a study of Wycliffite Psalm interpretation, however broadly conceived, with Psalm translations in the strictest sense. Far from a single monolithic project, Wycliffite Psalm translation takes diverse forms, indicating a flourishing culture of translation in late medieval England. Perhaps the most obvious examples are those which emerged as part of Wycliffite Bible translation project in the Earlier and Later Versions. Though certainly the most comprehensive and best-attested, these are not the only translations of the Psalter in which the Wycliffites had a hand or at least an influence. The Revisions to Rolle's English Psalter Commentary also number among the Wycliffite translations, insofar as they reflect decisions on the part of interpolators, generally identified as Wycliffite in sympathy, to alter or not to alter Rolle's presentation of the Psalter.<sup>66</sup> While the interpretive project of the Revisions receives closer attention in Chapters 4 and 5, the Latin text and English translation that precede the verse-by-verse commentary are discussed here as part of a more comparative study of translation approaches. In addition to EV, LV, and the Revisions, this chapter gives particular attention to the Psalm translations in the English Books of Hours or Primers, hailed as further 'exemplars of the Wycliffite Bible's text', but which stand in varied and often ambiguous relations to the Wycliffite translation project.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> See Hudson, *RVs*, vol. 1, p. clxxxii. For further exploration of how the Revisions model Wycliffite exegesis in their choices of what to retain and what to alter in Rolle's commentary, see the more focused discussion of the Revisions in Chapters 4-5 of this thesis.

<sup>67</sup> Kathleen Kennedy claims this status for all of the Primers, of both categories set out below, with the exception of Oxford, University College MS 179 (hereafter University College 179), 'Reintroducing the English Books of Hours', p. 699. Cf. also Sutherland, *English Psalms*, p. 61, and 'The Wycliffite Psalms', p. 185.

In the Introduction, I registered the apparent divergence between the literal approach taken across these translations and the prioritization of the sense advocated in the General Prologue, as well as in other polemic sympathetic to English biblical translation.<sup>68</sup> Certainly, as this chapter will detail, each of these versions reflects the Latin in clearly discernible ways – a proclivity that might seem more in keeping with translation ‘aftir þe wordis’ than with translation ‘aftir þe sentence’.<sup>69</sup> At least, they do not make the same concessions to English audiences as the ‘dynamic equivalence’ versions which now occupy the ‘sense’ end of the biblical translation spectrum.<sup>70</sup> And yet they do make concessions to the audience by inviting and enabling ongoing engagement with the Latin, while their commitment to the sense expresses itself in their own ongoing attention to the Latin text. Though the Wycliffite Psalm translations are by no means ‘dynamic equivalence’ versions in the modern sense, then, this chapter draws out the dynamism with which they develop an English equivalent for the Latin Psalms. Such dynamism characterizes the distribution of the translations as much as their approaches to translating the text. The chapter thus explores the diversity of contexts in which the Wycliffite Psalms appear before turning to the methods of translation which they employ.

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<sup>68</sup> Cf. also Elizabeth Solopova, ‘The Wycliffite Psalms’, p. 136.

<sup>69</sup> General Prologue, ch. 15, ed. Dove, p. 81.

<sup>70</sup> A landmark text on ‘dynamic equivalence’ is Eugene Nida and Charles Taber’s *The Theory and Practice of Translation* (Leiden: Brill, 1982); according to its glossary, this is the ‘quality of a translation in which the message of the original text has been so transported into the receptor language that the response of the receptor is essentially like that of the original receptors’, as opposed to formal equivalence, the ‘quality of a translation in which the features of the form of the source text have been mechanically reproduced in the receptor language’, pp. 200, 201. The tone of these definitions betrays the authors’ advocacy of ‘dynamic equivalence’, which has informed the flexible treatment of formal features in a number of Bible translations over the last century. Incidentally, the Wycliffe Global Alliance, a large association of Bible translators whose name betrays an identification with the medieval translation work under consideration in this thesis, is among the current adherents of ‘dynamic equivalence’ as opposed to ‘literal’ or “‘word-for-word” translation’, Kirk Franklin, *The Wycliffe Global Alliance – From a U.S. Based International Mission to a Global Movement for Bible Translation* (MA Thesis, University of Pretoria, 2012), *Wycliffe Global Alliance* (<https://www.wycliffe.net/more-about-what-we-do/papers-and-articles/the-wycliffe-global-alliance-and-bible-translation-movements/>), pp. 45, 44.

## 1. Dynamism in Dissemination: The Contexts of the Wycliffite Psalms

### 1.1 *The Psalms and the Wycliffite Bible*

To begin with the versions that have established the Wycliffites' reputation as Bible translators: the diverse range of extant copies of EV and LV Psalms listed in Table 1 attests to the extent and versatility of their conception and use in practice. This is particularly the case for the LV Psalms, which appear both in more manuscripts and alongside a wider variety of other contents than the EV Psalms – including apart from the fuller text of the Wycliffite translation in more independent volumes and miscellanies.<sup>71</sup> To highlight this disparity, I have distinguished different groupings based on the context in which the Psalms appear, or are assumed to have appeared, adapting my general categories from Annie Sutherland's inventories, and collating the most recent indices of EV and LV manuscripts with information from more detailed catalogues and my own study of the manuscripts.<sup>72</sup> Such distinctions among the copies cannot be attributed to intentional choices alone; the more arbitrary factors of manuscript survival have also shaped the extant corpus. That said, the discrepancy between their survivals remains striking. The different contexts in which EV and LV Psalms appear presumably correspond to a distinction in the uses to which these translations lent themselves – or not so much a distinction as an extension in the LV Psalms of the more limited use of the EV Psalms.

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<sup>71</sup> As noted in Table 1, at least one EV Psalter seems to have circulated independently – but we can judge this only by its excision from an existing complete EV, split across TCD 66 and BL Add. 15580.

<sup>72</sup> Compare *English Psalms in the Middle Ages*, pp. 61-62; 'The Wycliffite Psalms', pp. 183-184.

*Table 1: The Manuscripts of the Wycliffite Psalms<sup>73</sup>*

**Table 1.1 EV Psalms in Complete Bibles**

Shelfmark	Abbreviation	Date	Size	WB Contents	Glosses to Psalter	Prologues to Psalter	Liturgical Indicators in Manuscript
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 369	Douce 369	1390s?	Folio	Complete OT and NT (with some loss of leaves) <sup>74</sup>		- ‘Whanne it is knowen’ - ‘Dauyd þe sone of Iesse’ - Prologues to other books	- Marks lections
Oxford, Christ Church MS 145	Christ Church 145	s.xiv ex.	Folio	Complete OT and NT	- Title glosses (through Psalm 101) - Bodley 554-type glosses	- ‘Whanne it is knowen’ - ‘Dauyd þe sone of Iesse’ - Prologues to other books	- Table of Lections (Type I) <sup>75</sup>
Oxford, Corpus Christi	CCCO 4	s.xv <sup>1</sup>	Folio	Complete OT and NT		- ‘Whanne it is knowen’ - ‘Dauyd þe sone of Iesse’	- Table of Lections (Type II) <sup>76</sup>

<sup>73</sup> I have collated the basic information in Table 1 from the ‘Index of Manuscripts of the Wycliffite Bible’, in Solopova (ed.), *The Wycliffite Bible: Origin, History and Interpretation*, pp. 484-492, and Mary Dove’s catalogue in *The First English Bible*, pp. 281-306. Information in the glosses column is drawn from Kuczynski’s listing of the glossed manuscripts in *B554*, pp.xxvi-xliv. See also Ghosh, ‘The Prologues’, on the prologues. For further details of presentation in the case of Bodleian manuscripts, I draw from Solopova, *Manuscripts of the Wycliffite Bible in the Bodleian and Oxford College Libraries* (Liverpool, 2016), hereafter *Manuscripts*; comments on the presentation of non-Bodleian manuscripts are attributed on a case by case basis. Given the inaccessibility of a number of these manuscripts, the lack of a detail of presentation in this table does not necessarily mean the manuscript does not include that detail of presentation.

<sup>74</sup> Though the codex with the Psalms contains only Numbers 20 – Baruch 3:20, it is understood that this along with the second part containing Isaiah-Acts once formed part of a complete Bible, Sutherland, *English Psalms*, p. 283.

<sup>75</sup> Information on lection table types is drawn from Solopova, *Manuscripts*.

<sup>76</sup> Notably, Solopova also records the inclusion of liturgical music in four parts in a sixteenth century hand on f. iv, *Manuscripts*, p. 244.

College MS 4						- Jerome's Prefatory Epistles - Prologues to other books	
Warminster, Longleat House, MS 3 <sup>77</sup>	Longleat 3	c.1390- 1410	Folio	Complete OT and NT	- RV1 glosses	- 'Whanne it is known'; - 'Dauyd þe sone of Iesse' - Prologues to other books	- Table of Lections <sup>78</sup>
Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Biliothek MS Cod. Guelf. A2 Aug. 2 <sup>o</sup> <sup>79</sup>		c.1400	Folio	Complete OT and NT (with some loss of text)		Contains prologues? <sup>80</sup>	- Table of Lections
<i>Dublin, Trinity College 66- British Library MS Additional 15580</i>	<i>TCD 66 - BL Add. 15580</i>	<i>c.1400</i>	<i>Quarto</i>	<i>Complete OT and NT, Psalter extracted<sup>81</sup></i>		<i>- Prologue to Psalms - Prologues to other books?</i>	<i>- Table of Lections</i>

<sup>77</sup> See 'Extracts from a Revised Version of Richard Rolle's English Psalter in MS Longleat 3, an Early Version Wycliffite Bible', *Medium Aevum* 85.2 (2016): 217-35, pp. 217, 220-221.

<sup>78</sup> Matti Peikola, 'Tables of Lections in Manuscripts of the Wycliffite Bible', in Eyal Poleg and Laura Light (eds.), *Form and Function in the Late Medieval Bible* (Leiden, 2013): pp. 351-378, at p. 376.

<sup>79</sup> See Otto von Heinemann, *Die Augusteischen Handschriften* (Frankfurt, 1965), S.10.

<sup>80</sup> Otto von Heinemann refers to prologues for other books in this volume, *Die Augusteischen Handschriften* (Frankfurt, 1965), S.10.

<sup>81</sup> While the 'Index' in Solopova (ed.), *The Wycliffite Bible: Origin, History and Interpretation*, p. 486, lists TCD 66 as containing the Old Testament in EV, T.K. Abbott clarifies that TCD 66 contains only Genesis through the prologue to the Psalter, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in Trinity College, Dublin* (Dublin, 1900), p. 8. TCD 67 contains Proverbs – Apocalypse, but Dove, following Lindberg, names BL Add. 15580 as the companion volume to TCD 66, Dove, *The First English Bible*, p. 286. It is BL Add. 15580 that contains a lectionary according to Dove, *The First English Bible*, p. 289. Presumably the Psalter was extracted from a complete EV which was split into these two volumes.

**Table 1.2 EV Psalms in Partial Bibles**

Shelfmark	Abbreviation	Date	Size	WB Contents	Glosses	Prologues	Liturgical Contents
Cambridge, Univeristy Library MS Additional 6681	CUL Add. 6681	c.1400	Folio	Complete OT		- 'Whanne it is knowen' - 'Dauyd þe sone of Iesse' - Jerome's Prefatory Epistles - Prologues to other books	- List of canticles (after Psalter)
Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee.1.10	CUL Ee.1.10	c.1430	Quarto	2 Chronicles - 2 Macchabees, abridged		- 'Whanne it is knowen' (abridged) - 'Dauyd þe sone of Iesse' (abridged) - Prologues to other books (abridged)	- Canticles after Psalms - Athanasian creed after Psalms
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 771	Bodley 771	s.xiv ex.- s.xv in.	Quarto	<i>Oone of Foure</i> ; Extracts from OT and NT <sup>82</sup>			- Table of Lections (Type I)
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 959	Bodley 959	c.1380s- 1390s	Folio	Genesis - Baruch 3:2		- 'Whanne it is knowen'; - 'Dauyd þe sone of Iesse'	

<sup>82</sup> Sutherland describes Bodley 771 as 'a complete EV Old Testament accompanied by extracts from the Epistles and Acts', *English Psalms*, p. 284; cf. 'The Wycliffite Psalms', p.184. However, as Solopova notes, it contains *Oon of Foure* and then 'extracts from Deeds [. . .] one short extract from Apocalypse [. . .] and extracts from the OT [. . .] in EV', the latter being arranged thematically rather than in the order of the biblical books; Solopova suggests 'the collection was designed for this copy or its archetype', *Manuscripts*, p. 85. This last section does include extracts from the Psalms, their familiarity as a reference point perhaps indicated by the fact that, where other extracts are usually labelled with the book and chapter from which they are drawn, the Psalter extracts tend to appear with only the number of the Psalm; see, for instance, f. 106v.

						-space for further material before the Psalms - Prologues to other books	
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**Table 1.3 LV Psalms in Complete Bibles<sup>83</sup>**

Shelfmark	Abbreviation	Date	Size	WB Contents	Glosses	Prologues	Liturgical contents
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Parker MS 147	CCCC Parker 147	c.1410-1430	Quarto	Complete	- Title glosses - Bodley 554-type glosses	- General Prologue	- Table of Lections - Secular liturgical divisions
Cambridge, Emmanuel College MS 21	Emmanuel 21	c.1420	Folio	Complete	- Title glosses - Bodley 554-type glosses		- Table of Lections - Marks lections
Cambridge, University Library MS Additional 6680	CUL Add.6680	c.1410 - 1420.	Folio	Complete		- Jerome's Prefatory Epistles - Prologues to other books	- Secular liturgical divisions
Cambridge, University Library MS Dd.1.27	CUL Dd.1.27	c.1430-1440.	Folio	Complete (2 vols.)	- Unique glosses - Bodley 554-type glosses	- 'Whanne it is knowen' - 'Dauyd þe sone of Iesse' - Prologues to other books	- Table of Lections - Marks lections - Secular liturgical divisions

<sup>83</sup> See Sutherland, 'The Wycliffite Psalms', p.184, which lists 14 of these, to which may be added Lambeth 25, which contains Genesis – Deuteronomy in EV and Joshua – Apocalypse in LV according to Dove's index in *The First English Bible* and that in Solopova (ed.) *The Wycliffite Bible: Origin, History and Interpretation*.

Cambridge, University Library MS Mm.2.15	CUL Mm.2.15	c.1410- 1420	Folio	Complete (2 vols.)	- Bodley 554- type glosses - Title glosses	- General Prologue	- Secular liturgical divisions
Hereford, Cathedral Library MS O.VII.1	Hereford O.VII.1	c.1410- 1420	Folio	Complete (2 vols. in present form)		- Jerome's prefatory epistles - Prologues to other books - General Prologue	- Lectionary-calendar - Table of Lections - Canticles (after Psalms)
London, British Library MS Arundel 104	Arundel 104	c.1430- 1450	Folio	Complete			- Table of Lections
London, British Library MS Cotton Claudius E.II	Cotton Claudius E.II	c.1410- 1420	Folio	Complete	- Bodley 554- type glosses - Title glosses		
London, British Library MS Royal 1.C.VIII	Royal 1.C.VIII	c.1400- 1420	Folio	Complete LV <sup>84</sup>	Title glosses	- General Prologue Chapter 1	
London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 25	Lambeth 25	c.1390- 1400	Folio	Complete LV <sup>85</sup>	- Bodley 554- type glosses - Title glosses	- Jerome's Prefatory Epistles - Prologues to other books	
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 277	Bodley 277	c.1415- 1450	Folio	Complete LV <sup>86</sup>	- Title glosses - Bodley 554- type glosses - Unique glosses	- General Prologue Chapter 1 - Prologues to other books	- Lections marked - Further readings marked - 'Cantatur in Choro' at beginning of Psalter

<sup>84</sup> A revised version of LV according to Dove, *The First English Bible*, p. 292.

<sup>85</sup> Dove's index notes that Genesis- Deuteronomy are in EV, while Joshua – Apocalypse are in LV.

<sup>86</sup> Again, a revised version of LV according to Dove, *The First English Bible*, p. 298.

							- Secular liturgical divisions
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Fairfax 2	Fairfax 2	1408	Folio	Complete	- Title glosses - Bodley 554-type glosses	- 'Whanne it is knowen'; - 'Dauyd þe sone of Iesse' - Prologues to other books - Jerome's Prefatory Epistles	- List of canticles in English (after Psalms) - Athanasian Creed (after Psalms) - Lectionary-calendar (after Psalms)
Oxford, Lincoln College MS Latin 119	Lincoln Lat.119	s.xv <sup>1</sup>	Folio	Complete	- Glosses - Title glosses	- General Prologue - Prologues to other books <sup>87</sup>	- Indexing letters in NT - Secular liturgical divisions
Oxford, Queen's College MS 388	Queen's 388	s.xv <sup>1</sup>	Folio	Complete	Glosses	- Prologues to other books (unique) - 'Þis book Sauter is clepid þat is to seie þe book of songis of Dauip (unique)	- Table of lections (Type I) - Indexing letters
Princeton, Princeton University Library MS William H. Scheide 12	Scheide 12	c. 1400-1410	Quarto	Complete <sup>88</sup>		- General Prologue - Prologues to other books	- Table of Lections

**Table 1.4 LV Psalms in Partial Bibles<sup>89</sup>**

<sup>87</sup> The loss of a quire makes it impossible to tell which, if any prologues, accompany the Psalter in this manuscript.

<sup>88</sup> Dove describes as a revised text, *The First English Bible*, p. 266.

<sup>89</sup> Cambridge, St. John's MS E.18 includes select Psalms alongside a copy of John in LV and the Articles of the Faith, so that Sutherland includes it as a second instance of the LV Psalms accompanying New Testament material, 'The Wycliffite Psalms', p. 184. Though these Psalms have been catalogued as LV, I will argue later in this chapter that they are in fact from the Middle English Prose Psalter version.

Shelfmark	Abbreviation	Date	Size	WB Contents	Glosses	Prologues	Liturgical Contents
Cambridge, St. John's College MS E.14	St. John's E.14	s.xv <sup>2</sup>	Trigesimo-secundo	Psalms, Canticles, Athanasian Creed, Proverbs - Ecclesiasticus	- Title glosses	- Prologue(s) to other books	- Lections for Office of the Dead - Canticles after Psalter - Athanasian Creed
London, British Library MS Additional 31044	BL Add. 31044	c.1400	Duodecimo	Psalms - Ecclesiasticus	- 1 Bodley 554-type gloss	- General Prologue on Psalms - RV Rolle Prologue - Prologues to other books	
London, British Library MS Harley 2249	Harley 2249	c.1410-1420	Folio	Joshua 19:19 - Psalms 144:3	- Title glosses		
London, British Library MS Lansdowne 454	Lansdowne 454	c.1420	Folio	Genesis - Psalms			
London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 1033	Lambeth 1033	c.1410-1420	Folio	2 Chron. 2:7 - Baruch	- Title glosses - Bodley 554-type glosses	- Prologues to other books	
London, Sion College, MS ARC L40.2/E.1 <sup>90</sup>	ARC L40.2/E.1	s.xv in.	Folio	Complete OT		- Jerome's Prefatory Epistles - Prologues to other books <sup>91</sup>	

<sup>90</sup> Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries* (Oxford, 1969), 5 vols., vol. 1, p. 287.

<sup>91</sup> It is impossible to know whether a prologue was included from the Psalter, which begins imperfectly due to a loss of leaves. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, vol. 1, p. 287.

Manchester, John Rylands Library MS Eng.88 <sup>92</sup>	John Rylands Eng.88	s.xiv <sup>2</sup>	Duodecimo	Psalms, Song of Songs			- Canticles (after Psalms) - Athanasian Creed
Norwich, Norfolk Heritage Centre MS I h 20 <sup>93</sup>		c.1420	Folio	Genesis - Proverbs 7:10			
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS 296	Bodley 296	s.xiv ex. - s.xv in.	Folio	Genesis - Psalms	Title glosses		- Secular liturgical divisions
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud Misc. 182	Laud Misc.182	s.xv <sup>1</sup>	Duodecimo	Chapters from OT and NT, including Psalms 1-2, 4- 6, 36, 50, 70, 98 - Extracts from OT and NT, including from Psalms 5-6, 50, 71, 88, 95, 115, 118, 138	Glosses		
Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 20	CCCO 20	s.xiv ex. - s.xv in.	Folio	1 Ezra - 2 Maccabees <sup>94</sup>		- 'Whanne it is knowen' - 'Dauyd þe sone of Iesse' - Prologues to other books	- Secular liturgical divisions

<sup>92</sup> Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, vol. 3, p. 412.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, vol. 3, p. 556.

<sup>94</sup> Solopova suggests this might have been part of a two-volume OT, *Manuscripts*, p. 247.

Oxford, New College MS 66	New College 66	c.1415-1425?	Quarto	Genesis - Psalms	- Bodley 554-type glosses - Title glosses	- 'Whanne it is knowen' - 'Dauyd þe sone of Iesse'	'Commendations' beside Psalm 118
San Marino, Huntington Library MS HM 501 <sup>95</sup>	Huntington HM 501	s.xv <sup>1</sup>	Trigesimo-secundo	Extracts from Deuteronomy, Baruch, Tobit; Psalms. Canticles, Litany; extracts from Psalms; <i>Oon of Foure</i>		- 'Whanne it is knowen' - 'Dauyd þe sone of Iesse' - General Prologue on Psalms - General Prologue Chapter 12 - Revised Prologue to Rolle's English Psalter Commentary	- Canticles after Psalms - Athanasian Creed - Versicles and Responses; Litany etc.
Worcester, Worcester Cathedral Library MS Worc.Cath.F.172 <sup>96</sup>	Worc. Cath.F.172	c.1450-1468	Quarto	Psalms 1-83, LV Acts		- General Prologue on Psalms - Revised Prologue to Rolle's English Psalter Commentary	
<i>Oxford, St. John's College MS 7</i>	<i>St. John's 7</i>	<i>s.xv<sup>1</sup></i>	Folio	<i>Complete NT and Psalter,</i>		<i>- Prologues to other books</i>	<i>- Indexing Letters</i>

<sup>95</sup> Ralph Hanna, *IMEP I: Huntington Library* (Cambridge, 1984), p. 28.

<sup>96</sup> Rodney Thomson and Michael Gullick, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts in Worcester Cathedral Library* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 114.

				<i>Psalter extracted</i> <sup>97</sup>			
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**Table 1.5 LV Psalms in Independent Volumes or Miscellanies**<sup>98</sup>

Shelfmark	Abbreviation	Date	Size	Glosses	Prologues	Liturgical Contents
Dublin, Trinity College, MS 70	TCD 70	s.xv	Sextodecimo	Glosses		- Canticles - Athanasian Creed
Dublin, Trinity College MS 72	TCD 72	s.xv	Small octavo		General Prologue on Psalms	- Lectionary - Canticles
London, British Library MS Additional 10046	BL Add. 10046	s.xv	Trigesimo-secundo	Title glosses	- General Prologue on Psalms - General Prologue Chapter 12 - Revised Prologue to Rolle's English Psalter Commentary	- Athanasian Creed (with Rolle's Commentary)
London, British Library MS	BL Add. 10047	s.xv ex.	Quarto	Title glosses		

<sup>97</sup> Dove notes that Oxford, St. John's 7 once contained the Psalms, though they have since been removed, *The First English Bible*, p. 63.

<sup>98</sup> St. John's 7, provides further evidence of the independent circulation of the LV Psalms precisely by the absence of its Psalter section, a removal 'presumably for ease of use' on its own according to Dove, *The First English Bible*, p. 63. In this, it recalls the evidence for the independent circulation of the EV Psalms in the absence of the Psalter from TCD 66 and BL Add. 15580, as noted in Table 1.1: EV Psalms in Complete Bibles above.

Additional 10047						
London, British Library MS Additional 35284	BL Add. 35284	c.1400	Trigesimo-secundo			- Canticles - Litany
London, British Library MS Harley 1896	Harley 1896	s.xv <sup>2-3</sup>	Quarto			- Psalms in Latin and English - Secular Liturgical Divisions - Latin for each Psalm verse
London, British Library MS Yates Thompson 52 (formerly MS Additional 36683)	Yates Thompson 52	s.xv	Duodecimo			- Type I Primer - Latin Calendar <sup>99</sup>
New Haven, Yale University Library MS Beinecke 360	Beinecke 360	c.1400	Trigesimo-secundo <sup>100</sup>			- Secular liturgical divisions - Canticles - Type I Primer
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS 554	Bodley 554	s.xv in.	Small Quarto	- Bodley 554-type glosses - Title glosses - Unique Glosses		- Secular liturgical divisions - Canticles after Psalter
Oxford, New College MS 320	New College 320	c.1500	Quarto		- 'Whanne it is knowen'	- Secular liturgical divisions - Canticles

<sup>99</sup> Kennedy, 'Reintroducing the English Books of Hours', p. 703.

<sup>100</sup> Barbara Shailor *et al.*, *Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University* (Binghamton, 1987), p. 206.

					- 'Dauid þe sone of Iesse'	
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### 1.1.1 A Multifunctional Translation

The accoutrements of exegesis that can surround the text in either version establish both EV and LV as sources for study, whether of the Psalter specifically or in its biblical context. Many of the EV and LV Bibles in which the Psalms appear include prefatory materials throughout that were standard in Bibles of the Paris type.<sup>101</sup> The Psalter is no exception, with many copies including multiple prologues to the Psalms; notably, these include introductions to the Psalter from a growing English tradition as well as translations of Jerome's prefatory material. Sutherland draws attention to Huntington 501, with its four Prologues to the Psalter, as a conspicuous example of 'an anthologising interest in Psalm-based material', also naming BL Add. 31044 and Worc.Cath.F.172 as examples of this tendency.<sup>102</sup> In fact, all three number among a subgroup of manuscripts combining the Prologue from the Revisions and the General Prologue's précis of the Psalter or other General Prologue material, suggesting an emerging norm in the presentation of the LV Psalms.<sup>103</sup> Ghosh remarks the accretion of prologues across the Wycliffite Bible's books to reflect a common practice in glossed Latin Bibles of the period.<sup>104</sup> Indeed, in transferring customary accompaniments to the Latin text into the Wycliffite Bible, Ghosh suggests, the prologue materials also 'seek to "translate" [. . .] an entire academic discourse, method and *mentalité*' – a pursuit which this thesis proposes as a major front of Wycliffite Psalm translation in general.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> For a more detailed account of these prologues as they testify to the academic contextualization of the Wycliffite Bible, see Ghosh, 'The Prologues', pp. 162-182.

<sup>102</sup> Sutherland, 'The Wycliffite Psalms', p. 186.

<sup>103</sup> On the overlap in prologue materials, cf. Ghosh, 'The Prologues', pp. 164-165.

<sup>104</sup> 'The Prologues', p. 166; cf. Laura Light, 'The Bible and the Individual: the Thirteenth-Century Paris Bible', in Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly, *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages: Production, Reception and Performance in Western Christianity* (New York, 2011): pp. 228-246, at p. 233.

<sup>105</sup> 'The Prologues', p. 182.

Glosses explicating individual Psalms or particular words and passages within them likewise reflect and extend the academic tradition, participating, as Kuczynski notes, in a long pre-existing process.<sup>106</sup> Extant EVs tend to include only brief intertextual glosses, and that sparsely, with the marginal glosses in Christ Church 145 and Longleat 3 above likely added after their original production.<sup>107</sup> Meanwhile, most complete LVs and a number of partial LVs and independent volumes accompany the Psalter with substantial exegetical apparatus. Kuczynski's identification of 22 manuscripts (all LV except Christ Church 145) with related comments from Lyra, Augustine, and to a lesser extent the *Glossa Ordinaria* suggests a concerted translation of Latin exegesis for the purpose of circulation with LV.<sup>108</sup> At the same time, the corpus of glosses circulates with a high degree of variability; where Bodley 554 includes over a thousand glosses by Kuczynski's count, BL Add. 31044 includes only one marginal gloss on the Psalter, with the presentation of the glosses as well as their coverage varying from manuscript to manuscript.<sup>109</sup> The presence of distinctive glosses in specific manuscripts – including the plethora of glosses in Bodley 554, the run of glosses in TCD 70 that reflect certain solely Augustinian readings also found in Bodley 554, and most strikingly the glosses recording RV1 material in Longleat 3 – suggest multiple strands of the glossing tradition and indeed multiple glossing traditions.<sup>110</sup> This inconsistency in the

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<sup>106</sup> Kuczynski, 'Glossing and Glosses', in Solopova (ed.), *The Wycliffite Bible: Origin, History, and Interpretation*: pp.346-357, hereafter 'Glossing and Glosses', at p. 346. Cf. Chapter 2 of this thesis for a focused discussion of the glossed Psalters.

<sup>107</sup> On EV glosses in general, see Kuczynski, 'Glossing and Glosses', p. 348; *B554*, vol. 1, p. xlv; on the possible post-production status of the glosses in Christ Church 145 and Longleat 3, see Kuczynski's distinction of their scribes in *B554*, vol. 1, p. xli, and 'Extracts from a Revised Version of Richard Rolle's English Psalter in MS Longleat 3, an Early Version Wycliffite Bible', *Medium Aevum* 85.2 (2016): 217-35, pp. 217, 220-221, respectively.

<sup>108</sup> *B554*, vol. 1, p. v. See Chapter 2, section 2.1.

<sup>109</sup> See *B554*, vol. 1, pp. xxxv-xliv for a listing of the manuscripts with brief descriptions; see p. lxxii for his count of Bodley 554's glosses.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. Chapter 2, section 2.1.

circulation and presentation of glossing, as in the circulation and presentation of the prologues to the Psalter, only reinforces the dynamism with which EV and especially LV were adapted for use in study.

The visible markers of scholarly utility across the manuscripts point to the suitability of both EV and LV for clerical users, though it is important not to forget the diversity of contexts in which EV and LV appear, and the ‘diffusely visualised target-audience’ this entails.<sup>111</sup> Emphasizing the likelihood of clerical ownership over common distribution, Solopova adduces evidence of use by Latin-literate scholars, such as the ‘Latin tables of contents, Latin extracts from theological works, and Latin liturgical and theological annotations’ among the medieval additions to the volumes.<sup>112</sup> In some cases, I would add, evidence of use could suggest polemic-oriented study. For instance, the marginal note on ‘anticrist’ at Psalm 78 in CUL Dd.I.27 (vol. 1) added in a hand roughly contemporaneous to, but distinct from, that of the scribe who copied the text and other marginalia, could reflect sectarian interest.<sup>113</sup> This interest is not unmoored from the established Latin tradition, however; other marginalia by that hand in the manuscript are much more generic, providing a cross-reference to ‘viii capitulo to ꝑe ebrews’ and annotating Psalm 26 as ‘ꝑe holy preour of Dauip’, while, as Kuczynski notes, the interest in Antichrist reflects a scribal gloss on Psalm 9, which in turn reflects a Lyran reading witnessed in Bodley 554.<sup>114</sup> Medieval ownership inscriptions confirm the presence of the translations in clerical contexts; Mary Dove lists ‘Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London under Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth’ as

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<sup>111</sup> Ghosh uses this phrase in describing the spectrum of readers the General Prologue and similar sources seem to invite, ‘The Prologues’, p. 180.

<sup>112</sup> Solopova, ‘The Wycliffite Psalms’, p. 133. Examples of reference aids also include the Old Testament book-lists in Hereford O.VII.1, Cotton Claudius E.II, and BL Add 31044, and the index of Latin Psalm incipits in the latter, might seem fairly rudimentary for an educated figure.

<sup>113</sup> F. 238r.

<sup>114</sup> Ff. 345r, 226v; B554, vol. 1, p. xlv.

owner of Lambeth 25; the Franciscan House at Shrewsbury as possessor of Bodley 771; and ‘Clemens Ridley, servant to Robert Shurton, priest’, as owner of St. John’s College Cambridge E.14.<sup>115</sup> This latter, however, simultaneously instantiates lay access to LV, albeit on the part of a clerically-adjacent figure.

The liturgical dimension also evident in a number of WB manuscripts reinforces their suitability for and use by clerical figures, while further evincing its versatility. Many of the manuscripts include Latin *incipits* to the Psalter, whether in the original scribal hand or in the hands of later readers, making them compatible with the liturgical use as well as the study of the Latin Psalms.<sup>116</sup> Some of the larger Bibles include tables of lections, or signal lections within the text; thus, for instance, Douce 369 sometimes brackets lections in red, or rubricates the *incipit* and *explicit* of the passage in the margin, and St. John’s 7, which originally contained a Psalter, also occasionally provides indexing letters.<sup>117</sup> Meanwhile, Arundel 104, CCCO 4, Christ Church 145, CUL Dd.1.27, Emmanuel 21, Hereford O.VII.1 Longleat 3, and Queen’s 388 (and also quarto manuscripts Bodley 771 and CCCC Parker 147) include tables of lections.<sup>118</sup> In Fairfax 2, more strikingly still, the provision of a Sarum calendar-lectionary in English, alongside a list of canticles and the Athanasian Creed, between the Psalms and Proverbs suggests a particular association of the Psalter with liturgical function.<sup>119</sup> Most intriguingly of all, Bodley 277 includes the marginal instruction,

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<sup>115</sup> *The First English Bible*, p. 54.

<sup>116</sup> These include Arundel 104, BL Add. 31044, Bodley 277, Bodley 296, Bodley 554, Bodley 959, CCCC Parker 147, CCCO 4, CCCO 20, Christ Church 145, CUL Add. 6680, CUL Add. 6681, CUL Dd.1.27, CUL Ee.1.10, Douce 369, Emmanuel 21, Fairfax 2, John Rylands Eng.88, Laud Misc. 182, Lincoln Lat.119, Longleat 3, New College 320, Scheide 12, and St. John’s E.14.

<sup>117</sup> Solopova, *Manuscripts*, pp. 114, 249.

<sup>118</sup> See Peikola, ‘Tables of Lections in Manuscripts of the Wycliffite Bible’, pp. 372-376. Cf. also Solopova, *Manuscripts*, pp. 230, 240, 271.

<sup>119</sup> For a description of the manuscript, see Solopova, *Manuscripts*, p. 138. As she notes, Fairfax 2 stands out for its inclusion of the temporal and commemorations alongside the sanctoral, p. 17.

‘Cantatur in Choro’ [‘To be sung in a choir’], at the beginning of the Psalter, as well as the marginal denotation of weekly lections, among the fifteenth-century annotations which Hudson has identified as marks of potential use in a Carthusian context before its presentation by the London charterhouse to King Henry VI.<sup>120</sup>

Further features of *ordinatio* contextualize the EV and LV Psalms more specifically in the secular liturgy. In a number of manuscripts, the beginning of the Psalter is marked with the tag, ‘Here biginneth the Psalter which is red commonly in chirches’; these include Bodley 296, CCCC Parker 147, CCCO 20, Harley 2249, and TCD 72. The inclusion of the phrase in these copies does not, on its own, demonstrate their use in such a setting, but does underline the Psalter’s function in public liturgy, in a similar vein to the Revisions’ addition to the Prologue to Rolle’s Psalter Commentary: ‘Dis book of al holy writte is moste vused in holy chirches seruice . . .’.<sup>121</sup> Solopova observes that any gradation of liturgical calendars in EV and LV manuscripts more generally matches secular use.<sup>122</sup> Furthermore, many copies invoke secular use of the Psalter by decoration that distinguishes the initials of Psalms 1, 26, 38, 52, 68, 80, 97, and 109, the beginnings of the nocturns in secular use.<sup>123</sup> In marking the Psalter as a liturgical text for use by clergy serving among the laity, these features suggest that the contents of these volumes could have been ‘accessible’ to the laity in some sense, even if owned and read by clerical figures.

The more independent volumes and compilations in which LV often circulated further expand the potential use of this version in particular both for study (or indeed in the

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<sup>120</sup> Hudson, ‘The Carthusians and a Wycliffite Bible’, in *Ecclesia, cultura, potestas: studia z dziejów kultury i społeczeństwa*, ed. Paweł Kras *et al.* (Krakow, 2006), pp. 731-742. Cf. Solopova, *Manuscripts*, pp. 50-51.

<sup>121</sup> *RVs*, vol. 1, p. 5; the comment is absent from Rolle, ed. Bramley, p. 4.

<sup>122</sup> Solopova, ‘The Wycliffite Psalms’, p. 134.

<sup>123</sup> Solopova, ‘The Wycliffite Psalms’, p. 130.

dissemination of learning through catechesis) and in the liturgy, many suggesting personal or even peripatetic use by their size and contents. All but one of the surviving copies that include the LV Psalms independently of the Wycliffite Bible translation also include the canticles, and several also include the litany or Athanasian Creed, all of which could support participation in or appreciation of public performance of the liturgy.<sup>124</sup> The Athanasian Creed would also support instruction, especially cases where it appears with commentary, as in St. John's College E.14 and BL Add. 10046. Glosses, as well as prologues, in a number of these smaller and therefore more portable volumes corroborate their suitability for use in private and coterie study, a possibility to which I will return in Chapter 2. Where such materials for study or catechesis appear together with liturgical materials, they could well have functioned as multi-use resources for parish priests. Equally, some of these volumes could have served to directly instruct literate laity, and guide them in their liturgical engagement.

### *1.1.2 The Primers and the Wycliffite Bible Psalms*

Indeed, its appearance both with and in the Middle English Primers indicates LV's direct use in lay devotion.<sup>125</sup> Two Primer manuscripts, Yates Thompson 52 and Beinecke 360, contain the LV Psalms as a discrete text alongside the Hours.<sup>126</sup> In this, however, Yates Thompson 52 and Beinecke 360 represent exceptions. More typical contents of the Primer resemble those of the late fourteenth-century Latin Book of Hours: a calendar, four Gospel

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<sup>124</sup> The one exception is BL Add. 10047.

<sup>125</sup> In his foundational work on the Book of Hours tradition, Victor Leroquais speaks of the Book of Hours as 'un bréviaire à l'usage des laïques' ['a breviary for laypeople'], as opposed to for the cleric or monastic, *Les livres d'heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris, 1927), pp. vi, ix. Nigel Morgan points out its inclusion of 'texts which could be used both in the public liturgy and in private devotion', and hypothesizes about its potential function in the latter, 'Books for the Liturgy and Private Prayer', in Nigel Morgan and Rodney Thomson (eds.) *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Volume II: 1100-1400* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 307, 308ff.

<sup>126</sup> On the inclusion of the Book of Hours alongside the Psalter in the Latin tradition, see Nigel Morgan, 'Books for the Liturgy and Private Prayer', p. 308.

lessons, the Hours of the Virgin, the Hours of the Cross, the Hours of the Holy Spirit, the seven Penitential Psalms, the litany, and the Office of the Dead, along with the Litany and the Penitential Psalms, Marian prayers, suffrages, and often additional materials and prayers.<sup>127</sup> Among these materials, translations of appointed Psalms are grouped together, as in the Penitential and Gradual Psalms, or integrated into the structure of the canonical hours, as in the general framework below:

### **Hours of the Blessed Virgin**

Matins: 94, 8, 18, 23  
 Lauds: 92, 99, 62, 66, 148, 149, 150  
 Prime: 53, 116, 117  
 Tierce: 119, 120, 121  
 Sext: 122, 123, 124  
 None: 125, 126, 127  
 Vespers: 121-125 repeated  
 Compline: 12, 42, 128, 130, 129

**The Seven Penitential Psalms:** 6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129, 147

**The Fifteen Gradual Psalms:** 119—130 repeated, 131, 132, 133

### **The Office for the Dead:**

Placebo or Vespers: 114, 119, 120, 129, 137, 145  
 Dirige:  
     First Nocturn: 5, 6, 7  
     Second Nocturn: 22, 24, 26  
     Third Nocturn: 39, 40, 41  
     Lauds: 50, 64, 62, 66, 148, 149, 150, 29

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<sup>127</sup> See Roger Wieck, *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life* (New York, 2001), p. 27. In his chapter, 'The Book of Hours', in Thomas Heffernan and Ann Matter (eds.), *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church* (Kalamazoo, 2001), pp. 473-513, Wieck notes some of the changes in these contents between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries. Cf. Kathleen Kennedy, 'English Books of Hours', p. 694, who cites essentially the same list of elements. As she notes, the content of the Primers had 'standardized' by this point (i.e. the later fourteenth century). Leroquais lists 'le calendrier, les Heures de la Vierge, les psaumes pénitentiels, les litanies, les suffrages et l'office des morts' ['the calendar, the Hours of the Virgin, the penitential Psalms, the litanies, the suffrages, and the Office of the Dead'] as 'éléments essentiels' ['essential elements'], *Les livres d'heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale*, pp. ix, xiv. See Leroquais, p. xviii, for the Little Hours of the Virgin.

Commendations: 118, 138<sup>128</sup>

Though I have provided a sample set of typical Psalms for ease of reference, not all the Primers contain precisely the same Psalms within this structure, as James Morey has illustrated in a useful comparative table.<sup>129</sup> The high concentration of Psalms within the Primers render them important witnesses to Psalm translation into English, but not necessarily to the same translation of the Psalms – or, for that matter, of other scriptural passages.

Like the manuscripts of the Wycliffite Bible itself, the Primer manuscripts exhibit significant variation in a number of respects. In his 1892 collation of thirteen manuscripts of the Primer, Henry Littlehales distinguished those with ‘an extended form’ of the liturgy from those with ‘a slightly shorter form’.<sup>130</sup> Jane Harris-Matthews has extended his classification to include two further manuscripts; she also adds subdivisions to his classification scheme, reflecting the variation in contents between the Primers within each group.<sup>131</sup> Similarly, she has inserted a further manuscript into Margaret Allen’s organization of the Primers according

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<sup>128</sup> I have drawn this list from Hargreaves, ‘The Middle English Primers and the Wycliffite Bible’, *The Modern Language Review* 51 (1956), p. 215. James Morey illustrates the variability even of the Psalms included in his comparative table, *Book and Verse: A Guide To Middle English Biblical Literature* (Urbana, 2000), pp. 183-186.

<sup>129</sup> *Book and Verse: A Guide To Middle English Biblical Literature*, pp. 183-186. As for the Hours more generally, John Harper lists Psalms 66 and 148-150 as ‘unchanging daily psalms’ in Lauds, noting that Psalm 62 was ‘recited daily in the secular *cursus*’ *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy* (Oxford, 1991), p. 70.

<sup>130</sup> *The Prymer or Prayer-Book of the Lay People in the Middle Ages* (London, 1892), 2 vols, vol. 1 p. v. He classes BL Add. 17010, BL Add. 17011, and Ashmole 1288, as listed below, in the category of ‘extended form’ liturgies; in the category of manuscripts with the ‘shorter form’, he classes BL Add. 27592, Douce 246, Douce 275, Rawlinson C.699, Bodley 85, Queen’s 324, CUL Dd.11.82, St. John’s G. 24, Emmanuel 246, and Hunter 472.

<sup>131</sup> Harris-Matthews adds Hunter 512 and BL Add. 36683 to the latter category of shorter texts, *Lay Devotions in Late Medieval English Manuscripts* (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Cambridge, 1980), hereafter *Lay Devotions*, p. 84.

to their texts for the passages from Job in the Office for the Dead.<sup>132</sup> As Allen and Harris-Matthews note, the translation of the Job lessons in the second group of the Primers resembles the LV translation quite closely.<sup>133</sup>

More pertinent to this thesis is the classification of the Primers by their texts for the Psalms and specifically by their relation to the Wycliffite translations of the Psalter. The link between the LV translation and the Psalm texts of certain English Primers first received attention from Henry Hargreaves. In a 1956 article, he observed that the Psalms and readings in two Primers, London, BL MS Add. 17010 and Cambridge, CUL MS Dd.11.82, corresponded to the LV Psalms, while attributing the texts in the third Primer, Cambridge, St. John's College MS G.24, to 'an independent translation'.<sup>134</sup> More recent scholarship by Harris-Matthews, Kennedy, and Sutherland has both affirmed Hargreaves' identification of these Primers with LV and challenged his identification of St. John's as 'independent', at least in the sense of having no connection with any other translations of the Psalter. These three have added to the list of Primers whose Psalm texts more or less reproduce the LV translations, establishing the following group of 8:

**Type I Primers**<sup>135</sup>

**Abbreviation**

Cambridge, University Library MS Dd.11.82  
London, British Library MS Additional 17010

CUL Dd.11.82  
BL Add. 17010

<sup>132</sup> In Appendix C to her thesis, Margaret Allen observes two basic categories of text, and subdivides each according to more specific affinities between the texts, 'The Book of Job in Middle English Literature' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, King's College London, 1970), pp. 362-376. In her first group, A, she classes St. John's G.24 and Bodley 85 as A1 alongside the Wheatley manuscript (London, BL MS Add. 39574); she classes Emmanuel 246, BL Add. 27592, and Hunterian 472 as A2, and Douce 246, Douce 275, Queen's 324, and Ashmole 1288 as A3. Group B includes BL Add. 17010 and BL Add. 17011 as B1 and CUL Dd.11.82, Rawlinson C.699, and BL Add. 36683 as B2, to which Harris-Matthews also adds Hunterian 512, *Lay Devotions*, p. 239.

<sup>133</sup> Allen, 'The Book of Job in Middle English Literature' p. 370; cf. Harris-Matthews, *Lay Devotions*, p. 86. Mabel Day, too, observed the text of the lessons to be LV, *The Wheatley Manuscript*, EETS O.S. 155, p. xviii.

<sup>134</sup> 'The Middle English Primers and the Wycliffite Bible', *The Modern Language Review* 51.2 (1956): pp. 215-217, at p. 215.

<sup>135</sup> I here use my own nomenclature for these two groups of Primers to avoid confusion, as Sutherland and Harris-Matthews use the same labels (A and B) for opposite groups.

London, British Library MS Additional 17011	BL Add. 17011
London, British Library MS Yates Thompson 52 (formerly Additional 36683)	Yates Thompson 52
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 1288 (1)	Ashmole 1288 (1)
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson C. 699	Rawlinson C.699
Oxford, Queen's MS 324	Queen's 324
New Haven, Yale University Library MS Beinecke 360	Beinecke 360 <sup>136</sup>

Even among these, there is some variation, such that BL Add. 17010 and BL Add. 17011

may be categorized as Type IA whilst the others may be categorized together as Type IB.<sup>137</sup>

Harris-Matthews, Kennedy, and Sutherland have grouped 8 of the other known Primers

together as having a shared Psalm text of a different type:

### **Type II Primers**

### **Abbreviation**

Cambridge, Emmanuel College MS 246	Emmanuel 246
Cambridge, St. John's College MS G.24	St. John's G.24
Glasgow, University Library MS Hunter 472 (v.6.22)	Hunter 472
Glasgow, University Library MS Hunter 512 (v.8.15)	Hunter 512 <sup>138</sup>
London, British Library MS Additional 27592	BL Add. 27592
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 85	Bodley 85
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 246	Douce 246
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 275	Douce 275 <sup>139</sup>

Harris-Matthews adds another manuscript to this category, arguing that the extant passages

of Psalm 118 in 'the London University Fragment [. . .] are identical to all the other

manuscripts' of this type.<sup>140</sup> Further variation occurs between these manuscripts, such that

<sup>136</sup> Sutherland, *English Psalms*, p. 139. See also Kennedy, 'Reintroducing the English Books of Hours', pp. 696-697, and Harris-Matthews, *Lay Devotions*, p. 86. (Harris-Matthews does not take Beinecke 360 into account). As Kennedy notes, the Hargreaves article, taken in combination with Littlehales' collation of the manuscripts, does suggest that the other manuscripts with a text like those of CUL Dd.11.82 and Additional 17010 – namely all of these manuscripts except Yates Thompson 52 and Beinecke 360 – 'are LV as well', 'Reintroducing the English Books of Hours', p. 696.

<sup>137</sup> See Harris-Matthews' Table 1, *Lay Devotions*, p. 84a, distinguishing these versions. She notes that the first Psalm of the Placebo in Queen's 324 and the Office for the Dead in Ashmole 1288 both have the Type II text rather than that in the other Type I Primers.

<sup>138</sup> This Primer, alongside University College 179, is a bilingual Primer, having its texts in full in both Latin and English.

<sup>139</sup> Sutherland, *English Psalms*, p. 141. See also Kennedy, 'Reintroducing the English Books of Hours', p. 692 and Harris-Matthews, *Lay Devotions*, Table 1, p. 84a.

<sup>140</sup> Harris-Matthews, *Lay Devotions*, pp. 90-91.

Harris-Matthews has also classified these Primers in three subgroups.<sup>141</sup> Harris-Matthews, Kennedy, and Sutherland each suggest slightly different sources for the Type II Primer translation; I will return to the question of textual comparisons in the second part of this chapter, but for the present it is important to note that evidence has been presented for parallels with RV2, the St. Jerome Abbreviated Psalter, and moderated forms of EV and LV. It is worth noting that one of the Type II Primers, Hunterian V.8.15, contains text from Job which Harris-Matthews has classed as close to LV, while two Type I Primers, Queen's 324 and Ashmole 1288, contain a Job text which both she and Allen class with that in other Type II Primers.<sup>142</sup> Though its precise relations with the EV and LV Psalms are complicated, the Type II Primer group is thus indisputably linked with the Wycliffite Bible translation, illustrating its incorporation into devotional settings.

### *1.1.3 In Place of the Latin?*

The diverse range of manuscript contexts for LV aligns with the wide range of the Latin Psalter's uses: in study, in clerical performance of the liturgy, in lay devotion.<sup>143</sup> The circulation of LV in all these contexts assumes an equivalence to the Latin Psalter in versatility. And in fact, their presentation often reinforces this equivalence. Solopova has remarked the likeness of the independent LV Psalters to Latin liturgical Psalters in their size

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<sup>141</sup> See *Lay Devotions*, p. 84a-85. She categorizes 'the London University Fragment', St. John's G.24, Bodley 85, and Hunter 512 together; Emmanuel 246, Additional 27582, and Hunter 472 together; and Douce 246 and Douce 275 together. Of these, she also notes that Hunter 512 has the Type I text for the Office for the Dead and the Commendations.

<sup>142</sup> Harris-Matthews, *Lay Devotions*, p. 239; Allen, 'The Book of Job in Middle English Literature', p. 366. See also above.

<sup>143</sup> Solopova similarly remarks the resemblance of the Wycliffite translation to the Latin distribution of the Psalms in 'the frequency of the copying of psalms in comparison with other biblical books' and 'their dissemination in separate volumes', 'The Wycliffite Psalms', p. 130. Where she focuses on parallels to Latin liturgical Psalters, I would also emphasize LV's parallel versatility to Latin use of the Psalter more broadly.

and in the very style of decoration in certain cases, as well as in the gradation of decoration according to liturgical divisions and in the liturgical materials accompanying the Psalter in many manuscripts.<sup>144</sup> In a similar vein, Kathleen Kennedy has compared the decoration of the English Primers to ‘those Latin Books of Hours produced in England and lacking miniatures’.<sup>145</sup> The inclusion of marginal glosses around a continuous biblical text likewise follows an established tradition in the copying of the Latin Bible, recalling the characteristic layout of the *Glossa Ordinaria*, which in turn recalls earlier precedents, especially the presentation of Psalter commentaries.<sup>146</sup> The resemblance here is not a strict one, of course; the text block in glossed Wycliffite Psalters tends to be much wider and denser than that Lesley Smith presents as typical of Gloss manuscripts in a similar ‘simple format’, while some glossed Psalters also differ from Gloss manuscripts in this layout in their use of lemmata and tie marks or *signes de renvoie* that link marginal glosses with the relevant passages in the text.<sup>147</sup> Such tie-marks, which Kuczysnki has noted in Bodley 554, TCD 70, and Cotton Claudius E.II, follow another established convention in the presentation of Latin texts during this period.<sup>148</sup> These visual resemblances across a range of manuscripts and manuscript types underline the ability of the LV Psalms to function wherever the Latin Psalms could appear.

At the same time, the manuscript tradition counter-indicates the simple and final replacement of the Latin Psalms with LV, or any other translation. In the first place, the

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<sup>144</sup> Solopova, ‘The Wycliffite Psalms’, p. 130-132.

<sup>145</sup> ‘Reintroducing the English Books of Hours’, p. 707.

<sup>146</sup> On the importance of this layout to the Gloss tradition, and its antecedents, including Carolingian Psalters, see Lesley Smith, *The Glossa Ordinaria: The Making of a Medieval Biblical Commentary* (Leiden, 2009), hereafter *The Glossa Ordinaria*, p. 91.

<sup>147</sup> Contrast the images of Bodley 554, for instance, with the diagram and images Smith provides, *The Glossa Ordinaria*, pp. 95, 96-99; she notes the absence of lemmata and *signes de renvoie*, p. 101.

<sup>148</sup> *B554*, vol. 1, pp. xxv, xxiii.

Psalms appear in Latin as well as in LV in Worc.Cath.F.172 and Harley 1896, just as the Latin appears before the translation and commentary in almost all copies of Rolle's English Psalter and the Revisions, and just as the Latin also accompanies the Type II Primer in Hunter 512 and Oxford, University College MS 179's independent Primer text. More commonly, Latin *incipits* link the English to the Latin tradition, facilitating cross-referencing both in liturgical settings and in study; where added in non-scribal hands, as occurs in Bodley 277, these reflect adaption of the volumes to serve in Latin contexts.

While LV thus exists in relationship with the continuing presence of the Latin across the range of its uses, the simultaneous dissemination of other translations attests to its insufficiency to replace of the Latin on its own, or at least to a sustained impulse on the part of English Psalm translators to develop different translations for different settings. Recent scholarship has emphasized the ongoing distribution of EV alongside LV, suggesting its ongoing suitability, and presumably preferability, for separate purposes, even as the development and wider dissemination of LV suggests EV's own limitations.<sup>149</sup> The circulation of a distinct translation in the Type II Primers, when other translations seem to have been available and indeed to have influenced the translation, as argued below, similarly undermines the finality of LV and underscores the ongoing activity of Psalm translation. The revision of Rolle's Psalm translations in his English Psalter Commentary illustrates this same proclivity to keep refining translations, rather than taking one translation as an established equivalent for the Latin text, and to preserve specific versions in their context.

Instances where another translation circulates alongside the LV Psalms or in place of them with other LV material effectively demonstrate the lack of a hegemonic English text.

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<sup>149</sup> See Solopova, 'Introduction', in *The Wycliffite Bible: Origin, History and Interpretation*, p. 4.

The latter scenario has received little scholarly attention, perhaps because it occurs in more obscure or miscellaneous LV witnesses, such as Cambridge, St. John's College MS E.18 (hereafter St. John's E.18). Alongside an LV gospel of John and the Articles of Faith, the manuscript contains a series of Psalms of the Passion that have been either ignored or misidentified as LV, but which actually appear to comprise a previously unremarked witness to the Middle English Glossed Prose Psalter, or Prose Psalter.<sup>150</sup> Further work will be required to identify its precise relation to the other copies of the Prose Psalter, and to its Anglo-Norman and Latin sources, but a few lines suffice to set it in the same tradition, as distinct from LV:

#### **Psalm 21:1**

*St. John's E.18:* A God my god loke in me whi hast þou lefte me: þe wordis of my trespas ben fer fro myne helth<sup>151</sup>

*Prose Psalter:* A God, my God, look in me; why forsook þou me? Þe wordes of my trespas ben ferre fro myn helþe.

*LV:* God, my God, biholde thou on me, whi hast thou forsake me? The wordis of my trespassis *ben* fer fro myn helthe

#### **Psalm 24:1**

*St. John's E.18:* I lyft up to þe lord my soule: þou art my god in þe I me affy. I ne shal not ashame<sup>152</sup>

*Prose Psalter:* I lifted to þe, Lorde, my soule; þou art my God; in þe ich me affye; I ne schal nouȝth aschamen.

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<sup>150</sup> The manuscript is not noted among the manuscripts in Robert Ray Black and Raymond St-Jacques' edition of *The Middle English Glossed Prose Psalter* (Heidelberg, 2012), p. xvi. The 'Index' in Solopova (ed.), *The Wycliffite Bible: Origin, History and Interpretation* and Conrad Lindberg's list in 'The Manuscripts and Versions of the Wycliffite Bible: A Preliminary Survey', *Studia Neophilologica* 42 (1970): pp. 333-347, at p. 335, note only the presence of LV John in the manuscript, while Sutherland notes the presence of the Psalms in the manuscript, but labels them as LV, 'The Wycliffite Psalms', p. 184; *English Psalms*, p. 284.

<sup>151</sup> F. 67r. F. This text (and the following) is quoted here by permission of the Master and Fellows of St John's College, Cambridge.

<sup>152</sup> 71r.

*LV:* Lord, to thee Y haue reised my soule; my God, Y truste in thee, by Y not aschamed.

**Psalm 26:1**

*St. John's E.18:* Owre lord whom þat I shal douȝte: is my liȝt & my helth.<sup>153</sup>

*Prose Psalter:* Oure Lorde, wham I schal doute, is my liȝth and myn helpe.

*LV:* The Lord *is* my liȝtning, and myn helthe; whom schal Y drede?

**Psalm 28:1**

*St. John's E.18:* A ȝe goddess sones bringe to our lord: bringith to our lord sacrifice of wetheris.<sup>154</sup>

*Prose Psalter:* A ȝe Goddes sones, bryngeþ to oure Lorde, bryngeþ to oure Lorde *sacrifise* of weþers.

*LV:* ȝe sones of God, brynge to the Lord; brynge ȝe to the Lord the sones of rammes.

**Psalm 30:1**

*St. John's E.18:* I hope in the lord & I shal not be confounded *withouten* ende: deliuer me in þi riȝtfulnes fro yuel.<sup>155</sup>

*Prose Psalter:* Ich hoped in þe, Lorde, and I ne schal nouȝt be confounded wiþouten ende; deliuere me in þi riȝtfulness *from* yuel.

*LV:* Lord, Y hopide in thee, by Y not schent with outen ende; delyuere thou me in thi riȝtfulnesse.

This hitherto unappreciated association of LV and the Middle English Glossed Prosed Psalter raises many potential avenues for further inquiry, which I intend to investigate further. The silent incorporation of expansions and glosses into this translation presents an intriguing foil to the other translations considered here, which tend to distinguish these practices even as they also indicate their continuity. As a particularly telling example, St. John's E.18 includes

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<sup>153</sup> F. 73r.

<sup>154</sup> F. 76v.

<sup>155</sup> F. 78r.

the apostrophes, ‘3e princis of helle’ and ‘3e princis of heuyn’, after ‘Open 3oure 3ates’ in Psalm 23:7 and 9 without underlining them; the same glosses are inserted into the text at these same points in the Prose Psalter.<sup>156</sup> The Revisions, following Rolle, speak of ‘princes in uertues, destroying uices’ in their commentary on the verse, but do not distinguish the ‘princes’ in the two verses, and moreover do not introduce such an interpretive addition into the translation.<sup>157</sup> This and other glosses, such as the insertion of ‘sacrifice’ in Psalm 28:1 and ‘fro yuel’ in Psalm 30:1, mark the text as that of the Prose Psalter.

This further witness underscores the significance of the Prose Psalter within ‘Middle English biblical culture’, as recently brought to light by Sutherland.<sup>158</sup> For the purposes of this chapter, while it confirms the presentation of the Psalms alongside New Testament material Sutherland observes in LV circulation, St. John’s E.18 conversely reduces the extant instances where LV Psalms as such survive with New Testament material.<sup>159</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Hatton 111 (hereafter Hatton 111), which includes the St. Jerome Abbreviated Psalter alongside LV New Testament material and lections, instantiates a similar practice.<sup>160</sup> On the one hand, the Psalter again is positioned alongside New Testament material. On the other, the extensive distribution of LV is not mutually incompatible with the wide-ranging use of other English versions of the Psalms.

While St. John’s E.18 expands the range of Psalm translations that circulated in the Wycliffite Bible’s orbit, numerous other manuscripts exhibit the overlap in orbits of diverse Psalm translations. As mentioned above, LV appears alongside the Type I Primer text in two

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<sup>156</sup> Fols. 70v-71r. Cf. the Prose Psalter, ed. Black and St-Jacques, vol. 1, p. 15, and the Latin and French text in vol. 2, pp. 9, 81.

<sup>157</sup> *RVS*, vol. 1, pp. 284-285.

<sup>158</sup> “‘In echng for the beste’: the Fourteenth-Century English Prose Psalter and the Art of Psalm Translation’, in Atkin and Leneghan (eds.), *The Psalms and Medieval English Literature*: pp. 108-127, at p. 109.

<sup>159</sup> Sutherland, ‘The Wycliffite Psalms’, p. 184.

<sup>160</sup> Solopova, *Manuscripts*, p. 159.

manuscripts, both of which preserve the distinctness of these slightly different texts by including them separately. Sutherland has highlighted how, in both Yates Thompson 52 and Beinecke 360, the scribes maintain the distinction between the LV text and the Primer, copying each separately and, in the case of Yates Thompson 52, using slightly different texts rather than simply using the LV text for the Primer's Psalms.<sup>161</sup> At the same time, the Primer in Beinecke 360 draws attention to its derivation from LV, by including only the cues to the Psalms.<sup>162</sup> In this manuscript, the LV Psalms support the use of the Primer and the Primer invites the use of the LV Psalms; the user must turn from the Primer, which provides the template for each office, to the LV Psalter which provides the Psalms themselves in full. Both together support devotional performance of the Psalms, most likely in the context of private prayer; so does Yates Thompson 52, with its arrangements for easier use, as Sutherland points out.<sup>163</sup> And both point to LV's function in devotional culture more generally, as they provide concrete evidence that the Wycliffite Psalms – specifically LV – and the English Primer – specifically the Type I Primer – circulated together and were available to the same audience.

The co-existence of material from Rolle's Psalter Commentaries and the Revisions with LV or the Primer further accentuates the overlap in distribution between the different translations.<sup>164</sup> Apart from the afore-mentioned presence of RV1 material in glosses to Longleat 3 and the co-circulation of the Revised Prologue with General Prologue material, it is worth noting that extracts from Rolle's English Psalter Commentary on two of the

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<sup>161</sup> Regarding differences in translation, see Sutherland, 'The Wycliffite Psalms', pp. 187, 200. The scribes must then have had separate exemplars for each, unless they were copying from an exemplar which also had both.

<sup>162</sup> Sutherland, 'The Wycliffite Psalms', p. 187.

<sup>163</sup> 'The Wycliffite Psalms', p. 200.

<sup>164</sup> Incidentally, copies of the Revisions also share other contents with LV copies, providing evidence for the larger textual culture. Thus, for instance, Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 258 (hereafter Douce 258) also includes the Athanasian Creed, which appears commonly in Wycliffite compilations.

Penitential Psalms appear in Beinecke 360.<sup>165</sup> Beinecke 360 also includes the St. Jerome Abbreviated Psalter, as do Huntington HM 501, Hunter 496, and Oxford, University College MS 179.<sup>166</sup> Further shared accompanying materials – such as the presence of the Athanasian Creed in English Primers as well as in LV Psalters – corroborate the shared audience of these translations, if not the definite interconnection of their translators. So do the shared norms of presentation; the same divisions for secular use of the Psalter used in many copies of EV and LV are applied in all manuscripts of the Revisions except Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 877 (hereafter Bodley 877), and also the extant manuscripts of the Middle English Glossed Prose Psalter (excepting St. John’s E.18), implying that all three were expected to circulate in the same broad context of secular use.<sup>167</sup> Though much of this overlap may derive from the tendencies of contemporary book producers and buyers, it is frequent enough to support the treatment of these different translations as a corpus of translations which could circulate simultaneously and separately in converging audiences – not unlike the multiple versions of the Latin Psalter which circulated for various uses at the same time.

### ***1.2 Wycliffite and Orthodox? The Context of the Primers***

The diversity of Psalm translations in circulation in related contexts, and their presentation according to the conventions of the diverse uses of the Latin Psalter, epitomizes the inter-penetration of Wycliffite and more ‘conventional’ texts and contexts. Citing ‘the very ordinariness of the English Hours’ as corroboration of this growing consensus in late

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<sup>165</sup> Sutherland, ‘The Wycliffite Psalms’, p. 186. St. John’s E.14 also includes Canticle 12 and the RV commentary on the Athanasian Creed according to Hudson, *RVs*, p. lxxv.

<sup>166</sup> See Morey, *Book and Verse*, pp. 186-187.

<sup>167</sup> Solopova, ‘The Wycliffite Psalms’, p. 130; Hudson, *RVs*, p. xxxii; Black and St-Jacques, *The Middle English Glossed Prose Psalter*, pp. lix-lx. For further details of alternative Psalm division alongside these, including some which Hudson describes as ‘explicable as deriving from monastic use’, see Hudson, p. xxxiii; cf. Black and St-Jacques, pp. lviii-lix.

medieval English scholarship, Kathleen Kennedy stresses the need for ‘careful consideration of text and manuscript context’ in order ‘to assess “how their earliest readers responded to the heresy or orthodoxy of religious views they contain”’.<sup>168</sup> In this section, I would like to enter into just such consideration of the broader contents of the Primers, beyond the Hours themselves. Though Kennedy notes that Lollards did own copies of the Primer, little evidence survives regarding the producers and provenance of the extant volumes, and even the notable exception of Douce 246 reveals little about the sympathies of its makers or users.<sup>169</sup> A significant erasure in the prayer to Saint Katherine in Douce 246 may suggest either Lollard or later Protestant intervention.<sup>170</sup> The British Museum Additions Catalogue (1900-1905) notes records of the births of children in the Ayscough family, in 1564/5 and 1566/7 in Yates Thompson 52, and that the Francis named in the manuscript may be the brother of Anne Askew, a Protestant martyr.<sup>171</sup> On the other hand, part of a collection of saints’ lives printed on paper is bound into Ashmole 1288, suggesting later ownership and intervention from the opposite direction. In the absence of more definitive marks of production and early ownership, their connection with Wycliffite sympathizers must thus be deduced from the contents of these volumes, yet these tend to resist categorization as either ‘Wycliffite’ or ‘orthodox’.

The materials that accompany the liturgy of the Hours in Bodley 85 display a particular ambiguity, or even versatility. On the one hand, the New Testament extracts at the

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<sup>168</sup> Kennedy, ‘Reintroducing the English Books of Hours’, p. 716, citing Jill C. Havens, ‘Shading the Grey Area: Determining Heresy in Middle English Texts’, in Helen Barr and Ann Hutchison (eds.), *Text and Controversy from Wyclif to Bale: Essays in Honour of Anne Hudson*, (Turnhout, 2005): pp. 337-52, at p. 339.

<sup>169</sup> Kennedy, ‘Reintroducing the English Books of Hours’, p. 717-718.

<sup>170</sup> Ff.100-101.

<sup>171</sup> British Museum Department of Manuscripts, *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years MDCCC-MDCCCXV: Additional Manuscripts 36,298-37,232; Egerton Manuscripts 2827-2861; Additional Charters and Rolls 44,891-54,006; Detached Seals and Casts CXLIII.1-CLII.3; Papyri 739-1520; Facsimiles of Manuscripts 1-64* (London, 1907), p. 190.

end of Bodley 85 might seem to implicitly condemn the Wycliffite sect.<sup>172</sup> Sutherland reads the selections, II Thessalonians 3:6-7 and Galatians 1:6-10, as cautions regarding heterodoxy; both warn against embracing those not following the customs and teaching passed down from the apostles.<sup>173</sup> Yet the passages could also serve as implicit justifications for typically Wycliffite concerns. The warning in Thessalonians refers specifically to those who do not follow Paul's example of working to maintain himself:

For we were not greuou a mongis 3ow ne we eten not gladly brede of ony man . but in *traueile* and in *werynesse nyzt & day worchyng*. For whi whanne we were wiþ 3ou we werned 3ou þat 3if ony man wole not worche he shuld no3t eet. For we han herde a mongis 3ou some goo greuouly & noþing worchyng but curyously doyng þerfore to hem þat ben siche we werne hem & preye hem in oure lord ihesu crist þat þei worchyng . wiþ stilnesse ete her brede [. . .] <sup>174</sup>

In that it condemns seeking profit without toil and in that Paul provides a precedent for itinerant preachers of the gospel in particular, this passage could be applied to a clerical norm often criticized by the Wycliffites, namely that of mendicancy. Likewise, Paul's condemnation of deceptive teaching in Galatians could be applied to contemporary clerical teaching:

But þer ben some men þat disturbliþ 3ou & wolen fortune þe gospel of *crist* [. . .] And nowe eftsones y *preche* . 3if ony man teche 3ou eny gospel wiþ outen þat 3e han taken of us cursyd be hee.<sup>175</sup>

Extracts from Leviticus 19 follow these two New Testament passages; the mid-clause ending at the bottom of f. 123v (the final parchment folio of the volume) not only implies some continuation of the Leviticus passage but also suggests the possibility of further selections.

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<sup>172</sup> The selections at the end of the volume, like the Psalms earlier in Bodley 85, do not correspond directly to either the EV or LV translation.

<sup>173</sup> *English Psalms*, p. 157. Notably, neither appears as a main text in the sermon cycle edited by Anne Hudson and Pamela Gradon, *English Wycliffite Sermons* (Oxford, 1983), 5 vols.

<sup>174</sup> Bodley 85, f. 122v

<sup>175</sup> Bodley 85, f. 123r.

Whether all of these selections were unified by a single theme is not clear. The surviving extracts from Leviticus do not seem particularly concerned with clerical abuse, though the passage does speak to the proper treatment of the vulnerable, including various commandments to do with treatment of laborers.<sup>176</sup> In any case, the passages selected from the Pauline Epistles could be read in accordance with opposing concerns: one looking for an admonition against sectarianism would find it in these passages, but so would one looking for an indictment of clerical abuse.

Other material in Bodley 85, namely the catechetical material which follows the Hours and precedes the aforementioned passages, indicts clerical abuse more explicitly. Across the page from the beginning of the II Thessalonians excerpt, an exhortation to penance stresses the futility of giving money to priests and friars and condemns simony – gesturing toward its current practitioners as worse than Simon Magus himself. In commending penance, this conclusion to the tract on the seven deadly sins does register the value of oral confession, though it does not specify that this should involve a priest. It defines ‘worþi fruyt of penaunce’ as ‘lowe & trewe knowlechyng of þi synne to god & man And fulle contricyoun & hool satisfaccioun’, insisting on the sufficiency and exclusivity of this confession: ‘wiþ þes þings onely haue stedfast hoop to goddis *mercy* of forzyuenesse of þi synne . By þes menes god onely wiþouten peny or halpeny forzyueþ alle synnes’.<sup>177</sup> By contrast, it criticizes the use of money in buying penance:

[. . .] wiþouten þes menes þou3 a man 3yue alle his good to pardones & pilgrimadis & to prestis or freris it doiþ no3t a weie his synne & so gold & siluere is *inpertinent* to gete *pardoun* of god. For he 3yueþ goostly þingis freli to contrite men wiþ oute biggyng or sillyng as li3te of sonne & mone. And marchauntis of goostly goodis for worldli money ben *symon magus felawis* & his maystris bi sotilte of craft.<sup>178</sup>

<sup>176</sup> E.g. ‘þi *werkemannes* hire late it no3t dwelle wiþ þee ouere euene til on þe morrow’, f. 123v.

<sup>177</sup> F. 121v.

<sup>178</sup> F. 121v.

Shortly before this, the discussion of the use of gifts elaborates on the harmfulness of sharing gifts with the ‘proude auerocious prestis and namely to sotil flateryng ydel & myzti freris’, attributing the present state of the clergy to the foolish, ineffectual, and even blameworthy generosity of some in supporting them:

For sodeyn & vnkynde welpe makip many euel prestis þoru3 3yuyng of siche goodis . mo þan þer shuld be bi resoun and goddis lawe . For a resonable noumbre tau3te in goddis lawe sufficienly to do þe sacramentis & preche onely goddis lawe in word & dede were ynow to þe chirche For bastard braunches & ydel dranes wastep myche good & letteþ good prestis to profyte in prechyng to synful men’.<sup>179</sup>

The tract commends generosity in sharing any surplus wealth ‘discretly wiþ goddis trewe pore men þat nedip hem’ (f. 119r) but condemns ‘3yuyng vndiscretly wher hem silf likip . & no3t þer nede were’.<sup>180</sup> While bemoaning the givers’ folly and the vanity of their action, this discussion also implies that some of the responsibility for guarding against such avarice and idleness in the clergy lies beyond the clergy themselves, in those whose gifts support them inappropriately. Such warnings against giving to the clergy prefigure the warning against accepting the idle in II Thessalonians 3; the presence of these warnings earlier in the volume, and the clear anticlericalism and antifraternalism associated with the warnings in the tract, might colour the reading of the II Thessalonians passage itself.

So, too, might the commentary on the Ten Commandments earlier in Bodley 85’s catechetical material; in that it explains a biblical text with a view to particular contemporary concerns, and indeed to topoi of Lollard polemic, it might model or invite a similar approach in reading the selections from Scripture at the end of the volume. Perhaps more pertinently, certain preoccupations in this commentary, like the later comments on the use of gifts, affect

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<sup>179</sup> F. 119v.

<sup>180</sup> F.119v.

the volume as a whole, setting the Type II Primer text of the Psalter in a context of concerns with contemporary church practice. Identifying the use of ‘deed ymagis’ as contrary to the first commandment, the commentary expands this concern into a denunciation of the ‘vicious prestis’ who mislead the people into this practice:

For god wol not þus be worshypid in deed ymagis but *in quyc* men þe whiche onely ben goddis ymagis | & likenes of þe *trinyte*. Þis is þe treuþe al 3if þe auaryce of worldly prestis & blynd customs of þe lewid puple bi illusiouns of þe fende . fast & myȝtiliche defendyng þe contrarye of þis mater more traueylyng for offerynge & worldly goodis þan for helpe of mennes soule . or pore mennes profyte . as her dede shewiþ. And siche vicious prestis ben vnable to be clepid herdis of mennes soulis. For holy writ clepiþ wickid prestis blynde leders . marchauntis & wuluys of raueyne in shepis cloþing & her blissyng is turnyd to cursing for her vnclennes . as goddis prophet seiþ. And siche vicious prestis folow þou not ne leue hem noȝt liztly til þei dispise her synne . and vertuously þe rizt weie to heuene.<sup>181</sup>

In the extent and intensity of its censure of the contemporary priesthood, and indeed in its imperative not to follow such priests, this affirmation of the vanity of images against current teaching and practice offers an obvious parallel to other expressions of similar concerns in other Wycliffite texts. Similarly explicit, if slightly less adamant, is the denunciation of fraternal hypocrisy as a form of bearing false witness, contrary to the eighth commandment:

And þe moost lesynge & falsest witesse of alle . ben tokenesse of holynesse wiþ oute to blynde þe worlde whanne vices ben wiþ inne . as knottis of freris gyrdlis & þer coopyd shoue . & not handlyng money ben sygnes of passing penaunce & alle affectioun to god & hertly forsakyng & despysyng worldly money And so of alle opere dedis sygnes 3if þei ben not in dede as þe figure shewiþ<sup>182</sup>

Once again, the condemnation of the friars devotes particular attention to their use of money, and the falseness of their apparent devotion to poverty. In the context of such explicit statements, other subtler statements could also be applied to the clergy, though they do not mention priests or friars and do not reference contemporary abuses in particular: the

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<sup>181</sup> F. 111r-v.

<sup>182</sup> Fol 114v.

commentary classes not only ‘bodily manslauzter’ but also ‘bacbityng & wipholdyng of worldly good or goostly goodis from hem þat nedip þes godis & euel ensaunple of lyuyng to þe puple’ as forbidden in the fifth commandment, and calls for the punishment of ‘goostly reft’, that is, ‘robbry of *spiritual* goodis & mannes soule’ as well as theft of physical goods as contrary to the seventh commandment.

Whether explicit or latent, the anticlerical remarks punctuating this commentary on the Ten Commandments, as well as the positions on controversial topics presented in the commentary, suggest the possibility of its Wycliffite sympathy. In his sermons, Wyclif himself identifies the adoration of images as an offence against the first commandment and accuses the clergy of misleading the people in this regard.<sup>183</sup> He also accuses the priests of breaking the eighth commandment and bearing false witness by the contradiction between their preaching and their lives. Furthermore, he includes verbal injury and gluttonous living at others’ expense among the sins against the fifth commandment and accuses the clergy of breaking it in spiritual manslaughter, a graver sin against this commandment than corporal manslaughter, by their negligence of their duties. Though not equivalent, the readings of these commandments in Bodley 85 resemble Wyclif’s readings in their elucidations of certain offences against these commandments and in their identification of the contemporary clergy as guilty of these offences.

In fact, Bodley 85 is one among a number of Primer manuscripts containing Ten Commandments commentaries associated with Lollardy and even with Wyclif’s exposition

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<sup>183</sup> Ed. Johann Loserth, and F. D. Matthew, *Iohannis Wyclif Sermones*, Wyclif Society 11-14, (London, 1887), 4 vols., hereafter *Sermones*, vol. 1, i.90/12-13; see also i.92/3ff for discussion of the veneration of images on the part of clergy as well as laity, and the clergy’s abuse of its authority. Wyclif is in some ways more flexible on the use of images than is the Ten Commandments commentary in Bodley 85, noting the utility of images for instructing the laity, *Sermones* i.92/1-3). It is at the same time more specific in decrying the adoration of the host as idolatry, which the commentary in Bodley 85 does not discuss.

of the Decalogue, albeit remotely.<sup>184</sup> Two other Type II Primers, Hunter 472 and BL Add. 27592, contain a Ten Commandments commentary in the same version (DVII) as in Bodley 85, according to Judith Jefferson's classification scheme.<sup>185</sup> Two more Type II Primers contain versions of a Ten Commandments commentary classed separately: Douce 246 is the sole extant exemplar of Type DIV, while Emmanuel 246 is the sole extant exemplar of Type DVIII, in the same classification scheme. Following Jefferson, Fiona Somerset mentions the corpus of Ten Commandments commentaries under the category of 'Works that Translate or Cite Wyclif', primarily on account of the most common version of the Ten Commandments commentary, Type DI, which 'draws extensively on a Decalogue commentary by Wyclif incorporated within his Sermons, volume I'.<sup>186</sup>

While it is difficult to establish the precise connections among these Decalogue commentaries, the DVIII commentary in Emmanuel 246 recapitulates the contents of the DI version in turn, according to Jefferson.<sup>187</sup> However, Jefferson among others classes the DI version as 'orthodox' despite its points of resemblance to Wyclif's sermons, noting that it

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<sup>184</sup> See Judith Jefferson (ed.), *An Edition of the Ten Commandments Commentary in BL Harley 2398, and the Related Version in Trinity College Dublin 245, York Minster XVI.L.12 and Harvard English 738 Together with Discussion of Related Commentaries* (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Bristol, 1995), 2 vols, hereafter *An Edition*. See also the listing in Somerset, 'Bibliography for "Their Writings" in *A Companion to Lollardy*' (2016). *Supplementary Material for Published Books*. 3.

<[https://opencommons.uconn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1002&context=eng\\_suppub](https://opencommons.uconn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1002&context=eng_suppub)>. It is interesting to note that this circulation also extends to the Wycliffite Bible translations, though none of the surviving versions seem to contain the versions of the Ten Commandments commentary extant among the Primers. Oxford, New College MS 67 contains Jefferson's Type RIII alongside a New Testament in EV; London, BL Add. 28026 contains Jefferson's Type RVa alongside a glossed Matthew in EV; and Glasgow, Hunterian Library MS Hunter Gen. 223 contains Type DIII alongside the Epistles in LV. Of particular interest is TCD 70, which contains the Ten Commandments Commentary in Jefferson's Type RI alongside the Psalter in LV.

<sup>185</sup> The identification of the DVII commentary, at least, predates Jefferson, in that Richard William Hunt and Falconer Madan's *Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* (Oxford, 1895) identifies the commentary in Bodley 85 with Wyclif's work on the Ten Commandments.

<sup>186</sup> 'Their Writings', in *A Companion to Lollardy*, ed. Patrick Hornbeck (Boston, 2016), p. 87. Somerset cites Jefferson, *An Edition*, vol. 1, p. cxli, for this.

<sup>187</sup> Somerset describes the textual transmission of these commentaries as 'most complicated of all perhaps' among the Lollard texts she discusses, 'Their Writings', p. 101; see Jefferson, *An Edition*, vol. 1, p. clxxxii on DVIII as 'summary' of DI.

does not incorporate Wyclif's more controversial statements in his comments on the Decalogue.<sup>188</sup> Somerset proposes an alternate reason: 'Clearly, more about Wyclif's reflections on the Decalogue than his most sharply polemical conclusions was of interest to his pastoral-minded followers'.<sup>189</sup> In any case, the version in Emmanuel 246 cannot be categorized as Lollard-leaning on the grounds of its content. This version does draw some of its material on the first commandment from the DVII version, as Jefferson notes.<sup>190</sup> It draws, that is, on the section which discusses the use of images, perhaps introducing an alignment with slightly more provocative Lollard teaching.

Of the versions represented among the Primers, the DVII version of the Ten Commandments commentary not only appears most frequently but also contains the most potent expressions of typical Lollard complaints.<sup>191</sup> It is this version as it exists in BL Add. 27592 that Sutherland describes as containing something close to 'inflammatory material', with its comments on the idleness and abuses of the priests and friars, and on the futility of images, cited above as they occur in Bodley 85.<sup>192</sup> The commentary in Douce 246 includes some similar material. Jefferson classifies this version, DIV, as having 'Lollard overtones' on account of its treatment of the seventh and tenth commandments.<sup>193</sup> This version defines theft

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<sup>188</sup> 'Certain short sections of this commentary echo material found in Wyclif, *Sermones* i, but the passages concerned are in no way heretical and it seems safe to agree with Kellogg and Talbert that the subject matter of this version is orthodox', Jefferson, *An Edition*, vol. 1, pp. cxli-cxlii, citing Kellogg and Talbert, 'The Wycliffite Pater Noster and Ten Commandments', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 42 (1960): pp. 371-376, at p. 365.

<sup>189</sup> Somerset, 'Their Writings', p. 87.

<sup>190</sup> For DVIII's connections with DVII in what remains of its comments on the first commandment, see Jefferson, *An Edition*, vol. 1, p. clxxxii.

<sup>191</sup> See Jefferson, *An Edition*, pp. clxi, clxiii, for a discussion of the connection of the DVII version with the DII version and what she calls the B/HTY version in London, BL MS Harley 2398 and Cambridge, MA, Harvard MS English 738; Dublin, Trinity College MS 245; and York, York Minster MS XVI.L.12, citing the discussion of images and the associated denunciation of the priests in particular; she describes the latter version as having 'definite Lollard overtones', p. clxi. However, Jefferson admits that 'there is very little evidence of word-for-word correspondence' between the DVII version and any others, except a short section corresponding to *Pore Caitif* on the fourth commandment, *An Edition*, vol. 1, pp. clxxxiii, clxxxiv.

<sup>192</sup> Sutherland, *English Psalms* p. 157, 157-158.

<sup>193</sup> See Jefferson, *An Edition*, vol. 1, pp. clxxvi-clxxvii.

in such a way as to suggest clerical abuse of gifts, stating that the injunction against theft is ‘broken by many ȝiftes þat men usen and generally whan men takyn goddes goodes þat al men schuld haue and ȝet seruen not treuly to god : ne to his cherche’.<sup>194</sup> More explicitly, the commentary denounces those who ‘coueyten vnlefully to gete goode of þeire breþren as doon þes stark beggers þat spolen þer neiȝebore by gabbynge’.<sup>195</sup> Perhaps the discussion of the eighth commandment could also be read as criticizing the clergy; Douce 246’s description of false witness as including ‘algates whan man failleþ to speke to profite of his neiȝebore’ could gesture implicitly toward the clergy’s failure to teach, a common Lollard concern.<sup>196</sup>

In their overt anticlericism and other controversial teachings, and in the mediated citation of Wyclif in the case of the DVIII version, these Ten Commandments commentaries implicate the Type II Primers which they inhabit in the circulation of catechesis resonant with Lollard teachings.<sup>197</sup> The presence of the tract on the seven deadly sins and further material, also a text expressing Lollard concerns, alongside the DVII Ten Commandments Commentary in Emmanuel 246, Hunter 472, BL Add. 27592, and Bodley 85 reinforces this implication.<sup>198</sup> Yet apart from the occasional statements noted above, both the commentaries

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<sup>194</sup> Douce 246, f. 103r.

<sup>195</sup> Douce 246, f. 103v.

<sup>196</sup> Douce 246, f. 103r.

<sup>197</sup> It should be noted that the Hours and the accompanying catechetical material do not always appear to be in complete continuity. For instance, in Bodley 85, while the Hours have very finished decoration, the catechetical material and the New Testament extracts have blank spaces for capitals, suggesting a break between the production (or at least decoration) of the Hours portion and that of the additional materials.

<sup>198</sup> Somerset casts this tract as a text with Lollard connotations, including it as an example of a text with variable components in ‘Their Writings’, in *A Companion to Lollardy*, ed. Hornbeck, p. 102. She notes its presence in a ‘representative Lollard manuscript’, p. 98, Cambridge, CUL MS Nn.4.12, though she does not detail its own Lollard qualities, describing all the contents of that volume as ‘strongly associated with Lollard texts’, p. 100. As she notes, further work on this tract will be facilitated by Arthur Russell and Richard Newhauser’s forthcoming edition. Cf. the citations of the anticlerical remarks and the comments on gifts at the end of this tract above. Sutherland cites some of the same material on the impossibility of buying salvation [‘Þouȝ a manȝife alle his good to pardons & to pilgrimages & to prest or freres it doþ nouȝt aweie his synne’ f. 49v)], from BL Add. 27592 as nearly ‘inflammatory’, p. 157.

and the tract rehearse standard orthodox formulae as they proceed through traditional elements of catechesis. In fact, the Ten Commandments commentary in the DVII version ends by affirming its own continuity with the tradition received from God, apostles, martyrs, confessors, virgins, and holy men and women.<sup>199</sup> Meanwhile, even the criticisms of contemporary practice, though formulaic within Wycliffite writings, do not represent distinctively Wycliffite concerns. Abuses among the clergy were a matter of frequent complaint from multiple quarters in the period. As to the matter of images, Anne Hudson cites this among the ‘many opinions later identified with Lollardy [which] could be questions of neutrality in the earlier years of the movement’.<sup>200</sup> All of the Primers except for Douce 246 date to this earlier period in which the lines between Lollard teaching and institutional doctrine had not yet hardened.<sup>201</sup> One issue which divided Lollards from the institutional church from the beginning, that of the Eucharist, does not feature prominently within the Type II Primer manuscripts I have viewed.<sup>202</sup> Given this lack of definite Wycliffite polemic, Sutherland in fact argues as follows:

The use of the Wycliffite Bible translation in the English language Primers does not [. . .] appear to have been prompted by, or played a part in, any heterodox agenda. It serves, rather, to point us to the early circulation of these psalms in the arena of broadly orthodox devotion, an arena which sets attention to the ‘lettre’ of the Bible (the text of the psalms) in the context of the moral reformation of self and society.<sup>203</sup>

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<sup>199</sup> See Bodley 85, f. 115v.

<sup>200</sup> ‘The Debate on Bible Translation, Oxford 1401’, *The English Historical Review* XC.CCCLIV (1975): pp. 1-18, at p. 17.

<sup>201</sup> Laura Braswell dates Douce 246, which does not discuss the matter of images, to the later fifteenth century, *A Handlist of Douce Manuscripts Containing Middle English Prose in the Bodleian Library*, IMEP Handlist IV (Cambridge, 1987), p. 49. All the others, however, have been dated to the later fourteenth century; see Kennedy, ‘Reintroducing the English Books of Hours’, pp. 708, 710.

<sup>202</sup> Sutherland qualifies her comments on the contentious content of BL Add. 27592 by noting that its ‘anti-clerical, anti-fraternal, and anti-ecclesiastical’ remarks do not decisively mark it as Lollard: ‘It is most telling that anti-sacramental polemic is entirely absent’, *English Psalms*, p. 158.

<sup>203</sup> *English Psalms*, p. 158.

I would certainly agree that the catechetical materials appended to many of the Type II Primers also affirm the place of these Primers in the transmission of the basics of orthodoxy; even if some of the Primers do have some possibly heterodox preoccupations, these preoccupations are grounded in traditional teaching and generic enough to appeal to those sympathetic with reform but not necessarily with Lollardy. At the same time, within this context, the more provocative preoccupations of the catechetical additions mark the majority of the Type II Primers with a reformist impulse – one in line with Lollard concerns, yet not out of line with orthodoxy, not unlike the biblical passages quoted at the end of Bodley 85.<sup>204</sup> In turn, these Type II Primer manuscripts set the translation of the Psalter in the context of reforming the individual and the church according to traditional Christian teaching and practice.

A similar concern with personal reform in particular, if not with church reform, is evident in several of the Type I Primers as well. In two of these, Ashmole 1288 and Rawlinson C.699, ‘St. Brendan’s Confession’ accompanies the Hours. This confession enumerates offences against each of the Ten Commandments, the five bodily wits, the seven works of bodily mercy, and the seven works of spiritual mercy before the Trinity, the Virgin, and the church militant in the world and the church in purgatory as well as the saints triumphant in heaven. In structure, then, it corresponds to the catechetical material accompanying a number of the Type II Primers. In tone, however, it is penitential and prayerful while the material in the other case is more polemical; it refers to the sins as having

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<sup>204</sup> Between the Ten Commandments commentary and the *Pride, Wrath, and Envy* tract, in most cases where the Type II Primer appears with any catechetical material, that material is affiliated at least distantly with Lollardy. The other Type II Primer with catechetical material, Hunter 512, contains the ‘Four Errours Whiche Letten Be Verrey Knowyng of Holy Writt’, a text which Somerset notes to exist in ‘some lollard affiliated’ manuscripts, ‘Their Writings’, p. 104. Douce 275 does not contain any catechetical material; M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of St. John’s College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1905) does not list any such material for St. John’s G.24.

been committed in the first person against the second person, punctuating the order of the sins with exclamations of contrition and pleas for mercy. Some of its interpretations of the commandments align with the Ten Commandments commentaries and even Wyclif's comments in their definition of the abuses of the Ten Commandments. For instance, it confesses hypocrisy like that attributed to the friars in the comments on false witness in Wyclif's comments and in the DVII commentary:

Also good lord often tymes haue I schewid me willfully opir wise and betere outward : þan I haue be inward boþe in countenaunce . in word & werk ; to make men deeme & lie on me þat I was betere holier & trewer þan I was ; as a false ipocrite disseyuynge manye . & my silf moost.<sup>205</sup>

The confession, like Wyclif in his commentary and like the DVII commentary, expresses a concern over modelling improper behaviour in relation to the fifth commandment, admitting an offence against this commandment 'bi my foly spekinge . bi myn ungodly and mys araiynge . bi myn nyce contenaunce & yuel ensauple ʒeuynge . boþe in word and deede'.<sup>206</sup> Furthermore, as in Douce 246 or in Bodley 85 and the other DVII commentaries, the fifth commandment occasions a reference to inappropriate use of wealth or specifically gifts as the confessor admits to having broken it in two ways:

boþe bodily and goostly for I haue resseyued godis of þee my lord ; & wickidly spendid hem as goodis of kynde and goodis of fortune and godis of grace : & not seruede þee wiþ hem whanne it bihofte me to han usid hem [ . . . ] Also I haue resceyued goodis of myn euencristin : bi mo sleiʒpis þan I can telle . and ʒit in to þis hour I haue not ne can not ʒelden int iustly aʒen [ . . . ]<sup>207</sup>

Such confessions might meet with approval from Lollard audiences, particularly if spoken by a confessing priest. However, such passages serve less to suggest any heterodox resonances

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<sup>205</sup> Ashmole 1288, f. 123v.

<sup>206</sup> Ashmole 1288, f. 121r.

<sup>207</sup> Ashmole 1288, f. 122r.

of St. Brendan's Confession than to suggest the broader currency of these more spiritualized readings of these commandments and of an attention to keeping these laws at this level.

Just as the presence of St. Brendan's Confession in Rawlinson C.699 and Ashmole 1288 situates the Hours in these volumes in a generically orthodox penitential context, various other additions to the Type I Primers also mark them with generically orthodox material for spiritual formation. Also in a penitential vein, Beinecke 360 contains extracts from Rolle on two penitential Psalms, as well as the St. Jerome Abbreviated Psalter with its confessional introductory prayer and the suffrage to the Virgin.<sup>208</sup> Oxford, Queen's College 324 contains 'a pater noster of the exposition of seynt edmond of pounteney', a text which in its original version predates Wyclif.<sup>209</sup> In addition to St. Brendan's Confession, Rawlinson C.699 contains portions of *Pore Caitif*.<sup>210</sup> Though developed with reference to Lollard materials and though appearing in a number of Lollard-interpolated versions, the tract itself is 'orthodox' according to Sr. Mary Teresa Brady.<sup>211</sup> In fact, as it exists in Rawlinson C.699, the tract contains a formulation of the Eucharist in conventional terms, defining 'þe sacrament of þe auter' as 'goddis fleische & blood in forme of bred & wijn', with no further comment.<sup>212</sup> In combining this formulation which contradicts Wycliffite teaching with part of

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<sup>208</sup> Sutherland identifies the passages on ff. 192r-v as coming from Rolle's English Psalter Commentary on Psalm 6:1 and Psalm 37:1, *English Psalms*, p. 61. Shailor locates the St. Jerome Abbreviated Psalter with the subsequent suffrage to the Virgin on ff. 176v-185v, *Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Beinecke*, p. 205. The Athanasian Creed incorporated within the earlier Primer materials between the canticles and litany could also be seen as an example of orthodox catechesis, though one which in its translated form often circulates in Lollard manuscripts.

<sup>209</sup> S. J. Ogilvie-Thompson, *A Handlist of Manuscripts Containing Middle English Prose in Oxford College Libraries*, IMEP Handlist VIII (Cambridge, 1991), p. 83.

<sup>210</sup> Rawlinson C.699 contains the following portions of this variable text: a commentary on the Apostle's Creed, a commentary on the Lord's Prayer, the 'Charter of Heaven', 'Horse eþer Armor of Heaven', and 'Of Meekness'.

<sup>211</sup> See 'Lollard Sources of "The Pore Caitif"', *Traditio* 44 (1988), pp. 389-418, and 'Lollard Interpolations in Manuscripts of *The Pore Caitif*', in Michael Sargent (ed.) *De Cella in Seculum: Religious and Secular Life and Devotion in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1989) for further details on *Pore Caitif*.

<sup>212</sup> Rawlinson C.699, f. 111r.

the LV Wycliffite translation of the Psalms, the Rawlinson manuscript offers a striking example of the circulation of the Wycliffite Psalms beyond a strictly Wycliffite context – a circulation attested, perhaps less definitely, by many other Primer manuscripts as well.

It is quite possible that the Wycliffite or ‘orthodox’ associations of the Psalm translations and the accompanying materials were as unclear to book producers, patrons, and readers in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries as they are today.<sup>213</sup> It is possible, too, that the Wycliffites themselves were aware of this ambiguity or even sought it, whether in an effort to establish their legitimacy or in an effort to increase the circulation of their work.<sup>214</sup> In any case, their translations of the Psalms proved adaptable to a broader context of traditional liturgy and catechesis, while that context proved adaptable to Wycliffite productions and even, in some cases, characteristic Wycliffite teachings.

## **2. Dynamism in Translation: Approaches to a Vernacular Text**

Up to this point, this chapter has concentrated on the dissemination of the Wycliffite Psalms, which manifests the dynamics of their reception as much as the dynamism of the translation project. This second section turns the focus toward the translations themselves, analyzing how they lend themselves to these versatile uses, and how they reflect and even invite an ongoing translation process.

### ***2.1 The Text of the Primers***

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<sup>213</sup> Perhaps, in many cases, it did not much matter. Maureen Jurkowski cites evidence of Lollard ownership and use of typical orthodox catechetical materials, ‘The Selective Censorship of the Wycliffite Bible’, in Solopova (ed.) *The Wycliffite Bible: Origin, History, and Interpretation*, p. 377.

<sup>214</sup> Hope Emily Allen suggested a similar scenario for the Revisions when she characterized Rolle’s name as a ‘cloak for dangerous material’, *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole, and Materials for His Biography*, Modern Language Association Monographs Series 3 (New York, 1927), p. 192. However, Kuczynski has convincingly discredited the notion, *Prophetic Song: The Psalms as Moral Discourse in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia, 1995), hereafter *Prophetic Song*, p. 185.

None of the Psalm translations associated with the Wycliffites stands alone; rather, LV exists in relation to EV and vice versa, while the Revisions depend on Rolle's translation. The Primers, too, rely on previous translations, though this is somewhat more complicated in the case of the Type II Primers. While all three situate the Primers within a broader context of Psalm translation, Sutherland and Kennedy diverge from Harris-Matthews in their identification of the Psalm translation whose influence is reflected in the Type II Primers. Harris-Matthews claims these Primers 'are closer to Rolle than to any other complete psalter translations', though far from equivalent in their text; she points out that the Psalm translations in the Type II Primers resemble the English translations in Rolle's Psalter Commentary, especially the interpolated text in Bodley 877, an example of the RV2 text.<sup>215</sup> She also remarks the likeness of the Type II Primers' Psalm texts to the corresponding verses in the St. Jerome Abbreviated Psalter and specifically to Hatton 111. As Harris-Matthews herself observes, however, neither RV2 nor the St. Jerome Psalter should be identified unequivocally as the source for the Psalm translations in the Type II Primers.<sup>216</sup> Some of the Type II Primer manuscripts predate the earliest extant copies of the interpolated Rolle, meaning it may not have been available for their scribes or compilers to draw on.<sup>217</sup> Meanwhile, the divergence between the Primer Psalms and those represented in the St. Jerome Abbreviated Psalter prohibits full derivation from the St. Jerome Psalter.<sup>218</sup>

Sutherland has more thoroughly dismissed the Type II Primer's direct derivation from Rolle's translation.<sup>219</sup> Though she mentions instances where the Type II Primers share or

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<sup>215</sup> Harris-Matthews, *Lay Devotions*, p. 93.

<sup>216</sup> Harris-Matthews, *Lay Devotions*, p. 95

<sup>217</sup> Harris-Matthews, *Lay Devotions*, p. 94.

<sup>218</sup> Harris-Matthews, *Lay Devotions*, p. 95.

<sup>219</sup> *English Psalms*, p. 138. As for the St. Jerome Psalter, she does accept the possibility of a connection between the St. Jerome's Abbreviated Psalter and the Wycliffite Bible Psalter text related to the Type II text, p. 155.

approximate Rolle's readings of the Penitential Psalms, she stresses the resemblances to both EV and LV readings present in the Type II Primer texts of these same Psalms.<sup>220</sup> On this basis, she suggests that the translation of the Psalms in these Primers could derive from 'an EV Psalter which contains LV-inspired revisions', taking EV and adjusting it or 'idiomatically improving' it in light of LV while also preserving many of its readings.<sup>221</sup> Like Sutherland, Kennedy maintains an association between the Type II Primers and the Wycliffite Psalms tradition, contending that the Type II Primers reflect the Wycliffite Bible's text 'allusively' where the Type I Primers reflect it 'directly'.<sup>222</sup> She, too, proposes that the Type II Primers use a text revised from EV, whether an independent revision of EV or one made by a 'translator [. . .] [who] had access to a modified EV Psalter', though she focuses on the EV basis of this version whereas Sutherland emphasizes the combined EV and LV readings it contains.<sup>223</sup> Both distinguish this position from any claim that the Primers represent a single, authoritative version of the revision or a defined stage of progress toward LV.<sup>224</sup> As Sutherland acknowledges, only one surviving manuscript of the Wycliffite Bible, CUL Ee.1.10, might attest to such a revised version of the EV Psalms.<sup>225</sup> Its 'affinities' with the Type II Primers, in types of revision if not in every specific reading, and the more general trend of EV revision showing awareness of LV observed by Conrad Lindberg with respect to the Wycliffite Bible as a whole, corroborate the possibility that the Type II Primers could

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<sup>220</sup> *English Psalms*, pp. 149-150.

<sup>221</sup> *English Psalms*, p. 152.

<sup>222</sup> Kennedy, 'English Books of Hours', p. 701. See Sutherland's similar claim, *English Psalms*, p. 138.

<sup>223</sup> 'English Books of Hours', p. 698-699. See also Sutherland's restatement of her claim that the Type II Primers 'demonstrate a dependence on a translation somewhere between EV and LV' and her note comparing her interpretation to Kennedy's with the caveat that the two 'read the connection between the second group of Primers and the Wycliffite Psalters somewhat differently', 'The Wycliffite Psalms', p. 200.

<sup>224</sup> Kennedy, 'Reintroducing the English Books of Hours', p. 699; Sutherland, *English Psalms*, p.152.

<sup>225</sup> *English Psalms*, p. 153.

have used or adapted just such a revision of EV reflecting LV's influence – or indeed could represent in themselves a revision of EV with reference to LV.<sup>226</sup>

Rather than eliminating or definitively establishing any one of the sources and analogues proposed for the Type II Primer, my own analysis of selected Psalms in these various versions has adduced further evidence that the Type II Primer corresponds to each of the other translations at various points without conforming to any one known translation consistently. In the absence of a collation of the Type II Primer manuscripts, I have referred the text in St. John's G.24 as representative of the Type II Primer text; likewise, I refer to CUL Dd.11.82 as representative of Type IA and to BL Add. 17010 as representative of Type IB, while considering them as together representative of the Type I Primer text more generally. The text of these manuscripts is not necessarily definitive, but the nineteenth-century editions make them readily available, and it is these that I quote below.<sup>227</sup> In an effort to include passages from across the Psalter, and from both the earlier and later portions of the Primer, I compared the Psalms from Matins in the Little Office of the Virgin and of the Commendations in the Office for the Dead in these Primer texts with the text in Rolle as edited by Bramley, the Revisions as edited by Hudson, EV and LV as edited by Forshall and

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<sup>226</sup> *English Psalms*, p. 153. Sutherland contrasts this view of CUL Ee.1.10 as a “blend” of EV and LV readings’, also articulated by Dove (*The First English Bible*, p. 240; see also pp. 179-180), with Hargreaves’ presentation of this text as an ‘intermediate version’ of the Wycliffite Old Testament, ‘An Intermediate Version’, *Studia Neophilologica* 28 (1956), p. 133. Kennedy proposes the possibility of a revision process specific to the creation of the Type II Primers in ‘English Books of Hours’, p. 699.

<sup>227</sup> St. John's G.24 is edited by Henry Littlehales, *The Prymer or Prayer-Book of the Lay People in the Middle Ages in English Dating about 1400 AD* (London, 1891), 2 vols.; CUL Dd.11.27 also by Littlehales, *The Prymer or the Lay Folks' Prayer Book*, EETS O.S. 105, (London, 1895), 2 vols.; and BL 17010 by William Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (Oxford, 1846), 3 vols.

Madden, and the St. Jerome Abbreviated Psalter as it survives in Hatton 111 and Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 416 (hereafter Bodley 416).<sup>228</sup>

Even within a single verse, the Type II Primer can resemble multiple other translations in different respects. Thus, at Psalm 23:7, its word order resembles EV over Rolle, either Revision, or LV, when it places the imperative verb before the subject in translating ‘eleuamini porte eternals’, but resembles LV and RV2 over EV, or Rolle and RV1, when it places the subject before the indicative verb in translating ‘introibit Rex glorie’. Meanwhile, in vocabulary, the Type II Primer translation here resembles Rolle, both Revisions, and LV over EV when it translates ‘Attolite’ with ‘Taketh up’; then Rolle and RV1 over not only EV but also LV and even RV2, when it translates ‘eleuamini’ with ‘beth heyed’; then Rolle and both Revisions over EV or LV when it translates ‘porte eternals’ as ‘endeles gates’; then RV1 and LV over Rolle, RV2, and EV when it translates ‘glorie’ with ‘of glorie’; and then Rolle, RV1, and EV over LV or RV2 when it translates ‘introibit’ with ‘schal gon in’.<sup>229</sup> Similarly, in the first verse of the same Psalm, the Type II Primer uses the same word order as EV and RV1 to translate ‘Domini est terra et plenitudo eius’, directly following that of the Latin rather than inverting subject and verb as in Rolle, RV2, and LV. Meanwhile, its vocabulary most resembles Rolle, RV1, and LV in the use of ‘world’ to translate ‘orbis terrarum’, but it shares the use of ‘wonyeth’ for ‘habitant’ with the

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<sup>228</sup> *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* (Oxford, 1850). Here, as throughout the thesis, I have checked the text from Bramley’s edition with Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 12 (MS Hatton 12), without noting any significant discrepancies. See the beginning of Chapter 4 for further discussion of my methodology in this respect.

<sup>229</sup> Notably, the text is variable here in EV, LV, and the RVs. Oxford, University College MS 74 has ‘ioye’ instead of ‘glorye here; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 288 has ‘reisd’ instead of ‘hized’. Interestingly, when the same text is repeated at verse 9, RV2 also switches from ‘ioye’ to ‘glorie’ to translate ‘gloriam’, while most copies of RV1 switch from using ‘glorye’ at verse 8 to ‘ioye’ at verse 10. *RVs*, vol. 1, pp. 284-285.

uninterpolated Rolle only. At the same time as its readings often parallel one or more of the other translations – but no one translation to the clear exclusion of the others – the Type II Primer presents some readings without any analogue in the other translations, such as its translation of ‘irritacione’ with ‘scharpynge’ at Psalm 94:9, its translation of ‘magnificencia’ with ‘mechelnesse’ at Psalm 8:2b, and its translation of ‘dolo’ with ‘deseyte’ at Psalm 23:4. Further examples of the variable allegiances of the Type II Primer’s readings abound, even from a study primarily focused on the offices that bookend the Primer.

Apart from the English translation as such witnessed by its vocabulary and word order, the Type II Primers reflect a base text that, like the translation itself, shares commonalities with each of the other proposed analogues but also diverges from all of them at various points. Thus, for example, its use of ‘the’ rather than ‘me’ in Psalm 138:11 indicates a variant, whether of the English archetype or of the Latin consulted for the translation, not witnessed in Rolle, the Revisions, EV, or LV. Later, at Psalm 138:17, the Type II Primer does not include any translation of ‘Deus’, suggesting an omission in its base text, if not an omission of the translation itself; here, all the other translations include the apostrophe to ‘god’. Later still, at Psalm 138:23, the Type II Primer joins EV and LV in witnessing to ‘Deus’ with the English ‘god’ rather than using ‘lord’, as in Rolle and the Revisions, which implies the Latin ‘domine’. In fact, though Bramley’s edition records ‘Deus’ in the Latin here, all but one copy of the Revisions record ‘Domine’ explicitly.<sup>230</sup> The Type II Primer joins LV more specifically in witnessing the Latin ‘possedisti’ with ‘haddest’ (in LV, ‘haddest in possessioun’) at Psalm 138:13; though Rolle and the Revisions have the same Latin text here, the term ‘weldid’ in their English translation, as well as in EV, implies

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<sup>230</sup> In all but one copy of the Revisions, namely, Lincoln, Cathedral Chapter Library MS 92 (hereafter Lincoln 92), the Revisions in fact record the Latin ‘Domine’. See *RVs*, vol. 3, p. 1071.

a different Latin text. On the other hand, in its use of ‘zif’ at Psalm 94:10b, the Type II Primer joins Rolle and the Revisions in witnessing the Gallicanum Latin, ‘si’, rather than and the Hebraicum’s ‘ut’ and EV and LV’s declarative content clause. Again, these are not isolated examples, but reflect a broader pattern – or rather, the lack thereof – in the Type II Primer’s affinities.

Intriguingly, the Type IB Primers share some of the Type II Primer’s otherwise distinctive readings – though not in the examples cited thus far, where their proximity to LV has made separate reference to the Type I Primers redundant. However, the Type IB Primers do witness variants from LV, more so than the Type IA Primers represented by CUL Dd.11.82, with some of these variants reflecting a different base text or textual tradition rather than adjustments to the translation. At Psalm 94:7b, the Type IB and Type II Primers differ from LV and from the Type IA Primer, as well as EV and Rolle and the Revisions, in omitting a translation of ‘manus eius’ after ‘oues’ and including the translation of ‘pascue eius’ at this point rather than earlier in the verse, as it appears in the others. Just as the Type IB Primer has ‘his people and the skeep of his pasture’, the Type II Primer has ‘his people and skeep of his leese’:

*Gallicanum:* et nos populus **pascuae eius** et oves **manus eius**

*Hebraicum:* et nos populus **pascuae eius** et grex **manus eius**

*Rolle:* And we folke **of his pasture:** and shepe **of his hend.**

*RV:* And wee folke **of his pasture** and sheep **of his hond.**

*Bodley 877:* And we bep folk **of his pasture** and sheep **of his hond .**

*EV:* And we the puple **of his leswe;** and the shep **of his hond.**

*LV:* And we *ben* the puple **of his lesewe;** and the skeep **of his hond.**

*CUL Dd.11.82:* & we ben þe puple **of his lesewe**, & þe scheep **of his hond**.

*BL Add. 17010:* and we his peple and the scheep **of his pasture**.

*St. John's G.24:* and we been his peple ād scheep **of his leese**.<sup>231</sup>

The reading in the Type IB and Type II Primers could easily result from eye skip, and is not especially noteworthy in terms of interpretation; that it is repeated in sense, if not in vocabulary, in both versions suggests a textual relation between the two. At Psalm 94:4, the Type IB and Type II Primers again have different vocabulary for the same variant reading. Where the others, including LV and the Type IA Primer, translate the Vulgate's 'sunt' with some form of the verb 'to be', the Type IB Primer has 'he biholdeth' and the Type II Primer has 'he seeth':

*Gallicanum:* et altitudines montium ipsius **sunt**.

*Rolle:* and the heghnessis of hilles **ere** his.<sup>232</sup>

*RV:* and þe hiʒnes of hilles **ben** his.

*Bodley 877:* & þe hiʒnesse of hilles **beþ** hise .

*EV:* and the heiʒtis of hillis **ben** of hym.

*LV:* and the hiʒnesses of hillis **ben** hise.

*CUL Dd.11.82:* & þe hiʒnessis of hillis **ben** hise

*BL Add. 17010:* and **he biholdeth** the hiʒnessis of hillis.

*St. John's G.24:* and the heynesse of hillis **he seeth**.<sup>233</sup>

Again, though they do not use the same vocabulary, both the Type II Primer and the Type IB Primer attest a reading suggestive of different Latin. A further example of unique alignment

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<sup>231</sup> Emphasis mine.

<sup>232</sup> Hatton 12, in keeping with its northern dialect, has 'howes' instead of 'hilles', f. 128v.

<sup>233</sup> Emphasis mine.

between the Type IB Primer and the Type II Primer in a distinctive reading occurs later within this same Psalm. Again, at Psalm 94:10, instead of having ‘wrethid’ as Rolle and the Revisions do, or ‘offended’ as EV, LV, and the Type IA Primers do, the Type IB Primer has ‘ny3’ and the Type II Primer has ‘next’, both terms quite unrelated to the Latin ‘offensus’:

**Gallicanum:** Quadraginta annis **offensus** fui generationi illi, et dixi semper errant corde.

**Hebraicum:** quadraginta annis **displicuit** mihi generatio illa et dixi populus errans corde est

**Rolle:** ffourty 3ere .i. was **wrethid** til that generacioun: and .i. sayd ay thai erre in herte.

**RV:** Fourty 3eer I was **wrapped** to þat generacioun, and I seide: euere þei erren in herte.

**Bodley 877:** Fourty 3eer y was **wrapped** to þat generacion & y seide euere þei erren in herte .

**EV:** Fourti 3eer **offended** I was to that ieneracioun ; and I seide, Euermor these erren in herte.

**LV:** Fourti 3eer I was **offendid** to this generacioun; and Y seide, Euere thei erren in herte.

**CUL Dd.11.82:** Fourti 3eer y was **offendid** to þis generacioun, and y seide : ‘euere þei erren in herte.’

**BL Add. 17010:** Fourti yeer I was **ny3** to this generacion : and I seide euer more thei erren in herte,

**St. John’s G.24:** Fowrti yeer i was **next** to that generation and yseide algate they erren in herte <sup>234</sup>

Not only do the Type IB and Type II Primers often share similar readings in different translations; the translations themselves occasionally align, as at Psalm 8:3, where both use

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<sup>234</sup> Emphasis mine. Douce 275 has ‘neizeboure’ rather than ‘next’ – again, using different vocabulary but conveying the same variant reading, f. 1v.

‘wreker’ to translate ‘ultorem’ instead of ‘avengere’, as in LV.<sup>235</sup> It is possible that this indicates the influence of one Primer type on the other – presumably of the Type II Primer on the Type IB Primer, given the dating of the extant manuscripts.<sup>236</sup> Such a process could be compared to the revision of EV in light of LV that Sutherland hypothesizes for the Type II Primer. Equally, these examples may point to a mutual dependence on a common source, whether Latin or English, consulted in the production of these two types of Primer. Whether they derive from a shared source or from the incorporation of the Type II Primer into the textual tradition of the Type IB Primer, the evidence that the Type II and IB Primers participate in the same textual tradition supports an understanding of the Type II Primer as an ‘exemplar’, not simply of the various strains of translation associated with the Wycliffites, much less of any one on its own, but of their interconnectedness and indeed possible cross-pollination.<sup>237</sup>

To speak of cross-pollination between translations in the Type II Primer is not necessarily to propose a systematic process of cross-referencing between different copies of the Revisions, EV and LV, and other Latin or English texts of the Psalms underlying the production of its text. Given the lack of obvious pattern in the Type II Primer’s affinities, any cross-referencing seems more likely to have occurred by bricolage, with a scribe or translator consulting whatever was available in a given moment, possibly even working with oral or

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<sup>235</sup> The *MED* defines ‘wreker’ as synonymous with ‘avenger’, ‘wreker(e)’, Def. 1.

<sup>236</sup> All the Type IB (and indeed all the Type I) Primers have been dated to the early fifteenth century, while all but one of the extant Type II Primers have been dated to the late fourteenth century. See Kennedy, ‘Reintroducing the English Books of Hours’, p. 708, 710.

<sup>237</sup> It should be noted that the Type IB and Type II Primers share readings indicative of textual tradition at other points as well, though not always exclusively with each other. For instance, neither includes the word ‘swete’ in Psalm 18:15, where EV and LV do; however, the Type IA Primer, Rolle, and the Revisions, not to mention the Vulgate in Rolle and the Revisions, also omit this word. Conversely, in Psalm 18:9, the Type II Primer may reflect a variant not witnessed in the Type IB Primer, when it has ‘of god’, presumably for the Latin ‘dei’, where all the other stated translations have ‘of [. . .] lord’, reflecting the Latin ‘Domini’.

memorized versions of the text. Too little, perhaps, has been made of how instinctively the late medieval scribe or translator would have recalled the text of the Psalms, and particularly those repeated daily in the Divine Office, such that, where not consulting a physical copy, he might translate significant portions simply from whatever version or versions he had recited. Meanwhile, a large scriptorium would almost necessarily have brought together different versions of a text as ubiquitous as the Psalter, and the sources and analogues proposed for the Type II Primer saw a large enough circulation in the same period to permit their simultaneous presence in such a setting. In fact, hasty or haphazard production could have facilitated the meeting of different textual traditions for the Psalms just as much as, if not more than, careful scholarly correction according to multiple copies.

## ***2.2. Translation Techniques in the Wycliffite Psalms***

Textual transmission aside, the nexus of affiliations in the Type II Primer witnesses to the interconnectedness of the different strains of translation in another, less speculative, sense, namely, in their approach to translation. Indeed, Roger Ellis has dismissed the ‘concept of a tradition of translation [. . .] not founded on the systematic study of translation practices’, advancing six categories of ‘choice’ by which to analyze later Middle English translations.<sup>238</sup> These comprise the ‘base text’ used, a matter of great importance to the Wycliffite Bible translators to judge by the General Prologue; the ‘form’ of the translation; its ‘details’ such as vocabulary; the rendering of ‘grammatical relations’; the ‘style’; and the ‘medium’ of the translation.<sup>239</sup> According to Ellis, concrete choices in these categories

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<sup>238</sup> ‘The Choices of the Translator in the Late Middle English Period’, in Marion Glasscoe, ed., *The Medieval Mystical Tradition: Papers Read at Dartington Hall, July 1982* (Exeter, 1982): pp. 18-46, at p. 38.

<sup>239</sup> Ellis, ‘The Choices of the Translator in the Late Middle English Period’, pp. 19, 20, 26, 30, 34. As suggested by his title, Ellis introduces these as choices; however, as he admits with reference to the choice of the base text, some of these dimensions of translation do not necessarily represent intentional choices on the parts of translators.

(however nominal, particularly in the case of the base text) reflect the translator's stance at the meeting point of four sets of 'demands' in productive tension: those of 'his original, his audience, himself, and the tradition within which he is working'.<sup>240</sup> The demands of legitimacy might also be specified among these, or added insofar as they are not already implicit in the demands of a sacred text, a potentially critical audience, a defensive translator or team of translators, and a tradition of translation characterized by a context of the debates over the permissibility and value of biblical translation referenced in the Introduction to this thesis. Sutherland alludes to this context when she names 'the late-medieval environment in which the nature, status, and function of translation was hotly debated and – in many circles – highly valued' as the common denominator between the Metrical Psalter, Rolle's English Psalter, EV and LV, and the Prose Psalter in her own effort to shift away from Hargreaves' thesis of a "'chain" of English Psalm translation' and toward a 'nexus of connections'.<sup>241</sup> Having sought to shift the discussion of the Type II Primer text away from the 'chain' model and toward a 'nexus of connections', I would also like to trace the 'nexus' or indeed tradition of Psalm translation as a practice, rather than as a text, in which the Type II primers are implicated alongside the Type I Primers, EV and LV, and the Revisions. These various translations, I would argue, exemplify a shared sensitivity to prominent *topoi* of the translation debate that suggest a shared stance toward the demands of 'legitimacy', even as they exemplify a range of approaches according to Ellis' classification. As each reflects how the English derives from the Latin by various means, they together comprise a dynamic effort

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<sup>240</sup> 'The Choices of the Translator in the Late Middle English Period', p. 18.

<sup>241</sup> *English Psalms in the Middle Ages*, p. 136.

to make their equivalence palpable throughout the translation, and potentially reproducible or correctible.

### 2.2.1 *The Base Text*

Indeed, when it comes to the base text, considered as evidence for approach to translation rather than as evidence of textual transmission, the very variance among the Psalms evinces a scrupulosity that both instantiates and preempts concerns about the deficiency of the Vulgate text. Such concerns arise from both sides of the translation debate, serving as at least potentially common ground. Ullerston enumerates the corruption of Jerome's 'faithful translation' as an objection against translation, quoting Bacon's earlier attribution of the text's degeneration to a degeneration in knowledge of the original languages.<sup>242</sup> Equally, Wyclif took care to distinguish the manuscripts he decried as corrupt, and indeed the text he acknowledged as corruptible, from Scripture itself, in defence of the latter's infallibility in his *De Veritate Sacrae Scripturae*.<sup>243</sup> For all his efforts to locate the truth of Scripture in its intended meaning rather than in the signs by which it is conveyed, Wyclif's attentiveness to the specific words used throughout his treatise suggests an appreciation of these signs as the means by which Scripture as such is accessed. The modifications to the Latin that have been remarked in both the development of the Revisions from Rolle and of LV from EV imply a similar appreciation, even though they might seem extraneous on the basis of Wyclif's position.<sup>244</sup> Hargreaves' enumeration of cases where LV corrects the base text according to a Lyran insight about the Hebrew implies, furthermore, an

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<sup>242</sup> Ed. Solopova *et al.*, p. 6.

<sup>243</sup> *DVSS*, vol. 1, p. 111; trans *OTHS*, p. 99.

<sup>244</sup> Hudson notes that the variants in the Revisions 'are *not* random or careless, but reflect a Vulgate text of considerable care and authority', *RVs*, vol. 1, p. lxxxvi.

appreciation of the original signs by which Scripture was conveyed, in line with Bacon's concern over the loss of the original languages.<sup>245</sup> Even if, as Ellis observes, the choice of base text may often represent a function of circumstance, the evident care with which the translators of the Wycliffite Psalms modify the base text available to them highlights a choice to pursue the original text, rather than simply to accept the signs of Scripture in their deficient state.

In at least one case, the choice of base text in EV and LV aligns with liturgical use. At Psalm 94:3, EV and LV, and with them the Primers of both types, contain a clause entirely absent from the text in Rolle or the Revisions:

*Gallicanum:* quoniam Deus magnus Dominus et rex magnus super omnes deos

*Rolle:* ffor god is grett lorde : and kynge gret abouen all godis.

*RV:* For God is grete lord, and grete kyng aboute alle goddes.

*Bodley 877:* For god is a grete lord & a grete kyng aboute alle goddis.

*EV:* For God is a gret Lord, and a gret king ouer alle godis; **for the Lord shal not poote abac his folc.**

*LV:* For God *is* a greet Lord, and a greet king aboute alle goddis ; **for the Lord schal not putte awei his puple.**

*CUL Dd.11.82:* For god is a greet lord, and greet kyng aboute alle goddis. **For þe lord schal not putte away his puple;**

*BL Add. 17010:* For god is a greet lord and a greet kynge, aboute alle goddis: **for the lord schal not putte away his peple,**

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<sup>245</sup> See 'The Latin Text of Purvey's Psalter', *Medium Aevum* 24.2 (1955): pp. 73-90. It is also worth noting the interest in Hebrew shown by the inclusion of Hebrew letters in the presentation of Psalm 118 in certain manuscripts, including Christ Church 145, CUL Add. 6680, and Hereford O.VII.1. CCCO 4 includes Hebrew letters in Proverbs and Lamentations, but not Psalm 118.

***St. John's G.24:*** For god is gret lord and gret kyng aboue alle godis . **for the lord putte nouzt abak his peple.**<sup>246</sup>

Precedent for the additional clause, a direct borrowing from 93:14, can be found in multiple Vulgate manuscripts.<sup>247</sup> One correctory records a tradition of adding this verse when sung in matins, suggesting the intriguing possibility that the Wycliffite Bible translators chose to translate the Psalm according to the liturgical norm.<sup>248</sup>

### 2.2.2 *Vocabulary and Grammar*

Just as their choice of base text reflects a continuing pursuit of the best original, and perhaps also that appropriate to cross-reference in certain contexts, so the translators' choices regarding how to express it in English reflect a continuing effort to preserve a clear connection with this original. And just as they counter concerns over the corruption of the Vulgate by their ongoing reconstruction of the original text, the translators of the various Wycliffite Psalms counter concerns over the deficiency of the English language by their

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<sup>246</sup> Emphasis mine. Notably the additional clause is absent from the Middle English Glossed Prose Psalter as well.

<sup>247</sup> The Stuttgart Vulgate notes that the *Cathach of St. Columba*, a partial Irish copy of the Vulgate Psalms dated to the late 6<sup>th</sup> or early 7<sup>th</sup> century, now MS 12 R 33 in Dublin's Royal Irish Academy, supplements the normal Gallican text with the phrase, 'quoniam non repellit dominus plebem suam' ['for the lord shall not reject his people'] after 'deos', vol. 1, p. 890. An earlier edition of the Vulgate, *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Latinam Vulgatam Versionem ad Codicum Fidem Iussu Pii PP. XII* (Vatican, 1953), 30 vols., hereafter 1953 Vulgate, furthermore records the presence of 'quoniam non repellit dominus plebem suam' in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France MS lat. 15467 (also known as the *Codex Sorbonicus* or the *Codex Universitatis*) and in the corrections to Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana MS lat. 10510 (also known as the *Codex Bovinensis*), vol. 10, p. 212.

<sup>248</sup> As the 1953 Vulgate notes, the *Correctorium Guillelmi de Mara*, Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana MS lat. 3466 notes of this Psalm, 'Quod in matutinis cantatur hic interim sic "quoniam non repellit dominus plebem suam" sumptum est de precedent psalmo' ['Because this is sung in matins here in between is taken up from the previous Psalm as follows: "For the Lord shall not put away his people"'], vol. 10, p. 212. The EV and LV have the same translations of this clause at Psalm 93:14 as at Psalm 94:3, which may indicate their awareness that the clause is a borrowing from the previous verse and their effort to highlight this connection. The use of the liturgical text is all the more striking given the preference for the biblical over the liturgical text, where they differ, evident in some of the Old Testament Lectionaries; see Gillhammer, *The Wycliffite Old Testament Lectionary*, EETS O. S. 358 (Oxford, 2021), pp. cxii-cxiii.

ongoing construction of vocabulary and grammatical forms to express the same meaning as the Latin.

Without reducing the tradition of translation practices, any more than of textual transmission, to a singular and linear strain, it is worth recalling the impact of Richard Rolle's *Psalter Commentary* on English Psalm translation. Rolle's translation exemplifies multiple options for finding appropriate English equivalents for Latin vocabulary. Of course, there are many occasions when he simply substitutes a Germanic word with the same meaning. At the same time, he also experiments with two other means of illuminating the Latin by the English: borrowing, or carrying over, cognates from Latin into English and calquing English translations from the constituent parts of the Latin words. While his substitution of Germanic words for the Latin indicates the existing capacity of the English language, his use of cognates and calques reflects its adaptability. Indeed, this inventiveness with vocabulary suggests that the 'experimental' approach that Kraebel identifies as a major aspect of Rolle's scholastic project, and by implication, his reading of the 'Wycliffite biblical programme' as a uniquely 'successful [. . .] attempt[] to develop the Rollean model of vernacular scholastic exegesis', applies to the translation of the text as well as commentary on it.<sup>249</sup> As they inherit and adapt their approaches from Rolle's translation of the Psalms in his *Psalter commentary*, the whole collection of Wycliffite Psalms witnesses to a proclivity to reflect the Latin vocabulary in one or the other of these two ways.

Hudson lists numerous cases where the Revisions imitate Latin compound formation, breaking a Latin word with a prepositional prefix into its component parts and translating both the preposition and the stem.<sup>250</sup> Some of these derive from Rolle, but many represent

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<sup>249</sup> *Biblical Commentary and Translation*, p. 186.

<sup>250</sup> *RVs*, vol. 1, pp. ci-cv.

modifications of his simpler translations. Likewise, Hudson notes a possible preference for Latin cognates rather than Germanic terms on RV's part, citing its admittedly inconsistent replacement of 'ioye' with 'glorye' in translating the Latin 'gloria' and 'gloriarī'; of 'worship' with 'magnifie' in translating 'magnificare'; and of 'seie/synge' with 'seie/synge psalm(es)' in translating 'psallare'.<sup>251</sup> Though my own comparative analysis raised several counter-examples, such as the translation of 'seruierunt' with 'seruyd' in Rolle, but with 'kepte', at least in most copies of RV1, at Psalm 80:7, it also uncovered further evidence of this tendency.<sup>252</sup> Rolle almost always translates the Latin 'spiritus' with 'gost', despite the availability of the cognate 'spirit', evident in two exceptions where the Bramley edition witnesses 'spirit' for 'spiritus', and the occasional use of 'spirit' in the commentary.<sup>253</sup> The Revisions, by contrast, often substitute 'spirit' for Rolle's 'gast' in translating 'spiritus'.<sup>254</sup> Notably, several manuscripts have the variant 'goost' in one or more of the earlier instances, while most use 'goost' for 'spiritus' later in the Psalter, in line with the other shifts in approach Hudson has noted around Psalm 41 and at Psalm 84.<sup>255</sup> The one exception within this range is Psalm 50:13, where, as at 8:4, the Revisions refer to the 'Holy Goost'. Moreover, one manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 288 (hereafter Bodley 288), has 'spirit' instead of 'goost' in most of these later examples, despite its use of 'goost' at 31:2; Bodley 288 also replaces 'goost' with 'spirit' in the commentary at a few points, for

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<sup>251</sup> *RVs*, vol. 1, pp. cv-cvi.

<sup>252</sup> Both witnesses to RV2 at this point have 'seryden', as does Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Tanner 16 (hereafter Tanner 16). *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 794.

<sup>253</sup> Psalms 17:16b and 150:5 in the text; Psalm 8:4, 37:3, 148:2, and 150:5 in the commentary.

<sup>254</sup> See Psalms 30:6; 31:2; 32:6; 33:19; 47:8; 50:12, 14, 19; 54:8; 75:13, 76:4,7; 77:8b, 39; 103:29, and 142:4.

<sup>255</sup> See Psalms 30:6, 31:2, and 33:19, as well as 102:16; 103:4; 103:30; 105:33; 106:25; 118:131; 134:17; 138:7; 141:4; 142:7, 11; 145:4; 147:7; 148:8. On shifts within the Revisions, see Hudson, *RVs*, vol. 1, pp. cxiii-cxvi, and Chapter 4 of this thesis.

instance at 142:4 and Psalm 150:5.<sup>256</sup> If they are not consistent across the whole Psalter in every manuscript, the presence of these revisions in every manuscript, and across the various shifts Hudson has noted, suggests a continuity of thoughtfulness on the choice of vocabulary throughout the revision process. Meanwhile their complete consistency and concentration in the range Hudson has identified as most independent from Rolle underlines the extent to which this thoughtfulness characterizes the distinctive project of the Revisions.

This independent section in particular shares the ‘regularity similar to modern “search and replace”’ that Solopova observes in the revision of vocabulary between EV and LV.<sup>257</sup> Considering the intentionality required for such regularity, Solopova hypothesizes that the producers of LV ‘must have had a list of words they agreed to render differently’, and possibly ‘scholarly searching tools’ such as a concordance or glossary.<sup>258</sup> Following the same logic, it seems reasonable to hypothesize a similar procedure in the revision of Rolle’s Psalter Commentary, at least in this independent section. Indeed, several of the same shifts in vocabulary take place in both revision processes, though not always in the same direction. For instance, just as LV sometimes replaces EV’s ‘gladen’ with ‘maken joie’ as a translation for ‘exultare’, so RV replaces ‘glade’ with ‘ful outioye’ in translating ‘exultare’ at Psalm 70:23 and Psalm 80:2. Intriguingly, at Psalm 8:9, RV2 translates ‘semitas’ with ‘papes’, the same word used in LV and both types of Primer, where EV (as on other occasions) uses ‘sties’, RV1 uses ‘stretis’, and Rolle uses ‘wayes’.<sup>259</sup> On the other hand, where RV

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<sup>256</sup> Bodley 288 has ‘spirit’ instead of ‘goost’ at 102:16, 103:4, 103:30, 105:33, 118:131, 134:17, 141:4, 142:7, and 145:4; the phrase with ‘spiritus’ is omitted here at Psalm 148:8.

<sup>257</sup> ‘The Wycliffite Psalms’, in *The Psalms and Medieval English Literature*, p. 143. Cf. also the discussion of how this section consistently excises the language of contemplation and action in Chapter 4.

<sup>258</sup> ‘The Wycliffite Psalms’, p. 143. Solopova notes that the first concordance’s indexing system appears in Wycliffite Bible manuscripts, and that two manuscripts, London, BL MS Royal 17.B.I and London, BL MS Add. 34305 preserve a concordance and a glossary, respectively, based on the Wycliffite Bible, pp. 143-144.

<sup>259</sup> For this shift between EV and LV, see Solopova, ‘The Wycliffite Psalms’, p. 142.

sometimes translates ‘psallare’ with ‘seie / synge psalm(es)’ rather than Rolle’s ‘seie / synge’, according to Hudson, LV sometimes makes an inverse replacement of EV’s ‘seien psalm/singen psalm/don psalm’ with ‘singen’, according to Solopova.<sup>260</sup> And while LV frequently reduces EV’s translation of ‘orbis terrarum’ as ‘roundnesse of erthe/lond’ to ‘world’ or sometimes ‘earth’, RV uses ‘roundness of earth’ where Rolle has simply ‘earth’ on at least two occasions in its most independent section, at Psalm 71:8 and 76:19b.<sup>261</sup> In the same section, at Psalm 70:17 and 76:12, RV translates ‘mirabili’ with ‘marvels’ instead of Rolle’s ‘wondirs’, even as LV tends to translate with the lexis of ‘wonder’ rather than ‘merveil’, as in EV.<sup>262</sup>

Unlike the Revisions, then, at least insofar as the Revisions are consistent in the first place, the movement between EV and LV does not exhibit such a clear trajectory from lesser to greater Latinity of vocabulary. Rather, each preserves vocabulary closer to the Latin at different points, such that both exhibit a reliance on Latin cognates and calques to express the Latin in English. While acknowledging the variability with which each selects between Latin cognates or English terms, Solopova observes in LV a proclivity to replace ‘phrasal verbs’ in EV with ‘Latinized synonyms’.<sup>263</sup> In a similar vein, LV replaces phrasal nouns with simple constructions, such as ‘world’, rather than EV’s ‘roundnesse of erthe’, for ‘orbis terra’<sup>264</sup>. Where LV does in fact show such a proclivity, it might seek to avoid ‘circumlocutions’, a danger to which Palmer’s treatise alludes as a reason against translation.<sup>265</sup>

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<sup>260</sup> *RVs*, vol. 1, p. cv; Solopova, ‘The Wycliffite Psalms’, p. 142.

<sup>261</sup> For the shift in EV and LV, see Solopova, ‘The Wycliffite Psalms’, p. 141.

<sup>262</sup> Again, for the shift between EV and LV, see Solopova, ‘The Wycliffite Psalms’, p. 141.

<sup>263</sup> ‘The Wycliffite Psalms’, p. 147.

<sup>264</sup> See Solopova, ‘The Wycliffite Psalms’, p. 141.

<sup>265</sup> Ed. Solopova *et al.*, pp. 170, 322.

At the same time, LV itself can introduce phrasal constructions, such as ‘make we [. . .] ioie’ as opposed to EV’s ‘io3e wee’ (or ‘glade we’, as in Rolle, RVs, and the Type II Primer) at Psalm 94:1. Indeed, it introduces a phrasal verb precisely as it introduces a Latin cognate with its translation of ‘possedisti’ as ‘haddest in possessioun’, rather than ‘welded’, as in Rolle, the Revisions, and EV, or ‘haddest’, as in the Type II Primer, at Psalm 138:13.<sup>266</sup> Similarly, at Psalm 8:8, it reflects the Latin ‘subiecisti’ with the cognate ‘maad sujet’, no less a phrasal verb than EV’s calque ‘leidist vndir’ – or, for that matter, than ‘cast undir’ in the Type II Primer and RV2 or ‘vndirkast’ in Rolle and RV1. In addition to the phrasal verbs that evoke the Latin as cognates, LV also uses phrasal verbs that evoke the Latin as calques. Many of these are shared with EV, often in contrast to Rolle’s translation and the Revisions; thus, both employ ‘ful out’ to reflect ‘ex’ in translating ‘exultemus’ at Psalm 94:1; both similarly add ‘out’ in translating ‘enarrant’ at Psalm 18:2 and ‘eructat’ at Psalm 18:3, etc. In other instances, LV diverges from EV, but only in the choice or arrangement of the calque’s components. Thus, returning to Psalm 138:13, both translate ‘suscepisti’ with a calque, but EV has ‘hast undertake’ and LV has ‘tokist me vp’, translating the prefix with a different preposition and placing it after rather than before the verb.<sup>267</sup> Likewise, both use ‘a3en’ to translate the prefix ‘re’ in ‘resurrectionem’ at Psalm 138:2, but EV places this before ‘rising’, and LV after it.<sup>268</sup> In both cases, LV’s placement of the preposition after the verb highlights its phrasal nature, whereas EV allows for its incorporation as part of the verb.<sup>269</sup> In short, LV

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<sup>266</sup> Solopova notes a general, but not necessarily frequent or regular, tendency to make this substitution in ‘The Wycliffite Psalms’, p. 142.

<sup>267</sup> ‘Sub’, of course, can mean both ‘under’ and ‘up’, depending on its context. See *The Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, hereafter *DMLBS*, ‘sub’, Def. 21, as well as Def. 1, among others.

<sup>268</sup> EV similarly places ‘a3een’ before ‘comyng’, and LV similarly places it after ‘goyng’, in Psalm 18:7, though in this case the Latin term they translate, ‘occursus’, does not include the prefix *re-*.

<sup>269</sup> NB, however, Hudson’s note regarding ‘arguable compounds’ in Rolle, p. ci. If the word division in Bramley’s edition can obscure compounds in Rolle, the lack thereof may also obscure the possibility that adverbs and prepositions added to the beginning of verbs in EV were considered separate words.

evinces a continuing deployment of both cognates and calques in the continuing search for the *mot juste*.

The Type II Primer, too, tends to use English words which reflect the Latin in some way, across its variable textual affinities. Thus at Psalm 8:4, the Type II Primer, along with EV, LV, and the Type I Primer, translates ‘fundasti’ with the cognate ‘founded’ instead of using ‘grounded’ as in Rolle and RV1 or ‘stablid’ as in RV2 and the manuscript Bodley 877. Likewise, at Psalm 23:1, both EV and the Type II Primer translate ‘plenitudo’ with ‘plente’, whereas Rolle, the Revisions, LV, and the Type I Primer have ‘fulness’. There are numerous occasions where the Type II Primer introduces a cognate not used by the other translations, and so independently it would seem. For example, at Psalm 94:1, where the Latin reads ‘confessione’, the Type II Primer uses the cognate ‘confessioun’, whereas Rolle and the Revisions use ‘shrift’ and EV and LV and the Type I Primers use ‘knowleching’. The Type II Primer does not always use the closest cognate, however, even when another translation does use it. At Psalm 138:13, where Bodley 877, EV, and LV and the Type I Primers have the cognate ‘reines’ for ‘renes’, the Type II Primer has ‘kynnereden’, uniquely among the translations compared here. As with cognates, the Type II Primers both align with other translations in their use of calques and introduce their own. They join EV and LV in their addition of ‘a3en’ to reflect the prefix of ‘resurrexit’ at Psalm 138:1, whereas Rolle and the Revisions omit the extra word. At Psalm 23:7 and 9, where LV and the Type I Primer have the cognate ‘entre’, the Type II Primer uses ‘in’ to translate the prefix of ‘introibit’, along with Rolle, RV1, and EV. The relative frequency with which the Type II Primer sides with or invents translations that inscribe the original Latin, despite its otherwise variable affinities,

again suggests that proximity to the Latin was more fundamental than any particular textual tradition.

Such aural and etymological proximity to the Latin is itself fundamental to the Wycliffite Psalms tradition, to judge by its continuity across the different materials. By their visual similarity and similarity of construction, respectively, both cognates and calques support the aim of teaching the Latin by the English articulated in Rolle's Prologue, and the invitation to check the open-ness of the English, relative to the Latin, articulated in the General Prologue. Precisely because they thus allow for scholarly reading in consultation of the Latin, both also support 'the development of standard terminology for theological and devotional discourse' in English that Solopova posits as a major aim underlying the EV and LV translation work.<sup>270</sup> Of course, the Wycliffite Psalms also contribute to this development by their incorporation of Germanic vocabulary. Their broader experimentation, using the full arsenal of options, illustrates a commitment to the *mot juste* over any particular derivation. At the same time, their frequent recourse to techniques for transferring Latin vocabulary into English illustrates a sensitivity to the challenge of rendering Latin terms in English, and a commitment to reproducibility in translation, that facilitates continuing engagement with Latin scholastic culture. It also suggests engagement with the scholastic debate over translation in that it counters Bacon's position on the untranslatability of the terminology of disciplines, which Ullerston cites as an argument against translation.<sup>271</sup>

As noted in the Introduction, arguments against translation appeal not only to the inadequacy of English vocabulary but also to its deficiency of grammar. Palmer in particular emphasizes the lack of adequate equivalencies for Latin grammatical constructions, and

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<sup>270</sup> 'The Wycliffite Psalms', p. 145.

<sup>271</sup> Ed. Solopova *et al.*, p. 6, ll. 78-96.

indeed the lack of grammatical order altogether in English.<sup>272</sup> In light of this, it is striking that the most obviously Latinate feature of the translations is their word order. LV, and with it the Type I Primers, tend to use more idiomatic English word order than the other translations, but still frequently follow the Latin word order.<sup>273</sup> EV, of course, preserves the Latin word order even more frequently, and the Type II Primer shares this proclivity, though both also substitute a more English word order at points.<sup>274</sup> Notwithstanding many instances where they replace Rolle's Latin word order with a more English progression, the Revisions' word order remains, like Rolle's, fundamentally parallel to the Latin. This aspect of conformity to the Latin suggests an extreme conservatism where grammar is concerned. At the same time, the general trajectory toward more idiomatic word order in the Revisions and LV – with certain standard substitutions famously enumerated in the General Prologue – testify to an awareness of the uninflected nature of English and an exploration of English as a grammatical language, parallel to the development of vocabulary in its simultaneous experimentation and conscientious proximity to the Latin.<sup>275</sup>

In their choices of base text, vocabulary, and grammatical norms, the Wycliffite Psalms share a proximity to the Latin that allows for cross-referencing in the diverse contexts they occupy – contexts which encompass the range of the styles, media, and forms, to use Ellis' categories, in which the Latin Psalter also appeared. Both the texts and the contexts of the Wycliffite Psalms display a wide scope of possibilities for making the 'ynglis [. . .] mast

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<sup>272</sup> Ed. Solopova *et al.*, p. 166-168, ll. 263ff; see especially p. 168, ll. 300-302.

<sup>273</sup> See, for instance, Psalm 18:13, where LV, and the Type I Primers, set the prepositional phrase modifying the verb before it, like the other translations, even though idiomatic English would require setting the prepositional phrase after the verb.

<sup>274</sup> See, Psalm 138:17, where Rolle and RVs also follow the Latin word order in contrast to LV and Type I Primers.

<sup>275</sup> On grammatical features of EV and LV, see Lilo Moessner, 'Translation Strategies in Middle English: The Case of the Wycliffite Bible', *Poetica* (Tokyo) 55 (2001): pp. 123-153, at pp. 131-147; see especially pp. 143-147, on word order in the Wycliffite Psalms.

lyke til the latyn', even when their methods contrast with those Rolle used toward his stated objective.<sup>276</sup> As far as the echoes of the Latin in the text are concerned, they may well have fulfilled a pedagogical purpose like that Rolle named for his use of Latinate English in his translations: 'that thai that knawes nought latyn by the ynglis may com til mony latyn wordis'.<sup>277</sup> Meanwhile, the apparently ongoing nature of the translation process, and its experimental quality, fulfil the encouragement to further development implicit in the General Prologue's invitation to check the translation, and perhaps to continue the effort to make the Scriptures 'open' through translation.<sup>278</sup>

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<sup>276</sup> Ed. Bramley, p. 4.

<sup>277</sup> *The Psalter: or Psalms of David and Certain Canticles*, ed. Bramley (Oxford, 1884), p. 4.

<sup>278</sup> Though Dove could identify 'the unrevised Later Version, as represented in a good manuscript like Lincoln College Oxford Latin 119 or Cambridge University Library Mm.2.15' as 'the end of the line as far as the project described in the Prologue is concerned', she also described ongoing revision, most notably in Bodley 277, *The First English Bible*, p. 152.

## Chapter 2

### Glossing the Wycliffite Psalms

#### Introduction

The insistence on the clarity of Scripture, and on the capacity of ‘symple men of wit’ to understand it, that grounds the flourishing practice of Wycliffite translation might seem to contravene any need for glossing. Anne Hudson’s landmark study of Lollardy enumerates various denunciations of contemporary ‘glosinge’ of Scripture, and even of authoritative exegetes, that articulate a strident *sola scriptura* doctrine.<sup>279</sup> Michael Kuczynski adduces further evidence for Lollard condemnation of ‘falce gloseris’ and accretions to Scripture that obscure its meaning.<sup>280</sup> Speaking more categorically, Kantik Ghosh begins his monograph on Wycliffite biblical interpretation with the assertion that ‘Wyclif, and the heresy which arose from his dissident thought, placed the notion of an unglossed, indeed *deglossed*, biblical text, at the centre of both academic and popular politics’ out of a commitment to the ‘reclamation’ of Scripture from ‘the discourse of glossing’.<sup>281</sup>

And yet, as these same scholars have illumined, glossing comprises a major dimension of the Wycliffite contribution to Scriptural study. Hudson proposes that ‘the Wycliffites would have regarded all their writing as in some sense biblical exegesis’, contrasting the polemic against glossing with the seemingly ‘contradictory’ reliance on authoritative exegetes.<sup>282</sup> In particular, Kuczynski’s recent edition of Bodley 554, an early

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<sup>279</sup> *Premature Reformation*, pp. 274-275. See p. 280 on the foundational role of Scripture, and its exclusivity as a ‘source of doctrine’, in Wycliffite thought, and p. 228 on the contrast between Wyclif and his followers in their approaches to *sola scriptura*.

<sup>280</sup> ‘Glossing and Glosses’, pp. 355-356. Cf. *B554*, vol. 1, p. xlix.

<sup>281</sup> *The Wycliffite Heresy: Authority and the Interpretation of Texts* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 1.

<sup>282</sup> *The Premature Reformation*, p. 274.

fifteenth-century LV Psalter with over a thousand marginal glosses as well as further glosses embedded within the text of the translation, has brought to light the intensive glossing tradition surrounding the book of Psalms; the substantial subset of glossed Psalters in the Wycliffite Psalms corpus listed in the previous chapter also witnesses to this tradition. Many of the glosses that appear within the text and in the margins of Bodley 554 also appear in the text or margins of these other copies, evincing a concerted project to accompany the Wycliffite Psalms with glosses, possibly even on the part of the translators themselves or by scholars collaborating with them.<sup>283</sup> Though far from representative of this project, given how markedly it exceeds the other extant manuscripts in the scope and thoroughness of its glosses, Bodley 554 epitomizes the diverse spectrum of glosses associated with the Wycliffite Psalms.

The manuscript thus serves as a fitting point of departure for enquiry into how the Wycliffites approached opening the Psalter through glossing – that is, both the general practice of expositing the biblical text, explored from this point forward in the thesis, and the specific practice of working out the meaning of individual words and passages in the texts and margins of the translation, explored in this chapter. Bodley 554's visible abundance of paratextual material instantiating both practices amounts, according to its editor, to 'a more-or-less cohesive effort to comment, across the length of the Middle English prose psalter in WB LV, on both the textual accuracy of its translation and that translation's immediate relevance to the individual and social concerns of Christians in early fifteenth-century England'.<sup>284</sup>

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<sup>283</sup> Kuczynski has documented these shared glosses in his edition, while also acknowledging the need for further work on this overlap, *B554*, vol. 1, p. xxxvi.

<sup>284</sup> *B554*, vol. 1, p. xix.

That said, these glosses, or this gloss, may equally epitomize the ‘rich and pervasive incoherence’ Ghosh identifies as characteristic of Wycliffite exegesis in practice in the English Wycliffite Sermons.<sup>285</sup> Like the sermons, the Psalm glosses repeatedly express a fundamental commitment to the clarity of Scripture with meta-comments on the nature of interpretation. Moreover, the most frequently recurring set of comments among the glossed Psalters as a corpus, that is, the title glosses, contribute to clarity in interpretation with their systematic identification of the literal sense and historical context of individual Psalms. These nonetheless appear, especially but not exclusively in Bodley 554, alongside more figurative readings that seem to counter the elevation of the literal sense.<sup>286</sup> While more obviously concerned with the literal sense, philological glosses and glosses on the translation that draw out discrepancies in the very letter of Scripture could be seen to undermine its reliability, as well as the integrity of the translation.<sup>287</sup> Indeed, the whole corpus of glosses may appear incoherent – if not in content, then textually, in their inconsistency with one another, and, in the case of Bodley 554, visually in its ordination.

This chapter probes the coherence of the Bodley 554 glosses, not only as a set of glosses in a particular volume, but also in relation to the broader effort to gloss the Wycliffite Psalms across various manuscripts, in relation to the dynamism of Wycliffite translation described in the previous chapter, and in relation to the Wycliffite understanding of Scripture and its interpretation. It argues that the gloss’s coherence lies precisely in its apparent incoherency in each respect. More precisely, its internal contradictions – its haphazard form,

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<sup>285</sup> *The Wycliffite Heresy*, p. 145.

<sup>286</sup> As Dove notes, and as will be discussed below, the circulation of glosses ‘as much concerned with moral and spiritual as with literal interpretation of Psalms’ conflicts with the General Prologue’s description of glossing, *The First English Bible*, p. 161.

<sup>287</sup> See the long list of those Kuczynski indexes under ‘textual criticism’, *B554*, vol. 1, pp. 296-298; while other glossed manuscripts may not include as many of these glosses, comparison with the Hebraicum and synonymous variants within the English translation also appear as intertextual glosses, as discussed below.

the diversity of materials considered across its contents and its variation from other glossed manuscripts, the internal tensions among conflicting readings in the glosses, and the tension between glossing itself and the Wycliffite commitment to the open-ness of the text – resolve in its integrity as a teaching text. The coherence of the volume depends, that is, on the reader’s own intellectual and devotional participation in the process of opening the text with the gloss.

## 1. The Bodley 554 Glosses in their Manuscript Context

### *1.1 Improvised functionality*

Before it is possible to consider the integrity of the glossing project witnessed in Bodley 554, it is necessary to acknowledge that the glosses may not have been integral to the original plan for Bodley 554 as a manuscript. The absence of ruling for the glosses and their variable arrangement, in contrast with the consistency in the appearance and margins of the text block, prompts Kuczynski to suggest that the extensive glossing could have occurred ‘on an ad hoc basis’, or even as ‘an afterthought’.<sup>288</sup> On the other hand, in the overlap between gloss and rubric at Psalm 73 on folio 38r, he also finds evidence that the glossing in Bodley 554 could have preceded its rubrication as part of the ‘original plan’ for the volume.<sup>289</sup>

The placement of the Latin cues, which, as he notes, varies throughout the first third of the Psalter, further supports this second possibility.<sup>290</sup> Notably, the placement of the Latin cues in this section corresponds directly to the presence of glosses.<sup>291</sup> Though the rubricated

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<sup>288</sup> *B554*, vol. 1, p. liii.

<sup>289</sup> *B554*, vol. 1, p. liv.

<sup>290</sup> *B554*, vol. 1, p. liii-liv.

<sup>291</sup> While he notes their variation in the earlier folios of Bodley 554, Kuczynski does not note the correlation of this variation with the position of the glosses.

Latin cue appears next to the English *incipit* when the glosses do not occupy that space, the Latin cues appear further down the margin or at the bottom of the text block when glosses do occupy the space nearest to the English initial. On folio 13r, where glosses fill both the side margins and the lower margin surrounding Psalm 29, no Latin cue appears for the Psalm at all. Similarly, the Latin cue to Psalm 37 runs into the interlinear space rather than into or over the gloss in the adjacent margin (f.18v). The shifting placements of the Latin cues as the volume's *ordinatio* develops thus corroborate the instance of overlapping rubric and gloss Kuczynski observes later in the volume.

Moreover, the rubrication, or at least the anticipation of it, seems to have affected the copying of the main text, in that the shifts in placement of the Latin cues relative to the initial impinge on the space in which the scribe would – and does – write out the English in plain ink for orderly presentation. Where the Latin appears on the line above an English initial, abbreviation (Psalm 37, f.18v) extension into the margin (Psalm 43, f.21v), and changes in the size of script (f.17r) suggest the rubrication was constrained by what had already been written in black. The abbreviation continues after the Latin cues find a consistent location at the beginning of each Psalm (e.g. Psalm 45, f.23r), but that is not because the English in plain ink leaves no space; from the point at which this becomes standard, the plain ink begins in the middle of the line rather than leaving room only for an initial. This does not necessitate that rubrication preceded the copying of the plain text, but does indicate that the scribe altered his *modus operandi* to facilitate the alteration in the placement of the Latin cues – perhaps even because he perceived the other arrangement did not account well enough for the space taken by the glosses.<sup>292</sup> These modifications made throughout the copying of the

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<sup>292</sup> On the rubrication relative to the inscription of the main text, cf. *B554*, vol. 1, p. liv.

rubrics and possibly even the main text imply a coordination of these elements with the inscription of the glosses themselves, lending weight to Kuczynski's tentative suggestion that the glosses were not necessarily 'an afterthought' after all.<sup>293</sup>

Regardless, the variation evident in the presentation of text and cue in the first third of the volume sets the variable presentation of the glosses in context. Kuczynski has attributed the glosses to the same hand as the main text and rubrics, though with some uncertainty due to the use of a different script for the glosses than for the other elements.<sup>294</sup> The scribe's improvisation of the glosses' positions may well derive from his improvisation in coordinating these elements more generally. In this case, the presentation of Bodley 554's glosses has as much to do with the manuscript's execution as with the stage at which they were introduced into it.<sup>295</sup> It is certainly not a deluxe volume: Anne Hudson has named Bodley 554 among the few copies of the Wycliffite Bible she counts as 'credibly amateur productions'.<sup>296</sup> Solopova likewise describes Bodley 554 as 'less professionally produced than many WB manuscripts', noting the 'errors in Latin', 'red ink spills', and the crossing out of a wrong gloss as well as the absence of ruling for the gloss.<sup>297</sup> The non-professional scribe implied by these irregularities might have been disinclined or unable to plan the arrangement of the glosses, if he planned for their presence in the first place.

And yet, despite its haphazard appearance, Bodley 554 does evince forethought in making provision for versatile use. The very same corrections of text and gloss which expose amateurish production also show the scribe's meticulous care to preserve the correct text and

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<sup>293</sup> *B554*, vol. 1, p. liv.

<sup>294</sup> *B554*, vol. 1, pp. xxii, xxv.

<sup>295</sup> Cf. *B554*, vol. 1, p. xxiv-xxv.

<sup>296</sup> *Premature Reformation*, p. 203, n.159

<sup>297</sup> *Manuscripts*, p. 75.

gloss, when they are in the hand of the scribe or effected in rubric.<sup>298</sup> The additions of missing text in different hands at Psalm 17:27 and 44 on f.7v and 8r and in the Cantic of Moses from Deuteronomy 32 at f. 85r might furthermore indicate that Bodley 554 had readers who were also concerned with the correct text, and had access to or familiarity with it.<sup>299</sup> Rubricated source attributions at the end of nearly every gloss intimate a scholarly background to the volume and perhaps also an effort to facilitate its use for scholarship, as they highlight the authorities cited and enable the reader to identify sources at a glance.<sup>300</sup>

### ***1.2 A Teaching Text?***

Several further features suggest that the volume is not solely for academic reference, however. From the beginning and throughout the text of the Psalms, the scribe marks the *metra* with the *punctus elevatus*, as well as using the *punctus* to mark other pauses within Psalm verses; he also uses the *punctus interrogativus* from time to time where appropriate.<sup>301</sup> He is somewhat less assiduous in denoting the ends of verses with punctuation, but the rubricated initial for each verse effectively fulfils this role, such that one could read aloud from the volume. Such reading could occur in the context of ‘private devotional use’ – traces of which may survive in the marginal demarcation of the seven Penitential Psalms with Roman numerals in a style different from the other numerals in the text, and possibly in the late fifteenth-century addition of the list of sins from Rolle’s *Form of Living*.<sup>302</sup>

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<sup>298</sup> Kuczynski notes the presence of scribal corrections to text and gloss and additions of text in another hand as well, *B554*, vol. 1, p. xxviii.

<sup>299</sup> Cf. *B554*, vol. 1, pp. 22, 48. These could also be the work of an additional scribe or corrector associated with the production of Bodley 554, but do not show the effort to blend in with the original script and production which might be expected in that case.

<sup>300</sup> There are occasional exceptions – for example, at Psalm 45, Bodley 554 omits to name Lyra. Cf. Solopova’s point regarding the attribution of sources in Wycliffite Bible manuscripts more generally, *Manuscripts*, p. 18.

<sup>301</sup> Kuczynski, *B554*, vol. 1, p. xxviii; cf. Solopova, *Manuscripts*, p. 72.

<sup>302</sup> Kuczynski, *B554*, vol. 1, xxviii, xxi.

Such reading could also occur in a teaching context, as supported by aspects of the glosses' presentation which would facilitate enunciating them aloud as well. As with the text, the scribe uses punctuation and slashes to signal pauses or transitions in the glosses and sometimes (though not consistently) red paraphs for transitions from one reading to another within them.<sup>303</sup> Red underlining, among other methods such as punctuation, highlights words from the text reappearing in the margins as multiple glosses are strung together there.<sup>304</sup> The sigla which tie the glosses to the appropriate points of the text also serve to guide the reader through the otherwise obscure sequence of glosses in relation to the text. The glossator uses a separate sign for each gloss on pages or parts of pages with many glosses, such that the reader can identify with confidence which gloss accompanies which lemma.<sup>305</sup> All the same, the complex layout of the glosses might better suit a reader who knew 'in advance of accessing the marginal glosses which verse or verses of the Psalter he was going to explicate, and to what end' than a more casual reader seeking to peruse it or a scholar seeking a complete reference volume.<sup>306</sup> In other words, Bodley 554 would lend itself to use by someone well-versed in the Psalms and perhaps accustomed to the volume itself, who would value indications of how to read the text and of which glosses correspond to which text without troubling over the aesthetic aspects of the volume. This profile most obviously describes an itinerant teacher, teaching extemporaneously from the volume. Though in his most recent work on the manuscript, Kuczynski hypothesizes use by a 'mendicant' teaching

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<sup>303</sup> For instance, the readings of Psalm 5 'bi allegorie' and 'bi moral vondurstondyng' on f. 2r are marked off by red paraphs. Cf. the use of the *punctus elevatus* Kuczynski notes in the glosses, *B554*, vol. 1, p. xxviii.

<sup>304</sup> See, for instance, Psalm 73 on f. 38r.

<sup>305</sup> Kuczynski's introduction gives a helpful example of the way the sigla work, pp. xxiii-xiv, xxvi-xxvii.

<sup>306</sup> Kuczynski, *B554*, vol. 1, p. xxv.

extemporaneously from the volume, he has also suggested the possibility of its use in a Lollard ‘scole’.<sup>307</sup>

Hudson’s account of these settings highlights the closing lines of an English Wycliffite text which announces that the speaker will leave the ‘sermon’ (as it calls itself) behind for consultation and indeed correction.<sup>308</sup> The quotation bears repetition here, as it provides rare first-person insight into the practicalities of knowledge transmission in Lollard circles:

Now siris þe dai is alydo, and I mai tarie 3ou no lenger, and I haue no tyme to make now a recapitulacioun of my sermon. Neþeles I purpose to leue it writun among 3ou, and whoso likiþ mai ouerse it[. . .] And certis, if I haue seid ony þing amys, and I mai now haue redi knowleche þerof, I shal amende it er I go. And if I haue such knouleche herafter, I shal wiþ beter will come and amende my defautis.<sup>309</sup>

A similar scenario, with the itinerant teacher copying out and correcting his own material, teaching from it himself and/or leaving it for others to learn from and correct in his absence, would readily account for Bodley 554’s combination of inattention to aesthetics on the one hand, and, on the other, the attention to the accuracy of the text and the clarity of references and punctuation, as well as its portable size.<sup>310</sup> While the sometimes obscure layout and ‘idiosyncratic’ quality of Bodley 554 would complicate such transfer of the volume between users, its careful connection of gloss and text does allow for this possibility.<sup>311</sup> It is not

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<sup>307</sup> *B554*, vol. 1, p. lxix; see p. lviii on the possibility of the mendicant William Norton’s influence on the Bodley 554 glosses. See also ‘The Psalms and Social Action in Late Medieval England’, in Nancy Van Deusen (ed.), *The Place of the Psalms in the Intellectual Culture of the Middle Ages* (Albany, 1999): pp. 291-214, hereafter ‘The Psalms and Social Action’, p. 205.

<sup>308</sup> *The Premature Reformation*, p. 184.

<sup>309</sup> Ed. Hudson, *Selections from English Wycliffite Writings* (Cambridge, 1978), no. 18/100-103; cited in Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, p. 184.

<sup>310</sup> Compare Hudson’s description of the manuscripts in which the sermon circulates, *Premature Reformation*, p. 185. Cf. Kuczynski on the ‘very personal’ nature of Bodley 554, *B554*, vol. 1, p. lxviii.

<sup>311</sup> Kuczynski, *B554*, vol. 1, p. lx.

impossible, that is, that it could stand in for a teacher, as well as supporting a specific teacher, in the ‘scole’ context.

Bodley 554’s own gloss to Psalm 126:4 evokes this very image of the instruction process when it interprets the ‘arowe-cas’ from the Hebrew and Jerome’s translation as ‘þe scole of a good techere eþer of a good curat, where siche sones tauzte so ben gaderid togidere’.<sup>312</sup> In the Psalm itself, the arrows are a simile for sons, already glossed as ‘feifful men tauzte’ by ‘bisi techeris of feifþ and vertues’.<sup>313</sup> The gloss in Bodley 554 directly translates Nicholas of Lyra’s comment on the following verse, verse 5: after distinguishing the Hebrew and Jerome’s translation meaning ‘pharetra’ [‘quiver’] from the Vulgate ‘sagittae’ [‘arrows’], Lyra interprets the quiver as ‘scola doctoris, vel ecclesia boni pastoris, vbi congregantur tales filii sic edocti’ [‘the school of a doctor, or the church of a good pastor, where such sons or students are gathered’].<sup>314</sup> Though, in using the term ‘scole’, Bodley 554 merely supplies a cognate for ‘scola’ in a Latin text that existed long before the emergence of Lollard ‘scoles’ or ‘scolae’, it also manifests the deliberate and thorough nature of the compilation process, and specifically its deliberation on the role of the teacher – notably equivocated here with the ‘curat’ or pastor with care of souls.<sup>315</sup>

Throughout, Bodley 554’s contents display a distinct preoccupation with preaching and teaching. The initial glosses in Bodley 554 stress this theme when they, following Lyra, interpret the first Psalm to condemn teachers of ‘false doctryn’ and to bless ‘feifful

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<sup>312</sup> 126:4/1148. The following gloss returns to this image when it reads the sons compared to arrows in the Psalm as ‘tauzte bi feifþ and of vertues bi hooli techeris’ and thus ready for warfare for truth (126.1149).

<sup>313</sup> 126:3/1146, 126:2/1145.

<sup>314</sup> Psalm 126:5, Lyra, *Postilla Litteralis*, in *Bibliorum Sacrorum cum Glossa Ordinaria* (Venice, 1603), 6 vols, <[https://lollardsociety.org/?page\\_id=409](https://lollardsociety.org/?page_id=409)>, hereafter *Postilla Litteralis*, vol. 3, col. 145.

<sup>315</sup> On the emergence of this terminology, and indeed the question of whether the concerns about Lollard ‘conuenticulas [. . .] seu scholas’ reflect a real phenomenon, see Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, p. 175ff.

techeris'.<sup>316</sup> The glosses return to it repeatedly, citing further instances where Lyra specifies a Psalm to condemn false teachers or to bless faithful ones, among other discussions of the topic.<sup>317</sup> The glosses also marshal other sources on the same theme. The gloss to Psalm 88:5 cites Augustine for a second-person exhortation to teach with confidence.<sup>318</sup> Meanwhile, the gloss to Psalm 67:14 cites the *Glossa Ordinaria* for an interpretation of the Psalm text that alludes to teachers taught by God himself.<sup>319</sup> These instances of praising or censuring instructors and of expressing the desirability of godly instruction frame the Psalter as a text for instructors not only to teach but also by which to be taught.<sup>320</sup>

Whether or not it was made by the same individual who taught from its glosses, and whether or not it could serve as a proxy teacher on its own, the amateur production of Bodley 554 testifies to just such instruction occurring outside the established institutional channels. At the same time, its adherence to the general conventions of the glossing tradition, especially in its careful attribution of sources, exhibits the scholarly background which Hudson describes as typical of 'scole' productions.<sup>321</sup> In its conjunction of academic reliability with a portable and navigable format, Bodley 554 encapsulates in microcosm the educational ambitions that have become almost synonymous with Lollardy, making concrete the ideal of translating academic learning beyond the university.<sup>322</sup>

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<sup>316</sup> B554 1:1/1; 1:3/3, vol. 1, p. 3.

<sup>317</sup> See B554, 117:22 / 1009 and 118:126 / 1087, and 126:2 / 1145, vol. 1, pp. 193, 203, and vol. 2, p. 7, respectively.

<sup>318</sup> B554 88:5/734, vol. 1, p. 141.

<sup>319</sup> B554 67:14/508, vol. 1, p. 100-101. See below for discussion of how this cites the *Gloss* col. 910.F-911.A.

<sup>320</sup> Notably, neither the image of the 'scole' read into Psalm 126:4 nor the other glosses on teaching and preaching mentioned above appear in other glossed copies of the Wycliffite Psalms – largely because these occur in glosses to individual verses rather than in the title glosses which appear more frequently.

<sup>321</sup> *Premature Reformation*, p. 205.

<sup>322</sup> Cf. Rita Copeland's reading of the Wycliffites' appeal for the foundation of fifteen new universities, *Pedagogy, Intellectuals, and Dissent in the Later Middle Ages: Lollardy and Ideas of Learning* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 44.

## 2. The Bodley 554 Glosses and the Glossed Wycliffite Psalms

For all its ‘idiosyncrasy’, Bodley 554 is far from alone in framing the Wycliffite LV Psalms with English exegetical apparatus, as amply evidenced in the high proportion of glossed manuscripts among the extant witnesses listed in Chapter 1’s Table 1. The presence of shared glosses across so many of the Wycliffite Bibles, including a number more professionally produced than Bodley 554, recalls the circulation of resources – even a book trade – that grew up alongside the Lollard ‘scoles’ according to Hudson’s account.<sup>323</sup> Meanwhile, the variety among and within the contents of the glossed Psalters, as well as their incidental or improvised appearance within Bodley 554, suggests adaptability to the exigencies of specific study and teaching environments.

### 2.1 An Overview of the Glossed Wycliffite Psalms

The extant glosses across the corpus cover a wide range of material.<sup>324</sup> Intertextual glosses recording alternative readings or clarifications to the translation are particularly common, appearing beyond even those manuscripts which stand out as glossed Psalters on account of more obviously interpretive material. Further alternative readings and philological glosses appear throughout the marginal apparatus of Bodley 554 in particular.<sup>325</sup> As indicated in Chapter 1, glosses on the titles appear in a significant number of Wycliffite Psalms manuscripts, with coverage up to Psalm 72 being especially strong, as evidenced by the eighteen witnesses Kuczynski identifies in his edition of Bodley 554. Of these, eleven also

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<sup>323</sup> *Premature Reformation*, p. 178.

<sup>324</sup> See Kuczynski, *B554*, vol. 1, pp. xxxvi-xliv, for a listing of the manuscripts with discussion of each one.

<sup>325</sup> See below, section 3, for further discussion of this phenomenon.

share glosses beyond the title glosses with Bodley 554. Five further manuscripts share glosses other than title glosses with Bodley 554, though not necessarily in large proportions. Where they are shared, the textual proximity of the glosses by far outweighs occasional discrepancies, such as the ‘significant variants’ which Kuczynski records in some of the glosses on the text in Lambeth 1033.<sup>326</sup> The title glosses in particular circulate with minimal variation in text, though title gloss material in other manuscripts tends to break off at much earlier points than Bodley 554. Even allowing for the fidelity of the translations from their Latin sources, such near equivalence must have resulted from a shared origin or intersecting transmission.<sup>327</sup>

It would be as inappropriate, however, to posit a single hegemonic glossing project as it would be to suggest a hegemonic Wycliffite translation.<sup>328</sup> In the first place, as Kuczynski cautions, ‘B 554, although it represents the fullest account of the Wycliffite glosses on the Psalms to have been identified, should not be understood as a direct source, in any sense, for the gloss texts in any of the other WB copies’ which he lists.<sup>329</sup> Some of the glossed manuscripts may in fact predate Bodley 554. Kuczynski posits that the earliest of the manuscripts, the EV Bible Christ Church 145, likely accrued its glosses by a different hand in the early fifteenth century, in which case the glosses could still postdate the early fifteenth-

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<sup>326</sup> *B554*, vol. 1, p. xli. As Kuczynski notes, these glosses may be written in a different hand than that of the title glosses, which are more comparable to those in Bodley 554 and the other manuscripts.

<sup>327</sup> Certain volumes may be even more closely connected. Kuczynski’s article on TCD 70 attributes it to the same scribe as that of Bodley 554, noting a commonality of hand and of ‘orthography’, ‘An Important Lollard Psalter in Trinity College, Dublin’, *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 99 (2010): pp. 181-187, pp. 183, 187. In his edition of Bodley 554, he does not revisit this hypothesis, but does again cite TCD 70 as an analogue for Bodley 554’s system of sigla connecting the text and the gloss, *B554*, vol. 1, p. xxv. There, he compares the script in Bodley 554 to that in Cambridge, CUL MS Ll.I.13, an LV New Testament and lectionary, *B554*, vol. 1, p. xxi.

<sup>328</sup> Cf. Chapter 1, section 1.1.3.

<sup>329</sup> *B554*, vol. 1, p. xxxv. There is some evidence for an intermediate link; for instance, the manuscripts which only contain the title glosses for Psalms 1-72, despite including further Psalms, are ‘no doubt related to a common ancestor’, according to Kuczynski, *B554*, vol. 1, p. xxxv.

century production of Bodley 554.<sup>330</sup> Two others, Royal 1.C.III and Lambeth 25, whose glosses appear original to the production of the manuscripts, have been dated approximately to the late fourteenth century.<sup>331</sup> Yet Bodley 554's glosses – if not the manuscript itself – seem most likely to reflect an earlier stage in the development of the glosses than these other manuscripts. Otherwise, the Bodley 554 glossator would have needed to both record glosses already in circulation (potentially also compiling these from multiple collections in different manuscripts) and revisit their sources to collect and translate relevant supplemental material. If indeed Bodley 554 was produced after the other glossed manuscripts, its more complete set must have been compiled all at once from their original sources and translated and copied as a unit at an earlier stage. Given the absence of evidence for specific dates of production in these manuscripts, it is also possible that Bodley 554 does in fact record the original process of selection and synthesis from the primary sources Kuczynski extrapolates from Bodley 554's 'thematic cohesion'.<sup>332</sup>

The glosses which Bodley 554 shares with other manuscripts would, then, reflect a further process of selection. The circulation of some of Bodley 554's glosses, most notably its title glosses, beyond Bodley 554 reinforces the importance of the commentary most completely preserved in Bodley 554 as a text in its own right. At the same time, the circulation of some glosses and readings separately from others in such a range of combinations demonstrates the divisibility of the glosses that appear in Bodley 554. This

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<sup>330</sup> See Kuczynski, *B554*, vol. 1, p. xli; contrast, however, Solopova, who attributes the glosses to 'a different contemporary hand', *Manuscripts*, p. 232.

<sup>331</sup> See Kuczynski, *B554*, vol. 1, pp. xxxvi, xli.

<sup>332</sup> Kuczynski, *B554*, vol. 1, p. lvii. See also 'Glossing and Glosses' p. 359, where Kuczynski suggests that the glossators to the Wycliffite Bible 'culled materials in advance from more complete copies of commentaries'.

divisibility does not so much undermine the unity of the Bodley 554 glosses in themselves as show their versatility as they were customized a variety of circumstances and functions.

In the second place, numerous manuscripts evidence glossing work beyond that witnessed in Bodley 554. Where these seem to bear some relation to materials in Bodley 554, they may suggest alternative branches of the same compilation of glosses, or indeed different processes of selection and synthesis from the same archetype; this may be the case, for instance, for the intertextual glosses in Bodley 277 that Sutherland has compared to certain marginal glosses in Bodley 554.<sup>333</sup> Equally, certain glosses witness to separate glossing projects; this is most obviously the case for the glosses to Longleat 3 which Kuczynski has traced to RV1.<sup>334</sup> This latter manuscript also witnesses the prevalence of post-production glossing; certain manuscripts produced with some Bodley 554-type glosses also exemplify this practice.<sup>335</sup> In addition to scribal glosses on 25:12 and Psalm 9:25 that Kuczynski has linked with readings in Bodley 554, CUL Dd.I.27 also contains glosses in a second hand that do not directly resemble those in Bodley 554.<sup>336</sup> In Lincoln Lat.119, likewise, Kuczynski observes that a later hand adds ‘paraphrases of psalm verses and moralizing comments’ not directly resembling any in Bodley 554, but offering some similar readings.<sup>337</sup> These manuscripts provide further attestation for the dynamic customization of gloss materials to particular contexts, lending significance to the particular content and features of individual manuscripts.

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<sup>333</sup> ‘The Wycliffite Psalms’, p. 196.

<sup>334</sup> ‘Extracts from a Revised Version of Richard Rolle’s English Psalter in MS Longleat 3, an Early Version Wycliffite Bible’, *Medium Aevum* 85.2 (2016): 217-35.

<sup>335</sup> ‘Extracts from a Revised Version’, pp. 217, 220-221.

<sup>336</sup> *B554*, vol. 1, p. xlv.

<sup>337</sup> *B554*, vol. 1, p. xxxix. In the case of Lincoln Lat.119, the added readings seem obvious enough from the Psalms themselves that the connection with Bodley 554 is not so necessary, though it remains a possibility given the other glosses shared with Bodley 554.

## 2.2 *Affordances for Teaching*

Several manuscripts within the glossed Psalter corpus share one or more of the features that, in Bodley 554, suggest extemporaneous or even extra-institutional use of the glosses. The post-production glosses mentioned above give further evidence for the overlap between the copyists and the users of the glosses, if only via the personal adaptation of existing books. Similarly, as with Bodley 554, Kuczynski posits that the glosses to Psalms 30-38 in TCD 70 represent an addition, rather than part of the original plan for the volume, copied in ‘a separate stint’ by the main text scribe; their moral focus could corroborate their significance for a specific individual or group.<sup>338</sup> TCD 70 is, by Kuczynski’s account, even smaller than Bodley 554, comparable in size to the octavo manuscript Laud Misc.182, with its apparently unique selection of biblical passages.<sup>339</sup> St. John’s E.14, a quarto with just the Psalms-Ecclesiasticus, and the standalone Psalters BL Add. 10046 and BL Add. 10047 are likewise portable enough to have been used in peripatetic instruction, a possibility also supported by their further contents.

Among the most portable glossed copies of the Psalter is BL Add. 31044, small enough to be held in one hand or indeed carried in a pocket.<sup>340</sup> In his catalogue of manuscripts with Bodley 554-type glosses, Kuczynski states this copy of Psalms-Ecclesiasticus in LV contains only a ‘single marginal gloss’, the Lyran attribution of the exclamation ‘Wel! Wel!’ to ‘scorn’ at Psalm 39:16; however, he also registers a further

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<sup>338</sup> ‘An Important Lollard Psalter in Trinity College, Dublin’, p. 184. As noted above, Kuczynski also attributes them to the same scribe there, p. 183.

<sup>339</sup> Cf. *B554*, vol. 1, p. xliii.

<sup>340</sup> The manuscript is of duodecimo size, though mislabelled as a ‘folio’ in Kuczynski’s catalogue, *B554*, vol. 1, p. xliv.

Lyran reading, ‘fro present liyf bi deþ’, in the margin beside Psalm 38:14, ‘þat I be refreischid bifor þat I go’, as ‘the only Psalms gloss in this MS’.<sup>341</sup> I have been able to find only the former gloss, but there is a nota mark in the margin beside Psalm 38:14 in the manuscript. In fact, while they contain only the one gloss, the margins of BL Add. 31044 contain many such nota marks, most often appearing next to verses glossed with similar short Lyran readings in Bodley 554.<sup>342</sup> This raises the intriguing possibility that the glosses were assumed to be known by the manuscript’s user, or that he could access them elsewhere, with the marginal nota marks serving to prompt recollection of or reference to these materials. The manuscript is also punctuated with marginal manicules, bearing less correspondence with the Bodley 554 glosses; the use of a separate series of annotations presumably distinguishes the sort of attention invited by the nota marks, perhaps expository, from that invited by the manicules, perhaps more personal. Bodley Add. 31044 may then witness more extensively than previously appreciated to the transmission of the interpretive tradition advanced by the Wycliffite Psalm glosses.

Other glossed volumes seem more likely to have been used for teaching in a more permanent academic or liturgical context. The two need not have been mutually exclusive; the Latin text and gloss (the *Glossa Ordinaria* text) for Joshua 24:25-33 and Judges 2:6-12 laid out meticulously on the first two folios of New College 66 mark it as a volume associated with a scholarly milieu at some point, while its annotation of ‘Commendations’ in the margin beside Psalm 118 marks it as a volume used in some connection with the Office

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<sup>341</sup> B554 39:16/276; 38:14/267, vol. 1, pp. 57, 55.

<sup>342</sup> See, for instance, Psalm 84:11 or Psalm 65:7 and 18. It should be acknowledged that there are instances of notas where there seem to be no glosses in the immediate vicinity in Bodley 554, such as at 85:5, and moreover that Bodley 554 glosses so many verses that it would be difficult to avoid at least some overlap. That said, there are cases such as Psalm 122:2 where a nota appears in BL Add. 31044 directly beside a verse glossed in Bodley 554, with no further glosses in the immediate vicinity, such that the correlation does not seem random.

of the Dead.<sup>343</sup> Apart from such individual examples, the substantial subset of full Wycliffite Bibles with glosses would of course make unwieldy travel-companions, and the larger ones in particular would require the support of a lectern in a permanent location. The provision of lectionary tables in Christ Church 145 and Queen's 388, and of the lectionary-calendar in Fairfax 2, suggest they were expected to be used in the secular liturgy, with Solopova finding evidence that Fairfax 2 may have been used in church up to the time of the Reformation.<sup>344</sup> In such a context, their glosses, as well as further referencing aids such as the capitula-list for New Testament material at the end of Fairfax 2, would presumably facilitate study in sermon preparation.<sup>345</sup>

Incidentally, though in many respects a more artful and deluxe volume than Bodley 554, Fairfax 2 is less consistent in the attribution of its sources; the same could be said for Bodley 277, another large volume with relatively elaborate decoration.<sup>346</sup> Though the inclusion or omission of such citations may often be incidental to a strain of transmission, it may also in some cases reflect differences in approach: on the one hand, participation in a scholarly tradition and on the other, creation of a new tradition of interpretation presenting itself as less mediated through the academic milieu. Paradoxically, here, it is the more informally produced text, Bodley 554, that seems more concerned with asserting its derivation from the established Latin tradition of exegesis, while volumes whose physicality

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<sup>343</sup> These might not have been very useful for scholarship on their own, since they are such short extracts from the *Glossa Ordinaria*, and clearly leaves from another volume.

<sup>344</sup> *Manuscripts*, p. 146.

<sup>345</sup> See Fairfax 2, fols. 312r-385v; cf. Dove, *The First English Bible*, p. 257.

<sup>346</sup> A feature also noted by Kuczynski, *B554*, vol. 1, pp. xxxix, xxxvii. On the more elaborate decoration of these manuscripts, e.g. the use of gold, cf. Solopova, *Manuscripts*, pp. 143-144 and 58-59 respectively.

would seem to bind them to the context of the establishment seem less concerned with marking this derivation.<sup>347</sup>

The presence of shared glosses across so many of the Wycliffite Bibles, including those more professionally produced than Bodley 554, recalls the circulation of resources – even a book trade – that grew up alongside the Lollard ‘scoles’ according to Hudson’s account.<sup>348</sup> In this complex environment, the glosses not only translated Latin interpretation beyond its traditional institutions, but also translated the practice of English interpretation into institutional environments. In short, the distribution of the Psalter glosses matches full range of contexts, excluding the Primers, occupied by the Wycliffite Bible Psalm translations as such.

### 3. Extending the Translation

Amidst the diversity of glosses circulating alongside the Wycliffite Bible Psalms, Bodley 554 remains an uniquely complete witness to the largest-scale glossing project associated with the Wycliffite Psalms – either because it is an original or early draft of such a project, or (more probably) because it most fully preserves such an original or early version. That at least some related glosses circulate among so many of copies of LV in particular suggests the close connection of the interpretive programme they witness with the Wycliffite translation project as such.<sup>349</sup> This section argues that the glossed Wycliffite Psalters, and

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<sup>347</sup> In the case of Fairfax 2, of course, the lack of a consistent approach from the beginning may derive from the dynamic between multiple scribes, cf. Solopova, *Manuscripts*, p. 145; cf. Kuczynski, *B554*, vol. 1, p. xxxix.

<sup>348</sup> *Premature Reformation*, p. 178.

<sup>349</sup> Cf. Dove’s proposal that the glosses to MS Cotton Claudius E.II, with the Bodley 554-type Psalm glosses among them, are ‘very likely to be the work of the translators’, *The First English Bible*, p. 164.

above all Bodley 554, rely on this continuity, extending the translation into a toolkit for interpretation.

Of course, the glossed Psalters tend to carefully distinguish the translated text from interpretive additions by underlining the latter in red or black, in the case of intertextual glosses, or by setting them apart from the text block and in a different script, in the case of the marginal glosses. In addition to meticulously distinguishing interpretive intertextual glosses from what is explicit in the Latin by underlining them in black, Bodley 554 also underlines terms present in the Latin when it repeats them a second time, assuming the antecedent; thus, for instance, it underlines ‘is þe Lordis’ when it repeats it from the first clause in Psalm 23:1, and underlines ‘shal not fille’ when repeating it in Psalm 128:7, instead of leaving an implied verb.<sup>350</sup> Bodley 554 uses red to underline other insertions, perhaps of a more definitely interpretive character. The term ‘synnes’ is underlined in red when it appears twice in Psalm 19:13 and 14, and ‘þe forseid defaultis’ is similarly underlined in red at Psalm 19:14; each is typical of the LV text, but articulate assumed subjects of ‘occultis’, ‘alienis’, and the verb ‘fuerint’, respectively, notably not translated in EV, and also underlined in other LV copies.<sup>351</sup> While such underlining, in either colour, highlights where the translation diverges from the Latin words, that copies of LV embed these intertextual glosses in the text of the translation conveys their continuity with it, suggesting that they preserve a record of decisions or indecision within the translation process and can be considered as a part of it.

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<sup>350</sup> See, for instance, the synonymous variants underlined in black at Psalm 9:10, 129:3, and Psalm 144:4, 5. In terms of insertions for idiomatic English, see the underlined ‘doip’ in Psalm 21:14, or the supplied verbs mentioned below.

<sup>351</sup> Admittedly, the choice of red may not definitely distinguish one type of intertextual gloss from another. The three mentioned above are all in close proximity to one another, while other more interpretive translations which presume the significance of a term are underlined in black. See, for instance, ‘arke of testament’ underlined in black in Psalm 131:6, or ‘vessel’ underlined in black in Psalm 143:13.

Indeed, it would be difficult to read the text of the translation without these intertextual glosses.

Meanwhile, the presentation of marginal glosses can also serve to facilitate rather than to prevent continuous reading between the two. This is most obvious in manuscripts which use tie-marks to connect lemmata in the text with the glosses expounding them: TCD 70, Cotton Claudius E.II, and Lambeth 1033.<sup>352</sup> Laud Misc. 182 also uses tie marks, albeit not in rubric, so they do not stand out so clearly.<sup>353</sup> More generally, however, the presence of the glosses in the margins makes them easier to find within the manuscript – a feature that could be especially important for anyone teaching extemporaneously or engaging in auto-didactic study from one of these manuscripts – and thus to use in reflecting on the translated text. Moreover, the glossed Psalters by definition integrate text and gloss by including materials previously accessible only in separate Latin volumes with the circulation of the English Psalms.

### *3.1 Extending the Pursuit of the Base Text*

The glosses, intertextual and marginal, specifically extend several of the features which Chapter 1 found characteristic of the Wycliffite translation's dynamism. In the first place, they continue the ongoing pursuit of accuracy in the base text evident in adjustments made across the Wycliffite Psalms corpus, especially with respect to the Hebrew.<sup>354</sup> The variant readings from different base texts which LV sometimes includes as intertextual glosses make this element of the translation process visible within the text block. For

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<sup>352</sup> Cf. Kuczynski, *B554*, vol. 1, pp. xliii, xxxix, xli; xxv.

<sup>353</sup> Cf. Kuczynski, *B554*, vol. 1, p. xliii.

<sup>354</sup> Cf. Chapter 1, section 2.2.1. See also Somerset's case for the importance of this topic in Wycliffite thought, 'Before and After Wyclif: Consent to Another's Sin in Medieval Europe'.

example, the pairing, ‘ri3t reulyng, ethir of equite’, at Psalm 44:7 captures the slight divergence between ‘directionis’ in the Gallicanum text and ‘aequitatis’ in the Hebraicum, and all the more so because ‘ri3t’ and ‘equite’ derive from the Latin ‘rectus’ (a component of the word ‘directionis’] and ‘aequitas’, respectively.<sup>355</sup> A number of intertextual glosses in fact juxtapose a reading from the Gallicanum with one from the Hebraicum, as listed in Table 2.1 below. Though in some cases the correspondences are less certain, I have marked those whose alternatives clearly reflect these divergent base texts with an X:

*Table 2.1*

<b>Verse Reference</b>	<b>Alternatives</b>	<b>Gallicanum</b>	<b>Hebraicum</b>	
Psalm 10:8	equite <i>ethir</i> <i>euennesse</i> <sup>356</sup>	aequitatem	rectum	
Psalm 106:29	a soft wynde <i>ether</i> <i>pesiblite</i> <sup>357</sup>	auram	tranquillitatem	X
Psalm 118:15 <sup>358</sup>	exercisid <i>ether bisily</i> <i>ocupied</i> <sup>359</sup>	exercebor	meditabor	X
Psalm 118:66	goodnesse, and loore, <i>ether chastisyng</i> <sup>360</sup>	bonitatem et disciplinam	bonum sermonem	
Psalm 118:70	cruddid, <i>ether maad</i> <i>hard</i> <sup>361</sup>	coagulatum	incrassatum	X

Such glosses allow the reader to register points where the text is not fixed, and to access both versions of the text in these cases.

<sup>355</sup> The editors note only one manuscript which omits the alternative: Lambeth 1033.

<sup>356</sup> Forshall and Madden note that Bodley 277 has only ‘cuenesse’ here.

<sup>357</sup> This appears as a variant – shared by some 20 manuscripts – in the Forshall and Madden edition; it is included in Bodley 554.

<sup>358</sup> Contrast, however, Psalm 76:13, where both the Gallicanum and the Hebraicum have ‘meditabor’ but many copies of LV, including Bodley 554, have ‘exercised *ether occupied*’; see *B554*, vol. 1, p. 120 .

<sup>359</sup> Forshall and Madden note this as a variant in some 20 manuscripts; again, it also appears in Bodley 554.

<sup>360</sup> Forshall and Madden list this as a variant; Bodley 554 is among the manuscripts in which it appears.

<sup>361</sup> Forshall and Madden note this intertextual gloss in Lambeth 1033; it is also present in Bodley 554.

This attention to textual variants in the sources becomes even more noticeable in the extensive treatment of the topic in the margins of Bodley 554. A significant proportion of its marginal glosses cite or compare the ‘Ebreu’ and ‘Ieroms translacioun’, again both marking the discrepancy between different source texts and preserving the alternative reading. In their citation of these authorities and in their marginal location, these readings correspond tantalizingly to the General Prologue’s account of glossing as a part of the translation process:

And where þe Ebreu, bi witnesse of Ierom and of Lire and oþere expositours, discordiþ fro oure Latyn bookis, I haue set in þe margyn bi þe maner of a glose what þe Ebreu haþ, and hou it is vndurstonden in sum place, and I dide þis moost in þe Sauter, þat of alle oure bookis discordiþ moost fro Ebrew.<sup>362</sup>

The abundance of such glosses in Bodley 554 stands out all the more in light of their rarity in other manuscripts. Other manuscripts do include comparison of this kind as part of the titles to certain Psalms and it can even appear in the margins in this guise. The title for Psalm 66, for instance, contrasts Jerome and the Hebrew:

The titil of the sixe and sixtithe salm. In Ebreu thus, To the victorie in orguns, the salm of the song. In Jerom thus, To the ouercomer in salmes, the song of writing of a delitable thing with metre.<sup>363</sup>

Kuczynski notes that the title entry for Psalm 66 is placed in the margin under the label ‘a glos’ in Royal 1.C.VIII.<sup>364</sup> However, this exception hardly testifies to a programmatic record of textual discrepancies in the margins of glossed Psalters; as Kuczynski notes, the title is ‘erroneously identified’ here, and treated as a title in the other manuscripts.<sup>365</sup> By contrast, the margins of Bodley 554 preserve a unique record of sustained comparison with the

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<sup>362</sup> General Prologue, ch. 15, ed. Dove, p. 82.

<sup>363</sup> See *B554*, vol. 1, p. 98.

<sup>364</sup> *B554*, vol. 1, p. xxxvii.

<sup>365</sup> *B554*, vol. 1, xxxvii.

Hebrew – one in keeping with the comparison evident in the text, titles, and intertextual glosses of other glossed Psalters, but far surpassing them in extent and visibility.

### *3.2 Extending the Pursuit of the Literal*

In addition to preserving the Hebrew via textual variants, Bodley 554 also cites Lyra for further philological details, such as the significance of Hebrew words or the meanings of names. A more common example is the gloss on ‘critouns’ in Psalm 101:4, which appears in at least six other manuscripts.<sup>366</sup> Glosses of this kind represent a second degree of translation, in some respects comparable to another characteristic of the translation’s dynamism, namely, its experimentation with different English renderings of the same text and its ongoing pursuit of English that gives readers access to the process of its derivation from the original language. Again, the marginal material corresponds to an effort embedded in the intertextual glosses, even as these intertextual glosses in turn mark practices embedded more deeply throughout the translation. Just as Bodley 554’s marginal glosses on textual variants amplify the concern with establishing the base text underlined in more frequent intertextual glosses, so the glosses on the historical or philological background of particular words or phrases amplify the effort to illumine the language underlined in intertextual glosses that offer alternative vocabulary, especially those which juxtapose alternative ways of deriving the English from the Latin. The marginal apparatus of definitions and background information marks an effort to give access to the sense precisely as it inheres in the words of the original – insofar as these are accessible in the first place.

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<sup>366</sup> B554 101:4/836, vol. 1, p. 161.

This concern with the sense as it inheres in the words manifests itself, albeit with even more mediation, in several other types of glosses, including the most commonly recurring set across the glossed Psalters, the title glosses. The shared title glosses synthesize or translate parts of Lyra's preliminary comments on a Psalm in the *Postilla Litteralis*. Often, they draw from his comments on the author of the Psalm and the circumstances of its composition, reflecting his systematic approach with their own. Where Lyra foregrounds the Christological reading as the literal meaning of the Psalm, the title glosses also announce the Psalm as being of Christ 'to þe lettre', whether instead of or in addition to any remarks on the Psalmist.<sup>367</sup> According to Lyra's definition of the literal sense, such Christological readings were no less key to the literal and historical reading of a Psalm than the original human authorship; this could have made him all the more appealing to Wycliffite glossators, since Wyclif took a similar definition of the literal under Lyra's influence. The presence of these title glosses across so many of the manuscripts testifies to a well-entrenched effort to accompany the Wycliffite Psalms with a guide for approaching certain of them literally in the sense of the literal advocated by Lyra and Wyclif alike.

In its provision of historical context for individual Psalms, this effort augments the pattern of contextualization provided by the titles themselves, which often register the circumstances in which the Psalm was originally composed or performed. In fact, not all the manuscripts visually distinguish the title gloss from the title itself. In Cambridge, St. John's E.14, the glosses are placed within the text block, and in BL Add. 10047, they not only appear in the text block but are also rubricated so as to be 'conflated often with the text of the

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<sup>367</sup> It is also very common for Bodley 554 to contain cross-references or further or alternative exposition absent in most or all of the other manuscripts – for examples, see Psalms 8 and 24.

psalm titles themselves'.<sup>368</sup> Fairfax 2 also often conflates titles and title glosses, with the title glosses appearing underlined in red like the titles as well as set in the margins as 'a glos'.<sup>369</sup> Conversely, as mentioned above, the title for Psalm 66 appears in the margin of Royal 1.C.VIII, labelled as a gloss, implying, as Kuczynski observes, that 'the division between title and title gloss might have been unclear for some WB copyists'.<sup>370</sup>

This same ambiguity is present, if less pointedly, within Bodley 554, to judge by the varying presentation of comparisons between the 'Ebreu' versus Jerome's title. On some occasions, a gloss noting the difference in title is set in the margin, like most of the philological comments in Bodley 554. This occurs, for instance, with the comment on 'of þe sabat' in the title to Psalm 37, which appears in the margin of Bodley 554; by way of contrast, it is worth noting that Fairfax 2 includes it in the text block, underlined in red, as per its usual conventions for Psalm titles.<sup>371</sup> On other occasions, as at Psalm 35 or 48, Bodley 554 will incorporate philological comparison between 'Ebreu' and 'Ieroms translacioun' into the title it provides for a Psalm, setting the alternative titles themselves in rubric, but writing their attributions to Jerome or the Hebrew in regular ink. In an even more indefinite use of the different norms for titles and glosses, the rubricated version of the title in Psalm 18 runs into the margin, where it meets text setting out 'Ieroms translacioun' in the glossing script, with the alternative title itself being underlined in red.<sup>372</sup> Bodley 554 shares some of these

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<sup>368</sup> For brief descriptions of Cambridge St. John's E.14 and BL Add. 10047, see Kuczynski, *B554*, vol. 1, pp. xxxvii and xxxviii respectively.

<sup>369</sup> See, for instance, f. 4.

<sup>370</sup> Kuczynski, *B554*, vol. 1, p. xxxvii. As Kuczynski notes, Royal 1.C.VIII does usually differentiate the title glosses from the glosses by paraphs and by marking them 'a glos' when they appear 'current with the titles themselves' in the text.

<sup>371</sup> This gloss also appears in Lambeth 1033, BL Add.10056, and BL Add. 10047, *B554* 37:1/254, vol. 1, p. 53.

<sup>372</sup> 'In Ieroms translacioun thus: to þe ouercomere, þe song of Dauib', f. 8v; cf. *B554*, vol. 1, p. 24. Compare this to Psalm 67 on f. 180r of Fairfax 2, where the title gloss continues as one sentence from the title itself, the first part being underlined in red in the text block like the title before running over into a marginal gloss.

occasions of ambiguity with several other manuscripts; for instance, Lambeth 1033 also offers the same two versions of the title, as well as incorporating some of what is a marginal gloss in Bodley 554, among other manuscripts, into its title for Psalm 35.<sup>373</sup> In any case, the inclusion of such philological comparisons both in the form of titles and in the form of glosses to the title confirms a flexibility in distinguishing between title and title gloss on the part of the glossators of Bodley 554, as part of a larger continuity between title and title gloss throughout many glossed Wycliffite Psalters.<sup>374</sup>

The continuity of translation and glossing sets a trajectory toward teaching, with the glosses teaching readers directly how to understand the translation and lending it to further pedagogical use. Admittedly, the glosses do not perform as explicit a rhetorical function as the sermons, for instance, nor do they advance polemic points with any degree of specificity, although they do focus on certain preoccupations. Rather, the momentum of the glosses runs toward teaching how to approach interpreting the text, and specifically how to construe the sense from the words, even when the words themselves are not fixed.

#### **4. The Glosses as Interpretive Model**

##### ***4.1 The Problem of the Literal***

As has already been noted, Bodley 554 follows Lyra in reading Psalm 1's blessing as applying to 'feipful techeris', as opposed to the 'scorneris' whom it identifies as 'techeris of weiward doctryn' who 'techen errors vndur þe lincesse of treupe'.<sup>375</sup> The contrast seems a

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<sup>373</sup> Cf. Forshall and Madden, p. 771; Dove, *The First English Bible*, p. 161.

<sup>374</sup> In the case of Bodley 554, the variability in placement of philological glosses on the title could be simply further demonstrations of the amateur or unplanned nature of the volume; however, the variability across the glossed Psalters suggests a much larger phenomenon.

<sup>375</sup> *B554* 1:3/3; 1:1/2, vol. 1, p. 3. Bodley 554 here translates Lyra, *Postilla Litteralis*, vol 3, col. 435, who in turn connects his philological point with Augustine's reading of 'the seat of pestilence' as 'hurtful doctrine'.

fitting opening to the gloss as a whole, reflecting this initial emphasis in Lyra's commentary, and Augustine's before it, but also the Psalter's own inaugural celebration of the one who meditates on the law. In most glossed Wycliffite Psalters, however, the marginal commentary begins with the title gloss – or rather the gloss on the absence of a title – to Psalm 2. This comment, also present in Bodley 554, ends with more specific direction in how to approach the biblical text:

þe secunde salm, þat haþ no title in Ebreu and in Ieroms translacioun, was maad of Dauib, as þe postlis witness[en] in þe four[þ]e chapitre of Dedis. And þis salm is vndurstonde[n] of Crist God and man to þe lettre, as Poul in þe firste chapitre to Ebreus and þe postlis in þe fourþe chapitre of Dedis witnessen, and þe eld doctours of Ebreis. Forwhi preuyng bi gostli vndurstanding is not worþ, but oneli of literal vndurstandynge, as Austin seiþ in his pistle aþenes Vyncent Donatist. *Lire here.*<sup>376</sup>

Again, the reflection on interpretation itself at the beginning of a body of interpretive material is not original to the glossed Psalters, deriving as it does from Lyra's gloss. However, it is significant that the glossators select this last remark from within Lyra's much larger body of introductory material on this Psalm – and perhaps especially so since the conflict between 'gostli' and 'literal' understanding is not one raised directly or literally in the text. One could in fact consider it a digression from the literal.

Indeed, despite this assertion of the literal's primacy, the glosses tend to privilege what could be considered 'gostli' readings throughout the Psalter. The assertion itself, in the gloss on Psalm 2, follows a declaration that the Psalm speaks of Christ 'to þe lettre' – a declaration that appears in numerous title glosses that present a Christological reading as part of the historical contextualization of a Psalm. While not 'gostli' *per se*, these readings again seem to stretch the remit of the literal, if not to diverge from it. Bodley 554 furthermore lends

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<sup>376</sup> *B554*, 2/7, vol. 1, p. 3. Notably, not all of the other manuscripts include the second portion of the gloss, with the warning regarding 'gostli' versus 'literal vnderstandynge'. Thus, for instance, CUL Mm.2.15 contains the gloss only up to 'Dedis', f.147v.

a structural significance to ‘gostli’ interpretations, using the very word to label the moral readings it includes as a second component to many title glosses. Where space limitations require the ‘gostli’ gloss on Psalm 61 to appear separately from the historical element of the title gloss, a line has been drawn to connect the two.<sup>377</sup> Kuczynski reads this as an indicator that such ‘spiritual interpretations depend on and are foundationless without the historical explanations’; however, it could equally demonstrate their mutual inextricability for the users of the glosses.<sup>378</sup> Though the historical explanation normally precedes the ‘gostli’ exposition, a ‘gostli’ interpretation can also precede any historical comments, as at Psalm 7.<sup>379</sup> Indeed, even as the historical explanations often appear without a further ‘gostli’ exposition, Psalms can also be introduced with spiritual glosses in the absence of historical explanation, as occurs with Psalm 51’s ‘gostli’ exposition.<sup>380</sup> In placing such ‘gostli’ readings in parallel with or even in place of comments on the ‘lettre’, Bodley 554 thus enlarges the scope of the context provided in the titles as key for interpretation beyond the historical to the spiritual.

Although the other glossed Psalters do not, as a rule, record these ‘gostli’ readings as part of the title gloss, they often revolve around other moral readings, even to the exclusion of more historical and philological material. The short series of marginal glosses to Psalms 30-37 which TCD 70 shares with Bodley 554, for instance, records moral readings drawn from Augustine; rather than addressing philological or historical questions, these glosses cover topics such as the disposition of the will or desire in prayer.<sup>381</sup> One of these, on Psalm 36:4, also appears in Laud Misc. 182, alongside only two other marginal Psalm glosses, one

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<sup>377</sup> See f. 30v.

<sup>378</sup> *B554*, vol. 1, p. xxx.

<sup>379</sup> *B554* 7/32, vol. 1, p. 9; cf. the subsequent historical comment at 7:1/33, vol. 1, p. 9, which seems more concerned with parsing the title than with explaining the Psalm as a whole.

<sup>380</sup> *B554* 51:1/380, vol. 1, pp. 75-76.

<sup>381</sup> See *B554*, vol. 1, p. xliii, and Kuczynski, ‘An Important Lollard Psalter in Trinity College, Dublin’, p. 184.

from Augustine and one from Lyra, also shared with Bodley 554: ‘þe axyngis of fleish ben about þe helpe of fleisch but þe axingis of herte ben aboute euerelastyng goodis. *Austin here*’.<sup>382</sup> Another moral gloss from Lyra, a reading of ‘foot’ in Psalm 25:12 as ‘affeccioun’, similarly features as one of only a few marginal glosses, other than the title glosses, in several manuscripts; incidentally, this reading also appears intertextually in Fairfax 2 and CUL Dd.I.27, vol. 1.<sup>383</sup> The marginal comments on Antichrist in the latter manuscript, and the ‘moralizing comments’ added in a later hand in Lincoln Lat. 119, indicate the tendency toward this more ‘gostli’ approach in Psalm glossing beyond the glosses witnessed in Bodley 554.<sup>384</sup>

To be fair, the Augustinian principle quoted in the Psalm 2 gloss does not exclude the development and use of ‘gostli’ readings, but rather the founding of proofs on them.<sup>385</sup> Thus, moral readings such as those prevalent in the glossed Psalters only conflict with this admonition if they are ungrounded in the literal sense, or if they are treated as evidence in and of themselves. Meanwhile, the presentation of a wide range of readings, including figural interpretations, as ‘literal’, does not so much conflict with the primacy of the literal as reflect an understanding of the literal as the intended meaning of the text. It is this sense to which Wyclif had appealed in defending Scripture’s truth in the *De Veritate Sacrae Scripturae* and elsewhere.<sup>386</sup> Indeed, he there declares the ‘sensus misticum’ to be ‘ut plurimum literalis’

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<sup>382</sup> B554 36:4/242, vol. 1, p. 51. Cf. also vol. 1, p. xliii.

<sup>383</sup> B554 25:12/163, vol. 1, p. 35. Cf. vol. 1, pp. xxxix, xl-xli, on the manuscripts which contain the marginal gloss: New College 66, CUL Mm.2.15, CCCC Parker 147, and Lincoln Lat.119. See also vol. 1, p. xliv on CUL Dd.1.27.

<sup>384</sup> B554, vol. 1, p. xxxix.

<sup>385</sup> Cf. Augustine, ‘Epistola 93’, *PL* 33, col. 346.

<sup>386</sup> Ian Christopher Levy points out Wyclif’s equivocal use of the phrase ‘de virtus sermonis’: ‘Wyclif asserts Scripture’s truth “de virtute sermonis” meaning “according to the intended sense of the divine author, which may include figurative language”, whereas he counters disputants who point to Scripture’s frequent falsehood “de virtute sermonis, meaning governed by the standard rules of proper supposition, thereby excluding

[‘the mystical sense [. . .] belongs to the fullness of the literal sense’], citing Scripture’s references to Christ through various evocative figures – ‘agnus [. . .] serpens, leo, vermis’ [‘lamb [. . .] serpent, lion, worm’].<sup>387</sup> That is to say, the literal includes the mystical, which indeed completes it.

Lyra, too, had framed the literal sense in terms of intent.<sup>388</sup> And in fact Lyra’s and Wyclif’s formulations instantiate a broader trend, or even consensus, within scholasticism as it worked through how to apply the studies in the Trivium to the Scriptures. In an article tracing debates surrounding the phrase ‘de virtus sermonis’ [‘on the strength of the words’, or ‘according to the literal sense’] in the fourteenth century, William Courtenay helpfully distinguished the ‘virtus sermonis’ from the ‘proper supposition’ to which ‘literal’ usually refers in modern parlance.<sup>389</sup> Originating in Cicero’s phrase for the ‘force or meaning of a word’ typically based in its etymology, and coming into greater use in the scholastic period as a ‘pair’ with its counterpart the ‘usus loquendi’ [‘the meaning according to common usage’], according to Courtenay, the phrase came to refer to its own counterpart, the ‘commonly accepted meaning’, in a set of statutes enacted at the University of Paris in 1340.<sup>390</sup> Though the statutes indicate the controversy surrounding this approach, as does Wyclif’s own defensive tone, they also establish the intentionalist definition of the literal as mainstream and codified. Of course, this conception of the literal appears long before the statutes themselves, much less Wyclif and the Psalm glosses, in Aquinas’ incorporation of

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figurative language”, *OTHS*, p. 33. See Levy’s summary of how this manoeuvre grounds Wyclif’s defence of Scripture’s literal truth in the *De Veritate Sacrae Scripturae*, *OTHS*, pp. 16-18, and in earlier discussions, pp. 11-14.

<sup>387</sup> *DVSS*, vol. 1, p. 5; trans. *OTHS*, p. 43.

<sup>388</sup> See Rita Copeland, ‘Rhetoric and the Politics of the Literal Sense in Medieval Literary Theory: Aquinas, Wyclif, and the Lollards’, in Torti and Boitani, eds., *Interpretation: Medieval and Modern* (Woodbridge, 1993), hereafter ‘Rhetoric and the Politics of the Literal Sense’, p. 13.

<sup>389</sup> ‘Force of Words and Figures of Speech’, *Franciscan Studies* 44 (1984): pp. 107-128, at pp. 117-118.

<sup>390</sup> ‘Force of Words and Figures of Speech’, pp. 111, 116, 121.

‘rhetorical language’ into the ‘literal sense’.<sup>391</sup> One could trace it much further back still to Augustine, as Wyclif seeks to do.<sup>392</sup> Without committing to a fuller narrative of how the ‘literal’ sense has been framed and reframed, it is possible to appreciate that the Psalm glosses, like Wyclif before them, embrace a recognized approach to the literal sense.<sup>393</sup>

And yet Wyclif presents his approach as a corrective to the contemporary schools environment in which he worked, and which likewise informed the production of the glosses.<sup>394</sup> From the beginning of the *De Veritate*, Wyclif distinguishes the grammar and logic of Scripture, which he asserts as completely true, from the merely human rules learned in the schoolroom, emphasizing the need to replace the latter with the former:

Qui noluerit in aliqua parte scripture intellegere gramaticam, nisi quam puer didicerat, nedum erit ignaris misterri scripturarum, sed intricabit se inconvenientibus nimis magnis.<sup>395</sup>

[Anyone who is unwilling to understand the grammar belonging to some part of Scripture, unless it conforms to that which he learnt as a child, will not only remain quite ignorant of the mysteries of Scripture, but will end up entangling himself in a great number of improprieties’].<sup>396</sup>

Wyclif admits to his own original bewilderment in defending the truth of Scripture, in the literal sense of the word itself as a book.<sup>397</sup> He attributes to divine grace the revelation, as he calls it, of Scripture’s meaning ‘ad literam’ [‘according to the literal sense’], or more precisely the distinctions by which he was able to defend its incorruptible truth ‘ad

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<sup>391</sup> Rita Copeland, ‘Rhetoric and the Politics of the Literal Sense’, p. 1.

<sup>392</sup> Wyclif begins the *De Veritate* by addressing potential counter-arguments from Augustine and turning them to the advantage of his own argument (e.g. *DVSS*, vol. 1, p. 5; trans. *OTHS*, p. 43). See Ghosh, *The Wycliffite Heresy*, pp. 10-11, for further perspective on the Augustinian ‘roots’ of Wycliffite hermeneutics.

<sup>393</sup> Cf. also Copeland, ‘Rhetoric and the Politics of the Literal Sense’, p. 2.

<sup>394</sup> In Chapter 5, I explore the engagement of the Wycliffite interpretations of the Psalter with contemporary scholastic discussions, and indeed with Wyclif’s own theological writings in more detail; see especially section 2.1 on how Wyclif’s thought might have been accessible in this milieu.

<sup>395</sup> *DVSS*, vol. 1, pp. 10-11.

<sup>396</sup> *OTHS*, pp. 47-48. Cf. *DVSS* vol. 1, p. 87; trans. *OTHS*, p. 86.

<sup>397</sup> *DVSS*, vol. 1, p. 114; trans. *OTHS*, p. 101.

literam'.<sup>398</sup> Whereas he had initially thought that Scripture literally referred to what is inscribed on parchment ['pellibus bestiarum', 'animal hides'], he came to appreciate that these are only called Scriptures 'secundum equivocacionem analogam' ['[by] analogous equivocation'] with Scripture's sense 'ad literam'.<sup>399</sup> Parsing 'scriptura sacra' ['Holy Scripture'] as 'sacra veritas inscripta' ['the inscription of sacred truth'], Wyclif identifies it most fundamentally as 'inscripcio [. . .] deo tam propria, quod non potest comunicari alteri nature' ['that inscription which is so proper to God that it cannot be communicated to another nature'], the Book of Life as it exists eternally within God, sent into the world in the incarnation of Christ.<sup>400</sup> Secondly, and inextricably, Wyclif identifies Scripture as 'veritates libro vite inscripte secundum esse earum intelligibile' ['the truths inscribed in the book of life, according to their intelligible being'], and, thirdly, 'veritatibus credendis in genere' ['the truths which are to be believed according to their proper genus'].<sup>401</sup> Wyclif posits a fourth manner of speaking of Scripture, namely, 'veritate credenda, ut inscribitur libro himinis naturalis ut anima' ['the truth which must be believed as it is inscribed in the book of the natural man, that is, in his soul'], alongside the fifth manner of inscription, in 'artificialibus' ['artificial signs'] such as manuscripts or speech.<sup>402</sup> According to his model, the latter two, and especially the fifth sense, can only be called by the name 'Scripture' insofar as they signify what is already 'exemplatur a scriptura prior' ['exemplified by the prior Scripture']; any corruption within them can thus be attributed to their divergence from the Scriptures they ought to signify, rather than to any corruptibility within Scripture as such.<sup>403</sup> Wyclif criticizes

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<sup>398</sup> *DVSS*, vol. 1, p. 114; trans. *OTHS*, pp. 101-102.

<sup>399</sup> *DVSS*, vol. 1, p. 114; trans. *OTHS*, pp. 101-102.

<sup>400</sup> *DVSS*, vol. 1, pp. 107-108, 111, 109; trans. *OTHS*, pp. 97, 99, 98.

<sup>401</sup> *DVSS*, vol. 1, p. 108; trans. *OTHS*, p. 97.

<sup>402</sup> *DVSS*, vol. 1, p. 108; trans. *OTHS*, p. 97.

<sup>403</sup> *DVSS*, vol. 1, p. 114; trans. *OTHS*, p. 102.

the over-emphasis on the latter two manners of speaking of Scripture, concerned with ‘signs’ rather than the reality, among his contemporaries.<sup>404</sup> In doing so, he develops the topos of opposition between the scholastic approach and the interpretive training provided by revelation present throughout the *De Veritate*.

In this light, the preoccupation with historical contextualization and textual criticism so evident in the ‘literal’ glosses, and especially in Bodley 554’s extensive philological glosses, might itself seem out of keeping with Wyclif’s own emphasis on pursuing the ‘literal’ meaning. Comments on disparities between different versions of the text underline the corruptibility of the manuscripts, instantiating Wyclif’s point about the equivocality of this fifth dimension of Scripture but also perhaps the over-emphasis on the material inscription that he perceives among his contemporaries in the schools. Insofar as they pertain to the fourth dimension of Scripture, that in the human soul, comments concerning the historical individuals associated with the Psalms – and even their more generic moral fulfilment – might likewise exemplify the focus on the merely human that Wyclif criticizes. It could seem that the Psalm glosses as such would fall under his censure, precisely in their preservation of the academic mode of analysis, including the pursuit of the literal.

#### ***4.2 Teaching with Alternatives***

Wycliffite hermeneutics is thus marked not only by its outward-facing conflict with the clerical or scholarly establishment but also by the internal conflict between the criticism of that establishment and the use of its methods. In his analysis of Wycliffite hermeneutics in practice in the English Wycliffite Sermons, Kantik Ghosh draws out this latter conflict with

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<sup>404</sup> *DVSS*, vol. 1, p. 114; trans. *OTHS*, p. 102.

particular attention to the scholastic method of discourse which revolves around a tendency to, in Peter von Moos' phrase, 'denken in Alternativen' ['think in alternatives'].<sup>405</sup> Ghosh specifically juxtaposes the sermons' insistence on an "'open" biblical text with accessible and determinate meanings' with their simultaneous recognition of 'alternative interpretations'.<sup>406</sup> The Wycliffite Psalm glosses exhibit this same scholastic mode of 'thinking in alternatives', perhaps even surpassing the English Wycliffite Sermons in their adherence to this mode of discourse by translating scholastic exegesis more directly, while also extending their sources' tendency to provide alternative readings. I propose that, rather than undermining the accessibility of the scriptural text, the alternatives provided in the Psalm glosses enable access to the biblical sense. They do so, neither by defining nor denying the plain and 'open' interpretation of the text, but by opening the interpretation of the text to a degree of reader participation while also affirming an underlying sense of the Psalms that can be reached through multiple methods.<sup>407</sup>

#### 4.2.1 *Alternatives in the Sources*

In their multivalence and multivocality, Bodley 554's Psalm glosses follow scholastic precedent, often directly translating the options for interpretation recorded in their source. Indeed, in juxtaposing readings from the *Glossa*, Augustine, and Lyra, Bodley 554 combines interpretations which themselves acknowledge multiple possibilities, even for the very words of the text. This is especially evident in Bodley 554's extensive gloss on Psalm 67:14, which

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<sup>405</sup> Ghosh, *The Wycliffite Heresy*, p. 145.

<sup>406</sup> Ghosh, *The Wycliffite Heresy*, p. 128.

<sup>407</sup> In this, they parallel the approach of the *Glossed Gospels* as described by Kraebel, *Biblical Commentary and Translation*, p. 174.

quotes all three for the same verse, conjoining and yet not resolving a whole nexus of readings.

The sense of multiple possibilities for this verse begins in an intertextual gloss common to several LV manuscripts:

If 3e slepen among þe myddil of sortis, eþer eritages, þe feþeris of þe culuer ben of siluer; and þe hyndrere þingis of þe bac þerof ben in þe schyn[yn]g of gold.<sup>408</sup>

This intertextual gloss recalls Augustine's exposition of the different possibilities for interpreting 'cleros': in addition to its literal sense as lots, translated 'sortis' in the Middle English here, Augustine states the Greek term can also refer to 'haereditas', translated by the Middle English 'eritages', allowing for the interpretation of the 'cleros' as the two testaments.<sup>409</sup> For Augustine, these readings are not entirely separate; he offers both an etymological explanation connecting the Greek terms for heritages and lots, and moreover an explanation from biblical narrative. However, he expresses a preference for the term 'heritages'.<sup>410</sup> In the complete replacement of 'sortis', the EV translation, with 'eritages', the LV text as recorded in Forshall and Madden may reflect the adoption of this preference, though the tendency to underline it marks its mediated status from the more direct translation of the Latin around it. By contrast, Bodley 554 and other manuscripts with the intertextual gloss do not record this preference; if anything, by introducing 'eritages' as a second reading with 'eþer' and underlining it in the text, they give preference to the more direct translation of the Latin, while preserving a further degree of interpretation of its Greek source.

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<sup>408</sup> f. 33v; cf. *B554*, vol. 1, p. 100. Cf. Forshall and Madden's observation that this binomial occurs in a number of other manuscripts, p. 803.

<sup>409</sup> *Enarrationes in Psalmos LI-C*, ed. E. Dekkers and J. Fraipont, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 39 (Turnhout : Brepols, 1956), par. 19, p. 882.

<sup>410</sup> *Enarrationes in Psalmos LI-C*, ed. Dekkers and Fraipont, par. 20, p. 882.

Bodley 554 greatly extends the scope of interpretive options already implicit in the translation in its enumeration of expositions. It continues to maintain neutrality toward ‘sortis’ and ‘eritages’ as it attributes both, side by side, to Augustine in the marginal gloss:

Eþer þus: Bitwixe þe myddil sortis, þat is, bitwixe twei testamentis; If 3e slepen among þe myddil eritagis, þat is, dwellen in þe hope of heuenli euerelastynghesse, and resten now fro coueitise of erþeli blis eþer prosperite; If 3e slepen, þat is, dien, among þe myddil eritagis: þis is þe beste deþ, þat a man contynuyng in þe refreynng of coueitisis fro erþeli þingis, and in þe hope of heuenli eritage, close þe laste dai of þis liyf. *Austyn here.*<sup>411</sup>

Lyra’s reading follows, juxtaposed against Augustine even as multiple interpretations are juxtaposed within the Augustinian reading:

If 3e slepen among þe myddil sortis, þat is, resten among þe statis of þe chirche fiȝtynge aȝenes synnes and of þe chirche hauynge victorie, þe [feþeris] of þe culuer, þat is, þe vertues of hooli chirche, ben of siluer, for present liyf is led in þe clenness of conscience; and þe hyndrere þingis of þe bac þerof ben in þe shynng of gold, þat is, ben endid in charite. *Lire here.*<sup>412</sup>

The marginal gloss in Bodley 554 includes one further, even longer cumulative reading from the *Glossa*:

Eþer þus: þe culuer is hooli chirche, maad of siluer, þat is, tauȝte bi Goddis spechis; þe feþeris of þe culuer ben þe techeris of hooli chirche; If 3e slepen, þat is, resten, among þe myddil of sortis, þat is, in þe autorite of twei testamentis, eþer among twei eritagis, oon erþeli and þe toþer heuenli, in not coueitinge greetli erþeli eritage and in abidyng pacientli heuenli eritage; eþer if 3e contynuen til to þe deþ in dispisyng of erþeli goodis, and in þe desiryng of heuenli goodis; if 3e slepen þus, þanne þe feþeris of þe culuer shulen be maad of siluer, þat is, þe techeris of þe chirche shulen be lerned in hooli scripture; and þe hyndrere þingis of þe bak, þat is, þe laste tymes of þe chirche in þe comyn risyng aȝen, eþer þe ende of ech iust man, shulen shyne in þe licnesse of gold, þat is, of wisdom and charite. *Þe glos here.*<sup>413</sup>

Some of these readings, such as that of the dove as the church in all three cases, or of ‘slepen’ as ‘resten’, are repeated across all three authorities. At other points, the authorities

<sup>411</sup> B554 67:14/508, vol. 1, p. 101.

<sup>412</sup> B554 67:14/508, vol. 1, p. 101.

<sup>413</sup> B554 67:14/508, vol. 1, pp. 100-101.

offer divergent interpretations: of the feathers as ‘vertues’ or as ‘techeris’; of the silver as ‘clennesse of conscience’ or being ‘tau3te by Goddis spechis’ or ‘lerned in hooli scripture’; of the ‘myddil sortis’ as between the church militant and triumphant or between two testaments; or of ‘slepen’ as ‘dwellen’ or ‘dien’ according to ‘Austyn’ instead of ‘resten’ according to ‘Lire’ and ‘þe glos’. There is nothing in the gloss to indicate a preference for any one of these readings over the others; they are linked only paratactically or, as in the intertextual gloss, with the neutral term ‘eþer’.<sup>414</sup>

The lack of adjudication between these readings is particularly striking because the gloss clearly engages actively with the sources. To focus on only one of these images, the first reading of the dove’s silver feathers, duly attributed to Lyra, incorporates a direct translation of his reading of ‘deargentata’ in its use of the phrase, ‘present liyf is led in þe clennesse of conscience’:

Sunt, quia praesens vita ducitur in conscientiae puritate.<sup>415</sup>

[They are such, because the present life is lied in purity of conscience.]

By contrast, while the reading of the dove’s feathers as ‘þe vertues of hooli chirche’ clearly derives from Lyra’s reading, it represents a selective synthesis rather than a translation:

Columba autem hic accipitur pro ecclesia, quae frequentur columba nominatur in Canticis. Pennae autem huius columbae sunt virtutes eam ad coelestia eleuantes<sup>416</sup>

[And this dove is accepted for the church, which frequently is called a dove in Song of Songs. And the feathers of this dove are the virtues lifting her to heaven.]<sup>417</sup>

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<sup>414</sup> Cf. the veritable quandary of interpretations linked only with ‘vel’ at the end of Peter Lombard’s reading of this verse, *Commentaria in Psalmos*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, PL 191 (Paris, 1854), hereafter *PL 191*, cols.609-610.

<sup>415</sup> *Postilla Litteralis*, vol. 3, col. 910.

<sup>416</sup> *Postilla Litteralis*, vol. 3, col. 910.

<sup>417</sup> Interestingly, Bodley 554 does not cite Augustine’s reading of the dove as the church, but of the wings as the two commandments of charity.

The Bodley 554 gloss here omits Lyra's biblical reference to Song of Songs and his grounds for comparing virtues and feathers. It omits the same proof for how the dove may be understood as the church and a similar grounds for comparing feathers to the doctors of the church when it translates the interpretation of this image which the *Glossa* attributes to Augustine and Cassiodorus:

Columba ecclesia, de qua in canticis vna est columba mea, haec est deargentata, diuinis eloquijs erudita, per argentum enim figuratur diuinum eloquium vnde alibi; *Eloqui domini, argentum Pennae columbae doctoris ecclesiae*, per quos exaltatur ecclesia, & illa semper volat ad alta, quorum praedicatione in coelum sertur.<sup>418</sup>

[The dove [is] the church, of which in Song of Songs 1 [it says] it is my dove, that is silvered, taught by divine words, for by silver is figured divine speech, whence elsewhere: The words of the lord are silver. The feathers of the dove are the doctors of the church, by which the church is lifted up, and she forever flies to the heights, of which the preaching is planted in heaven.]

The final reading regarding the dove, also attributed to the *Glossa Ordinaria*, is fairly similar, but its origins are unclear. The 1603 edition of the *Glossa* does not contain a direct equivalent for the final reading, on teachers being 'lernerd in hooli scripture'; this recalls the previous phrase 'diuinis eloquijs erudita', translated before as 'tau3te bi Goddis spechis', but the slight difference of vocabulary specifies their inscribed form and suggests qualification by study as opposed to direct revelation. In fact, the final catena of expositions quoted above does not appear as a contiguous section in that edition, but seems to combine Augustine's comment, recorded in the *Glossa*, on resting on the authority of the two testaments with his comment on the alternate significance of heritages for lots with other quotations not directly witnessed in the *Glossa* edition.<sup>419</sup> It is possible that Bodley 554 here synthesizes and

<sup>418</sup> *Glossa Ordinaria*, in *Biblorum Sacrorum cum Glossa Ordinaria* (Venice, 1603), 6 vols, <[https://lollardsociety.org/?page\\_id=409](https://lollardsociety.org/?page_id=409)>, hereafter *Glossa Ordinaria*, vol. 3, col. 910F-911A.

<sup>419</sup> *Glossa Ordinaria*, vol. 3, cols. 911C-912A. Kuczynski does not include attributions for this passage either, though he does for the material directly attributed to Augustine and Lyra, *B554*, vol. 2, pp. 130-131.

rewrites interpretations attributed to the *Glossa*, but it does not synthesize the divergent interpretations into one consistent reading or write in a preferred reading out of several inconsistent ones. Readers, or indeed their listeners, must collate the readings for themselves from this veritable compendium of readings that generally concern the church but in slightly different terms.

Few glosses include as many alternatives as Bodley 554's marginal comment on Psalm 67:13. In its compilation of so many possibilities, however, this extensive gloss magnifies a practice that is habitual in the Psalm glosses, intertextual and marginal: the preservation of multiple versions of the text, and of multiple interpretations of it, from their sources. In recording conflicting readings without necessarily indicating a definitive one, the marginal glosses in particular take on a somewhat disparate character. Yet this does not necessitate that the collection of glosses is disharmonious. On the contrary, the disparate glosses together furnish a range of possible interpretations, preserving variety within the exegetical tradition. These possible interpretations remain within the limits of established and authoritative readings. They thus teach the reader the options for reading the text, minimizing the risk of overly original interpretations. Yet they also prompt further exploration of the text and consideration of the interpretations rather than suggesting a single reading of every passage.<sup>420</sup> Such a wealth of material to be discussed might well have proved a key support to oral teaching in a 'scole' setting.

Bodley 554 preserves not only material, however, but also an approach. As well as the more general compilatory approach it draws from its sources, Bodley 554 specifically preserves the Lyra's twofold approach to the sense of the Psalter, and with it the more

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<sup>420</sup> That said, of course, there are many cases where the Bodley 554 gloss offers only one reading of a passage; cf. section 3.2 above.

general exegetical consensus regarding the different dimensions of the Psalter's interpretation. Bodley 554's 'gostli' expositions typically resemble Lyra's brief summary of the moral sense of the Psalm at the end of its entry in the *Postilla Litteralis*, rather than the *Postilla Moralis* itself, though the two statements of the moral meaning of the Psalm usually overlap, as indeed the two statements of the literal meaning often overlap. In at least one instance, it seems possible that the historical title gloss is translated from the moral gloss. The phrase, 'he was occasioun of þe deef of prestis', in the gloss on the title to Psalm 7 matches the Latin of Lyra's *Postilla Moralis*, 'fuerat occasio mortis sacerdotum' ['he occasioned the death of priests'], better than anything in the *Postilla Litteralis*; on the other hand, the term 'occasioun' could have been suggested by the Latin for slaying, 'occisio', which appears several times in the *Postilla Litteralis* for this Psalm.<sup>421</sup> In either case, by granting structural prominence to the 'gostli' alongside the historical in so many title glosses, Bodley 554 approximates Nicholas of Lyra's approach more closely than do the other glossed Psalters whose title glosses discuss only the literal context. Whoever was responsible for the Bodley 554 glosses seems to have given enough reflection to this approach to have continued and contributed to it; non-Lyran material is set into this framework on at least one occasion, with the title gloss to Psalm 123 citing Augustine for the 'gostli' exposition after quoting Lyra's historical material.<sup>422</sup> By expanding, as well as selecting and synthesizing, Lyra's combination of historical and moral glosses to the Psalter, Bodley 554 appropriates this framework as part of its own distinctive approach to the Psalter.

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<sup>421</sup> B554 7:1/33, vol. 1, p. 9; Lyra, *Postilla Litteralis*, vol. 3, col. 480. That said, as Deena Copeland Klepper notes, the circulation of Lyra's literal commentary far surpassed that of his moral commentary, *The Insight of Unbelievers: Nicholas of Lyra and Christian Reading of Jewish Text in the Later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 2007), p. 118.

<sup>422</sup> 'Gostli, þis salm is expownd of martris þat syngen it. *Austin here*', B554 2/1126, vol. 2, p. 5. This is among the occasions where the quotation from Augustine is not from Lyra or the *Glossa Ordinaria*, suggesting independent access to the *Enarrationes*, in however abridged a form; cf. B554, pp. lvii, liv.

#### 4.2.2 Using Alternatives

Apart from their value as a record of other scholars' interpretations, how might the alternatives in the glosses function in the teaching environment? One potential use would be to trace the implications of various possibilities, a practice modelled strikingly with respect to an issue of textual divergence at Psalm 21. Though the Psalm is 'verified of Crist' according to the title gloss with reference to Matthew 27, John 19, and Hebrews 2, the Psalm speaker promptly refers to 'þe wordis of my trespassis' in the first person, according to the Gallicanum and LV alike. Bodley 554's Lyran gloss to this acknowledges an alternative base text which would eliminate the problem, but also provides a solution with the text as it stands by clarifying how Christ could speak as a sinner:

Crist clepiþ þe synnes of þe puple hise for þe vnyte of membris and of þe heed, for he made þo synnes hise in a maner in suffring peyne for þo synnes. But in Ebreu and in Ieroms translacioun it is þus: þe wordis of my roryng eþer of my cry. For Crist in þe cros criede, seiynge wiþ greet vois, 'God, my God, whi hast þou forsake me?'<sup>423</sup>

Though the phrase might have originally seemed to undermine the Christological reading of the title gloss, the gloss points to this verse as the link with Matthew 27, one of the major sources for the Christological reading. On the one hand, Matthew 27 describes Christ crying out, as befits the alternative Hebrew and *Hebraicum* reading referenced; on the other, it describes the suffering through which he made his people's sins his own. In pursuing the implications of both versions of the text, the gloss demonstrates that both can support the same fundamental reading in terms of Christ.

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<sup>423</sup> B554 21:2/124, vol. 1, p. 29.

The example of Psalm 27 illustrates the use of this model of tracing alternative possibilities in an instance where the divergence is not between different versions of the text but between different levels of interpretation. Bodley 554 adds Augustine's Christological reading of the Psalm as 'mediatoris vox' ['the voice of the mediator'] to Nicholas of Lyra's literal and spiritual readings as it introduces the Psalm in its gloss on the title:

Dauip made þis salm of þe persecucioun of Absolon azenes him, whanne Dauip fledde fro Ierusalem for drede of him.  
 Gostli, þis salm mai be expowned of ech cristen man, set in tribulacioun of bodi eþer of soule. *Lire here.*  
 Þis salm is þe vois of Crist himsilf. *Austin here.*<sup>424</sup>

A later gloss on the same Psalm extends this multivalent reading, modelling its application to a specific and problematic passage of the text. To verse 4's imprecation, '3yue þou to hem upe þe werkis of hem; and vpe þe wickidnesse of her fyndyngis', Bodley 554 links a gloss clarifying the righteous intent of the words through both Davidic and Christological readings:

Dauip seide þis, not for loue of veniaunce, but of riztfulnesse. *Lire here.*  
 Þis is not desire of yuel wille, but tellyng out of þe peyne of hem, and so is þat vois of 'Crist in' þe gospel, 'Woo to þee Corozaym' *Austin here.*<sup>425</sup>

As this gloss compares David's words to Christ's, it also compares Lyra's reading with Augustine's. Its expansion of Augustine's explanation to include a specific quotation from Matthew 11:21 demonstrates its attentive reception of his point.<sup>426</sup> Its placement of this point at this verse alongside Lyra's reading demonstrates attentive cross-referencing between these

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<sup>424</sup> B554 27:1/172, vol. 1, p. 37.

<sup>425</sup> B554 27:4/174, vol. 1, p. 37.

<sup>426</sup> Augustine does not explicitly quote Christ's imprecation of Chorazim, or cite Matthew 11:21, describing the circumstance more generically: 'sicut in evangelio civitatibus, in quibus miracula cum fecisset neque credidissent ei non malevolentia optat quae dicit, sed quid eis immineat pradicat' ['in the Gospel, when our Lord speaks of the cities which witnessed the miracles He wrought without believing in him, He does not strike them with anathemas, He simply predicts their impending punishment'], *Enarrationes in Psalmos 1-50*, ed. Clemens Weidmann (Wien, 2003), p. 366; trans. Felicitas Hebgin and Scholastica Corrigan, *St. Augustine on the Psalms* (New York, 1960). 2 vols, vol. 1, p. 284. However, as evident from the notes to the edition and translation, the referent of his comparison is obvious enough; cf. Weidmann, p. 366; Hebgin and Corrigan, p. 339.

two sources, since Augustine himself makes the distinction between wishing and announcing evil in the introduction to the Psalm, explaining his attribution of the voice of this Psalm to Christ.<sup>427</sup> In moving this Augustinian interpretation of Christ's imprecation to complement Lyra's interpretation of David's imprecation at this particular verse, the compiler of the Bodley 554 glosses draws attention to how the two commentators' essential readings, introduced as complementary in the title gloss, play out across the Psalm. Lyra's spiritual reading, referenced in the title gloss, receives no explicit treatment at this point. However, especially in light of the contemporary dimension introduced in the title gloss, the emphatic clarification that neither David nor Christ actually desired vengeance on their enemies certainly implies that the 'cristen man' should not respond to suffering with vengefulness either.<sup>428</sup> That is, by modelling the process of connecting different overarching readings of the Psalm to the interpretation of a particular difficult verse, the Bodley glosses imply that the process can be applied with respect to the spiritual reading as well as the Davidic and Christological ones.

The approach to glossing evidenced here is one that not only allows but indeed relies on the acknowledgment of multiple possible readings. These prompt the pursuit of the connection point that joins the alternative possibilities posed by established authorities – a point which thus proves itself the crux of the passage. The pursuit, via these multiple readings, is itself the crux of the scholastic method which these glosses extend into the English language.

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<sup>427</sup> Cf. *Enarrationes*, ed. Weidmann, p. 366.

<sup>428</sup> For a similar case of a Christological reading being drawn from Augustine to complement Lyra's historical and contemporary readings, see Psalm 52. After reading the Psalm in terms of the Jews under the Greeks, and then in terms of 'ech synnere obstynat in hise yuelis', the gloss on the first verse mentions the Jews speaking of Christ, among a range of other examples from Augustine, expounding Lyra's condemnation of the sinner as denying God by his deeds with a comparison to Jews denying Christ.

At another level, the structure of juxtaposition of ‘gostli’ and literal readings in the title glosses to the Psalms invites readers to participate, not only in the study of the Psalms, but also in their enactment. By this approach, Bodley 554 presents a coherent model for reading the Psalter with simultaneous attention to historical and contemporary contexts. In the case of Bodley 554, the moral or ‘gostli’ component included in so many of the title glosses serves not only to invest the ‘concrete’ text or context of a given Psalm with ‘abstract spiritual significance’, but also to invite readers to apply the abstract spiritual meanings of the Psalms to their own concrete context.<sup>429</sup> The abstract meanings elicited from the title glosses are also universal norms, as denoted by the recurring references to ‘ech cristen man’ or similar constructions such as ‘ech feiþful man’ or ‘ech iust man’ or even ‘ech man’, in these ‘gostli’ portions of the title glosses, usually translating similar phrases in Lyra’s moral exposition.<sup>430</sup> Typically, the mention of this generic ‘cristen man’ is accompanied by the elaboration of a particular situation and an account of a right course of action in the situation. Thus, the title gloss to Psalm 29 moves from describing David’s situation and purpose in writing the Psalm to describing a parallel circumstance for the ‘cristen man’, and how he may identify this circumstance, and then to describing his response, again parallel to David’s:

Dauiþ made þe xxix salm, to preise and þanke God of his merci and grace for he forʒaf þe synne of avoutrie and of mansleyng, for whiche he disseruyde to be slayn and dampned, outakun Goddis merci. Gostli, þis salm mai be expowned of ech cristen man, þat knowiþ bi Goddis reuelacioun eþer resonable euydence þat God haþ forʒoue a greuouse synne to him. Wherfor he doiþ þankyngis to God, in preisyng þe goodnesse of God and in knoulechying his freelte. *Lire here.*<sup>431</sup>

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<sup>429</sup> Sutherland, ‘The Wycliffite Psalms’, p. 196.

<sup>430</sup> Not all of these generic categories are quite so positive: for example, the title gloss to Psalm 51 notes that it ‘mai be expownd of ech wickid bacbitere, whiche bi hise bacbityngis excitiþ a myʒti man to pursue innocentis, for which doying he getiþ euerelasting peyne, and sumtyme temporal peyne also. Lire here.’, *B554* 51:1/380, p. 75.

<sup>431</sup> *B554* 29:1/183, vol. 1, p. 39. Kuczynski notes that this ‘gostli’ reading of this Psalm also appears in Trinity 93 which applies the Psalm to ‘ich feythful man’, translating Lyra’s ‘quolibet fideli’ [‘any faithful one’] and the rest of the passage more closely by means of cognates, *B554*, p. lvi. See Chapter 3 for further comparison of the two manuscripts.

As it extrapolates a more general experience from David's situation, and appropriate action from David's words, this gloss also affords its individual readers the opportunity to identify their own specific situations with David's and to model their specific actions after his.

In addition to inviting generic individual participation in the Psalms, the 'gostli' glosses may also invite collective participation. The title gloss to Psalm 73 describes a circumstance of 'cristen puple', rather than solitary men, parallel to that of the people of Israel in captivity:

Þis lxxiij salm spekiþ of þe caitifte of Babiloyne, which caitifte Asaph biforsiȝ to-comynge; and in þis salm he preieþ for delyueraunce þerof. Gostli, þis salm mai be expowned of cristen puple, þat it be þe preier of hooli chirche for cristen puple, which is holdun sum tyme bi fendis in þe seruage of synne.<sup>432</sup>

Having described the Psalm as the church's prayer, the gloss goes on to support its reading by outlining the different parts of the Psalm in terms of the church's voice:

And for delyueraunce of þis puple, þe chirche aleggiþ firste þe frenschip of God, bi which he resseyuede cristen puple to þe grace of baptyng. Þe secounde tyme þe chirche aleggiþ þe obstynat malice of fendis. Þe þridde tyme þe chirche aleggiþ þe myȝt of God, to þe iustefiȝng of synneris. Þe fourþe tyme þe chirche aleggiþ þe wrecchidnesse of þe puple, as longe as it is holdun in þe caitifte of synne, which is signefied bi Babiloyne, þat is interpretid confusioun. *Lire here.*<sup>433</sup>

As this gloss, among numerous others, presents the Psalm's words as the church's, it presumes a continuity between the corporate entities, in this case, captive Israel and the church, who speak this Psalm within different contexts. By extension, the church is invited to appreciate the parallel in contexts as it takes up the words of the Psalm, completing the translation in action and realising the gloss.

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<sup>432</sup> B554 73:1/585, vol. 1, pp. 114-115.

<sup>433</sup> B554 73:1/585, vol. 1, p. 115.

In extrapolating from the original circumstances of Psalm composition to more universal contexts, the Bodley 554 glosses evoke a communal identity that transcends sectarian divisions. Indeed, their readings recall Lyra's own proclivity toward 'literal' interpretations which could be read more than one way, and used for both sides of a dispute.<sup>434</sup> Moreover, they allow for progressive reading toward moral formation in the communal context, hearkening back to the monastic model and extending it into English-speaking contexts. To judge by the diversity among the glossed Wycliffite Psalters, the glosses informed exegetical and moral formation in a wide range of communal settings, from the Lollard 'scole' to more traditional institutional environments. Whatever form their dispersal might have taken, the glosses thus operate as the quiver of Psalm 126:4, gathering learners together to be taught from the biblical text.

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<sup>434</sup> Klepper, *The Insight of Unbelievers*, p. 38.

## Chapter 3

### Declaring the Psalms: Trinity 93

#### Introduction

While the glossed Psalters witness to the opening of the commentary tradition as an integral element to the opening of the biblical text, the Psalm material in Trinity 93 testifies more pointedly still to the opening of the commentary tradition in its own right. In fact, Psalm exegesis sourced from Lyra and what it calls ‘þe glose’ far outbalances the biblical text of the Psalter in this late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century manuscript, a summary of the Bible in English, closely related to LV.<sup>435</sup> Trinity 93 includes the words of the Psalms as such only in fragments – the *incipits* of the Psalms and the beginnings of certain verses – as part of its synopses of these exegetes’ readings of each Psalm.

This treatment of the Psalter takes its place within the manuscript’s provision of condensed entries for each biblical book (with some exceptions attributed to damage and loss rather than omission).<sup>436</sup> The prominence of exegetical material in Trinity 93 as a whole prompted David Fowler to categorize it as a ‘Bible commentary’, in contrast to Neil Ker’s initial label for the manuscript, a ‘summary of the Bible’.<sup>437</sup> Whereas Somerset has avoided

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<sup>435</sup> Solopova dates the manuscript to the early fifteenth century, *Manuscripts*, p. 274, whereas Jean-Pascal Pouzet asserts the manuscript was composed ‘au cours de la dernière décennie du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle’ [‘during the last decade of the fourteenth century’], ‘Entre *abbreviatio et auctoritas*: les modes de l’écriture vernaculaire dans un *compendium* moyen-anglais de la Bible’, in Rosalynn Voaden *et al.* (eds.), *The Theory and Practice of Translation in the Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2003): pp. 101-111, hereafter ‘Entre *abbreviatio et auctoritas*’, at p. 102. Fiona Somerset suggests that the manuscript was produced ‘around the turn of the fifteenth century’, *Feeling Like Saints*, p. 179.

<sup>436</sup> Elizabeth Solopova identifies the missing portions in more detail in her description of the manuscript, *Manuscripts*, pp. 274-277. Most significantly, 2 Maccabees is absent and ‘everything after the opening lines of the summary of James is missing because of the loss of leaves’, p. 275. Meanwhile, Trinity 93 also includes books of Ezra not included in other WB manuscripts or in the Paris text, p. 276.

<sup>437</sup> David C. Fowler, ‘A Middle English Bible Commentary (Oxford, Trinity College, MS 93)’, *Manuscripta* 12 (1968), pp. 67-76; N.R. Ker, ‘A Middle-English Summary of the Bible’, *Medium Aevum* 29 (1 Jan, 1960), pp. 115-118.

the dilemma by emphasizing the ‘complementary’ roles of commentary and summary in the manuscript, Jean-Pascal Pouzet has proposed the new label ‘compendium’.<sup>438</sup> More recently still, in her unpublished 2019 doctoral thesis, Schühle-Lewis has proposed that the contents of Trinity 93 are most aptly described as a ‘deklaracion’, the term used for the Psalter section in the manuscript itself.<sup>439</sup>

Although it contains very little of the biblical text compared to other Wycliffite Psalm materials, Trinity 93’s ‘deklaracion’ of the Psalter displays a high concentration of both biblical text and commentary material relative to the treatments of other books in Trinity 93. These vary considerably in the extent and nature of their coverage for the different books, and particularly in the balance of paraphrase, excerption from the biblical text, and reliance on the commentaries. The Psalter’s pre-eminence in length, in appropriation of commentary material, and in biblical quotation was among the first features remarked in the manuscript. When he noted that ‘the longest [summary], that of the Psalms itself (ff.36-68), is based on the exposition of Nicholas de Lyra and on the “comyn glose”’, Ker also noted that ‘elsewhere references to the work of commentators are few’, and that ‘the words of the Bible are quoted exactly in Psalms more often than elsewhere’.<sup>440</sup> Schühle-Lewis’ research on Trinity 93 has exposed higher proportions of quotation from the commentators and LV than previously appreciated throughout Trinity 93.<sup>441</sup> Nonetheless, she has also corroborated the distinctively close, sustained, and explicit quotation of authoritative exegetes in the Psalter section, exposing the Psalter section’s heavy reliance on Peter Lombard’s *Magna Glossatura*, which

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<sup>438</sup> Somerset, *Feeling Like Saints*, p. 185; Pouzet, ‘Entre *abbreviatio* et *auctoritas*’, p. 102.

<sup>439</sup> *T93*, Part I, p. 2. I am grateful to Schühle-Lewis for sharing her work with me in advance of its publication.

<sup>440</sup> He does observe that the sections on the Pauline Epistles and Acts also rely on Lyra and the ‘Glosa’ as well, ‘A Middle-English Summary of the Bible’, p. 116.

<sup>441</sup> See for example *T93*, Part I, pp. 152, 156 ff.

she identifies as ‘þe glose’ cited throughout the section, as well as Lyra’s *Postilla Litteralis*.<sup>442</sup> Despite the material from ‘þe glose’ having hitherto escaped recognition, the fact that ‘þe glose’ and Lyra are named more frequently and more regularly in the Psalter section than elsewhere in Trinity 93 highlights this section’s exceptional engagement with the commentary tradition. Likewise, the fact that biblical quotations are underlined more regularly in the Psalter section than elsewhere in Trinity 93 highlights their greater frequency in this section, and thus the section’s exceptional engagement with the biblical text.<sup>443</sup> Whether the text represents the work of a single scholar, as Somerset asserts, or whether it assembles existing materials from various sources, that the Psalter section surpasses the others in the regularity of these features as well as in length highlights the exceptional attention lavished on the Psalter in Trinity 93’s production.<sup>444</sup>

Trinity 93 thus stands as a significant articulation of the Psalms, and indeed of their centrality, in a Wycliffite context. It may even be considered another witness, albeit an especially unconventional one, to the text of the Wycliffite Bible, especially LV; Schühle-Lewis has argued that Trinity 93 depends on the latter even as its quotations from the Psalms involved independent translation under LV’s influence.<sup>445</sup> This chapter begins with a consideration of how Trinity 93 uses the Wycliffite translation of the Psalms, stressing the reciprocity of commentary and the biblical translation in Trinity 93. The chapter is equally

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<sup>442</sup> See in particular Schühle-Lewis, *T93*, Part I, p. 160ff. Previously, ‘þe glose’ has been assumed to refer to the *Glossa Ordinaria*; see Pouzet, ‘Entre *abbreviatio* et *auctoritas*’, p. 102; Somerset, *Feeling Like Saints*, p. 196; Solopova, *Manuscripts*, p. 275; and Kuczynski, *B554*, vol. 1, p. lvi.

<sup>443</sup> Pouzet describes the exact quotation of biblical phrases as ‘plus denses et plus repérables (par leur soulignement systématique) que dans beaucoup d’autres livres’ [‘more dense and more identifiable (by their systematic underlining) than in many other books’], ‘Entre *abbreviatio* et *auctoritas*’, p. 107.

<sup>444</sup> Somerset, *Feeling Like Saints*, p. 180. Schühle-Lewis, *T93*, Part I, pp. 9ff. Schühle-Lewis upholds the possibility that a single scholar produced Trinity 93, but discounts a further possibility that the manuscript comprises the collaborative work of a group of scholars, Part I, p. 13ff.

<sup>445</sup> *T93*, Part II, p. 45.

concerned with Trinity 93 as a witness to Wycliffite engagement with the commentary tradition, following its discussion of biblical translation in Trinity 93's Psalm material with a discussion of how Trinity 93 translates Psalm exegesis. This in turn illumines the topical and structural preoccupations that shape Trinity 93's use of its exegetical sources. It is in this last section that the chapter gives closer consideration to the contexts of Trinity 93's production and use. For the present, it will suffice to class Trinity 93 as an instance of the flourishing of Psalm exegesis surrounding the Wycliffite biblical translation.<sup>446</sup>

In many respects, the approaches to both biblical translation and the translation of exegesis evinced in Trinity 93's Psalter section corroborate the arguments of preceding chapters. Trinity 93's Psalter embodies the translation's textual dynamism and exegetical use in practice with particular vibrancy. It also extends scholastic modes of discourse, as well as scholastic material, into English, modelling similar methods of reading, and especially of coordinating literal and spiritual reading, to those preserved in Bodley 554, with which it shares a major source in Nicholas of Lyra. Trinity 93 shares its second major source of Psalm material, Peter Lombard, with the Revisions to Rolle's English Psalter Commentary, discussed in more detail in chapters 4 and 5, and the current chapter also anticipates those to come in its outline of Trinity 93's structural and thematic foci. Trinity 93's attention to the Psalter's affective capacity in particular lays the groundwork for future chapters.

For all that it has in common with the other Wycliffite Psalms considered in this thesis, it remains the case that Trinity 93 stands out among them for the conspicuous absence, or at least paucity and fragmentation, of the biblical text of the Psalter, amidst the comparative wealth of exegesis translated from Latin authorities. While it thus gives a

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<sup>446</sup> Ghosh, among others, has emphasized the 'related editorial projects' surrounding the translation, 'The Prologues', p. 166. Schühle-Lewis asserts the place of Trinity 93 among these, *T93*, Part I, p. 46.

distinctive insight into the translation of the Latin scholastic tradition into English, its concentration on commentary exacerbates the tension inherent to glossing or commentary more generally: that between the aim to make the biblical text directly accessible and the provision of interpretive tools to facilitate such access. Even as Trinity 93 foregrounds the approaches to reading the Psalms established in the commentary tradition over the actual text, this chapter ultimately argues that it treats the reader's direct engagement with the Psalms as both a prerequisite and a goal of engagement with the commentary tradition as such.

### 1. 'Declaring' the Psalter: Text and Commentary in Trinity 93's Psalm Entries

Before examining its biblical translation and its treatment of commentary material independently, it is worth outlining how these relate to each other in Trinity 93's distinctive approach to the Psalter. This approach can seem to equate the text with its meaning as explained by commentators. The Psalter section, uniquely among the biblical books set out in Trinity 93, concludes with a coda in the same hand as the rest of the text that reviews the system employed in the Psalter section:

It is to wit þat in þis declaracion of þe psauter Lira shewes þe litteral sense, & þe glose, þat is þe comyn glose, oþer senses; wherfore where þe declaracion of Lira diuerses nocht or litel fro þe comyn glose, þer is not rehersed distinctly what Lira seys and what þe glose seys. Fforþer more, where þou findest þis worde, Morali, with a shorte shewing of Moral vnderstanding in þe endes of declaracion of psalmes, þat is comynly taken of Lira.<sup>447</sup>

Trinity 93 here presents Lyra and 'þe comyn glose' as each declaring different, though sometimes overlapping, senses of the Psalms, 'litteral' and 'moral' and otherwise. It presents itself as declaring all of these meanings by collating these sources. As it clarifies the *modus*

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<sup>447</sup> Trinity 93, f. 68r.

*operandi* of the preceding section, the coda conflates the ‘declar[ing]’ of the Psalms and the ‘rehers[ing]’ of Lyra’s *Postilla* and ‘þe comyn glose’ on each one. The term ‘declaracioun’, which Trinity 93 uses to refer to its own treatment of the Psalms and Lyra’s (and implicitly that in ‘þe comyn glose’) conveys a range of meanings. As Schühle-Lewis has noted, it can refer to ‘an explanation’ or ‘interpretation’ on the one hand and ‘a telling, narration’ or ‘an inventory’ on the other.<sup>448</sup> It can also refer to ‘a copy’.<sup>449</sup> ‘Reherse’, too, has a semantic range including ‘to narrate’, to ‘enumerate’, to ‘summarize’, ‘to refer to’, ‘to explain’, to ‘reiterate’, and ‘to recite’.<sup>450</sup> Both terms, that is, encompass a spectrum of meanings in Middle English that runs from reproduction to commentary.

The Psalter’s self-description captures the ambiguity of its position on the spectrum of mediation from biblical text to consistent commentary – an ambiguity that applies to Trinity 93 as a whole, as evident in the near equivalence between the spectrum of meanings for the term ‘declaracion’ and the disparity among scholars’ descriptions of Trinity 93. Schühle-Lewis’ proposed extrapolation of the label ‘declaracion’ to Trinity 93 as a whole links the term with a wide range of potential forms, as the text’s method, and especially the equilibrium between quotation and paraphrase, excerption and synopsis, text and interpretation, vacillates among and even within the different biblical books. Scholars have often noted the contrast between the section on the Song of Songs, consisting mostly of fragmentary quotations and taking up less than a folio, and the narrative paraphrase used in

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<sup>448</sup> *MED*, ‘declaracioun’ (n.), Defs.2a, 1a, 1b. Schühle-Lewis points out that the sense of the term as ‘an explanation, interpretation’, is well-attested around the presumed period of Trinity 93’s composition, while the more summative senses of the term as ‘a telling, narration’ and as ‘an inventory’ are first attested in the *MED* in the fifteenth century, but this does not preclude the possibility that these senses were familiar to the Trinity 93 author, *T93*, Part I, p. 2. See also ‘declaren’, whose use in the more narrative sense (Def. 1a) is attested before 1400.

<sup>449</sup> *MED*, ‘declaracioun’, Def. 1c. This sense is attested in EV, Deuteronomy 17:18.

<sup>450</sup> *MED*, ‘reheresen’, Defs. 1a, 1b, 1c, 1d, 2a, 3a, 4a.

the entries on the Pentateuch and other historical books of the Old Testament, or again with the heavy citation of historical exegesis in Job, Isaiah, and the Pauline Epistles – and the Psalms.

These various forms of encapsulating or perhaps ‘declaring’ the text tend to revolve around tracing its structure – a method above all evident in Trinity 93’s treatment of the Psalter. As suggested by its account of its method, its outlines of the Psalms conflate the structure of the Psalms with the structures of the commentaries on them. Psalm 73 provides a representative example:

Ut quid deus repulisti Wherto God hace þou put away It semes to Lira þat þis psalme spekes of þe captiuite of Babilone, which þe prophete se before to *cum*, & in þis psalme preyes for delyueraunce þereof. And so it hace iiij parties: ffirst, for delyuering of þe peple, he allegges old frenchip þat God hade to þe peple of Isrl, which he fed *with manna*.

þe second þer, lift þi handes, he allegges þe malice of þeire aduersaries of Babilone, þat þey did to Ierusalem & to þe temple.

þe thrid þer, how long God, he allegges þe greet might of God by þe which he might delyuer his peple & ponisch þer adueresaries.

þe forte þer, Betake þou not to beestis, he allegges þe wrechednes þat þe childre of Israel were in þat tyme among þe Babilonies þat lifed beestly, & preyes for þeire help.<sup>451</sup>

As throughout the Psalm entries, Trinity 93 here quotes the *incipit*, in Latin and English, to identify the Psalm, and then partial verses in English, underlined as above, to demarcate the different parts of the Psalm. These divisions of the Psalm text serve to substantiate the reading put forward by the commentator. Here, the parts identified by their Psalm tags are described in terms that refer back to Lyra’s overall reading of the Psalm as a prophetic prayer

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<sup>451</sup> F. 50r. Here and throughout, I have used Schühle-Lewis’ transcription of Trinity 93, kindly shared in advance of publication, adapting it based on my own consultation of the manuscript and silently expanding abbreviations. I have also compared the quotations with Robert Reilly’s edition, *A Middle English Summary of the Bible: An Edition of Trinity College (Oxon) MS 93* (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Washington, 1966); however, this could not be used on its own because of certain oversights, such as the omission of the second division, ‘lift þi handes’, etc. here at Psalm 73.

for deliverance from captivity in Babylon. The second and fourth sections explicitly mention Babylon though the Psalm never does. This partition of the Psalm and these accounts of the different elements of the Psalm derive in fact from Lyra, as does the overall reading. Lyra conjoins the outline to the reading with the preposition ‘secundum’ in his introductory comments on the Psalm, emphasizing their close relationship. Trinity 93’s more expanded comments on these sections align closely with phrases from the more expanded treatment of these verses which follows in Lyra’s *Postilla Litteralis*. For instance, on verse 3, ‘Leua manus tuas’, Lyra specifies that the prophet here ‘allegat malitiam Babyloniorum’ [‘alleges the malice of the Babylonians’], and reads the final clause of the verse, ‘in sancto’, as specifying the destruction done ‘in ciuitate, & in templo’ [‘in the city and in the temple’].<sup>452</sup> Or, on verse 19, ‘Ne tradas’, Lyra explains ‘bestiis’ to mean ‘Idest Babyloiiis bestialiter viuentibus, & crudeliter’ [‘That is the Babylonians living bestially and cruelly’].<sup>453</sup> In that Trinity 93 draws these divisions and the accompanying descriptions from Lyra, and in that they support Lyra’s interpretation of the Psalm, the Psalm text quoted seems to supplement the interpretation rather than otherwise.

Trinity 93’s frequent provision of more than one outline where it provides more than one interpretation further reinforces the ancillary role of Psalm quotation to Psalm commentary. The entry for Psalm 73 frames a second set of Psalm tags, forming a second outline, within a second interpretation attributed to ‘þe glose’:

After þe glose, þe intencion is þat we leefe figures & go to þe verite; and it is diuided in to iij: ffirst þe prophete, describand þe euersion of Ierusalem irreparable which was done by þe Romanes, askes þe cause why as merueland; & preyes for þe peple þat was repulse, & þat þey þat destroyed Ierusalem shold turne fro þeire pride to Criste, þat is ende of man.  
 Þe second þere, God sothly oure king, he shewes what helth Criste wrought in his

<sup>452</sup> *Postilla Litteralis*, vol. 3, col. 979.

<sup>453</sup> *Postilla Litteralis*, vol. 3, col. 985.

comyng in þe middes of erth at Ierusalem, trobeland þe hede of þe fende, þat is a dragon, in þe watre of bapteme.  
 Þe thrid þer, Be þou myndeful, he preyes for conuersion of þe Iewes.<sup>454</sup>

Once again, the Psalm division supports the larger reading, this time a Christological reading focused on transcending figures. The descriptions of each part here do not verbally echo this larger reading from ‘þe glose’ so obviously as the first set of descriptions echoes the larger reading from Lyra. However, they, too, introduce terminology, such as the specification of the Romans as the enemies of Jerusalem and the naming of Christ, not present in the actual text of the Psalm, reflecting their basis in interpretation rather than in direct paraphrase of the Psalm. Moreover, this division also derives from the source of the larger interpretation, namely, the *Magna Glossatura*. In his initial comments on the Psalm, Peter Lombard follows his usual pattern of presenting the intention and division of each Psalm:

Intentio: Monet relictis figuris transire ad veritatem. Modus: Tripartitus est psalmus. Primo describens subversionem Jerusalem irrepabilem, quaerit causam quare fuerit quasi admirabilis et conquerens, et precatur pro repulso populo et ultionem in destructores, quae quidem est eis utilis, et jam facta est. Secundo ostendit salutem ubique factam in adventu Christi, ibi, *Deus autem rex*. Tertio quod ubique fit precatur fieri Judaeis, ibi *memor esto*.<sup>455</sup>

[The intention: It advises us to cross over from abandoned figures to the truth. The mode: The Psalm is tripartite. First, describing the subversion of Jerusalem, it sought the cause why this has been as if wondering and complaining, and it prays for the people driven back and for revenge on the destructors, which indeed is useful to them, and even now is done. Secondly it showed the salvation everywhere accomplished in the coming of Christ, there, ‘God indeed king’. Thirdly that everywhere it was prayed to be done to the Jews, there at ‘Remember’.]

As with the previous outline, the partition of the Psalm in Trinity 93 exactly matches that of the commentary source, but the fuller descriptions of each section reflect consultation of the commentator’s more expanded discussion of the Psalm, verse by verse. For example, Trinity

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<sup>454</sup> F. 50r-v.

<sup>455</sup> Ed. J.-P. Migne, *Petrus Lombardus Magister Sentiarum, Parensis Episcopus, Commentaria in Psalmos* (Paris, 1854), *Patrologia Latina* vol.cxc, *Patrologia Latina Database* (hereafter *PL 191*), col. 683.

93's description of the first section of the Psalm translates the designation of the 'Romanus exercitus' as the 'inimicus' and the emphasis on conversion from pride to Christ from the

Lombard's comments on verse 4:

*Leva manus tuas, id est potentiam tuam, in superbiam eorum, a quibus eversa est Jerusalem, id est a regibus gentium, ut superbiam eorum vertas ad humilitatem, ducens eos in finem, id est in Christum.*<sup>456</sup>

[‘Lift your hands’, that is your power, ‘against their pride’, by which Jerusalem was overturned, that is by the kings of the gentiles, so that you turn their pride into humility, leading them ‘unto the end’, that is in Christ.]

The Psalm tags provide the structure for this additional appropriation from the commentary, and thus for the additional exposition of the reading drawn from the commentary.

In addition to supporting the initial Lyran reading and the reading from the Lombard, the technique of Psalm division also features in the moral reading which concludes the entry for Psalm 73. As signalled by the adverb ‘moraly’ and its focus on ‘Cristen peple’ and ‘þe chirch’, this reading suggests a contemporary spiritual application of the Psalm:

Moraly mey þis psalme be taken as a preyer for Cristen peple þat sum tyme by fenedes is prisond *in syn*, ffor whose delyuering þe chirch first allegges þe frenchip of God, by which he receyued þem to grace of bapteme. He allegges also þe malice of þe deuel; þe might of God to iustifi synners; þe miseri of man þat is in þe thraldam of syn, þat is vnderstanden by Babilone.<sup>457</sup>

Though it does not quote from the Psalms, this reading, like those which precede it, is articulated through its own outline of the Psalm. Strongly reminiscent of the divisions of the Psalm laid out in the Lyran reading, the outline traces a parallel trajectory from friendship with God to the malice of an adversary to God's might to misery in captivity, assuming the captivity in Babylon as the literal meaning of the Psalm. This trajectory betrays its derivation from Lyra's summary of the moral reading of this Psalm:

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<sup>456</sup> *PL 191*, col. 685.

<sup>457</sup> F. 50v.

Moraliter potest exponi psalmus iste, vt sit oracio ecclesiae pro populo catholico, qui aliquando per daemones detinetur in captiuitate peccati. Ad cuius liberationem ergo primo ecclesia dei amicitiam qua populum catholicum recepit per gratiam baptismalem. Secundo daemonum malitiam obstinatam. Tertio dei potentiam ad peccatorum iustificationem. Quarto populi miseriam diu detinetur in captiuitate peccati, quod per Babylonem significatur, & ad hoc litera potest de exilio consideratis praedictis applicari.<sup>458</sup>

[Morally this Psalm may be explained as if it were the prayer of the church for the catholic people, which sometimes is detained in the captivity of sin by demons. For which liberation therefore first the church [states] the friendship of God that the catholic people received by the grace of baptism. Secondly [it states] the obstinate malice of the devil. Thirdly [it states] the power of God for the justification of sinners. Fourthly [it states] the misery of the people that is detained for a long time in the captivity of sin, which is signified by Babylon, and from this letter it can be applied to the afore-considered exile.]

Trinity 93 does not here translate Lyra's explicit indication of the close connection of the moral reading to the literal reading, though elsewhere it does draw more explicit attention to this link. Trinity 93's final reading for Psalm 85, for instance, states, 'Moraly mey þis psalme be expounded of ich gode man þat is in tribulacion preyand for his delyuering if þe litteral sense be wele applied þerto'.<sup>459</sup> Here, Trinity 93 translates only the first part of Lyra's summary of the moral reading at the end of his literal reading; for the rest, it perceives the parallel trajectory and even identical material, and so leaves the reader to substitute 'ich gode man' praying for deliverance from tribulation throughout the foregoing summary of the literal material.<sup>460</sup> Likewise, at Psalm 80, Trinity 93 leaves the reader to perceive the moral import in the outline of the literal sense: 'þe residue mey lightly be applied moraly to þe proces before þat is seyde vn to þe littereal sens.'<sup>461</sup> Throughout, the coherence of the two

<sup>458</sup> Lyra, *Postilla Litteralis*, vol. 3, cols. 987-988.

<sup>459</sup> F. 54r.

<sup>460</sup> Lyra, *Postilla Litteralis*, vol. 3, col.1100. Likewise, at Psalm 80, Trinity 93 leaves the reader to perceive the moral import in the outline of the literal sense: 'þe residue mey lightly be applied moraly to þe proces before þat is seyde vn to þe littereal sens.'

<sup>461</sup> F. 52v.

ways of reading depends on the coherence of their shared outline.<sup>462</sup> The repetition of this outline to accompany each reading from Lyra, and the inclusion of a separate outline to accompany the reading from the Lombard, intimates that Trinity 93 does not solely concern itself with summarizing the text of the Psalms; it is just as concerned, if not more so, with summarizing these two commentaries on the Psalms.<sup>463</sup>

At the same time, Trinity 93's recapitulation of the commentaries seems to revolve around how they recapitulate the Psalms. The outlines are the most consistent feature in the recognizable yet flexible pattern of Trinity 93's Psalm entries. In the majority of cases, these proceed in the order described above for Psalm 73. A typical entry begins with an account of the historical circumstances and nature of the Psalm, with the associated outline of the Psalter divisions, cited from Lyra; it then offers a statement of the 'intencion' of the Psalm citing 'þe glose' as part of a more figurative reading, with its own associated outline of the Psalter divisions. In approximately a quarter of cases, Trinity 93 offers only one reading rather than both of these separately. Either type of Psalm entry may conclude with a moral reading. While the particular contents of any given entry thus vary, Trinity 93 includes at least one set of Psalm divisions for each Psalm. The singular exception, Psalm 132, proves the rule insofar as Trinity 93 draws attention to the fact that the Psalm is 'not diuided' in the reading from 'þe

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<sup>462</sup> Compare this with Bodley 554, where the connection between the two ways of reading is depicted visually by their proximity or by a line connecting them, and by shared terminology, but without outlines. See Kuczynski, *B554*, vol. 1, p. xxx, and Chapter 2 of this thesis on the inextricability of spiritual interpretation from historical interpretation.

<sup>463</sup> Conversely, the cases where Psalm outlines are absent from a reading also corroborate the subservience of the textual outlines to the commentary, in that they reveal Trinity 93's complete dependence on its commentary sources for the outlines. For instance, Trinity 93 does not include outlines for the Lyran readings of a number of the Gradual Psalms – specifically, Psalms 120, 122, 123, 125, 127, 129, and 133 as well as Psalm 132 – because Lyra does not include such outlines.

glose'.<sup>464</sup> This is fitting in that, according to this reading, the Psalm celebrates 'charite among neighbors withoute diuision' and 'vnite among men'; Lyra's reading, too, focuses on 'þe vnite of þe peple of Israel', and does not include a division of the Psalter.<sup>465</sup> Even the statement of 'intent', another generally consistent feature, may be omitted without comment in Trinity 93 despite being stated in the *Magna Glossatura*.<sup>466</sup>

The consistency of these divisions in Trinity 93 stands out, not only from less consistent elements of the Trinity 93 entries, but also from the techniques of other extant Wycliffite materials on the Psalms. No other text in this corpus reproduces the outlines from the *Postilla Litteralis* and the *Magna Glossatura*, despite the reliance of Bodley 554 and other glossed Psalters on Lyra and the reliance of the Revisions on Peter Lombard. Psalm 73 again provides a characteristic instance of this omission in Bodley 554. Here Bodley 554 shares with Trinity 93 both Lyra's literal reading and the moral reading with its summary, yet without including the specific Psalm divisions cementing the literal reading and recalled in the moral reading:

Pis lxxiiij salm spekiþ of þe caitifte of Babiloyne, which caitifte Asaph biforsiȝ to-comynge; and in þis salm he preieþ for delyueraunce þerof. Gostli, þis salm mai be expowned of cristen puple, þat it be þe preier of hooli chirche for cristen puple, which is holdun sum tyme bi fendis in þe seruage of synne. And for delyueraunce of þis puple, þe chirche aleggiþ firste þe frenschip of God, bi which he resseyuede cristen puple to þe grace of baptyem. Þe secounde tyme þe chirche aleggiþ þe obstynat malice

<sup>464</sup> See also Psalm 150, where Trinity 93 explains that 'After þe glose, þis psalme is not diuided' and speaks of the gathering of the saints; however, Trinity 93 does include a division of Psalm 150 as part of the Lyran reading.

<sup>465</sup> Cf. *PL 191*, col. 1191, which makes precisely the same point: 'Quartus decimus gradus est charitas proximi, quae facit fratres habitare in unum[. . .] Et est hic psalmus atomus, id est sine divisione, ubi charitas proximi commendatur' ['The fourteenth step is charity of neighbour, which makes brothers to dwell as one [. . .] And this Psalm is a unit, that is, without division, where charity of neighbour is commended']. Cf. Lyra, who briefly introduces the Psalm, without dividing it, as one on which the commentators agree 'communiter, quod loquitur de unitate populi Israel [. . .]' ['communally, that it speaks of the unity of the people Israel'], *Postilla Litteralis*, vol. 3, col. 1477.

<sup>466</sup> See for instance Psalm 133, f. 64r. Cf. *PL 191*, col. 1135: 'Intentio: monet ad diligendum Deum'. Presumably Trinity 93 omits this statement of intent because it has already stated the 'intencion' for all the Gradual Psalms in its entry for Psalm 199, and changes its formula to state the 'gre', translating the Lombard's 'gradus', for each of these Psalms.

of fendis. Þe þridde tyme þe chirche aleggiþ þe myzt of God, to þe iustefyng of synneris. Þe fourþe tyme þe chirche aleggiþ þe wrecchidnesse of þe puple, as longe as it is holdun in þe caitifte of synne, which is signefied bi Babiloyne, þat is interpretid confusioun. Lire here.<sup>467</sup>

The outline of the Psalm which forms the backbone of Trinity 93's comments is completely absent in this Bodley 554 gloss. Later glosses on the Psalm in Bodley 554 include underlined quotations from the Psalm text; in this regard, the main text of Trinity 93 resembles the margins of Bodley 554, more than the consecutive blocks of Latin text, English translation, and commentary typical for each verse in the Revisions, or, for that matter, the sequence of textual extracts entirely distinguished from commentary in the Psalm catenae mentioned in Chapter 1.<sup>468</sup> Yet in Trinity 93, the Psalm structure grounding the commentary takes the central place occupied in Bodley 554 by the full biblical text. Amidst the diversity of Wycliffite approaches to the Psalms, Trinity 93 distinguishes itself by the centrality of Psalm recapitulation, mediated through commentary, to its method.

## 2. A Witness to the Wycliffite translation: the Biblical Text in and beyond Trinity 93

A more detailed study of the Psalter text, such as it is, in Trinity 93, reinforces the close relation, even mutual dependency, between biblical text and commentary in the 'declaracion' of the Psalms. Schühle-Lewis has in fact suggested that the translations could derive directly from the *lemmata* within the commentaries, extending Ker's observation of translation from the Vulgate, while also affirming the translation's frequent resemblance to

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<sup>467</sup>B554 73:1/585, vol. 1, pp. 114-115.

<sup>468</sup> It should be noted that Laud Misc. 182, for instance, does actually contain a few intertextual and marginal glosses, but this does not change the fundamental centrality of Psalm quotation rather than commentary to this compilation. Cf. Schühle-Lewis' comparison of Trinity 93 with CUL Ee.1.10, among other Wycliffite abridgments, in the excerption of biblical text, p. 117ff.

LV as well.<sup>469</sup> This section considers Trinity 93's proximity to both sources, finding that it displays characteristic features of the Wycliffite translation project more generally. Though it briefly notes the influence of these sources in its production, it seeks to turn attention to how Trinity 93 assumes and enables continuing use of the biblical text in both versions.

In its proximity to LV without direct equivalence to it, Trinity 93 exemplifies the ongoing revisitation of the Latin, and choice of vocabulary and word order that visibly (or audibly) recall it, that Chapter 1 identified as characteristic of what might call the infinite process of Wycliffite Psalm translation. Many of the Psalm tags confirm the general scholarly consensus regarding Trinity 93's dependence on the Wycliffite Bible, and particularly on LV. The English *incipit* to Psalm 118, for instance, matches LV in the vocabulary and construction it uses to translate the Latin, 'Beati immaculati':

***Trinity 93:*** Blessed bene men withoute wem<sup>470</sup>

***LV:*** Blessid ben men with out wem

Trinity 93's resemblance to LV here is all the more striking because neither EV nor Rolle nor the Revisions supply the verb 'ben' or the noun 'men', both characteristic additions in LV.

Furthermore, these other translations also use different terms for 'immaculati':

***EV:*** Blisful the vndefoulid<sup>471</sup>

***Rolle:*** Blisful vnfyld

***RVs:*** Blisful vnfoyled<sup>472</sup>

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<sup>469</sup> Schühle-Lewis, *T93*, Part I, pp. 146, 145.

<sup>470</sup> F. 61r.

<sup>471</sup> Forshall and Madden note that one witness to EV, namely, CCCO 4, does have 'Blessid ben' for verse 1, p. 859.

<sup>472</sup> Again, Hudson notes the variant 'beþ vnfiled men' in Oxford, Bodley 877 and Dublin, Trinity College 71, *RVs*, vol. 3, p. 991. Both copies of RV2 are dated to the early fifteenth century and thus probably postdate Trinity 93; see *RVs*, vol. 1, pp. liii-lv for descriptions of the manuscripts. In any case, though they use similarly idiomatic syntax, these copies do not use the same vocabulary as LV and Trinity 93.

Trinity 93 thus numbers among the many witnesses to the use of LV in an exegetical context.

That said, whoever made Trinity 93's translations clearly returns to the Latin of the Psalms it translates – in keeping with the characteristic Latinity of the Wycliffite Psalms translations and the active encouragement of the General Prologue that Chapter 1 read as evidence that the translation was intended for constant revision in reference to the original. Later in Psalm 118, the Psalm tag 'My porcion'<sup>473</sup> matches EV's translation of 'porcio mea' with a cognate rather than LV:

**Psalm 118:57**

*Vulgate:* Porcio mea domine

*EV:* My porcioun thou, Lord<sup>474</sup>

*LV:* Lord, my part

The Psalm tag also reflects EV's word order in its closer alignment with the Latin word order. Likewise, the subsequent Psalm tag, 'godenes', represents a translation of the first word of the Psalm in Latin, rather than the first words of this verse in LV:

**Psalm 118:65**

*Vulgate:* Bonitatem fecisti

*EV:* Goodnesse thou hast do<sup>475</sup>

*LV:* Lord, thou hast do goodnesse

Trinity 93's proximity to EV here represents a proximity to the Latin, rather than derivation from EV itself; on this note, in both cases above, RV and Rolle also share EV's vocabulary

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<sup>473</sup> F. 61v.

<sup>474</sup> Cf. RVs and Rolle, which have 'Mi porcioun, Lord'.

<sup>475</sup> Cf. RVs and Rolle, which have 'Godenes þou didest'.

and word order.<sup>476</sup> Even in cases where a longer Psalm tag aligns with a translation particular to EV, EV's own fidelity to the Latin obscures whether the Psalm tag reflects reference to EV or direct reference to the Vulgate.<sup>477</sup> Thus, for instance, Trinity 93's rendition of Psalm 5:4 resembles EV in its word order and vocabulary, but the resemblance is not particularly striking in that the word order also resembles the Vulgate, and the vocabulary resembles that of other translations:

**Trinity 93:** For to þe I shal prey<sup>478</sup>

**Vulgate:** Quoniam ad te orabo, Domine

**EV:** For to thee I shal preȝe, Lord

**LV:** For, Lord, I shal preie to thee

**Rolle:** ffor to the lord i. sall pray

**RVs:** For to þee, Lorde, I shale preye

Whoever produced Trinity 93 could easily have produced this translation directly from the Latin, and indeed from the Latin Psalm tag in the *Magna Glossatura*, as Schühle-Lewis has proposed.

The proximity of these Psalm tags to the Latin not only evinces consultation of the Latin on the part of Trinity 93's producer(s) but also facilitates further consultation of the

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<sup>476</sup> Rarely does Trinity 93 match Rolle and the Revisions without matching EV or LV. One example would be Psalm 5:11, though the translation is again simply closer to the Latin:

Trinity 93: Deme þem God

Vulgate: iudica illos Deus

EV: Deme them, thou God

LV: God, deme thou hem

Rolle: deme thaim god

RV: deme hem God

<sup>477</sup> Additionally, there is the difficulty of identifying Trinity 93's precise relation to the translation process, a question revisited at the end of this chapter, and the precise point at which Trinity 93's text was produced. See Somerset, *Feeling Like Saints*, p. 180.

<sup>478</sup> F. 36v.

Latin on the part of the text's readership. The presentation of the Psalm text within Trinity 93 practically requires the reader to consult a more complete copy. As has been mentioned, Trinity 93 consistently differentiates the biblical quotations from surrounding commentary by underlining the English *incipits* and Psalm quotations. Just as the underlined lemmata in Bodley 554 and TCD 70, for instance, function as links between the gloss and a central text, so the underlined lemmata in Trinity 93 would enable a reader to identify the biblical quotations at a glance for ease of cross-referencing. The inclusion of an *incipit* and number for each Psalm would further facilitate reference to a Psalter, especially one with *incipits* or numerals in rubric or in the margins. Conversely, given the fragmentary nature of the Psalm quotations, Schühle-Lewis rightly points out that it would be difficult to follow the Psalm outlines in Trinity 93 without access to the full text of the Psalms, whether in a separate volume or indeed in memory.<sup>479</sup> Such cross-reference with memorized text seems more feasible with the Psalter than with the similarly fragmentary quotations in other biblical books, given the Psalter's distinctive status. In fact, even a reader who did have a full copy of the Psalms at hand might find it difficult to recognize the relevant passages from Trinity 93's Psalm tags without an intimate familiarity with the Psalter.<sup>480</sup>

In corroborating Schühle-Lewis' identification of the Psalm tags as 'finding aids' or 'prompts to memory', I would like to suggest that Trinity 93 demonstrates co-compatibility with both the Vulgate and LV.<sup>481</sup> In the examples above, the departures from LV toward

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<sup>479</sup> Schühle-Lewis, *T93*, Part I, p. 56.

<sup>480</sup> Moreover, in some cases, the tags apply to more than one verse of the same Psalm, such that a reader would need to be familiar enough with the Psalm to recognize where it turns from one subject to another, or perhaps even to be familiar with the divisions of the Psalm set out in the cited commentary. See, for example, the fifth division of Psalm 9, 'Rise þou vp Lorde', which translates a phrase, 'Exsurge domine', repeated both at verse 20 and verse 33. To be fair, the fourth division occurs between these at verse 22, leaving the reader to assume that the verse in question is in fact verse 33.

<sup>481</sup> Schühle-Lewis, *T93*, Part I, p. 56.

more Latinate vocabulary and syntax correspond to points where the initial words of LV differ from those in the Vulgate. In all three, LV places an apostrophe to God at the beginning of the verse, such that a direct transferral of LV's translation would not register the initial words of the Latin. In the case of Psalm 118:65, the Latin Psalm tag as it appears in the commentary omits this apostrophe entirely, making the simple English tag 'godenes' a better marker of the initial word in Latin; the presence of the same English vocabulary in LV makes it easy enough to find it a few words into the verse in a full copy of the translation.

The *incipits* which provide both the Latin and the English for the first words of the Psalms offer even stronger evidence of simultaneous compatibility with both the Vulgate and the Wycliffite Bible. Here, where the Latin itself serves as a reference point for the Latin text, the English tends to match the Wycliffite Bible translation even at the expense of breaking with the Latin word order. The *incipit* to Psalm 11 maintains the practice of both LV and EV in placing the apostrophe at the beginning of the clause, rather than leaving it out to include the first words of the Latin, as in the Psalm tags above:

**Trinity 93:** *Saluum me fac domine* Lord make me safe<sup>482</sup>

**EV:** Lord, mac me saf

**LV:** Lord, make thou me saaf

**Rolle:** Saf me make, god

**RV:** Make me safe Lorde<sup>483</sup>

The *incipit* to Psalm 6 provides a further example of Trinity 93 negotiating between LV and the Latin:

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<sup>482</sup> F. 37v.

<sup>483</sup> Variants include 'Lord make me saaf', in 3 copies of RV2: Oxford, Bodley 877; Dublin, Trinity College 71; and Oxford, Laud Misc. 286, RVs, vol. 1, p. 120.

**Trinity 93:** *Domine ne in furore* Lord not in þi strong vengeaunce<sup>484</sup>

**Vulgate:** Domine, ne in furore tuo arguas me

**EV:** Lord, in thi wodnesse vndername thou nott me

**LV:** Lord, reprove thou not me in thi stronge veniaunce

**Rolle:** Lord in thi wodnes argu me nocht

**RV:** Lorde, in þi wodnesse reprove me not

As Schühle-Lewis has pointed out, Trinity 93 here diverges from LV where LV diverges from the material strictly included in the Latin *incipit*, but still maintains LV's distinctive vocabulary.<sup>485</sup> With this combination of independent translation approximating the Latin and reference to LV, Trinity 93 maintains its utility alongside the text of the Psalms both in LV and in the Vulgate, or indeed in Lyra's *Postilla* or the *Magna Glossatura* and thus its versatility for use in exegetical learning and teaching. It literally underlines the necessity of direct engagement with the biblical text, in whatever form it is available in text or memory, as the basis of exegesis and as a continuing element of its practice.

### 3. Trinity 93 as witness to commentary translation

If the translation of the Psalms text in Trinity 93 evinces the close reference to the Latin (and compatibility with the Latin) that Chapter 1 remarked as a feature of Wycliffite Psalm translation more generally, so does the translation of the commentators in Trinity 93. Trinity 93 manifests a painstaking endeavour to preserve the exact words of the Psalter commentaries cited as 'Lira' and 'þe glose'. The close verbal proximity which characterizes its treatment of these sources extends even to their signature turns of phrase. At Psalms 60

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<sup>484</sup> F. 36v.

<sup>485</sup> T93, Part I, pp. 145-146. Notably, RV and Rolle do use the term 'ueniaunce' in the commentary on this verse (ed. RVs, vol. 1, p. 45; ed. Bramley, p. 21).

and 61, among others, Trinity 93 uses the phrase ‘it semes to Lira’ to preface literal readings which Lyra prefaces with the phrase ‘videtur mihi’, showing a concern to convey, not only what Lyra says, but also how Lyra says it.<sup>486</sup> By contrast, for the same Psalms, Bodley 554 omits this phrase and simply states the literal reading itself. In his introduction to Bodley 554 itself, Michael Kuczynski has remarked on the phenomenon of Trinity 93 surpassing even Bodley 554 in ‘stylistically’ imitating Lyra. As an example, he cites the moral reading of Psalm 29:<sup>487</sup>

Lyra: Moraliter posset exponi *psalmus* iste de quolibet fideli, qui reuelatione diuina seu probabili coniectura cognoscit aliquod graue peccatum a Deo sibi dismissum, propter quod gratias agit collandando Dei bonitatem, & recognoscendo suam fragilitatem.<sup>488</sup>

[Morally this Psalm may be expounded of any faithful one, who by divine revelation or probable conjecture knows some grave sin [to be] excused to him by God, because of which he gives thanks, enumerating God’s goodness and recognizing his fragility.]

Trinity 93: Morali mey þis psalme be vnderstanden of ich feythful man which, by reuelacion of God or probable coniecture, knowes his syn forgifen of God, wherefore he þankes God, & knowes his owne frelte.<sup>489</sup>

Bodley 554: Gostli, þis salm mai be expowned of ech cristen man, þat knowiþ bi Goddis reuelacioun eþer resonable euydence þat God haþ forzoue a greuouse synne to him. Wherefore he doiþ þankyngis to God, in preisyng þe goodnesse of God and in knouelechyng his frelte.<sup>490</sup>

Both Bodley 554 and Trinity 93 translate Lyra more or less word for word here. However, where Bodley 554 translates ‘moraliter’ with ‘gostli’, Trinity 93 uses the cognate ‘morali’; where Bodley 554 translates ‘quolibet fideli’ with ‘ech cristen man’, Trinity 93 uses the cognate phrase ‘ich feythful man’; where Bodley 554 translates ‘probabili coniectura’ with

<sup>486</sup> See also Psalm 73, cited above along with the text from Lyra.

<sup>487</sup> *B554*, vol. 1, p. lvi.

<sup>488</sup> Lyra, *Postilla Litteralis*, vol. 3, col. 630.

<sup>489</sup> F. 41v.

<sup>490</sup> F. 13r, *B554*, vol. 1, p. 39.

‘reasonable euydence’, Trinity 93 uses the cognate phrase ‘probable coniecture’.<sup>491</sup> And yet Bodley 554 also employs the cognate ‘expowned’ for Lyra’s ‘exponi’ where Trinity 93 uses ‘vnderstanden’. And, though Trinity 93 follows Lyra’s word order and syntax more closely at some points, Bodley 554 follows it more closely at others, for instance in the construction ‘doip þankyngis’ and in the use of gerunds at the end of the sentence. Trinity 93 does not categorically follow Lyra’s style more closely than Bodley 554; however, Kuczynski’s point still stands that Trinity 93 exhibits a pointed effort to preserve Lyra’s style and terminology.

The same can be said of Trinity 93’s use of ‘þe glose’. With her identification of ‘þe glose’ as Peter Lombard’s *Magna Glossatura*, rather than the *Glossa Ordinaria*, as previously assumed, Schühle-Lewis has reduced the material within Trinity 93 which can be considered original.<sup>492</sup> Trinity 93’s consistency in stating the ‘intencion’ and including an outline for each Psalm might seem an original contribution, or at least an interpretive paraphrase, by comparison with the *Glossa Ordinaria*, but in fact they observe the established pattern and often the precise words of the *Magna Glossatura*.<sup>493</sup> Trinity 93’s statement of the ‘intencion’ of Psalm 8 bears some resemblance to Cassiodorus’ statement of the Psalm’s intention as recorded in the *Glossa Ordinaria*:

Trinity 93: þe intencion of þe prophete here is to confounde þe erroure of þe Iewes, þat sey þat God is alone knowen in þe Iewry; & of Donatistes þat sey þat God is alonely knowen in Affrica & of such oþer. Þis psalme hace ij parties: first Dauid knowleches in Criste þe power of his godhede which is abuf al heuens [. . .]. In þe second þer, What is man, he shewes how mankynde is enhaunced in Criste abuf al

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<sup>491</sup> It is the latter cognate to which Michael Kuczynski draws attention, *B554*, vol. 1, p. lvi.

<sup>492</sup> *T93*, Part I, pp. 10, 160. Incidentally, it also minimizes the requirement of further source material which would need to have been available during the production of Trinity 93.

<sup>493</sup> The division into parts is not original even by comparison with Lyra, who usually includes such divisions at the end of his introductory comments on each Psalm, before addressing the individual verses. Exceptions at Psalms 1 and 118, where Trinity 93 states the intention and divisions of the Psalm together where the Lombard does not state these together in his introduction to the Psalm still demonstrate Trinity 93’s proximity to the Lombard in using his typical formula. Somerset contends for the uniqueness of Trinity 93’s ‘unusual scheme of analytical division into parts’, while acknowledging its derivation from Lyra, *Feeling Like Saints*, p. 197.

creatures. [. . .].<sup>494</sup>

*Glossa Ordinaria*: Non ergo Iudaei, vel quilibet alij sibi vendicent quod omnium est, quod est intentio<sup>495</sup>

[Not therefore of the Jews, or of whichever others will declare that he is to them only, which is the intent]

The *Glossa Ordinaria* also records Cassiodorus' division of the Psalm into two parts:

Primo laudes Dei, maiestas eius, & operatio excelsa describuntur<sup>496</sup>

[Firstly the praise of God, his majesty, and his high work is described]

And, at 'Quid est homo':

Secundo, naturam hominis olim vitiatam, dicit in Christo super omnia exaltatam<sup>497</sup>

[Secondly, the nature of man once damaged, he says [is] exalted above all in Christ.]

The *Glossa Ordinaria*, however, cannot account for all of Trinity 93's material on this Psalm; it does not mention the Donatists, and does not explain the significance of the repetition of the first verse at the end of the Psalm. Its parallels with Trinity 93 are best explained by the mediation of the *Glossa Ordinaria*'s material through Peter Lombard's *Magna Glossatura*, which Trinity 93 matches more closely in expression as well as in content:

*Magna Glossatura*: Intentio est hic Prophetiae errorem Iudaeorum, qui dicunt in Iudaea tantum notum Deum, et Donatistarum, qui tantum in Africa notum dicunt, et similibus, confutare. Modus. Bipartitus est psalmus: Primo laudes Christi describuntur, scilicet maiestas eius et operatio excelsa; secundo, dicit naturam hominis olim vitiatam in Christo super omnia exaltatam, ibi, *Quid est homo*.<sup>498</sup>

[The intent of this prophet is to confute the error of the Jews, who say God is only known in Judaea, and the Donatists, who say he is only known in Africa, and of the like. Mode: The Psalm is bipartite. First are described the praises of Christ, namely

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<sup>494</sup> F. 37r.

<sup>495</sup> *Glossa Ordinaria*, vol. 3, col. 493.

<sup>496</sup> *Glossa Ordinaria*, vol. 3, col. 492.

<sup>497</sup> Col. 495.

<sup>498</sup> *PL 191*, col. 123.

his majesty and high work; secondly, it says man's nature once aroused in Christ [is] exalted over all there, at 'What is man'.]

The precise alignment of Trinity 93's statement of intent with the Lombard's, including the passing addition, 'of such oþer' for 'et similiū', and the clear parallels in the division of the Psalm according to a specifically Christological reading establish the entry as a translation of the Lombard's introduction to the Psalm. Furthermore, the dependence on cognates such as 'prophete' for 'Prophetae', 'confounde' for 'confutare', and 'errour' for 'errorem', highlights how meticulously it follows its source. As in the example of Psalm 73 cited above, Trinity 93 expands the material about each division of the Psalm, within the structure proposed for the Psalm, and the structure of presentation with intention then divisions, set out in the Lombard's introduction. The final comment, for instance, translates the Lombard's comment on the final verse:

Decenter principium repetit, ostendens initium et finem boni ad Deum referendum.<sup>499</sup>

[Fittingly he repeats the beginning, showing the beginning and the end of the good ought to be referred to God.]

Trinity 93's fidelity in translation of this comment stands out by comparison to the rendition of this same comment in Rolle's English Psalter Commentary and the Revisions:

Rolle: As he bygan swa he endis. shewand that bigynnyng & endyng of all goed is of god.<sup>500</sup>

RV: As he began, so he endiþ, shewyng þat begynning and endyng of al goodnesse is at God.<sup>501</sup>

Though the interpolated and uninterpolated versions of Rolle's commentary retain the Lombard's reading of the repetition, they do not retain its construction with 'referendum'.

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<sup>499</sup> Col. 128.

<sup>500</sup> Ed. Bramley, p. 30.

<sup>501</sup> RVs, vol. 1, p. 75.

Trinity 93, on the other hand, conveys the dimension of obligation with the similar construction, ‘shold be referred’, using another cognate. More generally, Rolle and the Revisions with him include much material on this Psalm which does not appear in the *Magna Glossatura* at all, and omit much material key to the *Magna Glossatura*, such as the identification of the Psalm’s intent and divisions. Trinity 93’s contrasting fidelity to the *Magna Glossatura* in structure, in content, and in style, along with its fidelity to Lyra’s *Postilla*, exposes the ‘declaracioun’ as a text uniquely concerned with preserving the distinct approaches of each commentary.

Trinity 93 is selective, however, in what it preserves from Lyra and the *Magna Glossatura*. The coda to the Psalter, quoted above, states the particular approaches that Trinity 93 seeks to preserve from the two commentaries and also refers to a process of synthesis where these two approaches are not distinct. The examples above have demonstrated an element of synthesis within both the historical readings drawn from Lyra and the ‘oþer senses’ drawn from ‘þe comyn glose’: Trinity 93 often integrates comments from later in Lyra’s commentary into the translation of his introductory comments, and often integrates comments from later in the Lombard’s commentary into the translation of his introductory comments. While in these cases Trinity 93 still distinguishes the general readings offered by each commentator, the process of synthesis is even more fundamental to the Psalm entries where ‘what Lira seys & what þe glose seys’ are not ‘rehersted distinctly’, purportedly because ‘þe declaracion of Lira diuerses noght or litel fro þe comyn glose’.<sup>502</sup> At Psalm 15, for instance, Trinity 93 translates the Lombard’s statement of intent for the Psalm alongside Lyra’s outline of the Psalm.

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<sup>502</sup> F. 68r.

This process of synthesis also operates in the ‘moral’ readings. As with Bodley 554’s ‘gostli’ glosses, Trinity 93’s ‘moral’ readings of the Psalms typically resemble the synopsis of the moral interpretation at the end of some entries in Lyra’s *Postilla Litteralis* more closely than the material in his *Postilla Moralis*.<sup>503</sup> In their manifest reliance on Lyra, they thus correspond with the guidance of the coda that the readings headed ‘morali’ at the ends of some entries are ‘comynly taken of Lira’. However, the coda’s qualified language admits of some exceptions. And in fact these moral readings do on occasion integrate parts of the *Magna Glossatura*. One such occasion is the moral reading for Psalm 113:

Trinity 93: Moraly ich synful persone þat hace God in his sight and wrestels ageyn syn in his psalme is excited to preyse God for þe benefice of going oute of syn, þat is vnderstanden by Egipt, þe halwing of whome is Iudea, þat is confession. Þen þe see flees, þat is bitternes of syn. Iordane, þat is als mych to sey as a goote or a ryuer of dome, is turned fro dome of condempnacion to dome of saluacion. Þen hilles þo bene dispensatours of Goddes wordes, þat bene as rammes leders of Cristes flok, & litel hilles þo bene gode meen men meke as lambes maken ioy when þey se an erthly man by þe grace of God meued to gode werkes. & waters of deuocion floghen oute of his hert þat was herd as a stone. Idolatri is cast away, þat is to sey couetise, & oþer synnes. & God is wirchipped with feyth, hoop & charite; & so God is blessed of a man made quyk by his grace.<sup>504</sup>

Almost every point, and almost every word, in Trinity 93 has a clear counterpart in Lyra’s synopsis of the moral reading in his *Postilla Litteralis*, as indicated with dash underlining here:<sup>505</sup>

Lyra: In hoc Psalmo moraliter intellecto inuitatur quilibet peccator misericordiam consecutus ad Dei laudem pro beneficio exitus de peccato, quod per Aegyptum designatur, eo quod Aegyptus tenebra interpretatur, cuius Iudaea sit sanctificatio, eo quod interpretatur confessio. Tunc fugit mare. Idest, amari culpae. Iordanis, qui interpretatur riuus iudicii. Retrorsum conuertur, scilicet a iudicio condemnationis ad

<sup>503</sup> Pouzet notes this phenomenon in Trinity 93, ‘Entre *abbreviatio* et *auctoritas*’, p. 110. While he also suggests that conversely the literal commentary in Trinity 93 ‘doit plus à la section ‘Moraliter’ du maître franciscain qu’à ce qu’il expose *litteraliter*’ [‘owes more to the ‘Moral’ section of the Franciscan master than to what he expounds *literally*’], I have not found this to be the case; more convincing is Pouzet’s concession that both Trinity 93 and Lyra’s *Postilla Moralis* abbreviate *Postilla Litteralis* in any case, p. 110.

<sup>504</sup> F. 60r-v. Underlining mine.

<sup>505</sup> Of course, that is not to say that Trinity 93 does not use translations that diverge from their Latin counterparts; ‘is excited’ has a different valence than ‘inuitatur’, as will be discussed below.

iudicium saluationis. Terra moventur a facie domini, quia homo dictus ad homo mouetur motu bonae rationis. *De petra.* Idest, corde prius duro fluunt aque deuotionis, idolatria abiicitur, quia auaritia quae est idolorum seruitus, Ephes. 5, Per liberalitatem eijcitur, & Deus fide, spe, & charitate conuincitur, & sic ab homine viuificato per gratiam benedicitur.<sup>506</sup>

[In this Psalm understood morally, any sinner is invited following mercy [to offer] praise to God for the benefit of going out from sin, which is designated by Egypt, because Egypt is interpreted darkness; let this Judaea be sanctification, because it is interpreted confession. ‘Then the sea fled’, that is, bitter faults. Jordan, which is interpreted the river of judgment. ‘Were turned back’, that is, from the judgment of condemnation to the judgment of salvation. The earth is moved at the face of the Lord, because said man is moved to man by the movement of good reason. ‘Of the rock’, that is, from the heart first hard flow rivers of devotion, idolatry is thrown away, because avarice that is the slavery of idols, Ephesians 5, ‘by liberality is thrown out, and God is proven by faith, hope, and charity, and so by man brought to life through grace he is blessed.]

Trinity 93 omits some elements of Lyra’s text, most significantly the interpretation of the movement of the earth at the face of the Lord in terms of the motion of good reason. It replaces this treatment of verse 7 with a treatment of verse 4 that aligns with Peter Lombard’s comment on this verse, as highlighted by dotted lines beneath comparable text:

*Magna Glossatura: Montes, id est dispensatores verbi dei,* scilicet apostoli, *exultauerunt,* vel gestierunt, qui sunt *ut arietes, id est ut duces populi,* qui cornibus utriusque testamenti haereticos debellant et superstitiones diruunt [. . .] *Et colles,* dicti a colendo, *id est mediocres, exultauerunt,* qui semen fidei receperunt (I Cor iv), qui sunt, *sicut agni ovium,* id est, per Evangelium ab arietibus geniti, non inuidi, innocentes; per arietes generati in fide. Non enim ad litteram, haec tantum accipienda sunt. Unde per Jordanem, id est per antiqua facta hic signari, non ambigas, quae hodie spiritualiter fiunt.<sup>507</sup>

[‘Mountains’, that is dispensers of the words of God, namely apostles, ‘exulted’, or expressed joy, which are ‘as rams’, that is as leaders of the people, which with the horns of both testaments fight heretics and destroy superstitions [. . .] ‘And hills’, said by that to be protected, that is the average ones, exulted, which received the seed of faith (1 Cor. 4), which are ‘as if lambs of sheep’, that is, born through the gospel from the rams, not jealous, but innocent, begotten through rams in the faith. Not therefore to the letter are these things so to be accepted. Whence through the Jordan, that is through ancient deeds that today are done spiritually this is to be signified, not ambiguous.]

<sup>506</sup> Lyra, *Postilla Litteralis*, vol. 3, col. 1316. Underlining mine.

<sup>507</sup> *PL 191*, col. 1020.

Trinity 93 clearly translates some distinctive elements of the Lombard's spiritual reading: 'dispensatours' is a cognate of 'dispensatores', and 'goode meen men meke as lambes' more or less conveys the Lombard's identification of the little hills as 'mediocres', like lambs in being 'innocentes'.<sup>508</sup> Trinity 93 omits much of the Lombard's material as well, such as an expansion of the parallel between rams and leaders of the people and the apostles.

Significantly, it also omits the Lombard's clarification of the spiritual, rather than literal, nature of this interpretation. Perhaps, however, it was this clarification that prompted the inclusion of the preceding material under the 'morali' heading in Trinity 93. In any case, Trinity 93 integrates the Lombard's reading of the 'montes' and 'colles', or 'hilles' and 'litel hilles', with Lyra's reading into a single moral reading coherently structured around geographical features named in the Psalm. The process of integrating the two commentaries involves alterations to both: Lyra's emphasis on movement to good works in verse 7 is situated in a new context in verse 4, while the Lombard's reading of the rejoicing lambs in verse 4 is transformed into a reference to joy over good works inspired by divine grace to replace the omitted reading from Lyra.

The use of intervention, as well as omission and insertion, to synthesize the two commentaries in the moral reading cited above does not so much demonstrate interpretive creativity as it demonstrates creativity in fitting different interpretations together – and a commitment to fitting these interpretations into a system of categories. Indeed, Trinity 93's broader contribution to Psalm interpretation lies not so much in its specific readings of the

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<sup>508</sup> Trinity 93's specification that the rams lead Christ's flock may reflect Augustine's specific reference to Christ's sheepfold, as Augustine also connects the sheep with the believers and apostles. However, Augustine makes this point in the context of advocating for the unity of Christ with Israel in this Psalm, an issue not taken up here in Trinity 93 or in the *Magna Glossatura*. Lyra, too, has a 'moral' reading of this passage as referring to major and minor angels in his *Postilla Moralis*, but Trinity 93 does not record this or his literal reading.

Psalms, which are essentially derivative, as in its systematic approach for presenting these readings. The systematic approach – presenting a literal reading from Lyra and ‘oper’ readings from the *Magna Glossatura*, or a single reading where these are not distinct, with a moral reading at the end of some entries, and typically including information about the intent and divisions of the Psalm – lends itself to use as a support for readers’ own engagement with the biblical text or, to quote Somerset, as a repository of ‘tools of analysis’.<sup>509</sup> Readers could easily find these elements within Trinity 93’s predictable structure, but would need to refer back to the biblical text to flesh out what it outlines. Such reference would of course be all the easier because Trinity 93 keys the interpretive map to the textual milestones it passes, so to speak.

#### **4. Reading the Psalms in Trinity 93**

Trinity 93’s selection and synthesis of commentary material into an organizational structure gives insight into its priorities as a reading of the Psalms, and as material to be read in turn. The exploration of these priorities in this final section of the chapter necessarily involves some speculation on the contexts of both sorts of reading: that behind the manuscript’s production and that prompted by it.

Its close engagement with a range of sources indicates that whoever produced Trinity 93 must have had both an intimate familiarity with scholastic interpretation and access to its key texts. Oxford, with its high concentration of trained exegetes and academic resources alike, seems the most likely location for the production of Trinity 93, as for so many other

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<sup>509</sup> *Feeling Like Saints*, p. 187.

Wycliffite exegetical materials and the Wycliffite Bible itself.<sup>510</sup> The contents of the volume as a whole might initially recall the consultation of ‘þe text wiþ þe glose and opere doctours as he myzte gete, and speciali Lire on þe eld testament’ that the General Prologue attributes to the ‘symple creature’ in the process of translation, and that evinces itself in certain of the translation’s practices.<sup>511</sup> And yet, as several scholars have already noted, the ubiquity of the LV text within Trinity 93 (albeit to a lesser degree in the Psalter than in other books) dictates the availability of LV for Trinity 93’s production rather than the other way around. Trinity 93 thus more aptly fulfils the aspiration towards further exposition expressed later in the General Prologue:

No doute a symple man wiþ Goddis grace and greet trauele myzte expowne myche openliere and shortliere þe Bible in English þan þe elde grete doctours han expowned it in Latyn, and myche sharplier and groundliere þan many late postilatours or expositours han do.<sup>512</sup>

The description of the expositor as a ‘symple man’ here echoes the earlier description of the translator as a ‘symple creature’, implying a continuity of translation and interpretation and moreover a common identity among their practitioners. An overlap between the individual or individuals responsible for Trinity 93 and the translation, respectively, could evince itself in Trinity 93’s dependence on the translation even if it could not have preceded the translation.

The conditions of Trinity 93’s production also overlap to some degree with those of its presumed use. The skeletal quality of the Psalms, among other biblical books, in Trinity 93 argues for an audience resourced enough to have the biblical text in an independent copy and learned enough to be able to use it (that is, to find relevant selections from the Psalm tags

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<sup>510</sup> Cf. Schühle-Lewis, *T93*, Part I, pp. 29, 45, 59. See also Hudson, ‘The Origin and Textual Tradition of the Wycliffite Bible’, p. 159.

<sup>511</sup> Ed. Dove, p. 80.

<sup>512</sup> Ed. Dove, p. 82. Cf. Schühle-Lewis’ suggestion that this passage could apply to the synopsis of biblical commentary in Trinity 93, *T93*, Part I, p. 46.

as well as to read it in the first place). If Trinity 93's Psalter relies on memory as well as or instead of a physical copy, it presumes all the more existing knowledge. The referential relation of the material in Trinity 93 to both the Psalms and the commentary tradition might thus seem more in keeping with Schühle-Lewis' emphasis on the 'relatively high level of education' it seems designed to recall than with Somerset's emphasis on its suitability as an instructional text for 'an anticipated audience that included members with little formal schooling'.<sup>513</sup> These functions are not mutually exclusive, however, as both scholars acknowledge.<sup>514</sup> In fact, the Wycliffite educational ideals and 'scole' settings I have sought to bring into conversation with the Psalm materials throughout this thesis revolve around extending scholarly learning beyond the traditional university setting, a process in which resourcing the learned and instructing the unlearned exist in cooperation and continuity.

Trinity 93 shares a number of the same features which link Bodley 554 with the educational context according to my argument in Chapter 2. The similar size of the volume – small enough to be easily portable but not so small as to be difficult to read from – corroborates the likelihood of use in peripatetic teaching and in personal study, perhaps in preparation for teaching, outside the stability of the institutional environment. It is of a similar production quality, made with sturdy but not high-quality materials and utilitarian rather than deluxe in its execution.<sup>515</sup> As in Bodley 554, the contents seem to take precedence over the visual aspects of the manuscript. Here, too, irregularities in ordination, such as the

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<sup>513</sup> Schühle-Lewis, *T93*, Part I, p. 52, cf. p. 64 regarding its 'mnemonic function'; Somerset, *Feeling Like Saints*, p. 187.

<sup>514</sup> Somerset registers Trinity 93's lack of 'interest in conveying the pastoral essentials' and its reliance on key words and phrases 'as if we should already know what they mean', *Feeling Like Saints*, pp. 180, 183, as Schühle-Lewis notes, *T93*, Part I, pp. 47-48. Meanwhile, Schühle-Lewis herself qualifies her 'hypothesis that the *Declaracion* was designed initially for experienced scholars', not only by exploring the possibility of its utility for scholars in a teaching context, but also by applying its capacity as an 'aid to recall' to their less learned audiences, Part I, pp. 60, 53-54, 66.

<sup>515</sup> Cf. Schühle-Lewis, *Trinity 93*, Part I, p. 67.

variation in use of Latin and English *incipits* in the earlier part of the Psalter section, betray a lack of fore-planning, or at least a flexible plan that developed during the inscription. At the same time, the orderliness of the comments and the scrupulosity of their selection, synthesis, and translation, betray the care that went into compiling them and enabling readers to find and follow them.

Someone involved in Trinity 93's production would of course have been able to use it more easily than other readers, though familiarity through use would suffice to teach a reader how to work with its peculiarities. Pouzet's suggestion that it could be a holograph, copied out by its compiler, could further support the idea of personal production and use.<sup>516</sup> This possibility also recalls the preacher's description of having copied out his sermon to leave with his listeners to consider and correct at the end of the sermon discussed in Chapter 2 of this thesis.<sup>517</sup> Given its reliance on existing knowledge, it seems more likely that a copy of Trinity 93 would serve as a support to a learned instructor than as a guide for pupils; the instructor could still have compiled it and copied it out for himself and other teachers to reference. Equally, the volume could be a copy of distilled notes intended for circulation as a resource for those teaching. This latter possibility better accounts for the evident care, effort, and time that went into the production of the volume as a whole, but must remain mere conjecture given that the text survives in only one manuscript. In any case, insofar as it advances the *translatio* of scholastic Psalm exegesis beyond Latinate institutions, Trinity 93 contributes to the broader development and circulation of vernacular interpretive resources witnessed by the glossed Psalters. In this light, Trinity 93's peculiarities evince the extent and

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<sup>516</sup> 'Entre *abbreviatio* et *auctoritas*', p. 103; cf. Somerset's observation that the text of Trinity 93 was copied by a single hand, *Feeling Like Saints*, p. 179.

<sup>517</sup> *Selections from English Wycliffite Writings* no. 18/100-15, cited in Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, p. 184. Cf. Chapter 2, section 1.2.

dynamism of this *translatio*, just as the diverse renditions of the biblical text evince a flourishing culture of biblical translation more narrowly conceived. Its resemblance to Bodley 554, among other glossed Psalters, precisely in its idiosyncrasy testifies to a subculture which valued personalized volumes of translated scholastic exegesis enough to dedicate what must have been considerable effort to producing them.<sup>518</sup> Such an attitude would surely characterize the extramural educational environments which the Wycliffites advocated and established with at least some success.

Though its comments do not manifest direct textual connections with the glosses, and though their shared reliance on Lyra falls short of a shared translation, the contents of Trinity 93 model similar preoccupations and priorities to those of the glosses. As in the glossed Psalters, the explicit and recurring attention to the topic of preaching and teaching in Trinity 93 supports the hypothesis of its use in a ‘scole’ environment. Trinity 93’s first entry features Lyra’s reading of Psalm 1 in terms of learning and teaching, drawing on the same material as the initial gloss of Bodley 554:

Or elle, as Lira seys, þe entent of þis psalme, which is as a perefate to all þe sauteR after, is to induce vs to þe stody of holy writ þat is contened in þe psauT by a maneR of þe preysing of God: and first it excludes fro feythfull men fals doctrine & þe proces þereof.

After þer, Bot in þe lawe, it concludes how feythfull men shold *procede* in exercise of holy *comnyng*. After þer, & his leef, is tolD þe mede of gode *exerecise*; & þer, Not so, þat mede is excluded fro fals doctours.<sup>519</sup>

Trinity 93 diverges from Bodley 554 in translating Lyra’s identification of ‘studium sacrae scripturae’ [‘the study of sacred scripture’] as ‘modum laudis divinae’ [‘a means of divine praise’], augmenting the exhortation to Psalm exegesis it ascribes to this Psalm.<sup>520</sup> Trinity

<sup>518</sup> On Bodley 554’s ‘idiosyncratic’ quality, see Kuczynski, *B554*, vol. 1, p. lx.

<sup>519</sup> Trinity 93, fol 36r.

<sup>520</sup> Lyra, *Postilla Litteralis*, vol. 3, col. 434.

93's additional inclusion of Lyra's aside that this Psalm serves 'as a *perface*' to the whole Psalter and his specification of the Psalter as the conveyor of 'holy writ' underscores the inaugural significance of the comment, and its applicability to the whole body of Psalm material to follow.<sup>521</sup>

And indeed entries for later Psalms in Trinity 93 develop the same themes raised in this comment on Psalm 1.<sup>522</sup> Psalm 10, for instance, revisits the warning against 'fals doctours' in its assertion that the Psalm aims 'to tech vs to *withstand* heretikes', condemning those who 'haue boghed holy writ to *per awne fantasise*, & haue made redy *per venemos* wordes as arwes to deceyue symple men'.<sup>523</sup> Psalms 49 and 50 both draw out the role of teaching '*with ensaumple*' as well as '*with worde*'.<sup>524</sup> The comment that Psalm 49's third section 'exclude[s] an vn due minister which redes or teches Cristes lawe, & lifes *contraury pereto*' marks its pointed relevance to teachers of Scripture, not least because of the preceding admonition that 'clerkes hafeand holy orders kepe *þat þey* bounde hem to when *þey* toke orders'.<sup>525</sup> Psalm 126 conversely blesses those '*þat* desiren to lif as *þey* preched', declaring, 'Þey shal not be confounded when *þey* shal speke *in* Criste, *þat* is 3ate of blis; or elles by *þe* 3ate is vnderstanden open speking where all may here'.<sup>526</sup> The inclusion of this second reading of the gate as 'open speking', translating Peter Lombard's 'in communis' ['in common'], stresses the accessibility of the preaching foregrounded in Peter Lombard's

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<sup>521</sup> Lyra states that the Psalm 'per modum praefationis ponitur' ['is set as a preface'], *Postilla Litteralis*, vol. 3, col. 434.

<sup>522</sup> Still further discussion of teaching, in addition to the examples discussed here, occurs at Psalms 22 and 147.

<sup>523</sup> Trinity 93, f. 37v. Here, Trinity 93 draws Peter Lombard's more extensive comment on verse 3 at col. 148B into the summary of the first part at col. 147B.

<sup>524</sup> Trinity 93, f. 45r. Cf. Peter Lombard's comment on Psalm 50:15, col. 490D, as it is incorporated into the summary of the fourth section at col. 484C.

<sup>525</sup> Trinity 93, f. 45r. Peter Lombard references discrepancies between speaking and living, col. 481D (cf. col. 480A-B, 481A) but the terminology of 'clerkes' and the image of 'vn due minister which redes or teches Cristes lawe' develops the theme in a typically reformist direction.

<sup>526</sup> Trinity 93, f. 63r.

reading of verse 5, here incorporated into the synopsis of the second section.<sup>527</sup> This serves to affirm the importance of outward preaching, even as the synopsis of the first section, drawing on Peter Lombard's comment on verse 1, subordinates the outward working of the teacher to the inward working of God; the entry states that the 'bilding & keping of Cristes peple' referenced as 'þe house & þe cite of þe LorD' in the Psalm 'mey not be bot if God wirk *within* forthe *in mannes saule*, *traeuel þe perechouor þat is bot a minister neuor so fast withoute* forthe'.<sup>528</sup> Schühle-Lewis observes nota marks drawing attention to discussions of preaching throughout Trinity 93, including another reference to 'trauel in preching' in I Timothy.<sup>529</sup> The 'polyvalent' quality which she considers in the term's use there, including its connotation with 'travel' in the modern sense, applies equally to its use here in the entry on Psalm 126.<sup>530</sup> The reference to this life as a 'pilgrimage', from Peter Lombard's 'peregrinatione', only heightens its potential resonance with the peripatetic preacher in particular.<sup>531</sup>

More generally, Trinity 93's recurring themes align with those that a Lollard preacher or student might be expected to consider and address. In addition to their shared concern with preaching, teaching, and study, Trinity 93 resembles the glossed Psalters in its attention to tribulation and willful suffering and the congruence of inward and outward devotion, especially evident in its discussions of penance.<sup>532</sup> Schühle-Lewis' enumeration of instances

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<sup>527</sup> *PL 191*, col. 1160D.

<sup>528</sup> Cf. *PL 191*, col. 1157D.

<sup>529</sup> Schühle-Lewis discusses nota marks in both the Old and New Testaments, including this one on I Timothy at f. 190v of the manuscript, *T93*, Part I, pp. 97-98.

<sup>530</sup> Schühle-Lewis, *T93*, Part I, p. 98.

<sup>531</sup> Trinity 93, f. 63r; *PL 191*, col. 1158D.

<sup>532</sup> On tribulation, see for instance Psalms 65 and 72, and 63, which speaks of how Christ 'wilfully sufferd'; the topic receives further attention in Chapter 5's comparative discussion. Interestingly, Psalm 67 specifies martyrdom of both men and women. On inward and outward devotion, see for instance, Psalms 5 and 75, as well as of course the Penitential Psalms. Cf. also Schühle-Lewis on 'true penance' in Trinity 93 and especially in the Psalter, *T93*, Part I, pp. 65, 91-92.

where such typical Wycliffite topics are not only raised in the text of Trinity 93 but also highlighted by *nota* marks illustrates the significance of these themes across the text, and for at least one user or producer of the manuscript (possibly someone who encountered the volume in both capacities).<sup>533</sup> The high concentration of these themes in the Psalter, and even in certain clusters of Psalms, is in part a function of their prominence at various points in the Psalm text and therefore in commentaries on it, but for that very reason would prove useful in a teaching or study context where one wished to explore these topics anyway.

In the remainder of this section I would like to focus on how Trinity 93 directs the reading of the Psalter in methodological terms. Its ‘declaracioun’ of the Psalter shares certain pedagogical features with the glosses that would support a teaching function. Like Bodley 554, it records alternative readings, at the micro-level of divergent interpretations within its sources as well as at the macro-level of preserving two main sources of interpretation in the first place. And to an even greater degree than Bodley 554, it structures itself around alternative modes of exposition, literal and moral. As in Bodley 554, the juxtaposition of literal and spiritual readings encourages the grounding of the latter in the former, and the movement from the former to the latter, as well as their essential indivisibility.<sup>534</sup> The proximity of the models of reading in these two manuscripts suggests their mutual contribution to a larger effort, presumably on the part of Wycliffite translators, to bring Psalm exegesis into the vernacular.

In the case of Trinity 93, the more systematic presentation of literal and moral readings, generally following the summary of Lyra and the Lombard, respectively, may also

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<sup>533</sup> Schühle-Lewis, *T93*, Part I, pp. 89-97.

<sup>534</sup> Trinity 93, like the glosses more generally, includes various reflections on figural and literal reading. Psalm 73 illustrates the complex interplay between these as discussed in the previous chapter.

contribute to the manuscript's function as a memory aid. Mary Carruthers notes the importance of structure for memorizing things, rather than signs only, and the predictability of Trinity 93's structure would certainly lend itself to this, particularly by its characteristic demarcation of the Psalm divisions as it presents both types of reading from both its sources.<sup>535</sup> Similarly, its systematic presentation of the 'entent' of each Psalm lends itself to ready classification in the memory, and use in teaching or further learning.

Whoever produced and used Trinity 93, its pedagogical model prioritizes not only careful scholarly engagement in eliciting the meanings of the text, but also a trajectory toward returning to the Psalm to be formed by it emotionally. Trinity 93 particularly encourages affective engagement with the Psalms by its systematic, though sometimes subtle, treatment of the affective import of the Psalms. Given its general proximity to its sources, the cases where Trinity 93 does diverge from them suggest particular concerns underlying Trinity 93's production. The language of affect throughout the text usually represents just such a divergence, and one all the more striking for its frequent and formulaic repetition throughout the text.<sup>536</sup> In fact, many of the references to emotions occur where Trinity 93 replaces a recurring term in the *Magna Glossatura* with recurring terminology of its own. Peter Lombard often formulates his statement of a Psalm's *intentio* with the term 'monet', which connotes instruction and admonition.<sup>537</sup> Rather than translating this term with

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<sup>535</sup> See *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 51, 73, 79.

<sup>536</sup> Cf. Somerset on the how the 'introduction of a common terminology across the whole of the bible' serves to emphasize the values behind Trinity 93, *Feeling Like Saints*, p. 183. Somerset here lists some of the keywords repeated throughout the text, including 'excitation' and 'stirring', but, without the additional possibilities for comparison occasioned by Schühle-Lewis' identification of the *Magna Glossatura* as a major source, does not discuss how Trinity 93 is itself engaging with its sources in its use of these terms.

<sup>537</sup> *DMLBS* defines 'monere' as 'to bring to the notice of, remind, teach' (Def. 1), 'to suggest, advise, recommend, warn' (Def. 2), or 'to serve as a reminder or warning to' (Def. 3). And Trinity 93 demonstrates an awareness of these senses of the word by translating it with 'to tech' in the *intentio* for Psalm 10, and with 'enfourmes' in the third division from the *Magna Glossatura* for Psalm 33.

this sense, Trinity 93 typically introduces a more affective dimension by formulating the ‘intencion’ with the term ‘stirr’, or, more occasionally, ‘mefe’ or ‘excite’.<sup>538</sup> These terms also appear elsewhere in the Trinity 93 Psalm entries to render material both from the *Magna Glossatura* and from Lyra. For instance, Trinity 93 specifies the affective means by which the Psalmist achieves his intent, identified by the Lombard, to admonish self-sacrifice in Psalm 28:<sup>539</sup>

**Trinity 93:** þe intencion is to stirr men of true feyth to offer hem self to Criste<sup>540</sup>

**Magna Glossatura:** Intentio: Monet ut fideles [. . .] se offerant<sup>541</sup>

[Intention: It advises that the faithful [. . .] offer themselves.]

It also specifies a similar means as it renders Lyra’s and the Lombard’s descriptions of how the Psalm’s author proceeds in the first section:

**Trinity 93:** ffirst Dauid excites men men deuoutly to offer to God.<sup>542</sup>

**Lyra:** primo inuitat ad offerendum Deo deuote.<sup>543</sup>

[First he encourages [them] to be offered to God devoutly.]

**Trinity 93:** ffirst he excites vs to offer sacrifice<sup>544</sup>

**Magna Glossatura:** Prius, monet fideles sacrificia offerre.<sup>545</sup>

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<sup>538</sup> For examples Trinity 93 using ‘stirr’, ‘mefe’, and ‘excite’ for ‘monet’ to describe a Psalm’s *intentio*, see Psalms 15-18, among many others; Psalms 19, 25, 77, and 85; and Psalm 6 respectively.

<sup>539</sup> By contrast, at Psalm 28 the Revisions follow Rolle in using ‘amonesting’, a term more connoted with instruction and exhortation than necessarily with evoking emotions: ‘þe Prophete, amonesting cristen men to bringe to Crist godly hostes’ (*RVs*, vol. 1, p. 322). Cf. *MED*, ‘amonesten’ (v.), Def. 1, which does include the sense ‘to [. . .] exhort’.

<sup>540</sup> Trinity 93, f. 40v.

<sup>541</sup> *PL 191*, col. 283.

<sup>542</sup> Trinity 93, f. 40v.

<sup>543</sup> *GO* col. 619.

<sup>544</sup> Trinity 93, f. 41r.

<sup>545</sup> *PL 191*, col. 283.

[First, he advises the faithful to offer sacrifice.]

Here, the repetition of the word ‘excites’ accentuates the harmony between the Lyran reading and the Lombard’s reading regarding the faithful, identified with the first person plural and thus applied more immediately; it also accentuates the harmony between these two readings and the stated ‘intencion’ of the Psalm. Trinity 93 identifies the grounds of this harmony, not only in the parallel calls to make an offering, but also in the parallel means of affecting the audience to this end.

Though it uses the language of affect as a formula for describing intent, and also uses such language to describe the means of achieving the intent, in many Psalms, Trinity 93 does not seem to follow a rigid scheme of affective language. It does not always render ‘monet’ with one of the aforementioned terms, sometimes omitting to translate it at all. At Psalm 134, for instance, Trinity 93 includes no counterpart for ‘monet’ in translating the *intentio* from the *Magna Glossatura*:

**Trinity 93:** Þe intencion is þat we preyse þe Lord<sup>546</sup>

**Magna Glossatura:** Intentio: Monet ad laudem.<sup>547</sup>

[Intention: It advises to praise]

Nor, where it does include a counterpart for ‘monet’, does Trinity 93 always use the same single word in English, as evident in the division of that same Psalm:

**Trinity 93:** ffirst þe prophete excites to looue God for his godenes & for his greet myght [ . . . ]

Þe þrid þer, house of Israel, he moues all orders of men to bles þe Lord<sup>548</sup>

**Magna Glossatura:** Primo [ . . . ] monet Deum laudare, propter ejus potentiam enumerans ejus magnalia

[ . . . ]

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<sup>546</sup> Trinity 93, f. 64r.

<sup>547</sup> *PL 191*, col. 1187.

<sup>548</sup> Trinity 93, f. 64r-v.

Tertio omnes ordines monet ad laudes, ibi *domus Israel*.<sup>549</sup>

[First [. . .] he advises to praise God, listing nearby his power and his mighty deeds [. . .]

Thirdly he advises all orders to praises, there at ‘the house of Israel’.]

In fact, Trinity 93 employs several English terms to render a single Latin term, and conversely employs the same term in English to render multiple terms in Latin. In the example of Psalm 28 quoted above, Trinity 93 uses both ‘stirr’ and ‘excites’ at different points in place of the Latin term ‘monet’, and conversely uses ‘excites’ at different points in place of both ‘inuitat’ and ‘monet’. In turn, ‘inuitat’ is rendered with ‘stirr’ at Psalm 12, and with ‘mefe’ in at Psalm 113, rather than ‘excites’ as here.

**Psalm 12:**

*Trinity 93:* his intencion is to stirr to þise desires<sup>550</sup>

*Magna Glossatura:* Intentio: Ad idem desiderium invitat.<sup>551</sup>

[Intention: It encourages to the same desire.]

**Psalm 113:**

*Trinity 93:* þe intencion is to mefe to wirchip God.<sup>552</sup>

*Magna Glossatura:* Intentio: Ad cultem et laudem veri Dei invitat.<sup>553</sup>

[Intention: It encourages the worship and praise of the true God.]

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<sup>549</sup> *PL 191*, col. 1187.

<sup>550</sup> Trinity 93, f. 38r

<sup>551</sup> *PL 191*, col. 159

<sup>552</sup> Trinity 93, f. 60r.

<sup>553</sup> *PL 191*, col. 1017.

Both terms, of course, are also used to translate ‘monet’. Trinity 93’s technique for introducing or augmenting an affective dimension in the reading of a Psalm is not, then, a simple matter of predictable substitution from its sources, one word for another.

And yet these irregularities do not undermine the systematic quality of Trinity 93’s approach overall. To begin with, the range of vocabulary described above supports a consistent emphasis on Psalms’ affective impact on their readers, and readers’ affective responses to the Psalms. Though it does not always use the same vocabulary to represent particular Latin words, Trinity 93 consolidates the range of vocabulary for affect used in its sources, making these references to affective impact and response more recognizable. The resulting coherence within a particular Psalm entry is evident in Psalm 28, discussed above, where Trinity 93 use ‘excites’ for both ‘monet’ and ‘invitat’ in Psalm 28 and thus marks the convergence of historical and spiritual readings. Throughout Trinity 93’s Psalter section, ‘excites’ also translates a variety of other verbs, from ‘provocat’ in the *Magna Glossatura*’s division of Psalm 9 to ‘incitat’ in Lyra’s division of Psalm 21 to ‘suadentes’ in Lyra’s historical context for Psalm 45 to ‘excitat’ in Lyra’s moral reading of Psalm 51 to ‘indicit’ in the *Magna Glossatura*’s first division of Psalm 99.<sup>554</sup> This standardization of vocabulary lends a coherence to the Psalm entries across Trinity 93, attuning the reader to the repeated indications of how the Psalms affect their audience.

Trinity 93 also follows a general pattern, albeit a flexible one, in its formula for stating the *intentio* of the Psalms. Generally, it uses ‘stirr’ in place of ‘monet’, or in place of other verbs such as ‘invitat’ in Psalm 12, in these statements to indicate how the Psalm

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<sup>554</sup> See Lyra, *Postilla Litteralis*, vol. 3, col. 814. Cognates for most of these terms except ‘excite’ are not attested in the *MED* until the mid-fifteenth century at the earliest, though incidentally, EV has ‘persuacioun’ for the Vulgate’s ‘persuasio’ at Galatians 5:8.

effects the intended response in its audience. Again, this general norm attunes the reader to this repeated emphasis, despite the occasional exceptions. As for the cases in which Trinity 93 omits any counterpart for ‘monet’ altogether, these may represent stylistic choices. At Psalm 26, for instance, it would be difficult to incorporate the verb, ‘to stirr’, while preserving the syntax and content of the *intentio* as it appears in the *Magna Glossatura*:

**Trinity 93:** Þe intencion of þis psalme is þat no man after þe first anoynting be slawe bot dispose he hym self diligently to þe second<sup>555</sup>

**Magna Glossatura:** Intentio: Monet ne quis post primam unctionem torpeat, sed ad secundam se diligenter paret.<sup>556</sup>

[Intention: It advises that no one immobilize after the first anointing, but dispose himself diligently to the second.]

Trinity 93 uses this same construction, ‘Þe intencion of þis psalme is þat’, on several other occasions where the length or negative subject of the *intentio* precludes its more usual construction, ‘Þe intencion of þis psalme is to stirr’.<sup>557</sup> Rather than breaking the pattern of emphasizing what the Psalms ‘stirr’ their audience to do, these cases reflect a more flexible pattern in which the explicit emphasis on affect is balanced with fidelity to the sources and a sensitivity to idiomatic grammar.

Trinity 93’s emphasis on affect is thus embedded within its overall approach. The formulaic quality of these references to ‘stirring’ and ‘exciting’ indicates their function to topically classify the responses evoked by the Psalm, rather than to evoke these responses themselves.<sup>558</sup> Somerset has asserted that ‘the role of the psalm commentary is not to define terms but to create memorable, emotionally charged associations with the present-day

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<sup>555</sup> Trinity 93, f. 40v

<sup>556</sup> *PL 191*, col. 267.

<sup>557</sup> See, for instance, Psalm 9, which also has ‘no man’, f. 37v.

<sup>558</sup> In this, the language of affect in Trinity 93 contrasts strikingly with that in the Revisions to Rolle’s English Psalter Commentary, as will be discussed in Chapter 5.

situation of readers, ones that might then be reinforced by reading the psalms and witnessing or participating in their liturgical performance'.<sup>559</sup> Precisely because it systematically defines the emotional impact of individual Psalms without seeking to produce that impact itself, Trinity 93 requires readers to return to the Psalm text – read or performed – to be stirred to right action. The searchability of its own structure, and the referentiality of its structure to the biblical text, could even facilitate the choice of Psalm text by which to be stirred on the basis of its aptness to a known need or occasion.

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<sup>559</sup> *Feeling Like Saints*, p. 198.

## Chapter 4

### Revising the English Psalter Commentary

#### Introduction

Recurring across a diverse range of materials, the emphasis on the interior dimension of Psalm reading emerges as a major and indeed characteristic concern in Wycliffite Psalm interpretation. Bodley 554 highlights Psalm 2's injunction to 'make ioie [. . .] wiþ trembling', warning against the error of those who 'syngen wantounli in þe chirche, whanne al þe song of þe chirche is ordeyned to stire deuocioun of cristen men'.<sup>560</sup> Trinity 93 registers a similar emphasis, stating that Psalm 5 begins with a description of 'þe manere of synging þat shold be both vocale & mentale'.<sup>561</sup> Meanwhile, the General Prologue blesses those who 'seie' the Psalter 'deuoutli', in contrast to those who 'seien it vndeoutli', and prays for grace to do so.<sup>562</sup> Such comments apply to the Psalter the stress on the reader's intent that accompanies the stress on the divine intent in Wyclif's model for biblical interpretation more generally.<sup>563</sup>

But what does it mean to 'intend' the words of the Psalms, to read the Psalter 'truly', to 'seie it deuoutli', to sing it with the heart as well as the lips? How should these ideals look in practice? The materials discussed in previous chapters give some indication, often implicit

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<sup>560</sup> B554 2:11/10, vol. 1, p. 3; cf. Lyra, *Postilla Litteralis*, vol. 3, col. 448.

<sup>561</sup> Trinity 93, f. 36v; cf. Lyra, *Postilla Litteralis*, vol. 3, col. 468.

<sup>562</sup> Ed. Dove, p. 59.

<sup>563</sup> In this, they recall the 'shift in ideological *locus* from interpretation to interpreter' that Kantik Ghosh observes in practice in the English Wycliffite Sermons, as well as in Wyclif's own writings on hermeneutics, *The Wycliffite Heresy*, p. 115.

in aspects of their methodology: the specific category and idiom for how each Psalm ‘moves’ its readers in Trinity 93, the exhortations in the margins of Bodley 554 and other glossed manuscripts, the comments that prompt readers to identify with the Psalmist in both Bodley 554 and Trinity 93, or indeed the arrangement of the Psalms into a structure for prayer in the English Primers. The most comprehensive guidance in affective engagement with the Psalter occurs in the most extensive of the projects in Psalm interpretation associated with the Wycliffites, known as the Revisions to Richard Rolle’s English Psalter Commentary.<sup>564</sup> Between the magnitude of the project, as a thorough verse-by-verse commentary covering the whole Psalter (and associated canticles), and the sustained intensity of its focus on this interior dimension, the Revisions constitute the key source for exploring how the Wycliffites envisioned internalized and intentional reading of the Psalter.

Though a substantial and, as most scholars concur, distinctly Wycliffite project in their own right, the Revisions are fundamentally redactions of a work that predates the emergence of Lollardy by several decades.<sup>565</sup> It is not known exactly when Rolle composed his English Psalter Commentary, but his death in 1349 provides a *terminus ad quem*.<sup>566</sup> Wyclif first arrived in Oxford around 1350, but did not incept as a doctor of theology until 1372 or 1373.<sup>567</sup> By the 1380s, his ideas had achieved prominence within – and beyond – the

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<sup>564</sup> I agree with Hudson in supposing each of the Revisions to be the work of multiple revisers; see *RVs*, vol. 1, p. cxci.

<sup>565</sup> Hudson’s study of the particular positions emphasized in the Revisions confirms the prevailing assumption, concluding that, despite variation from RV1 to RV2, and within each revision, there is ‘sufficient evidence [. . .] to suggest that the reviser of Rolle’s Psalter commentary was sympathetic to Lollard ways of thought, and expected his audience to be so also’, *RVs*, vol. 1, p. clxxxii. See also Chapter 5.

<sup>566</sup> The association of Rolle’s English Psalter Commentary with Margaret Kirkeby, in the period just before her enclosure in 1348, would suggest a date of composition toward the end of Rolle’s life, a suggestion put forward by Hope Emily Allen in her edition, *English Writings of Richard Rolle Hermit of Hampole*, pp. 184-188; cf. Nicholas Watson, *Richard Rolle and the Invention of Authority* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 273-278. However, Hudson undermines the reliability of evidence based on Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 286, the mid-fifteenth-century manuscript that contains the poem linking Rolle and Kirkeby, *RVs*, vol. 1, p. clxxxiv.

<sup>567</sup> Anne Hudson and Anthony Kenny, ‘John Wyclif’, in Brian Harrison, Lawrence Goldman, and David Cannadine (eds.), *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004).

University. It was at this period or thereafter that Rolle's text was revised: Anne Hudson dates the emergence of the Revisions to the period between 1382 and 1417 on palaeographic grounds, in the absence of any more specific evidence.<sup>568</sup>

The Revisions are thus as much a source on the Wycliffite approach to reading English Psalm exegesis as they are a source on the Wycliffites' devotional approach to reading the Psalms themselves. To study the Revisions is to study a complex process of appropriation and adaption surrounding Rolle's English Psalter Commentary. Hope Emily Allen and Dorothy Everett identified three distinct interpolated versions, known as RV1, RV2, and RV3.<sup>569</sup> At least one, and possibly all three, of these versions instantiates continuing modification of the text. Introducing her edition of the Revisions, Anne Hudson argues that RV2 depends textually on RV1, rather than depending directly on Rolle's text.<sup>570</sup> RV3's position in relation to RV1 and RV2 remains less certain. This version is only witnessed after Psalm 84:5 up to Psalm 118:1, and only in two manuscripts, in both of which an RV1 text up to Psalm 84:5 runs into RV3 without any indication of the shift.<sup>571</sup> The continuity between the versions in these manuscripts suggests a close link between RV3 and RV1, whether because RV3 redacts RV1 for this section or, as Hudson observes, because the usual RV1 material for this later section of the Psalter redacts a previous continuation of RV1, the portion now known as RV3.<sup>572</sup> At the same time, Hudson points out that the text of RV3's translations for these verses derives from RV2's translations, suggesting that RV3

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<sup>568</sup> *RVs*, vol. 1, p. clxxxv.

<sup>569</sup> Allen, *English Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle*, pp. 173-176; Everett, 'The Middle English Prose Psalter of Richard Rolle of Hampole', *Modern Language Review* 17 (1922): pp. 217-227.

<sup>570</sup> *RVs*, vol. 1, pp. xxiii-xxiv.

<sup>571</sup> *RVs*, vol. 1, pp. xxiii.

<sup>572</sup> *RVs*, vol. 1, p. cxxviii.

represents not only a revision of Rolle's Psalter Commentary, or a revision of a revision (RV1), but a revision of a revision (RV2) of a revision (RV1) of Rolle's commentary.<sup>573</sup>

Within RV1 itself, Hudson charts shifts in degrees of independence from Rolle that could pertain to shifts between revisers or over stages of revision.<sup>574</sup> By her calculations, no commentary between Psalm 41 and the first part of Psalm 84 derives more than about 5 per cent from Rolle's, with many expanding substantially on it.<sup>575</sup> Only a few earlier Psalms diverge from Rolle to a comparable degree, though those before Psalm 41 are less consistent in their proximity to Rolle than those after the break at Psalm 84:5. All of the Psalms after the break derive at least about 20 per cent from Rolle, with ten (Psalms 84b -86, 90-95, and 100) deriving over about 70 per cent from him, according to Hudson's table.<sup>576</sup> By contrast, before Psalm 41, only two (Psalms 1 and 3) derive more than about 70 per cent from Rolle, while seven (Psalms 15, 19, 23-25, 30, and 39) derive less than about 20 per cent from him and another (Psalm 14) derives less than about 5 per cent from Rolle.<sup>577</sup> Within the more independent section between Psalms 41 and the first part of Psalm 84, Psalms 41-3, 45-6, and those between 73- 83 expand the commentary to a greater length than Psalms 44 and 47-72.<sup>578</sup> In a similar vein, the volume of commentary per verse also varies widely within RV3.<sup>579</sup> The diversity within these sections in the different revised versions exposes the

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<sup>573</sup> *RVs*, vol.1, pp. cxxviii-cxxix; see her comments on the translation in ppevi-cix of her edition, and my own in Chapter 1. It should be noted that RV3 is much more independent from RV1 and Rolle than RV2, such that Hudson describes RV3 as 'for its limited biblical scope a complete reworking, indeed new writing, of the commentary which owes little to Rolle or RV1', in contrast to RV2's dependence on RV1 (p. xxix).

<sup>574</sup> *RVs*, vol. 1, p. cxix. Cf. Everett, who likewise notes Psalm 84 as a shift point in the Revisions, 'The Middle English Prose Psalter of Richard Rolle of Hampole', *The Modern Language Review* 18 (1923): pp. 381-93, at p. 386.

<sup>575</sup> *RVs*, vol. 1, pp. cxiii-cxvi.

<sup>576</sup> *RVs*, vol. 1, pp. ccxiii-cxvi.

<sup>577</sup> *RVs*, vol. 1, pp. ccxiii-cxvi.

<sup>578</sup> *RVs*, vol. 1, p. cxvii.

<sup>579</sup> *RVs*, vol. 1, pp. cxv-cxvi.

complexity of the revision process, almost certainly involving multiple revisers even within the production of RV1. The tendency of these distinctive approaches to manifest themselves in contiguous Psalms suggests that the revisers worked on consecutive runs within the Psalter, but the presence of outliers beyond these runs suggests either that individual revisers also tried their hands in other sections or that they experimented with different approaches before settling on how they would go about the revision. Perhaps, for instance, Psalms 1 and 3 were revised by the same individual or in the same conceptual stage as the later portion of the Psalter, while Psalm 14 was revised by the same individual or in the same conceptual stage as the more independent middle section. However they worked, the revisers seem to have developed their approach organically as they went along, rather than being bound by a rigid plan from the beginning throughout the whole project.<sup>580</sup>

Like the significance of affective engagement with the Psalms, the significance of pre-existing exegesis to Wycliffite Psalm interpretation has already emerged, at least with respect to the Latin tradition. As selections and translations from a larger corpus, the glosses in Bodley 554 and other manuscripts are at some level readings of Lyra and other Latin authorities, while Trinity 93's 'declaracioun' of the Psalter is at some level a reading of Nicholas of Lyra's *Postilla* and Peter Lombard's *Magna Glossatura* – Rolle's own source. As readings of Rolle's English commentary, which itself relies on the Latin tradition and particularly on the work of Peter Lombard, the Revisions gesture toward an English continuation of this tradition, into which they themselves, along with other Wycliffite productions in English, can join. Rolle notably served as a positive precedent for the work of English Bible translation, with advocates of translation naming him as an accepted reference

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<sup>580</sup> See Chapter 2, section 2.1; cf. Kuzynski, *B554*, vol. 1, pp. liii-liv.

point.<sup>581</sup> Rolle also paved the way for extending the scholastic commentary tradition into English, as Kraebel has emphasized.<sup>582</sup> In their implicit appeal to a wider tradition of English commentary, the Revisers counter a widespread concern that English biblical translation and interpretation would lead to interpretation divorced from the established exegetical tradition and thus, potentially, to heresy.<sup>583</sup> Despite, or perhaps because of, the commonplace objections levelled against biblical translation in general and the Wycliffite translation in particular, it is in fact characteristic of Wycliffite Psalm interpretation that it bases its approach on authoritative works of exegesis.

This approach itself is not without controversy, especially in the case of the Revisions. The Wycliffite interpolation of a recognized and popular pre-Wycliffite translation and commentary could suggest an attempt to circumvent censorship, particularly in the later years of this range, after Arundel's Constitutions of 1409 prohibited the production and circulation of biblical material in English from Wyclif's time or thereafter.<sup>584</sup> At least one medieval critic accuses the Lollards of abusing Rolle's legitimacy and popularity in this way. A poem at the beginning of Oxford, Bodleian MS Laud Misc. 286 (hereafter Laud misc. 286) alleges that the Lollards have ensnared 'leude foles' and slandered Richard Rolle's saintly reputation by weaving heresy into Rolle's text while claiming to copy it with integrity:

Copyed has this Sauter ben; of yuel men of lollardry:  
 And afturward hit has bene sene; ympyd in with eryl.  
 They seyden then to leude foles; that it shuld be all enter,  
 A blessyd boke of hur scoles; of Richard Hampole þe Sauter.  
 Thus þei seyde to make þeim leue; on her scole thoro sotelte:

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<sup>581</sup> Ullerston appeals to Rolle's example twice in the argument of *De translatione*, ed. Solopova *et al.*, pp. 34, 112; cf. 'First seiþ Bois', ed. Dove, in *The Earliest Advocates of the English Bible*, p. 146.

<sup>582</sup> *Biblical Commentary and Translation*, pp. 93, 128.

<sup>583</sup> See the Introduction to this thesis, section 1.2.

<sup>584</sup> Cf. Allen, *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole*, p. 192; but see also below.

To bryng hem in, so hem to greue; ageyn þe feyth in grete fole:  
 And slaundird foule þis holy man; wiþ her wykkyd waryed wyles:  
 Hur fantom hath made many a fon; thoro the fend that fele begiles.<sup>585</sup>

The Revisions do in fact appear under Rolle's name in two of the extant manuscripts.

London, BL MS Royal 18 D.I (hereafter Royal 18.D.I) begins with a heading that associates the following RV1 text, and by extension the continuing text of RV1 and RV3 in London, BL MS Additional 74953 (hereafter BL Add. 74593), with the hermit of Hampole:

Here bigynneþ þe Prologe vppon þe sauter þat Richard heremyte of Hampole  
 translaticid into englyshe aftir þe sentence of doctours and resun.<sup>586</sup>

The other manuscript to present a revised text as Rolle's original commentary is Laud Misc. 286 itself, despite the fact that its prefatory poem excoriates the Lollards for associating their heresies with Rolle's name. Hudson registers the irony of this poem's placement at the beginning of a copy which witnesses 'perhaps the most outspokenly Lollard of the surviving manuscripts of RV2' before switching to the uninterpolated text from Psalm 17:51.<sup>587</sup> Still more ironically, it is the poem itself, rather than anything else in the manuscript, that introduces the deceit, announcing the following text as a pure copy of Rolle's original and recommending it as an exemplar for further careful copying:

Therefore a worthy holy man; cald Rychard Hampole,  
 Whom the lord that all thing can; leryd lely on his scole,  
 Glosed the sauter that sues here; in englysch tong sykerly,  
 At a worthy recluse prayer; cald dame Merget kyrkby.  
 This same sauter in all degre; is the self in sothnes  
 That lyzt at hampole in surte; at Richard own' berynes,  
 That he wrote with his hondes; to dame Merget kyrkby:  
 [. . .]  
 Errour in hit is ther non; ne deseyt ne heresy,  
 Bot euery word is sad as stone; and sothly sayd, ful sykerly.

<sup>585</sup> Ed. Bramley, p. 2, ll. 49-52.

<sup>586</sup> See *RVs*, vol. 1, p. xlvi. It is worth noting that the prologue itself, which is all that is mentioned in this heading, was not very heavily interpolated in the Revisions.

<sup>587</sup> *RVs*, vol. 1, p. xxii. Kuczynski similarly comments on the incongruity between the poem's censure of interpolation and the interpolations of Laud Misc. 286 in *Prophetic Song*, p. 168.

Whos wol it write, I rede hym rygth; wryte on warly lyne be lyne,  
And make no more then here is dygth; or ellys I rede hym hit ne ryne.<sup>588</sup>

The manuscript includes no heading for the text except this poem, which appears in a different hand from those used for the commentary, according to Hudson.<sup>589</sup> It is not the copyist of the interpolated version, then, but the scribe of the poem, who attributes the interpolations to Rolle.

For the most part, the extant manuscripts of the Revisions do not make any such attribution. Apart from Royal 18 D.I, the few headings that are included in copies of the Revisions describe the text in generic terms.<sup>590</sup> Nothing in the headings to Bodley 288 or Cambridge, MA, Harvard, Houghton Library, MS Richardson 36 (hereafter Richardson 36) specifies the subsequent Psalter material to be Rolle's; it states simply, 'Here bigynneþ þe prolog on þe sauter'.<sup>591</sup> Nor does anything in the similar heading to Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.5.25 (hereafter TCC B.5.25): 'Here beginneþ a prologe into þe book of þe sauter'.<sup>592</sup> In the latter manuscript, the imprecision of this heading seems to have permitted attribution of the text to Rolle, but not before an equally misguided attribution to Wyclif. TCC B.5.25's front flyleaf preserves a record of postmedieval perplexity as to the origins of the commentary: one note describes the following text as commentaries 'written by Jo. Wicliffe', a second corrects this to identify it as 'Richard Rolle's, Hermite of Hampole', and a third note makes a further correction, identifying the text as 'Hampole's old comment

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<sup>588</sup> Ed. Bramley, pp. 1-2, ll. 21-24, 45-48.

<sup>589</sup> *RVs*, vol. 1, p. xxii.

<sup>590</sup> Admittedly, the acephalous nature of a number of the manuscript witnesses makes it impossible to know how they presented the text.

<sup>591</sup> *RVs*, vol. 1, pp. xxxix, xli. Cambridge, MA, Harvard Houghton Library MS Richardson 36 (hereafter Richardson 36) also includes the Latin, 'hic incipit prologus super psalterium' ['here begins the prologue on the Psalter'], p. xli.

<sup>592</sup> *RVs*, vol. 1, p. xxxvi.

variously interpolated' by the Wycliffites rather than 'a true and faithful copy'.<sup>593</sup> At least as far as can be discerned from their headings, or the absence thereof, the majority of manuscripts of the Revisions do not necessarily declare themselves to be true and faithful copies of Rolle's text. Of course, none acknowledge their status as revisions either. Whoever revised Rolle's commentary could still have expected readers and censors to recognize the text as Rolle's, or hoped that association with Rolle would lend legitimacy to an otherwise potentially controversial text. Certainly, its pre-existing legitimacy and independence from censorship could have contributed to the attractiveness of Rolle's Psalter Commentary for the Wycliffites.

But were these the only attractions that Rolle's text held for the Wycliffites? The outstanding absence of Rolle's name from the manuscripts of the Revisions suggests otherwise, supporting recent scholarship contesting the assumption that the Wycliffites sought to 'cloak' their ideas behind Rolle's name.<sup>594</sup> In contrast to the previous emphasis on the insertion of Lollard material into Rolle's text, Kuczynski reads the Revisions as 'extensions of Rolle's own method' of 'affective identification with the emotionally charged language of the Psalms'.<sup>595</sup> That the Revisions adopt and extend Rolle's method as well as so much of his text intimates the suitability of the method itself to their ends, beyond the mere convenience and authority of the text. Indeed, the use of a conveniently pre-existing authority is part of the method the Revisions adopt and extend from Rolle; as Kuczynski points out, Rolle himself adopted and extended Peter Lombard's commentary on the Psalms.<sup>596</sup>

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<sup>593</sup> See Kuczynski, *Prophetic Song*, p. 169.

<sup>594</sup> Allen, *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole*, p. 192; contrast Kuczynski, *Prophetic Song*, p. 185, and Hudson, *RVs*, vol. 1, p. clxxxvi.

<sup>595</sup> Kuczynski, *Prophetic Song*, p. 166.

<sup>596</sup> Kuczynski, *Prophetic Song*, p. 166. See also his discussion of Rolle's increasing independence in adapting his source, and how the Revisions actually correct Rolle against the Lombard, p. 171.

According to Kevin Gustafson, the ‘heresy’ of the Psalter Commentary derives as much from growing concerns over lay access to vernacular theology and the ‘model of vernacular reading and writing’ inherent to Rolle’s text as from specific Lollard modifications.<sup>597</sup> More specifically, he contends it was the emphasis on ‘interiorized spirituality’, evident in Rolle’s treatment of penance and of clerical authority, that opened the text both to suspicions of Lollard heresy and to actual Lollard appropriation.<sup>598</sup> Like Kuczynski, that is, Gustafson points to Rolle’s own approach of inviting readers to identify with and imitate the voices of the Psalms as a key attraction for Wycliffite revisers.<sup>599</sup>

Both seek to complicate a simplistic account of the Revisions as Lollard perversions of Rolle’s Psalter Commentary.<sup>600</sup> In the following exploration of how the Revisions engage with Rolle’s approach, a further degree of complexity emerges as to why the Wycliffites would have felt the need to revise Rolle’s Psalter Commentary, if they also found it so appealing. Specifically, why, if they were so attracted to his interior and devotional focus, would the Revisions downplay the contemplative dimension so integral to Rolle’s devotional model?<sup>601</sup> And why, if they are so focused on encouraging individual and personal reception of the Psalms, do they shift from solitary to a communal focus?<sup>602</sup> While fundamentally affirming the Revisions’ extension (rather than subversion) of Rolle’s model, this chapter

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<sup>597</sup> Gustafson, ‘Richard Rolle’s English Psalter and the Making of a Lollard Text’, *Viator* 33 (2002): 294-309, hereafter ‘Richard Rolle’s English Psalter’, at p. 296. See also pp. 308-309.

<sup>598</sup> On the model of ‘interiorized spirituality’, see Gustafson, ‘Richard Rolle’s English Psalter’, p. 196. As he is careful to clarify, it was not that Rolle was a proto-Lollard, calling for particular reforms, but rather that Rolle’s text was ‘deeply ambiguous and thus ripe for appropriation’, p. 306.

<sup>599</sup> Gustafson, ‘Richard Rolle’s English Psalter’, pp. 303-305.

<sup>600</sup> Gustafson, ‘Richard Rolle’s English Psalter’, p. 296, 308-309; Kuczynski, *Prophetic Song*, pp. 165, 170-171.

<sup>601</sup> See below, section 2.1. Cf. Gustafson, ‘Richard Rolle’s English Psalter’, p. 296; Kuczynski, *Prophetic Song*, p. 166. In fact, Kraebel contrasts the Wycliffites’ appreciation of Rolle’s scholarship with their ‘ambivalent’ attitude toward his ‘ecstatic experiences’, *Biblical Commentary and Translation*, p. 114.

<sup>602</sup> See below, section 2.2. On the importance of individual reception in Rolle’s model as compared with the Lollards, cf. Gustafson, ‘Richard Rolle’s English Psalter’, pp. 296, 303; cf. also Kuczynski’s contrast between personal and more ‘politicized’ readings of the Psalter, p. xvii, and his identification of the movement toward the latter in the Revisions, p. 166.

also brings to light the scope of that extension, and thus seeks to trace the continuity between what the Revisions adopt and what they adapt from Rolle's approach as much as the continuity of the approaches *per se*. It reads the Revisions as a translation of Rolle's model into a basis for transforming the whole ecclesial community, ultimately arguing that, in inviting readers to participate in the fulness of the interior life, the Revisions cultivate a community committed to probity in spiritual matters.

### **A Note on Methodology**

The difficulty of accessing the original commentary text presents a serious obstacle for the study of the Revisions themselves. One cannot ascertain the particular concerns and approach of the Revisions without establishing which passages or features of the commentary the Revisions preserve from Rolle's original, which they omit, which they add, and which they adapt and how they adapt them. And one cannot establish these distinctions with certainty without a full modern critical edition of the uninterpolated text.

Jill Havens and Kevin Gustafson are currently preparing such an edition, but for the meantime, the only complete edition is H.R. Bramley's, published in 1884. This edition relies on a base text, Oxford, University College MS 64 (hereafter University College 64), with significant lacunae, and relies on postmedieval copies to fill in these lacunae, including variants only inconsistently, and only from a few other manuscripts.<sup>603</sup> Though more recent, the collaborative edition to which Fordham graduate students contributed between 1976 and 1980 is likewise insufficient for the comparison intended in this chapter, not least because it does not cover the full Psalter Commentary. Hudson also notes issues such as inconsistency in collation between the different versions in explaining her own decision not to depend on

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<sup>603</sup> See Hudson's description of University College 64, *RVs*, vol. 1, pp. cxcix-cci; cf. p. xxv.

this collaborative edition.<sup>604</sup> In the absence of an adequate edition, I supplement the Bramley edition of the Psalter Commentary with Oxford, Bodleian MS Hatton 12 (hereafter Hatton 12), a key manuscript that preserves the uninterpolated text. Hudson notes this manuscript among those in northern dialect, which she demonstrates to have characterized the Revisions' source for Rolle's text.<sup>605</sup> Though I quote from Bramley's edition below, I used Hatton 12 to corroborate or correct the text as cited in the examples below, and thus the general conclusions of the comparative study.<sup>606</sup>

Even with unrestricted access to the manuscripts, and even with a critical edition, the Psalter Commentary is extensive enough that detailed comparison of the full texts would require more time than feasible within the confines of a doctoral dissertation, and, for the most part, within two chapters of that project. In light of this, I was encouraged to select a set of Psalms for use as case studies, in order to focus my analysis and to facilitate crosschecking across editions and relevant manuscripts.

Existing studies of Wycliffite Psalm materials have tended to concentrate on the Penitential Psalms, a cohesive group with a central role in the devotion and liturgy of the period.<sup>607</sup> On the one hand, given these considerations and Gustafson's observations on the resonance of Rolle's treatment of penance with Wycliffite concerns on the topic, the

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<sup>604</sup> *RVs*, p. xxv.

<sup>605</sup> *RVs*, p. xxv; cf. pp. lxix-lxxvii. Hudson also names San Marino, Huntington, MS HM 148 (hereafter Huntington HM 148) among the exemplars of Rolle's text in northern dialect; ideally, I would also be able to include this manuscript in the comparison as it will serve as the base text for Gustafson and Havens' edition, but I have not been able to access it.

<sup>606</sup> In general, though I have found a number of interesting variants, I have not found that they affect the points in my argument.

<sup>607</sup> See, for instance, Sutherland's selection of samples for comparing the texts of EV, LV, and the Primers, *English Psalms in the Middle Ages*, pp. 141-149; though she addresses a wide range of Psalms throughout the book, her inclusion of Brampton, Maidstone, and Hull's versions of the Penitential Psalms among her main sources leads to a particular prominence of the Penitential Psalms within her comparative study. See also Schühle-Lewis' selection of the Penitential Psalms for her edition of Trinity 93, *T93*, Part II, pp. 45-57.

Penitential Psalms would be a natural choice for this chapter's case studies as well.<sup>608</sup> On the other hand, given that so much perceptive scholarship exists on medieval English and Wycliffite use of these Psalms, it seems fitting to broaden the discussion, if only to put the Penitential Psalms in perspective and consider whether the observations that have been made of them are true more generally. In Chapter 5, I do touch on how the Revisions treat these Psalms as part of exploring how the Revisions treat the topic of penance, and how their treatment of this topic and others compares with that in other Wycliffite materials. This chapter's exploration of how the Revisions treat the Psalter as such concentrates on case studies of Psalms that are more thematically diverse than the Penitential Psalms, though likewise associated together as a liturgical unit: Psalms 68-79.

These Psalms comprise one of the eight nocturns, or divisions of the Psalter for recitation, in secular rather than monastic use at the time.<sup>609</sup> All but one of the extant manuscripts of the Revisions gesture toward this secular division of the Psalter by enlarging or otherwise decorating the initial of each section, or at least by leaving space, presumably for similar major capitals, at these points – a feature which is all the more outstanding given that the Prologue, following Rolle, references only the division of the Psalter into three groups of fifty.<sup>610</sup> One RV1 manuscript, Bodley 288, adds comments explicitly designating these as nocturns, while two others draw particular attention to this nocturn with comparably explicit comments.<sup>611</sup>

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<sup>608</sup> 'Richard Rolle's English Psalter', p. 306.

<sup>609</sup> Cf. Chapter 1, section 1.1.3.

<sup>610</sup> Hudson, *RVs*, vol. 1, p. xxxii; compare the evidence for other division schemes on p. xxxiii; contrast with the Prologue's statement, *RVs*, vol. 1, p. 5; cf. ed. Bramley, p. 4. The secular liturgical divisions are common of course in Wycliffite manuscripts of the Psalms; cf. Solopova, 'The Wycliffite Psalms', p. 130. For further comparison, see also Chapter 1, section 1.1.3.

<sup>611</sup> See Hudson, *RVs*, vol. 1, p. xxxi-xxxii on the comments in Bodley 288. Trinity College, Cambridge, B.5.25, includes comments only for Psalms 62 and 80, according to Hudson, *RVs*, vol. 1, pp. xxxii. Richardson 36 ends

Apart from the liturgical significance of these Psalms, they include some of the most significant digressions from Rolle's Psalter Commentary, being within the section of the Psalter that Hudson characterizes by its greater independence from Rolle. Examination of the more independent exegesis allows for more thorough exploration of the question of how the Revisions change, as well as how they extend, Rolle's approach. Even at their most independent, I argue, the Revisions follow trajectories already established in Rolle's text, stretching them toward new audiences. Comparison with less drastic revisions in other sections of the Psalter confirms similar directions of revision, even if to a lesser extent.<sup>612</sup> In short, they revise the Psalter Commentary on the basis of some of the same concerns that would have made the text so attractive in the first place.

### **1. Immediacy and Identification: The Revisions' Basic Approach to the Psalm Text**

The various versions of the Revisions follow the same format that governs Rolle's uninterpolated text. Progressing verse by verse through the Psalter, each entry includes three components: the Latin text of the verse, an English translation of it, and then commentary on the verse. The consistency with which these three components appear in this order in the main text block suggests their inextricability for the revisers, as for Rolle himself.

This chapter is concerned primarily with the commentary entries, as issues of text and translation are discussed in the context of the Wycliffite translation more generally in Chapter 1. However, the presentation of Latin, English translation, and commentary in the Revisions, as in Rolle, is significant in its trajectory toward the interpreter taking up the text

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with Psalm 79, but not without a final rubric, 'Heere eendip þe laste psalme of þis octourne. saluum me fac'; it does not include such rubrics for the other divisions of the Psalter, Hudson, *RVs*, vol. 1, pp. xli, xxxii.

<sup>612</sup> While below I focus on case studies of this nocturne, I also did case studies of the initial Psalm in each nocturne (Psalms 1, 26, 38, 52, 68, 80, 97, 109), and also looked more closely at the Psalms around the transition points at Psalms 41 and 84:5.

in his or her own voice. The presence of both the Latin and the English versions of the Psalm texts recalls Rolle's stated objective in providing translations, a claim carried over into the revised prologue: 'þat þei þat knowen not Latyn, bi þe Englisshe may come to many Latyn wordis'.<sup>613</sup> This claim and the prominence afforded to the Latin text by the details of its presentation have prompted several scholars to remark how the Psalter Commentary, in its various versions, affirms the primacy of the Vulgate text. Citing the distinctive initials that are a consistent feature of the Latin text across the manuscripts, and the larger and more prestigious script that further distinguishes the Latin text in so many copies, Ralph Hanna asserts, 'the Vulgate text is taken as primary and sacrosanct'.<sup>614</sup> Sutherland's discussion of the manuscripts of the Psalter Commentary in the context of other English Psalter manuscripts tends to corroborate this, but also teases out the 'mutual relian[ce]' between English and Latin in Rolle's text and the Revisions.<sup>615</sup> Rather than the English serving solely as a handmaid to the Latin, or the Latin depending solely on the English for comprehensibility, the Latin can clarify the often-abstruse English translation, and thus serve as a 'handmaid' to its own translation.<sup>616</sup> A number of manuscripts, both of the uninterpolated text and of the Revisions, could even be said to subordinate the Latin to the English in that they abbreviate it or reduce it to tags; however, even these assume a degree of interdependence between English and Latin.<sup>617</sup> As Sutherland points out, the absence of Latin

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<sup>613</sup> *RVs*, vol. 1, p. 7; cf. Rolle, ed. Bramley, p. 4.

<sup>614</sup> Ralph Hanna, *The English Manuscripts of Richard Rolle—A Descriptive Catalogue* (Exeter, 2010), p. xxxiv.

<sup>615</sup> Sutherland, *English Psalms in the Middle Ages*, p. 260.

<sup>616</sup> Sutherland, *English Psalms in the Middle Ages*, p. 258.

<sup>617</sup> Sutherland names Bodley 467 as a particularly striking example of such abbreviation in the uninterpolated Rolle, in that it sometimes even omits 'the very inflexional endings that enable the parsing of the Latin', *English Psalms*, p. 257. Heavy abbreviation also occurs in several RV1 manuscripts, for instance, after Psalm 119:2 in Bodley 288, between Psalm 51:7 and Psalm 84 in London, BL MS Royal 18.D.I (hereafter Royal 18.D.I) and BL Add. 74953, and after the opening verse of each Psalm in Lincoln 92; see Hudson, *RVs*, vol. 1, pp. xxxix, xlvi. Similarly, after partial quotation of the opening verse, RV1 manuscript Trinity College Cambridge

in these manuscripts may imply that their users had recourse to the Latin by other means.<sup>618</sup> In this, they may recall Trinity 93's reliance on the reader's memory of or access to the Vulgate Psalms. The manuscripts which use abbreviations might also teach the reader to 'come to' the 'Latyn wordis' in the abbreviated forms in which they can often appear. In any case, the dedication of time, effort, and space on the page to the full Latin text throughout nine manuscripts of the Revisions, and to indicating the Latin in one way or another in most copies, indicates that accessing the Latin was integral to reading the Psalter Commentary as a whole.

This is no less true for the Revisions than it is for the uninterpolated copies of Rolle's text, despite the Wycliffite emphasis on the equivalence of Scripture in the vernacular with Scripture in any other language, and despite the other changes they make to Rolle's text. Unlike so many copies of the Wycliffite Psalms, which essentially treat the Latin as a label to identify the English material, leaving it 'marginalized' in both a 'theoretical' and a 'literal' sense, the Revisions maintain the centrality of the Latin to Rolle's Psalter Commentary.<sup>619</sup> Comparing the Revisions to the glossed Wycliffite Psalters, it is equally noteworthy that the

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B.5.25 omits the Latin for the canticles not included in Rolle, Hudson, *RVs*, vol. 1, pp. xxxvi-xxxvii. Sutherland discusses several manuscripts which provide only partial Latin: London BL 74593 (a continuation of RV1 from Royal 18.D.I); Hatfield, Hatfield House, Marquess of Salisbury, Cecil Papers 328 (an uninterpolated copy); Oxford, Magdalen College MS lat.52 (hereafter Magdalen lat.52, an uninterpolated copy which includes several canticles associated with the Revisions); and Douce 258 (which contains selections from Rolle's Psalter), *English Psalms*, p. 258-260.

<sup>618</sup> Against the supposition that the absence of the Latin indicates manuscripts for use by non-Latinate audiences, Sutherland argues for an alternative possibility 'that these copies were made for learned readers who could be relied upon to recall (or have access to) the full Latin original onto which they could then map Rolle's English translation', *English Psalms*, p. 260. The argument could be extended to include access to the Latin via the liturgy in the case of Magdalen lat.52, a small manuscript which 'may have functioned in a quasi-liturgical manner' according to Sutherland, p. 259, and the similarly small and apparently liturgical Douce 258, p. 260.

<sup>619</sup> See Sutherland's comment on manuscripts such as Bodley 288 (RV1) and Huntington HM 148 (uninterpolated): 'The theoretical—and quite literal—marginalization of the source that we witnessed in the case of other Psalter manuscripts is simply not to be found in these Rolle codices, which leave the reader in no doubt as to the importance of the Latin', p. 257. See also Sutherland, *English Psalms*, p. 243, for an analysis of how Ashmole 1288 relegates the Latin to the margins, among other examples. Ashmole 1288 is among the Type I Primers, discussed in Chapter 1, which use the LV text.

manuscripts of the Revisions do not marginalize the commentary. The placement of the commentary in the main text block does not necessarily indicate equality of status between commentary and the biblical text, any more than the placement of the Latin and English versions of the text one after another necessarily presumes equality of status between the Latin source and the vernacular translation. The structure of the Psalter commentary, and even the decorations dividing its different elements, serves not so much to articulate the relative positions of Vulgate source, English translation, and English commentary in a hierarchy or in equality, I would argue, as to facilitate progressive reading of one after another.

Of course, the mechanics of reading the Revisions remains largely a matter of speculation, especially as so little is known about the context of their production and reception. The distinct initials, paraps, underlining, and variations in colour or size of script that mark the distinctions between components in so many copies could enable readers to consult the elements individually.<sup>620</sup> However, not all the manuscripts distinguish these elements, specifically the translation and the commentary, so clearly. Lincoln, Cathedral Chapter Library MS 92 (A.5.16) (hereafter Lincoln 92), a copy of RV1, often omits to maintain its own custom of underlining the English translation, such that the translation and commentary often appear as a single unit.<sup>621</sup> More strikingly still, RV2 manuscripts Oxford, Merton College MS 94 (hereafter Merton 94), and London, BL MS Royal 18.B.XXI (hereafter Royal 18.B.XXI) do not mark the distinction between the two elements at all.<sup>622</sup>

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<sup>620</sup> For instance, RV1 manuscript Trinity College, Cambridge, B.5.25 uses enlarged capitals for each component and red underlining for the English translation, as Hudson notes, *RVs*, vol. 1, p. xxxvi. Tanner 16 and Bodley 288 both use coloured capitals for the Latin verse and the English translation, and paraph marks between the translation and the commentary; Bodley 288 also underlines the English translation in red (Hudson, *RVs*, pp. xliii, xxxix).

<sup>621</sup> See Hudson's description, *RVs*, vol. 1, p. xlvi.

<sup>622</sup> See Hudson's description, *RVs*, vol. 1, pp. lix-lx.

Given the other slipshod, inconsistent, or incomplete elements of presentation in both Lincoln 92 and Merton 94, the lack of distinction between translation and commentary might stem from neglect rather than an intentional effort to undermine the distinction; similarly, Royal 18.B.XXI, a much later copy from the mid-sixteenth century, may follow an exemplar which neglects to make the distinction.<sup>623</sup> At the same time, such neglect intimates at least a lack of emphasis on the distinction between translation and commentary, or perhaps even an effort to show the continuity between the two forms of glossing. Regardless, the effect is a blurring of translation and commentary in practice; reading one leads seamlessly on to the other. A similar practice seems credible even in the cases where a range of details can signal the transitions between components. A reader could hardly consider only the Latin, or only the English, without being reminded at every page turn that each was linked to further material. Their consecutive placement invites consecutive reading.

So, too, apart from visual cues, the text itself often highlights the continuity between the text and the commentary. The text often reappears within the commentary, quoted, retranslated, or paraphrased. Not only does translation penetrate the regular boundary between vernacular text and commentary as components of the entry; the commentary also blurs the boundary between translation and commentary as practices in relation to the biblical text. The somewhat clearer transitions between the end of one comment and the beginning of the next instalment of the biblical text also link commentary and text across the boundaries between verses. In addition to reinforcing the continuity between text and commentary, such transitions reinforce the continuity between different verse entries. Though not all verse entries link tightly with one another, the many instances of such interdependence invite

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<sup>623</sup> See Hudson's description, *RVs*, vol. 1, pp. lix-lx.

unbroken reading from Vulgate to English translation to commentary, from verse to verse, and indeed from Psalm to Psalm.

In many ways the continuity of the text carries the reader along. The ease and momentum of reading the English Psalter Commentary, revised or otherwise, contrasts with the concentration required for studying a glossed Psalter or Trinity 93, as these necessitate constant cross-reference between text and margin, text and text, or text and memory. And yet it also requires a different kind of attention from its readers, one more akin to that required in praying through the consecutive texts of a Primer. There is an insistence and immediacy to the reviser's explanation of when and why God's help is needed that emerges from Psalm 69's opening plea for help:

**Deus in adiutorium meum intende; Domine, ad adiuuandum me festina!** *God, bihold into myn helpe; Lord, to helpe me hyze þou!* Eueremore haue we nede of Goddes helpe, for euermore we ben assayled of enemyes, now of þe feende, now of þe world, now of oure fleisch [. . .]<sup>624</sup>

The comment's use of the present tense and the first-person plural voice reflects the personal urgency of the verse, but also expands its remit to include all times, through its repetition of how the help is needed 'eueremore', and to include the audience in the first person, through its use of the plural 'we'. In this, it follows Rolle, who similarly details the need for divine help 'we' experience 'euermare'.<sup>625</sup> In thus underlining the universal relevance of the Psalm, the comment in both versions invites the reader to enter into the Psalm for himself or herself, identifying his or her own need and performing it in his or her own circumstances. The revised commentary goes a step farther, turning from the invitation implicit in 'we preyen' to a prayer at the end of the comment:

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<sup>624</sup> *RVs*, vol.2, p. 638.

<sup>625</sup> Ed. Bramley, p. 246.

‘Forþi, Lord, hyȝe þou to help me, þat is delaye not þin helpe fro me, but so sugette me to þe þat alwey þin help, merciful Lord, I deserue’.<sup>626</sup>

In that this prayer both repeats and expounds the second-person cry of the Psalm verse, ‘hyȝe þou’, it directs readers back to the text, imbuing it with a more specific meaning as a prayer for submission to God ‘alwey’.<sup>627</sup> It thus extends the general momentum towards personal appropriation of the Psalms, inherent in the movement from Latin to English to devotional commentary, driving it full circle back toward the text itself as it models actively prayerful identification with it.

## 2. Systematic Revisions

### 2.1 *Beyond Contemplation – and Beyond the Contemplative-Active Dichotomy*

While many of the revisions to Rolle’s text point to the revisers’ appreciation and extension of Rolle’s basic approach of encouraging devotion, there are also revisions that seem to undermine Rolle’s devotional approach, or at least to redefine it. Devotion in the original Psalter Commentary, as in Rolle’s corpus more generally and indeed in his life as a hermit, is bound up with contemplation. Regardless of whether Rolle in fact composed the text specifically to guide Margaret Kirkeby in a contemplative vocation, as the poem that prefaces Laud Misc. 286 claims, he writes, as Gustafson points out, ‘as a contemplative [. . .] to an audience of peers’.<sup>628</sup> Numerous references within his text affirm the primacy of the contemplative life. Rolle’s preoccupation with contemplation stands out all the more in comparison with his major source; though some of Rolle’s references to contemplation

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<sup>626</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 638.

<sup>627</sup> The focus on aligning one’s own will with God’s throughout the Revisions and other materials will be discussed in Chapter 5.

<sup>628</sup> Gustafson, p. 306.

clearly correspond to similar readings by Peter Lombard, the vast majority have no direct equivalent in the *Magna Glossatura*. Whether such readings reflect independent consultation of other sources or more original interpretation, their inclusion over the Lombard's readings points to an intentional and emphatic elevation of contemplation on Rolle's part.

By contrast, the Revisions bear witness to an equally intentional, emphatic, and even systematic effort to frame a devotional model without reference to contemplation. This effort is concentrated, though not entirely contained, in the middle portion of the Psalter that Hudson identifies as more independent from Rolle. While occasionally omitted in the earlier Psalms, and always retained in later Psalms, the term 'contemplation' is completely eliminated from both RV1 and RV2 between its appearances in Psalm 41:2 and in Psalm 83:8. Two of the earlier Psalms which Hudson categorizes as relatively independent from Rolle, Psalms 19 and 30, specifically drop his references to contemplation.<sup>629</sup> The term is nonetheless retained in Psalm 26, which Hudson likewise marks as independent from Rolle, but excised from Psalm 13, which is much closer to Rolle textually by her reckoning.<sup>630</sup> It is possible that the use or elimination of the term 'contemplation' could help to delineate the activities of different revisers, or different stages in the conceptualization of the project. For instance, its appearance at the beginning of 41:2 could suggest an incomplete transition between revisers or goals at the beginning of this Psalm, as indeed its appearance later in Psalm 83:8 suggests a gradual transition toward the greater dependence on Rolle that becomes so marked from midway through Psalm 84. Where it is excised, even in more independent sections of the Revisions, enough material is clearly drawn from Rolle to

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<sup>629</sup> See Hudson's Chart A, which indicates the relative independence of the Revisions, *RVs*, vol. 1, pp. cxiii-cxvi.

<sup>630</sup> Again, cf. Chart A, *RVs*, vol. 1, pp. cxiii-cxvi.

indicate that the omission of ‘contemplation’ is more than incidental to the reworking.<sup>631</sup>

Indeed, the consistency with which ‘contemplation’ and related forms are excised between Psalm 41:2 and Psalm 83:8 suggests that whoever revised this range was as specifically concerned to avoid the term as Rolle was specifically concerned to introduce it.

Previous assessments have foregrounded the topic of contemplation as a locus of significant change between Rolle’s text and the Revisions. Kuczynski differentiates the Revisions’ approach from Rolle’s on the basis of their advocacy of action rather than contemplation, framing this as an extension of Rolle’s own revision of Peter Lombard to advocate contemplation:

Just as Rolle, in writing his commentary, had homileticized Peter Lombard, transforming the language of the schoolroom into a sometimes passionate catechetical discourse, the Lollards, in revising Rolle, politicize him. They take his psalmic arguments for the priority of the contemplative life and translate them into defenses of the life of action, of real struggle in the moral and political arena.<sup>632</sup>

While Kuczynski highlights a shift from advocating contemplation to advocating action within the text, Gustafson highlights a shift from contemplatives to active men, clergy to laymen, in the audience of the Psalter Commentary – and how Rolle’s text lends itself to this shift.<sup>633</sup> Though more focused on a change in audience than changes to the text, Gustafson, too, assumes a trajectory towards action in linking the Revisions with the larger Wycliffite contribution to ‘the broad and diverse attempt to adapt the values, terminology, and devotional practices of monastic Latin culture for those living the active life’.<sup>634</sup> My survey of the use of the term ‘contemplation’ confirms that the approach, or rather some of the

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<sup>631</sup> One possible exception in Psalm 73:2b, where the omission of the term coincides with the omission of the passage and attendant commentary in an apparent case of eyeskip; cf. Hudson’s note, *RVs*, vol. 3, pp. 1340-1341.

<sup>632</sup> Kuczynski, *Prophetic Song*, p. 166; cf. p. 6.

<sup>633</sup> Gustafson, ‘Richard Rolle’s English Psalter’, p. 296.

<sup>634</sup> Gustafson, ‘Richard Rolle’s English Psalter’, p. 294.

approaches, to the topic represented among the Revisions contrast strikingly with Rolle's, and that the Revisions 'translate' the text into terms of concrete action as they 'adapt' it for a more active audience. Yet the 'translation' and 'adaptation' rely less on substituting action for contemplation than on reframing the issue, and the contrast lies not so much in the elevation of action above contemplation as in the problematization of their mutual exclusivity. If anything, in fact, the Revisions rather replace this dualism with the ideal of a universal 'ecclesia contemplativa', in all but name.

### *2.1.1 An Inclusive Norm*

As has been indicated above, the Revisions are uneven in their explicit treatment of contemplation, as they are uneven in their independence from Rolle more generally. But where they excise the term from a commentary, the Revisions do not simply replace it with advocacy for action. Nor, for that matter, do they simply revert to Peter Lombard's readings. In some cases, of course, the Lombard's reading itself highlights contemplation by name, such that to revert to the Lombard would be to accept another reading in terms of contemplation, albeit perhaps a less emphatic one than Rolle's.<sup>635</sup> More commonly, Rolle's references to contemplation replace more impersonal categories in the Lombard's text, while the Revisions in turn replace Rolle's specialized reading with more generic devotional categories. Thus, for instance, where Peter Lombard has the abstract 'specula' ['high prominence'] or 'speculatio' [whose meanings can include 'contemplation'] for 'Sion' at Psalm 19:3, Rolle replaces it with 'heghe contemplacioun', and the Revisions gloss 'an

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<sup>635</sup> See, for instance, Psalm 54:7, where the Lombard specifies 'requiescam' ['I shall rest'] to refer to 'in contemplatione' ['in contemplation'], col. 508.

halowed chirche of Syon' as 'gode men, despisyng þe worlde and seking heuene' in the Revisions.<sup>636</sup> At Psalm 47:3, 'mons Sion' ['Mount Zion'] again prompts the Revisions to describe 'holy chirche halowed wip Cristes blode and dowed wip his grace', where Rolle had 'men heghe in contemplacioun of god', and Peter Lombard had 'Iudaeos' ['the Jews'].<sup>637</sup> Once again, Peter Lombard reads 'mons Sion' as 'Judaea', with the additional description, 'quae primos radios fidei accepit' ['which received the first rays of faith'], Rolle reads it as 'saules heghe in contemplatife life', and the Revisions read it as 'holy chirche' and specifically 'men of hyze life fer fro lustes, þat kepen not onely pacience in tribulacioun but greetly gladeþ þerinne[. . .]' at Psalm 47:12.<sup>638</sup> Rolle replaces Lombard's 'apostoli, et aliis sanctis' ['apostles, and other saints'] with those 'in contemplatif life. & in auctorite of haly write', when interpreting 'in summis moncium' ['in the summit of the mountains'], which he translates 'in hiest of hilles', at Psalm 71:16.<sup>639</sup> The Revisions proceed to read the passage so as to indicate how faith in Christ makes one like a high mountain:

Who þat feiþfully hopeþ in Crist, abidyng him, Crist shal be his fastnyng in erþe, in heiztes of hilles, shewyng to hem into counfort þe feiþful abidyng of seyntes, þat as moost stalworþe mounteynes þurgh stedfast bileeue ouercom alle her aduersaries; aboue hom Crist lifted hem bi his grace, whanne he delyuered hem fro þe power of alle þat hatiden hem [. . .].<sup>640</sup>

Rather than either simply restoring the Lombard's abstract reading or elevating action where Rolle elevates contemplation, that is, the Revisions offer new readings of these figures in

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<sup>636</sup> *PL 191*, col. 216; ed. Bramley, p. 72; *RVs*, vol. 1, p. 248. Cf. 'speculatio', Def. II, in Charlton Lewis, Charles Short, and William Freund, *A Latin Dictionary: Founded on Andrews' Edition of Freund's Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1879).

<sup>637</sup> *PL 191*, col. 459; ed. Bramley, p. 171; *RVs*, vol. 1, p. 518.

<sup>638</sup> *PL 191*, col. 462; ed. Bramley, p. 173; *RVs*, vol. 1 p. 522.

<sup>639</sup> *PL 191*, col. 665; ed. Bramley, p. 255.

<sup>640</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 653.

generic, but accessible, terms that transcend the opposition between the categories of contemplation and action.

In fact, the Revisions eliminate references to the active life alongside the contemplative life on multiple occasions where Rolle's reading relies on their duality. The hermit's reading of the imagery in Psalm 68:35, for instance, places contemplatives before active men in an implicit hierarchy:

**Rolle: Laudent illum celi & terra: mare & omnia reptilia in eis.** *Loue him heuen and erth: the se, and all crepand in thaim.* Heuen he calles **contemplatife men**, that ere bright in life, and heghe in godis luf. the erth is **actife men, that ere laghe for warldis nedis**. the se is tha that ebbis and flowis in fleyssly likyngis. all krepand in thaim ere the bestiall wrechis that has ay thaire wambe til the erth. he couaitis that all there loue god. that is, that thai lede swilke life that be godis louynge.<sup>641</sup>

The revised version of this commentary sidesteps the very categories of action and contemplation, as well as Rolle's exaltation of contemplatives above active men:

**RVs:** Heuene may be taken here for **aungels and hi[3e] seyntes**, and þe erþe for **meke men þat traueylen þe erþe of her body to Goddes plesaunce and help of her breþeren**; þe sce ben þei þat ebben and flowen in fleishly lustes and ben vnstable, for þei trusten not feiþfully in God. All crepyng in hem ben beestly wretches þat han her wombe to þe erþe, þat trusten more in her worldly wisdom and ritchesses þat þei felen þan in God, and 3it God bi many wondres meueþ hem to preyse his name, forsakyng her lustes.<sup>642</sup>

Some suggestion of Rolle's interpretation of 'erþe' as active men remains in the replacement reading's reference to men who 'traueylen'. But whereas Rolle contrasts such men 'laghe for warldis nedis' (an ambiguous phrase that could either acknowledge their humility and service, or insinuate the lesser degree of those who must attend to worldly necessities) with those 'heghe in godis loue', the Revisions emphasize their concern with both 'Goddes plesaunce' and 'help' to their fellow men. Their counterparts in 'heuene' are not

<sup>641</sup> Ed. Bramley, p. 245. Emphasis mine.

<sup>642</sup> RVs, vol. 2, p. 637. Emphasis mine.

contemplatives, but angels and saints. By implication, the category of ‘erþe’, or ‘meke men’ busy in service to both God and other men, is the norm for the faithful in this life, rather than one of two options, and the lesser one at that.

Once again, the norm of meek service set out in the Revisions is more broadly applicable than the alternative norms of action and contemplation in Rolle’s reading. It is also more specifically applicable to contemporary readers than either Peter Lombard’s figurative reading of ‘celi’, ‘terra’, ‘mare’, and ‘omnia reptilia’ as ‘apostoli’ [‘apostles’], the ‘Ecclesia Judaeorum’ [‘the church of the Jews’], ‘gentes’ [‘Gentiles’], and ‘omnimodis homines monstruosi in peccatis’ [‘all manner of men monstrous in sin’], respectively, or his literal reading of the verse as commanding praise from all creation – ‘coelestia, terrestria, et natantia’ [‘heavenly, earthly, and swimming’].<sup>643</sup> In this, the Revisions sustain Rolle’s preference for classifications with which readers can identify and to which they can aspire, even as they eschew his categories of contemplation and action.

This is true throughout the replacements of ‘contemplation’ more generally, including those which the Revisions do draw from the Lombard. While the readings that take the place of Rolle’s emphasis on ‘contemplation’ are not mere restorations of the Lombard’s readings, and while the Revisions particularly avoid both the Lombard’s vague and impersonal readings, without devotional import, and his own rarer readings in terms of contemplation, they occasionally draw on readings from the Lombard that allow for reader identification and application. At Psalm 71:10, the Revisions opt for a reading in the *Magna Glossatura* not preserved in Rolle. Avoiding the Lombard’s own initial reading in terms of contemplation, they restore his later reading of the ‘kings of Tharsis’ as pursuers of joy, inserting it into the

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<sup>643</sup> *PL 191*, col. 640.

reading of gifts in terms of self-sacrifice that both he and Rolle expound in their discussion of contemplatives:

***RVs: Reges Tharsis et insula munera offerent; reges Arabum et Saba dona adducent.*** *Kynges of Tharse and of þe yle shuln offre ziftes; kynges of Araab and of Saba ziftes shuln bryng.* Kynges of Tharse been **þoo þat seken ioye of heuene**, and gladeþ hem in kepyng of Goddes lawe, and wastep in hem in þe holdynges of vanitees [. . .] Þise kinges ruled bi Goddes lawe, gouernyng her meyne, taken to hem bi loue and drede of Crist, offren hemsilf moost plesant sacrifice to þe Fadre of heuene.<sup>644</sup>

***Rolle*** The devil deuoures tham that lufs the erth, but kings of tharsis, that is, **contemplatif men**, that ay lokes till heven, & ar laurds of all ill stirringe, [. . .] sal offer guiftes, that is, thaim selven till christ vnfyld, & others also.<sup>645</sup>

Peter Lombard: Tharsis interpretatur *contemplatio*, in qua fixi sunt fideles, qui offerunt numera [sic], dum devoto animo seruiunt. Et est sensus: *Reges Tharsis*, id est **fideles in contemplatione fixi**, qui dicuntur reges, quia sunt dominatores vitiorum, et *insulae*, id est, qui vitia mundi circumfluentia a se excludunt, *munera offerent*, id est seipsos, dum devote seruiunt *reges Arabum et Saba*. Hae patriae diversis odoribus nares mulcent, et significat eos qui terrena dilectatione se tractant molliter[. . .] Vel iuxta interpretationes nominum totum accipi potest. Tharsis enim interpretatur *exploratio gaudii* [. . .] *Reges Tharsis*, id est **illi qui explorant verum gaudium** [. . .].<sup>646</sup>

[Tharsis is interpreted as ‘contemplation’, in which the faithful are fixed, who offer gifts, while they serve with a devoted soul. And this is the sense: ‘Kings of Tharsis’, that is the faithful fixed in contemplation, which are called kings, because they are the rulers of vices, and ‘of islands’, that is, who exclude from themselves the surrounding vices of the world, ‘offer gifts’, that is themselves, while ‘the kings of Arabia and Saba’ devotedly serve them. These countries charm the nostrils with their diverse smells, and signify those that indulge themselves softly with earthly pleasures[. . .] Or it can be taken according to the interpretations of the names. For Tharsis is interpreted ‘the exploration of joy’ [. . .] ‘The kings of Tharsis’, that is those who explore true joy [. . .]]

Hudson observes that, in shifting away from the contemplative focus witnessed in Peter

Lombard and the *Glossa Ordinaria* as well as Rolle, the revised comment ‘generalizes the

<sup>644</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 651. Emphasis mine.

<sup>645</sup> Ed. Bramley, p. 254. Emphasis mine.

<sup>646</sup> *PL 191*, cols. 662-663. Emphasis mine.

meaning, removing any possible allusion to “private religion”.<sup>647</sup> And yet the interpretation the Revisions do draw from the Lombard could invite personal response as well, and in fact by its very generality calls everyone to the self-sacrifice which Peter Lombard and Rolle had associated with the contemplative life. The potentially inclusive framing both in the Lombard’s text, ‘illi qui [ . . . ]’, and its restatement in the Revisions, ‘þoo þat [ . . . ]’ suggests a potentially inclusive note to the category of seekers of joy. Read in the context of the comment as a whole, the Revisions could even be understood to specify parameters for the devout king or authority via their expansion of the Lombard’s definition of ‘Tharsis’.

Another likely case of independent consultation of Peter Lombard occurs at the beginning of Psalm 75:

**Rolle:** NOTUS in iudea deus: in israel magnum nomen eius. *Knawen in iudee god; in israel. the grete name of him.* In verry iudee is god knowne. that is, in haly kirke that loues god in wele and wa. in israel. that is, in **contemplatife** saules, lastis the grete ioy of his name ihū.<sup>648</sup>

**RVs:** Uerrelly is God knowen in Iude: for into þe preisyng of his name in Iude þat bitokeneþ confessioun, is þe treuþe of Goddes lawe knowen and kepte, for where he is verreyli knowen bi feiþ, he duelleþ þere bi grace, liztning his louer bi vnderstandyng of his lawe, whom bi his mercy he wole saue. And in Israel his greet name: **who þat feiþfully biholdeþ God** shale fynde him moost gracious in shewyng to him his wille [ . . . ]<sup>649</sup>

Kuczynski notes that the Revisions’ comment that ‘Iude [ . . . ] bitokeneþ confessioun’ recalls the Lombard’s comment that ‘Judaea enim interpretatur *confessio*’ [‘For Judah is interpreted “confession”], as opposed to Rolle’s ‘haly kirke’.<sup>650</sup> It should also be noted that the Revisions’ reading of ‘Israel’ as ‘who þat feiþfully biholdeþ God’ could recall the Lombard’s reading of ‘Israel vero’ [‘Israel in truth’] as ‘qui Deum vident’ [‘who see God’], as opposed

<sup>647</sup> *RVs*, vol. 3, p. 1335. Hudson notes the Lombard’s first reading, but not the second in terms of joy.

<sup>648</sup> Ed. Bramley, p. 270. Emphasis mine.

<sup>649</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 690. Emphasis mine.

<sup>650</sup> Kuczynski, *Prophetic Song*, p. 171; *PL 191*, col. 705.

to Rolle's reading of Israel as 'contemplatife saules'.<sup>651</sup> 'Beholding' can indicate something more specific than 'videre' necessarily connotes. Maggie Ross contends that the term 'behold', and the 'attentively receptive' state it enjoins, mark the very 'threshold of contemplation'.<sup>652</sup> 'Beholding' is not exclusively linked with contemplation, as evident in the wide range of uses listed in the *Middle English Dictionary* and in the range of contexts in which it appears in the Psalter Commentary, and would not necessarily carry the same contemplative weight for Rolle or the revisers as it accrues over Ross's analysis.<sup>653</sup> But the significance of 'biholding' in texts exemplary of the contemplative tradition, including *The Cloud of Unknowing* and Julian of Norwich's *Revelations*, lend the term at least a certain resonance with the contemplative ideal. Apart from the term itself, the sights of God and of heaven are common tropes of contemplative literature, though again not exclusive to the genre. Rolle himself describes the vision of heaven with the 'oculus cordis' ['the eye of the heart'] as preceding his sensation of heat, sweetness, and light.<sup>654</sup> Given these broad connotations with contemplation, the replacement of 'contemplatife saules' with 'who þat feiþfully biholdeþ God' in Psalm 75, a Psalm whose exegesis Hudson remarks as distinctly Wycliffite, suggests an attempt to advocate a characteristic posture of contemplation beyond an explicitly contemplative context.<sup>655</sup> Whether they revisit categories from Peter Lombard, as in these two cases, or whether they employ independent categories, as is more typical, the Revisions tend towards substitutes for 'contemplation' (and 'action') that are both inclusive

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<sup>651</sup> *PL* 191, col. 705.

<sup>652</sup> 'Behold Not the Cloud of Experience', in Eddie Jones (ed.), *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England: Papers Read at Charney Manor, July 2011 [Exeter Symposium 8]* (Cambridge, 2013): 29-50, at p. 29.

<sup>653</sup> See 'Biholden' (v.), in the *MED*.

<sup>654</sup> See Louise Nelstrop, 'The Merging of Eremitic and "Affectivist" Spirituality', *Viator* 35 (2004): pp. 289-310, at p. 293; Nelstrop cites Watson's phrase, 'Sight of Heaven', from *Richard Rolle and the Invention of Authority* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 66, and Rolle's *Incendium Amoris* from W. M. del Mastro (trans.), *The Fire of Love and the Mending of Life* (New York, 1981), 188.24-189.6.

<sup>655</sup> See *RVs*, vol. 3, p. 1350.

enough to encompass all readers and particular enough for readers to recognize themselves; universal enough to indicate a norm and definite enough to direct readers toward it.

### *2.1.2 'Business' and 'Beholding': Disciplines of Devotion in the Revisions*

The Revisions establish a more universally, and yet more definitely, applicable devotional norm not only by their replacement of the lexis of 'contemplation' and 'action' but also by their explicit, and at times lengthy, guidance in spiritual discipline. The very existence and specificity of this guidance assumes a more proactive ideal than that set forward in Rolle's commentary. In content, too, this guidance upholds a 'busy' occupation in thought, and specifically in interpretation, that may seem to conflict with the definitional openness and passivity of contemplation. And yet this guidance revolves around approaches which Rolle himself advocates for contemplatives, reformulating them as pursuits for all readers of the Psalms.

The Revisions cast the contemplative goal of beholding, in particular, as a proactive pursuit. Directly after replacing 'contemplatife saules' with 'who þat feiþfully biholdeþ God', the comment on Psalm 75:2 implies active obedience to the law as the means to such vision:

[. . .] Forþi oure former fadres, scoymyng or wlatyng prosperite of þis wretched lif and lustes, sekyng occasioun whereinne þei miȝten plese God bi conseil of his lawe, obeishyng to his biddinges, sawe þerinne al treuþe [. . .]<sup>656</sup>

By contrast, Rolle does not detail any means to contemplation here, only its results. The basis of beholding in the law, and in intentionally 'sekyng' it out, recurs throughout this section of the Revisions, including in a fuller account of how man comes to behold God at Psalm 76:12.

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<sup>656</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 690.

I quote this comment in full in order to highlight its reliance on repeated vocabulary, as shown in bold typeface:

**Memor fui operum Domini, quia memor ero ab inicio mirabilium tuorum.**

*Menyng I was of þe werkes of þe Lord, for menyng I shal be fro þe bigynnyng of þi merueiles. Noþing makeþ more þis lif to be despised þan to **bisili þenke** upon þe werkes of þe Lord, þat is in his lawe, whereinne his werkes ben writen, not to be hid ne forzeten but to be **bisili þouzt** on and not forzeten and to worche þeraftir. For who þat sekeþ not to knowe Goddes werkes despiseþ þe wisdom of God þat wrouzte hem, and his seyntes þat deiden for þe shewyng of hem. And þerfore he seiþ ‘I shal be menyng fro þe bigynning of þi wondres’: þat is, hou wondirful þing it is to mannes knowyng þat God wold onely make man to his owne liknesse. Þe wonderful merueylousnes of þis werk, 3if it were **bisili** souzte, shulde slee alle fleshli desires in a man rauyshyng his herte to **bihold** into him whois liknes he bereþ but God, louing man souereynli, knowyng þat mannes witte sufficed not of himsilf to **biholde** þe briztnes of his Maker in his hye kynde; and nameli whanne man of his folye had put a derk cloude of his lust bitwixe God and him, wherbi man lost þe wey þat led to þe knowyng of his Maker, and fil into þe hyze wey of enemyes wherinne he was bete and spuyled and robbed of many godes. And whanne man knewe his folye and sorewed his first errour, desyryng to be liztned syng his Maker, God rewed of man and sent his owne likenes, þat is Crist, his oneli sone of his kynde, to be broþered to man in whom man shuld verreli **bihold** his Maker. Þe mynde of þise merueyles makeþ men to shame of synne, and so man is knowen feiþful in myndefulnes herof, for he preyseþ God in his wondirful werkes þat fro bigynning he haþ doon to man þat **biholdeþ** in Crist and sekeþ to folowe his steppes, for bi noon oþer weye may man come to þe heritage of heuene. Forþi despisyng þe lustes of þis life<sup>657</sup>*

At one level, this comment affirms the central goal of contemplation, maintaining the connotations of beholding with the human dependence on and receptivity to divine intervention which Ross identifies as definitional to contemplative beholding.<sup>658</sup> The Revisions present man’s beholding of God through his work, namely, the creation of man ‘to his owne liknesse’, as dependent on the ‘wonderful merueylousnes’ of God’s work ‘rauyshyng his herte to bihold him whois liknes he bereþ’. As the comment goes on to point out, ‘mannes witte sufficed not of himsilf to biholde þe briztnes of his Maker in his hye

<sup>657</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, pp. 708-709. Emphasis mine.

<sup>658</sup> ‘Behold Not the Cloud of Experience’, p. 30; notably, Ross here contrasts ‘beholding’ with ‘the legal code’ and indeed with the activity of ‘interpretation’, pp. 30, 32.

kynde', due to the 'derk cloud of his lust' with which man separates himself from God. God himself makes up for fallen man's inability to behold him by sending Christ, 'his owne likenes' and God's 'oneli sone of his kynde', so that in him 'man shuld verreli bihold his Maker' - and, ultimately, '[preyse] God in his wondirful werkes' by beholding Christ. The progression is one that begins and ends with God, with likeness to him and specifically the Incarnate Christ as the source and aim of beholding.

At the same time, the Revisions call on man to actively call God's activity to mind. They predicate the power of God's work of creation to ravish man to behold him on the condition, '3if it were bisili sou3te'. When they describe the work of redemption by which God provides for man's inability to behold him, they again link man's conversion and faith to his 'myndefulnes' of 'þise merueyles'. As well as requiring intentional activity as a prerequisite, beholding culminates in the action of imitation. Both here and in the following verse, they pair 'þe biholdyng of Crist' with 'folowyng his steppes'; this trajectory toward becoming Christlike befits the earlier emphasis on man's creation in the divine likeness and Christ's 'likenes' to God (though the context allows his 'likenes' to reflect man's instead).<sup>659</sup> The assertion of the exclusivity of the 'weye' noted here, presumably Christ's steps which are to be sought, and the earlier condemnation of those who fail to seek knowledge of God's works, identified with his law, stress the urgency, as well as the universality, of this guidance.

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<sup>659</sup> The insistence on restoring man's likeness to God by likeness to Christ in this comment aligns with the 'ethical' mode of deification Louise Nelstrop draws from Norman Russell's classification and traces in Rolle's works, *On Deification and Sacred Eloquence* (London, 2019), hereafter *On Deification*, e.g. pp. 93, 108. Cf. Russell's definition of the term, *The Doctrine of Deification in the Greek Patristic Tradition* (Oxford, 2004), p. 2, and Nelstrop's discussion of the 'ethical' approach, pp. 52-70.

The Revisions' emphasis on the active dimension of beholding contrasts strikingly with Rolle's commentary. The advocacy of busy thought, in contrast to forgetfulness, with which the Revisions begin their comment on Psalm 76:12 comes across as a pointed corrective to Rolle's comment on this verse, which advocates a kenotic forgetfulness of the world and the self:

Thus we sould pass ouer the lustis of the warld, and ioy in the werkis of god. bot that dos nane bot he that forgetis all the warld, 3a and him selfe. and anly ioyes in god.<sup>660</sup>

Where Rolle advocates forgetfulness as the only way to holiness, the Revisions frame the only way to holiness as a matter of focus on what is not to be forgotten, but 'bisili þouzt on' and worked after: the divine works of creating and redeeming man that it treats as synonymous with God's law. Peter Lombard's comment on this verse also focuses on salvation history, with Christ as its climax, and also pairs mindfulness of these works with not forgetting them.<sup>661</sup> Yet the Revisions go beyond this, and beyond Rolle, in setting forth 'bisili' thinking on specific points in salvation history as the practical solution to avoid forgetfulness of God and to achieve the contempt of the world.<sup>662</sup> Their description of a devotion characterized by the threefold repetition of the adverb 'bisili' seems diametrically opposed to 'the stilling of the mind' that, according to Louise Nelstrop, constitutes the very 'heart of contemplative prayer' for Rolle.<sup>663</sup> The same could be said of the many other

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<sup>660</sup> Ed. Bramley, pp. 274-275. Hatton 12 here does not include 'anly' but this does very little to moderate the general tenor of the comment, f. 113r.

<sup>661</sup> *PL* 191, cols.716-717.

<sup>662</sup> It is worth noting that the tenth of the *Twelve Cambridge Tracts* uses the same term, 'bisili', with reference to learning and keeping the Scriptures in articulating what Kraebel calls its 'vision of lay biblicism', *Biblical Commentary and Translation*, p. 133; cf. *Twelve Cambridge Tracts*, ed. Dove, in *The Earliest Advocates of the Wycliffite Bible*, p. 125.

<sup>663</sup> *On Deification*, p. 103. It should be noted that the English Psalter Commentary is not one of Nelstrop's main sources for her work on 'stilling the mind' in Rolle, p. 77. Moreover, as she repeatedly notes, Rolle is not a 'systematic' author, pp. 79 82, 104, 107.

instances where the Revisions introduce the lexis of business in fleshing out how to achieve the complete devotion of the mind to God usually associated with contemplation.<sup>664</sup>

And yet, for all its contrast with the apathetic and kenotic ideal which Rolle sets out here, the significance of busy thought for beholding in the Revisions hearkens back to Rolle's own association of the terms.<sup>665</sup> Rolle himself collocates 'bihaldis' with 'thynkis' in his comment on 'meditabor', which he translates 'I sall thynke', in the following verse, and moreover throughout the Psalter Commentary.<sup>666</sup> Rolle locates beholding in the faculty of thought when he speaks of 'ihu whaim i bihald in thoght', in his comment on Psalm 12:6b.<sup>667</sup> The Revisions preserve this phrase, and the subsequent discussion of singing to Christ both by the 'ioye and wonderful cryng þat falleþ to contemplatyue life' and the 'worching to honoure of him þat falleþ to actyue life'.<sup>668</sup> Notably, although they tend to follow Rolle closely in this section, and keep his language of contemplation and action, the Revisions qualify the former by predicating Christ's satisfaction in such contemplative praise on the keeping of the commandments, introducing an active, ethical dimension to it. Rolle again identifies thought as the locus of beholding, and may imply a proactive quality of such thought, in claiming, 'He is not filed in synnes that assiduelly, with the eghe of his thought, bihaldis god', at Psalm 15:8.<sup>669</sup> 'Assiduelly' becomes 'bisily' as the phrase is carried over into the Revisions, with RV1 specifically preserving the collocation of thought and

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<sup>664</sup> 'Bisnesse' connotes activity, and is associated with Martha, representative of the active life, in both the EV and LV renditions of Luke 10:40, among other translations. It has associations with devotional practice; as Ross notes, novice 'beholdyng' is characterized as 'besy' in the *Cloud of Unknowing*, 'Behold Not the Cloud of Experience', p. 46.

<sup>665</sup> On Rolle's presentation of 'apatheia', which she defines as 'the calmed mind', and its patristic roots, see Nelstrop, *On Deification*, pp. 87, 108, and 60-63.

<sup>666</sup> Ed. Bramley, p. 275.

<sup>667</sup> Ed. Bramley, p. 47.

<sup>668</sup> RVs, vol. 1, p. 128.

<sup>669</sup> Ed. Bramley, p. 54.

beholding.<sup>670</sup> RV1 draws yet another collocation of thought and beholding from Rolle's use of the terms as synonyms at Psalm 17:23. The Revisions' insertion of 'þenke' in place of Rolle's 'bihald' at Psalm 38:5b and alongside his 'bihald' at Psalm 39:5 indicate their appreciation of the close relationship of these words implied, albeit not developed, by Rolle himself.

As far as 'bisi' thought is concerned, it is true that Rolle tends to use the lexis of busyness to refer to the distractions that must be left behind for devotion, rather than for the devotional thought to which the Revisions often apply the term in the middle section.<sup>671</sup> Though the Revisions, too, occasionally use 'bisi' in this negative sense, or in the more general sense of diligence, they are more likely, to preserve, highlight, and add the lexis of 'bisynes' as collocated with that of 'þenkyng'.<sup>672</sup> Where Rolle employs 'thoght and ʒernyng' in his paraphrase of Psalm 54:23 after translating it with 'besynes', a number of revised manuscripts include 'þenkyng' alongside 'bisynes' within the translation itself, as alternative English equivalents for the Latin 'curam'.<sup>673</sup> Later in the comment on this verse, the Revisions reconstruct Rolle's point when they state that 'the bisynes of the warld gnaws vs as a worme' such that 'bisynes' is not necessarily worldly, and the worm of conscience is specifically 'þe prosperite of þis life' [. . .].<sup>674</sup> And where Rolle reads the 'fest day' ['diem

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<sup>670</sup> RV2 also replaces 'eghe of his thoght' with 'eyʒe of his soule', *RVs*, vol. 1, p. 159. For the purposes of the next chapter, it is also worth noting that RV1 identifies the 'yve' with the will and 'entent' earlier in this comment, *RVs*, vol. 1, p. 158.

<sup>671</sup> In Rolle's text, 'bisi' is most frequently collocated with 'vanytes', as in Psalms 2:2, 24:15, 27:4, 28:7, and worldliness, as in Psalm 2:2 ('werldis besynes'), 15:3 ('erthly besynes'), 17:34, 24:15, 28:7, 54:23 etc.

<sup>672</sup> The Revisions use 'bysynes' in the more negative sense at Psalm 89:5, but this reflects their general proximity to Rolle at this point, *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 871.

<sup>673</sup> Ed. Bramley, p. 198; *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 563.

<sup>674</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 563; cf. ed. Bramley, p. 198. For more on the theme of the worm of conscience in Middle English literature, see Marta Harley, 'Last Things First in Chaucer's Physician's Tale: Final Judgment and the Worm of Conscience', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 91.1 (1992): pp. 1-16, and Sarah Wood, 'A Prose Redaction of the Prick of Conscience Part VI in Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 23', *Medium Aevum* 80.1 (2011): pp. 1-17.

festum’] worked by the ‘leuyngis of thought’ [‘reliquie cogitationis’] in Psalm 75:11 as the conscience ‘restand fra besynes of any creature in erth’, the Revisions read these same ‘relikes’ as ‘þe good werkes þat folowen aftir cleen þouzt, wherinne þe louer of Crist, þenkyng bisili his preisyng and fulfilling it, a ful solempne feest he makeþ to his spouse’.<sup>675</sup> However, Rolle himself does characterize the devotional posture of attentiveness to God’s word by busyness in Psalm 49:7, and collocates ‘thynke and be besy’ in describing the penitent’s amendment of his sin at Psalm 37:19.<sup>676</sup> In insisting more heavily on the role of thinking as a means to beholding, on the mode of such thought as ‘busy’, and on the specific material for thought, the comment on Psalm 76:12 quoted at length above corrects Rolle’s comment according to a standard of coherence derived from a precedent in his own text, and extends that precedent into applicable pastoral guidance.

It is worth noting that the general goal of ‘despisyng [. . .] þis life’ articulated at the beginning and end of the comment in the Revisions affirms the general goal which Rolle articulates in this very place, even as it proffers a much more specific and proactive means to this end. Indeed, by introducing the next verse with the transition, ‘Forþi despisyng þe lustes of þis life’, the revised comment underscores how reading the Psalm text contributes to fulfilling the stated goal. By its own involved description of God’s works, the comment on Psalm 76:12 models how all readers can proactively fulfil the words of the Psalm – and the conditions for beholding God and for loving him while despising the world that it expositis from the Psalm – for themselves.

When Rolle makes a similar comment on rejecting the world for God at Psalm 79:4, the Revisions again provide more specific guidance in a more proactive, and more text-

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<sup>675</sup> Ed. Bramley, p. 272; *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 699. Cf. Trinity 93, f. 51r, as discussed in Chapter 5, section 1.1.

<sup>676</sup> Ed. Bramley, pp. 180, 141; notably Bramley records the variant ‘think besely’ in the latter case.

based, devotional ideal, but also one that more clearly contends against distracted thought by advocating focusing – if not stilling – the mind. Once again, the Revisions here both affirm and transform the trajectory from the world to God set out in Rolle’s comment, which expresses a longing foundational to the contemplative tradition:

**Deus conuerte nos: & ostende faciem tuam, & salui erimus.** *God conuert vs & shew thi face; and we sall be safe.* God turne vs fully fra the world til the. and eftire this life shew til vs the sight of thi shynyng, and than we sall be safe verryly in endles bliss.<sup>677</sup>

The initial restatement of the verse in the Revisions retains the essence of Rolle’s prayer,

‘God [. . .] turne us fully’:

God, þat in alle þinges shewest þi goodnes to us, turne us fully in al þing þat may displese þe fro þe loue of þis world þat we neiþer do ne consent to eny synne þerof, for consent in many caas is als perilous as doying of synne.<sup>678</sup>

Even as the Revisions articulate this same longing for complete conversion, the clarification that God shows his goodness ‘in alle þinges’, the qualification of the things to be turned from with ‘þat may displese þe’, and the qualification of ‘þis world’ with ‘þe loue’ of it pointedly imply the possibility of turning to God while inhabiting, appreciating, and even loving the world.<sup>679</sup> When it comes to the things in the world that do ‘displese’ God, the Revisions make the practical observation that focusing on despising the sin is less effective for displacing fleshly lusts than is focusing the mind on God and seeking his aid:

But somme men in tyme of her temptyng han þerwiþ al mynde of viilte of þe synne, and þat God is displeasid in consentyng to synne, and 3it þei gederen not in þat perilous tyme her **mynde bisili** to God, askyng his help, but þei scateren it in her lustes; and þerfore þei ben ouercomen consentyng to synne, and ofttyme doon it in dede.<sup>680</sup>

<sup>677</sup> Ed. Bramley, p. 294.

<sup>678</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 775.

<sup>679</sup> Rolle does also note the possibility of contemplative attitude in midst of busy action, with Christ as a model of this, according to Nelstrop, *On Deification*, p. 85.

<sup>680</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, pp. 775-776. Emphasis mine.

With these comments, the Revisions provide specific guidance on proactively cultivating spiritual discipline – guidance entirely absent from Rolle’s commentary. Further guidance in this comment concerns the ‘bisy warde of þe wittes’ by which, according to the Revisions, ‘vertuose lif is kept in þe soule’, again subordinating the external to the internal.<sup>681</sup> In exhorting that the five wits be ‘refreynded to þe inward mynd of þe hert’, or ‘closed’ therein, the Revisions appeal to a commonplace of devotional literature. In fact, Hudson points out that this comment ‘could again well be an independent tract that has been incorporated’.<sup>682</sup> If so, however, it has been reworked specifically to revolve around the Psalm verse, ‘Deus conuerte nos’.<sup>683</sup> The Revisions repeat the prayer in paraphrase seven times over the course of the commentary on verse 4, with the commentary material often inextricable from extended paraphrase. They take a similar approach in responding to the repetition of the prayer within the Psalm itself. The comment’s pattern of expanding on and returning to the text of the Psalm, possibly imitating the Psalm’s own use of repetition, could itself model the sort of busy thinking that focuses the mind, rather than scattering the thoughts, for its readers to imitate.

## ***2.2 Beyond the Self: Communal Devotion***

### *2.2.1 ‘Turn us altogider’: A Case Study of Psalm 79*

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<sup>681</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 776.

<sup>682</sup> *RVs*, vol. 3, p. 1376. Though I have not been able to link it to specific material in another source, it is worth noting that the allusions to the ‘wittes’ in this passage evoke a broader emphasis on the wits in late medieval devotional literature. See especially Rolf H. Bremmer, *The Fyve Wyttes: A Late Middle English Devotional Treatise* (Amsterdam, 1987).

<sup>683</sup> Hudson notes two explicit points where the material ‘is tied back to the psalm verse’, *RVs*, vol. 3, p. 1376, but I would argue the imagery of turning is more thoroughly integrated into the passage.

By making the spiritual exceptionalism of the rich interior life Rolle describes into the rule for all believers, the Revisions invite readers into not only an individual life but also a communal life characterised by shared radical purity. As the Revisions articulate and rearticulate the prayer for conversion throughout the commentary on Psalm 79, and throughout the Psalm, they apply it beyond the self to the whole body of the faithful, advancing this second distinctive element of their model of devotion. Each time the refrain, ‘Conuerte nos’, appears in Psalm 79, the Revisions highlight the prefix ‘con’ by using ‘altogidir’ when paraphrasing the refrain in the commentary.<sup>684</sup> In its stress on completeness, the term recalls the similar modifier Rolle uses, ‘fully’, but the Revisions also heighten the implication of univocity in multiplicity. Initially, the Revisions gloss ‘altogidir’ with ‘eche a part of us’, focusing on integrity within the self in contrast to hypocrisy.<sup>685</sup> On repeating the paraphrase later in this same comment, however, the Revisions also gloss ‘altogidir’ with ‘eche oen to help oþere’ in a later restatement of the prayer, focusing on integrity within a community.<sup>686</sup> Expositions of the same prayer, repeated again in verse 8 and then again in the final verse, similarly develop the communal implications of the term ‘togidir’.

As with their presentation of proactive, ‘bisi’, and yet receptive spiritual discipline, the focus on corporate spirituality marks a major revision to Rolle’s model of devotion, but not a simple replacement or antithesis. Fittingly for a hermit, Rolle’s model concerns itself above all with private devotion.<sup>687</sup> This is not to say that he entirely ignores the context of private devotion within the larger community of the church. Rolle’s subtle presupposition of a communal identity of Psalm readers, and his rare allusions to interpersonal dynamics within

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<sup>684</sup> See Psalm 79:4, 9, 20; *RVs*, vol. 2, pp. 775, 782, 790.

<sup>685</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 775. The phrase is ambiguous enough that, even here, it could refer to communal interaction.

<sup>686</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 778.

<sup>687</sup> Cf. Gustafson, ‘Richard Rolle’s English Psalter’, p. 304.

that community, contrast with the Revisions' more frequent and extensive discussions of the relationship of one member to the others and the whole in explicit terms.<sup>688</sup> Yet rather than countering Rolle's stress on private devotion with a contrasting stress on public devotion, the Revisions challenge the dichotomy between the two, just as they challenge the dichotomy between contemplative and active devotion. A closer study of how the Revisions exposit the Psalm refrain, 'Turne us altogidir', across Psalm 79 reveals their appreciation of the complex dynamics between self and community in devotion.

The commentary on the first iteration of the refrain, in verse 4, exemplifies precisely the 'collapsing [of] one into the other' that the authors of *Wycliffite Spirituality* identify as characteristic of the devotional approach across Wycliffite writings.<sup>689</sup> As already noted, it uses 'altogidir' to refer both to harmony within the self and unanimity within the community. Even as it focuses on internal devotional discipline, the discussion of personal integrity gestures toward its interpersonal context. The preliminary explanation of 'altogider' as 'ech a part of us' sets itself up against the hypocrisy of doing some wrongs and avoiding others 'for drede of mannes shame'.<sup>690</sup> Following this, the above-mentioned comments on the gathering of the mind and the closing of the wits, though most directly concerned with internal discipline, are framed by repetitions of the refrain as a counter to temptation, and specifically to consent to sin amidst temptation.<sup>691</sup> The Revisions close their discussion of the discipline of the wits and heart with the explicit claim that they avert 'not oenli þe consent of oure fleshli stirynges, but also þe consent of customable syneres'.<sup>692</sup> From this point forward, the

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<sup>688</sup> Rolle does also refer to the Psalter's use in the liturgy, though again he does not reflect on its communal significance in a direct or in-depth way; see below, section 3.

<sup>689</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, pp. 775-779; Patrick Hornbeck, Stephen Lahey, and Fiona Somerset (eds.), *Wycliffite Spirituality* (New York, 2013), pp. 15-16.

<sup>690</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 775.

<sup>691</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 776.

<sup>692</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 777.

comment turns to admonition against consent in the latter sense, specifically against becoming ‘partynere [to the] dette’ of wicked priests and thus ‘partyneres of her peyne’.<sup>693</sup> This concern over consent as a social partnership, anticipated by a more generic disavowal of becoming ‘partyneres of oþer mennes synne bi consentyng þerto’ at the beginning of the comment, colours the intervening section on internal disciplines for avoiding temptation as an element of communal life.<sup>694</sup>

Just as the discussion of interior discipline in the first part of the comment relies on its relevance to consent within a social context, the discussion of partnership in sin in this later part of the comment stresses the reliance of the community on the personal discipline of its members. The Revisions’ identification of ‘alle þat miȝte amende hem and doon not’ as partners of the priests’ sin indicates the personal responsibility of each member for the leaders of the church.<sup>695</sup> While this passage focuses on lay partnership in clerical sin, other passages, including 76:7 as discussed below, complement this by condemning clerical consent to lay sins.<sup>696</sup> The revisitation of the refrain here illustrates how this augments, rather than detracts from, the individual’s personal responsibility as it requires the ‘bisy’e discipline of the sins of others as well as one’s ‘owne’.

And þat we ben not consentyng to þe synne of þise moost horrible auouwtreses in brekyng of Goddes lawe, but **bisy’e** to amende oure owne defautes and also heres aftir þe lawe of God þat we taken not þe reproof of her synne in þe doome of Crist, beyng partyneres of her peyne, prey we to God in kepyng of his lawe þat he turne us alle togidir, eche oen to help oþere[. . .].<sup>697</sup>

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<sup>693</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, pp. 775, 778. It is worth noting that the parallelism is drawn out over a very long comment. The controversial quality of this reference to priests is evident in the excision of the term in RV2, as well as its erasure and reinsertion in Trinity College, Cambridge, B.5.25, as Hudson notes, *RVs*, vol. 3, p. 1377.

<sup>694</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 775.

<sup>695</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 777.

<sup>696</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 777.

<sup>697</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 778. Emphasis mine.

As described here, the business of spiritual discipline is neither an individualistic pursuit nor one entrusted to an institution. The prayer articulated in the Revisions explicitly seeks communal conversion based on personal and interpersonal involvement. It assumes that sin involves both personal and interpersonal responsibility.

The Revisions introduce the second iteration of the refrain, in verse 8, as an expression of just such an effort to help one's friends in the statement of context that closes the commentary on the preceding verse. In their commentary on verse 7, the Revisions acknowledge the threat such efforts to avoid and amend the sins of others can appear to pose a threat to communal integrity. They elaborate the hostile scorn lamented in the Psalm as an accusation of disrespect:

þe Prophet seiþ þat enemyes scorned us, seiying þat we **vnworshipen** oure eldres and oure neer frendes, tellyng to hem her defautes, weilyng her erroures, or for þat we leue hem for her vnquietnes and seken Crist, fadre of oure soule.<sup>698</sup>

In one sense, the commentary embraces this accusation of divisiveness and disrespect. Using the first-person plural, it attributes the 'ʒenseiying of oure neiʒebores' that provokes such accusations to a commitment to 'þe truþe' which the neighbors 'aʒenseyn', and reads the resulting conflict as a fulfilment of Christ's prophecy of the division he would bring in Matthew 10:35 and Luke 12:51-53.<sup>699</sup> And yet the Revisions also frame such division as essential for maintaining community. When the Revisions assert, 'who þat is liʒtned bi Crist shal neiþer knowe fadre, ne modre, ne sone, ne douʒtre, to consent to hem in her contrariying þe lawe of Crist', consent seems to act as a qualifier, allowing for participation in social relations without participation in sin. The comment on Psalm 76:18 confirms this possibility

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<sup>698</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, pp. 781-782. Emphasis mine.

<sup>699</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 781; cf. *RVs*, vol. 3, p. 1378.

in its appeal to non-consent as an appropriate means to ‘renounce’ anything that is not ‘a mene to loue God þerþurgh þe betre’, with specific reference to marital commitments:

Summe þinges owen to be forsaken vtterli [. . .], as lustes and prosperite of worldeli godes, and sum þing it suffiseþ to forsake to consent þerto, 3if þei enforce hem to bringe it to betre, as a meke man, hauyng a malicious wif, or a meke womman þat hap a dispitous housbonde.<sup>700</sup>

In the context of Psalm 76:18, the legitimacy of non-consent as an alternative to rejection relies on the possibility of reform, reflecting the principle that an individual member can transform the moral orientation of the community by consent or non-consent, and by moral exemplarity. Non-consent not only opens a way for continuing membership in community alongside the sinful, then; it also can and should transform the sinful community. In this vein, in discussing the apparent threat of the non-consenting back in Psalm 79:7, the Revisions can characterize those accused of divisiveness as motivated by friendship – by their desire ‘for eche mannes helpe of soule and moost his next frendes aftir þe wil of God as his lawe comaundeþ’.<sup>701</sup> According to the Revisions, one can advance his friend’s good, as well as his own, by his apparently divisive stance. In fact, it is to their mutual detriment, ‘for harme of hem boþe’, for friends devoted to different loves ‘in þat dyuerste to stonde togidir’.<sup>702</sup> Conversely, in the subsequent comment on verse 8 itself, the Revisions affirm the net benefit of such division when they refer to its orientation toward ‘her boþer gode’ (as well as ‘loue of Crist’].<sup>703</sup>

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<sup>700</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 711-12. Notably, neither the exhortation to renunciation nor the distinction of non-consent to a spouse appears in Rolle, despite Hudson’s observation that ‘the general lines are those of Rolle’s’ in this comment, vol. 3, p. 1356. As far as the intriguing pastoral concern with marriage is concerned, see below, section 3.

<sup>701</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 782.

<sup>702</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 782.

<sup>703</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 782.

Even as they take pains to justify division between friends as a means of contributing to their mutual betterment, the Revisions still take pains to distinguish division that seeks the common good in this way from that done ‘for malice’ or in pursuit of ‘wordly ritchesses’.<sup>704</sup> In such a case, the Revisions echo the accusation of the enemies raised in the comment on the previous verse, warning, ‘who þat forsakeþ his freendes for þat cause **vnworshipeþ** hem’.<sup>705</sup> The Revisions counter this self-seeking approach, not only by their broader exposition of the refrain, ‘converte nos’, throughout this comment on its second iteration as a prayer for communal health, but also by an additional reading of the refrain as an expression of self-searching here. Immediately after restating the refrain’s function as a prayer for friends, they offer a second reading:

Here we ben tauzte, whanne eny reproof or azenseyng is putt to us, to goo and prey God of vertues to turne us, þat is þat he turne us in ouresilf to seke ouresilf leste þe cause of oure reproof be in ouresilf. And ȝif we fynde not þe cause in us, drede we enauntre we deseruen not to knowe it, and putte we not þe deseruyng of reproof fro us, siþ it may be for old synne doon bifore [. . .]<sup>706</sup>

This sensitivity to the complexity of refusing consent within the commentary adds poignancy to the following reiterations of the refrain as a prayer for unity in conversion among friends.

If non-consent is a mode of contribution to the larger community, it is also a foundation for a new community, according to the Revisions. The comment on verse 8 implies such a community as a counterpart to division when it describes how Christ’s lovers leave their friends and ‘sekiþ among straungeres þe loue of Iesu Crist’.<sup>707</sup> The Revisions uphold this ideal of community more explicitly in their exposition of the final repetition of

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<sup>704</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, pp. 782-783.

<sup>705</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 783. Emphasis mine.

<sup>706</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 783.

<sup>707</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 782.

the refrain at the end of the Psalm. It is worth quoting the commentary on verse 20 at length simply to observe how it relies rhetorically on the repetition of the word ‘common’:

**Rolle: Domine deus virtutum conuerte nos: & ostende faciem tuam & salui erimus.** *Lord god of vertus turne vs: and shew thi face, and we sall be safe.* Lord god, of vertus gifere and makere, turne vs fra alde life till new: and shewe thi face till vs. When we pass out of this warlde, and than we sall be safe with the.<sup>708</sup>

**RVs:** [. . .] And in þe ordre of þis verse is al perfeccioun of clene religioust: first euerych trewe religious man haþ drede and loue of þe lord God, bileeuyn þat alle vertues ben in him, and þat Cristis lif was moost vertuou for it was moost **commune** not to þe worlde, but acordyn wip al seyntes þat weren bifore him and þat shulde come aftir. And þurgh þis drede to offende þis Lord, and þis loue to kepe his biddyn in stedfast bileeue, þei ben turned alle togidir into his **commune** wey, sekyng þerinne þe liknes of him in þouȝt, in word and dede, haueyn him to abbot, heryng him and noon oþer, for he haþ þe **comune** vois and moost loueþ þe **comune** profit. And whanne þei ben turned alle togidir into þis **comune** wey, þei desiren þanne to se þe face of þe Lord, for þanne þei shamen not of noon newe riȝt of singularite, for þe loue þerof and þe vsage shale make men so to shame in Cristis biholdyn þat þei shulen seye to mounteynes ‘Ouerwhelme us þat we see not þe face of þe Domesman.’ For, as al feiþful religious for it was comune aftir Goddes lawe, hatyn syngularite, shulen glade in Cristis biholdyn, coueytyng his comyn to þe dome, trustyn to his help, so synguler religious, hatyn **comune** þing as her appropriaciounes prouen, shulen moost drede in Cristis biholdyn, for despeir of his help. But in þat biholdyn shulen feiþful men of þe **comune** religioun of Crist for her likenesse liik to him, louyn þe **comune** profit more þan her owne, as he dide, receyue of his hond þe coroun of glorie and be saued in heuene.<sup>709</sup>

Rolle’s comment here, like his comments on the previous iterations of this prayer, takes on the first-person plural voice from the verse. The Revisions, however, reflect at length on various facets of a ‘common’ identity, returning to the term again and again in various contexts, and denouncing its opposite, ‘singularite’.<sup>710</sup> The latter term, too, has many senses, including the potentially positive sense of single-mindedness.<sup>711</sup> Rolle employs it in this sense when he refers to ‘syngularite’ being ‘halden in haly men. for thei sett all thaire herte to

<sup>708</sup> Ed. Bramley, p. 287.

<sup>709</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, pp. 790-791. Emphasis mine.

<sup>710</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 790.

<sup>711</sup> ‘Singularite’ (n.), in *MED*; see esp. Def. 3b.

luf anly a god' in his comment on Psalm 4:10, 'singulariter in spe constituisti me' ['syngulerly in hope has sett me'].<sup>712</sup> In that context, the Revisions retained the term from the Psalm text, but taking care to specify its sense, 'singulerly, þat is oneli in a trewe hope lastyngly [. . .] knowyng þat God is to be loued oneli'.<sup>713</sup> The clarification is all the more important because the term also carries connotations with 'solitary living', autonomy, and even defiant distinctiveness.<sup>714</sup> Alicia Smith argues that Rolle himself held single-mindedness and solitude as closely related, with its conduciveness to single-mindedness being a major reason for the superiority of the solitary life, but also held these both as closely related to the unity of purpose of the whole church.<sup>715</sup> Far from completely subverting Rolle, then, the Revisions express an essentially conventional concern when they condemn 'singularite', in the sense of individualism, and uphold the 'comun' life. Ironically, the very same accusation came to be levelled against the Lollards themselves.<sup>716</sup> In levelling it against those following the 'newe riȝt', presumably the rising tide of mendicant friars so often criticized in Lollard works, the Revisions in fact appeal to a commonplace of the contemplative tradition itself.<sup>717</sup>

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<sup>712</sup> Ed. Bramley, pp. 17-18.

<sup>713</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, pp. 36-37.

<sup>714</sup> 'Singularite' (n.), *MED*, Defs. 1a, 1b.

<sup>715</sup> For a discussion of 'singularite, separation, and solitude' in Rolle's work, including the English Psalter Commentary, see Alicia Smith, *Anchortic Prayer in Time: Enclosure and Encounter, c. 1080-1350* (Unpublished DPhil Thesis, Oxford, 2020), pp. 269ff; see especially her discussion of the relationship of 'anhede' within the self and within the whole church, p. 272. She argues that Rolle's English Psalter Commentary 'communicates and performs' the foundations of 'single-mindedness' in 'the unity of the church with the faithful in heaven', p. 284, as well as discussing the role of anchorites like Rolle within the community. See also Timothy Glover's argument for the pastoral dimension of Rolle's oeuvre in his thesis, *The Pastoral Solitary: Contemplative Life and the Care of Souls in the Works of Richard Rolle* (Unpublished DPhil Thesis, Oxford, 2022), p. 9.

<sup>716</sup> E.g. by Pecock; see Anna Lewis, "'Give the Reason for the Hope that you Have": Reginald Pecock's Challenge to (Non-)Disputing Lollards', *Studies in Philology*, 112:1 (2015): pp. 36-97, at p. 42.

<sup>717</sup> Compare also the reference to 'appropriaciounes'; cf. Hudson's comment on more general criticism of this practice, *RVs*, vol. 3, p. 1380.

Against this danger, the Revisions set the norm of a community of devotion. As they appeal to the traditional monastic ideal, they expand it to include ‘euerych trewe religious man’ - a phrase which plays on the multivalence of ‘religious’ to refer to holy orders and more general devotion, collapsing the distinction - under a single abbot: Christ.<sup>718</sup> Incidentally, the image here is one that recurs in Wyclif’s writings, where he speaks of his followers as an order with Christ as its prior or abbot.<sup>719</sup> Though he refers to his followers as a ‘sect’, Wyclif would come to equivocate this sect with the very ‘fides catholica’ [‘catholic faith’] that, he insists, serves as its ‘regula’ [‘rule’].<sup>720</sup> Here, too, radical devotion is presented categorically as the norm for the whole church even as it also appears distinctive. Starkly contrasting with the ‘newe riȝt’, Christ’s authority derives from his commonness: the life with more in ‘commune’ with saints both preceding and succeeding him than with ‘þe worlde’; ‘þe comune vois’ he has; his love of ‘þe comune profit’.<sup>721</sup> Christ’s commonness emerges as definitive elsewhere in the Revisions. At Psalm 68:11, the Revisions introduce the topos of Christ’s commonness ‘in etyng and drynkyng’ and his love of the ‘comoun profyt of þe peple’, as opposed to the ‘syngularite’ by which the ‘ypocrytes [. . .] deceyueden her breþren’; they similarly introduce the topos of the ‘commune profit þat Crist deyed fore’ in Psalm 74:11.<sup>722</sup> The comment on Psalm 79:20 stresses the correlated commonness of Christ’s followers; ‘turned alle togidir into his commune wey’, they are to love ‘þe comune

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<sup>718</sup> See the *MED* for the alternative definitions of ‘religious’ (adj.) as relating to ‘a religious order’ (Def. 1), on the one hand, or ‘devout, pious’, though also, potentially, ‘observant of monastic spirituality’ (Def. 2), on the other. Cf. ‘religious’ (adj.), in the *OED*, and ‘religiosus’ (adj.), in the *DMLBS*, for similar multivalence.

<sup>719</sup> Wilks cites numerous examples from across Wyclif’s corpus, contextualizing them in Wyclif’s affinities with the Spiritual Franciscans, *Wyclif: Political Ideas and Practice*, p. 188. See also Nicole Rice’s discussion of late medieval English works that ‘translate’ monastic piety for lay readers, *Lay Piety and Religious Discipline in Middle English Literature* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 17ff.

<sup>720</sup> *De fundatione sectarum*, 3, ed. Buddensieg, in *John Wyclif’s Polemical Works in Latin*, p. 22. Cf. Wilks, *Wyclif: Political Ideas and Practice*, p. 188.

<sup>721</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 790.

<sup>722</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, pp. 629, 689.

profit more þan her owne'.<sup>723</sup> Devotion to a common God, that is, involves devotion with and to the community of all the devout; true religion is 'comune religioun'.<sup>724</sup>

### 2.2.2 Communal Guilt: A Case Study of Psalm 76

Their sensitivity to this mutual impact emerges as the Revisions give expression to the personal experience of communal sin. The revised commentary on Psalm 76 in particular models the individual soul's sorrow over the sins of others as it reads the soul's complaint in verses 2-10 as referring to internal pain over the sins of the whole people. Their first comment on the Psalm identifies its voicing as corporate, recovering Peter Lombard's reading of the attribution to Asaph as 'fidei congregationi': 'þis is þe vois of þe gederung togider of feiþful men'.<sup>725</sup> At the same time, it also locates the voice of the Psalm within the self, paraphrasing the Psalm as spoken 'wiþ vois of myn hert wiþouten consentyng to yuel', and stating, 'þis crie of vois is a mannes loue, þat is proued, as Crist seiþ, bi keypyng of his word'; in this, it echoes Rolle's paraphrase of the Psalm, 'with voice of my hert and brennand desire', and his statement that 'oure crynge is oure lufe'.<sup>726</sup> It stresses the personal possessive quality of this voice, contrasting the speaker's cry on his own behalf against crying 'wiþ oþer mennes voices' - 'a veiled attack on the value of chantry chapels and of prayers offered by those in private religion for others', as Hudson notes.<sup>727</sup> The revised commentary proceeds both to echo the Psalm text and Rolle in employing the first person and to elaborate the intra-psychological drama, naming different faculties as they operate: the 'desiryng' of 'myn affeccious', signified by 'myn eiþen' in verse 5, and 'þe resoun of my

<sup>723</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 791.

<sup>724</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 790.

<sup>725</sup> *RVs* Psalm 76:1, vol. 2, p. 702; cf. *PL 191*, col. 711.

<sup>726</sup> *RVs* Psalm 76:2, vol. 2 p. 702. Cf. ed. Bramley, pp. 272, 273.

<sup>727</sup> *RVs* Psalm 76:2, vol. 2, p. 702; cf. Hudson's note, *RVs*, vol. 3, p. 1354.

soule', signified by the thinking of 'myn herte', as it seeks explanation in verse 7.<sup>728</sup> If the intra-psychological language is merely figurative, applying the analogy of the community of the faithful with the nature of the soul, then it overwhelms what it represents, if only because it extends over the course of the commentary rather than at the beginning of a single comment.<sup>729</sup> It seems more likely that in introducing the Psalm as spoken by 'þe gederig' of the 'feipful', the Revisions refer to how it articulates the common internal experience of individual faithful men - or simply seek to preserve the Lombard's reading paratactically alongside Rolle's.

In any case, the Revisions assume that the internal voice of the individual can and should lament the sins of the community, as evident in its summary of the soul's complaint: 'Al þis wondryng þe Prophet makeþ for þe malice of þe puple'.<sup>730</sup> By their introspective appropriation of the prophet's words, the Revisions invite the reader to join in the voice of the soul searching itself and finding the sins of others - or indeed the 'consentyng to opere' of others - a source of sorrow.<sup>731</sup> The comment on verse 7 is representative as a model of personal sorrow over communal sin:

I þouzt in niȝt wiþ myn herte: þat is, wiþ al þe resoun of my soule I souzte þe ground of þis error; in niȝt: þat is, in tyme of plenteuous synnyng, whi þe puples weren þus deceyued bi lesynges of her lederes. And I was long vsed or traueyled in þis þenkyng, in seking dyuerse resouns, swepyng my spirit, purgyng out al occasioun of fil þe þat miȝt lette me to se þis hydous vengeance and dampnable fallyng of þe multitude of puple. And whanne al aboute I had souzte resoun herof, it semed to me þe synne of

<sup>728</sup> RVs Psalm 76:5, vol. 2, pp. 704, 705; cf. ed. Bramley, pp. 273-274. Notably, however, the Revisions omit Rolle's reference to 'contemplacioun' at verse 5, while introducing the language of 'consentyng to opere' and of 'biholdyng'. The first-person singular only runs up to a point; at v. 8, the Revisions, following Rolle, switch to 'As who seip'.

<sup>729</sup> The verse thus serves as yet another example of the analogy of 'collapse' of the analogy of individual and corporate entities referred to in Patrick Hornbeck *et al.*, *Wycliffite Spirituality*, pp. 15-16; cf. also Fiona Somerset's discussion of the collapse of the analogy in Wyclif's own writings, 'Before and After Wyclif: Consent to Another's Sin in Medieval Europe', in Patrick Hornbeck and Michael Van Dussen (eds.), *Europe After Wyclif* (New York, 2017): 135-172, at pp. 143-144.

<sup>730</sup> RVs Psalm 76:10, vol. 2, p. 707.

<sup>731</sup> RVs Psalm 76:5, vol. 2, p. 704.

commune puple was cause of þis vengeance: for neiþer good ne yuel may laste in comunte wiþouten consent þerof.<sup>732</sup>

As the commentary attributes the soul's trouble to consent to sin within the community, it also attributes the state of the community to the consent of its members. Both the moral condition of the community and that of its members, that is, depend on the orientation of the members, which in turn respond to the orientation of the community.

### 3. A Profile of the Audience

The reframing of Rolle's vision of the interior life intimates not only certain differences in preoccupation on the part of the revisers, whoever they might have been, but also a difference in intended audience.<sup>733</sup> The Revisions' emphasis on communal devotion opens up the possibility of their connection with a communal setting, while their emphasis on the universality and proactiveness of such devotion opens up the possibility of their connection with lay contexts; again, the Lollard 'scole' comes to mind. Alongside the changes in vocabulary analyzed above, a number of stylistic changes particularly lend the Revisions to use within such contexts. It will have become evident by this point that the revised comments can run to much greater lengths than Rolle's originals. Hudson has suggested that several of these disquisitions on specific themes, including the extensive comment on Psalm 79:4 (of which less than a quarter is quoted above), could represent 'independent tract[s] [. . .] incorporated' into the commentary.<sup>734</sup> Though they tend to refer back to themes running through a given Psalm, and though other comments on the same Psalm or others may refer back to them, these comments have an internal coherence, not to

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<sup>732</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, pp. 705-706.

<sup>733</sup> Though I do not discuss the identity of the revisers in depth here, I do discuss their intellectual milieu, as well as further evidence for their reformist sympathies, in Chapter 5, section 2.

<sup>734</sup> *RVs*, vol. 3, p. 1376.

mention a pastoral pertinence, that would permit them to be read aloud in a homiletic or instructive context. Features such as questions and answers add to the homiletic and instructive tone. The Revisions develop some of their interrogatives from Rolle's own text or the verse itself (e.g. Psalm 38:7b-8 or 79:5), but frequently add them in to tease out the point of Rolle's commentary (e.g. Psalm 121:1), to mark the development of their exposition (e.g. Psalm 1:5, where they state and then contradict Rolle's final comment, and Psalm 68:30), to draw readers into the Psalm (Psalm 75:5), and perhaps even to model the extrapolation of key doctrines from the Psalm text (e.g. Psalm 114:1). Notably, the Revisions introduce this interrogative and even catechetical tone over the course of the whole Psalter, suggesting that this pedagogical approach – and the implication of an audience to teach, perhaps even by reading aloud – was something held in common over whatever shifts might have occurred during the course of the revision project.

If indeed the revisers had the possibility of a group audience in mind, the question then arises: what sort of people might this group comprise? As well as avoiding elevating the contemplative calling, the middle section of the Revisions in particular avoids denigrating lay callings. In the process of rewriting Rolle's hierarchies involving contemplation, they also drop his placement of 'married men' lower in those hierarchies (e.g. Psalm 79:3). Moreover, the Revisions also set pastoral examples in the context of marriage, as evident in the example of Psalm 76:18 quoted above. It is possible, of course, that the implied audience of 'weddid men' could include or comprise married priests. Patrick Hornbeck adduces evidence that 'Wyclif did not consider holy orders a bar to marriage, nor vice versa', although he did not positively advocate the possibility *per se*, and that Wycliffites after him insisted on 'the

legitimacy, if not in fact the necessity, of clerical marriage'.<sup>735</sup> At the same time, he traces in both Wyclif and later dissidents a strain of ambivalence toward marriage.<sup>736</sup> The Revisions' pastoral interest in the married provides a foil to the elevation of virginity and chastity evident in some Wycliffite materials, as well as in much of the contemplative tradition, further diversifying the range of positions on marriage and sexuality represented in Wycliffite and contemporary materials. This, alongside the Revisions' stress on lay as well as clerical responsibility for the current state of the church, implies that they anticipated a lay remit for their interpretations, if only as conveyed through the literacy of an immediate clerical audience.

Certain aspects of presentation could imply the Revisions' use in extra-institutional environments of the type hypothesized for Bodley 554 and perhaps Trinity 93. For instance, Kuczynski notes the presence of notas and ruling for glosses in Richardson 36 and London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 34, alongside preaching notes in Oxford, University College MS 74 (hereafter University College 74).<sup>737</sup> At the same time, most copies of the Revisions are too cumbersome to allow for this use, being better suited for the more permanent institutional environments to which the larger copies of the Wycliffite Bible, including those with glossed Psalters, also lend themselves. Not only do the manuscripts of the Revisions share with many WB copies the secular liturgical divisions of the Psalter; the text of Rolle's commentary alludes to the liturgical use of the Psalter at various points, noting, for instance, the penitential function of Psalm 6, and the use of Psalms 62 and 66 together in the morning

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<sup>735</sup> 'Theologies of Sexuality in English "Lollardy"', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 60 (1): pp. 19-44, at pp. 27, 32.

<sup>736</sup> 'Theologies of Sexuality in English "Lollardy"', pp. 22, 33.

<sup>737</sup> *Prophetic Song*, pp. 185-188.

office.<sup>738</sup> Though the Revisions omit Rolle's comments on the use of Psalms 62 and 66 at Lauds, they do, following Rolle, describe 'þe seuen psalmes of þe whiche þis is þe firste' at Psalm 6.<sup>739</sup> The revised Prologue also preserves Rolle's comment that the Psalter 'of al holy writte is most vsed in holy chirches seruice', a comment that frequently recurs in prologues or introductions to the Psalter in Wycliffite manuscripts.<sup>740</sup>

Various other recurring habits of the revisers assume an audience with a degree of scholarly interest and competence. Rolle's Psalter Commentary is notoriously sparse in its references to its sources. While the Revisions, in a similar vein, are much less assiduous in quoting their sources here than are most of the sources examined earlier in this thesis, and never name Rolle himself within the text, they do make a few gestures to the scholarly tradition; for instance, they engage with what 'summe doctoures seyn' at Psalm 80:8.<sup>741</sup> Moreover, they add many cross-references, both to other Psalms and to passages from across the Old and New Testaments, in their comments (e.g. Psalm 78:10, Psalm 80:13, Psalm 69:6). Such references display, of course, the breadth of the revisers' scriptural knowledge, but also capitalize on a comparable degree of familiarity on the part of their readers. Likewise, the grammatical and etymological points raised in the Revisions, independently of Rolle, though sometimes aligning with Peter Lombard, are more likely to have been meaningful to an audience already accustomed to thinking along these lines.

The interest in Old Testament contexts in particular fits with a more general Wycliffite tendency observed across Wycliffite materials on the Psalms. Compared with

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<sup>738</sup> Ed. Bramley, pp. 21, 218, 230. Rolle refers to the office as 'lauds' in introducing Psalm 62, but as 'matyns' in concluding his comments on 66, reflecting the equivocation of the terms described in more detail in Fernand Cabrol's entry for 'Matins' in *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York, 1911), 15 vols., vol. 10.

<sup>739</sup> *RVs*, vol. 1, p. 45.

<sup>740</sup> *RVs*, vol. 1, p. 5; cf. ed. Bramley, p. 4.

<sup>741</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 795.

these other materials, the Revisions include relatively little scholarship on the original context of the Psalms, but compared with Rolle, they have added significantly in this regard. They add appeals to Mosaic civil laws at Psalms 80:11 and 74:11, for instance, interpreting these spiritually in relation to the passages.<sup>742</sup> Another feature the Revisions hold in common with Bodley 554 and Trinity 93 is the presence of alternatives in the translation and interpretation of the Psalms; again, this is much rarer in the Revisions than in the other Wycliffite Psalm materials, but much more frequent in the Revisions than in Rolle's original, occurring, for instance, at Psalm 73:9 and 78:10.

Both types of addition link the Revisions to the Wycliffite project of opening up the process of Psalm interpretation. And yet the Revisions tend to elaborate the interpretation itself much more thoroughly than the Psalter glosses or the Trinity 93 entries, which more obviously serve as toolkits for instruction in interpretation. That is not to say, however, that the Revisions fail to encourage readers to engage with the Psalter for themselves. On the contrary: the Revisions may not offer the reader multiple ways of reading a given passage for the reader to adjudicate between or synthesize as often as the Bodley 554 glosses or Trinity 93 tend to do, but that is because they concentrate on modeling a particularly direct way of eliciting personal meaning from the Psalms. The Revisions may not classify the affective power of different Psalms as does Trinity 93, but that is because they concentrate on modeling participation in the affective dimensions of the Psalms. Furthermore, the layout in most copies of the Revisions may not lend itself to praying the Psalms directly as most copies of the Wycliffite Psalms or the Primer do, but at the same time the Revisions could be said to model expanding and transposing the Psalms into personal or corporate prayer; rather than

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<sup>742</sup> In the case of Psalm 80:11, Hudson notes that Bodley 288 cross-references Exodus 21:33-4 in the margins, p. 1384.

preempting readers' own involvement, the performance of prayer within the commentary could prompt readers' fuller engagement with the Psalm text. As described in this chapter, the Revisions' own approach to engaging the readers in the text of the Psalms – or, rather, the approach the Revisions appropriate and adapt from Rolle's Psalter Commentary – is fundamentally one that calls for 'bisi' engagement on the part of their readers.

## Chapter 5

### ‘Playing’ the Psalter: Wycliffite Psalm Ethics

*This book is cleped þe Sauter, þe whiche name it hap of an instrument of musyk þat in Hebrew is cleped nablum, in Greek sautry of salme, þat in Englisshe is to touche, and it is of ten cordes and ziueþ þe soune fro þe ouer þurgh touchinge of honde. Also þis book lerneþ to kepe þe ten commaundementes, and to worche not for erþeli þing, but onely for heuene þat is abouen, and so ziueþ soune fro heuene where oure loue is; at þe touching of oure honde, þat is, in trewe worchinge aftir Cristis bidyng, whan al þat we wolen do is for Goddes loue.<sup>743</sup>*

#### Introduction

Far from an appendix to interpretation, the process of participating in the text by embodying it is definitional to the Psalter itself. Tangibility is written into the very name of the book, according to the etymology for ‘Sauter’ set out in the prologue to the Revisions, which echoes the expositions set out by both Peter Lombard and Rolle. As references to the psaltery (and related instruments) recur throughout the text of the Psalms, the image serves to cue the transposition of word into work throughout the Revisions, as well as in Bodley 554 and Trinity 93. When Psalm 91:4 affirms praising God with the ‘sautri of ten cordes’ (from the Latin ‘in decacordo psalterio’, or ‘with a ten-stringed psaltery’), both the Revisions and Bodley 554 equate this with the ‘kepyng’ of the Decalogue.<sup>744</sup> Both underscore the moral thrust of the verse with their readings of the Psalm’s subsequent affirmation of ‘song in þe harpe’ (from the Latin ‘cantico in cythara’, or ‘with song on the harp’): Bodley 554 with its

<sup>743</sup> Revised Prologue, *RVs*, vol. 1, p. 5; cf. Rolle’s Prologue, ed. Bramley, pp. 3-4, and Peter Lombard’s ‘Praefatio’, *PL 191*, cols.55-56.

<sup>744</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 881; *B554 91:4/776*, vol. 1, p. 149.

gloss paralleling ‘word and werk’, and the Revisions with their expansion of the imperative to proclaim God’s goodness ‘wiþ song of swete loouynges in þe harpe of slauþtre of fleshli vices’.<sup>745</sup> Again, when Psalm 80:3 references ‘a myrie sawtree wiþ an harpe’, Bodley 554 cites Augustine to explain this as an injunction to ‘answere 3e bi goode werkis of þe bodi to þe prechyng of Goddis word’.<sup>746</sup> When Psalm 146:7 commands singing with the harp, both the Revisions and Trinity 93, following Peter Lombard, urge the reader to conjoin works and voice, just as the hand joins the voice in playing the harp.<sup>747</sup> And when Psalm 97:5 enjoins singing with the harp among other instruments, the Revisions urge readers to harmonize voice and action; all three, in fact, gloss the making of music in this verse in terms of moral living.<sup>748</sup>

Much of the resonance among the glosses on music-making across these materials derives ultimately from how closely each work echoes its own sources, and how extensively these sources overlap. More generally speaking, the extension of interpretation into moral action is not only a recurring theme in Wycliffite hermeneutics but also an established trope in medieval hermeneutics more generally, and one especially prominent in medieval expositions of the Psalter.<sup>749</sup> As well as expressing the assumed *telos* of Psalm reading across the Wycliffite corpus, the Revisions’ declaration of the Psalter’s ‘entent [. . .] to confourme

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<sup>745</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 881; *B554* 91:4/777, vol. 1, p. 149.

<sup>746</sup> *B554* 80:3/666, vol. 1, p. 130.

<sup>747</sup> ‘And synge to him in þe harpe, wher þe hond foloweþ þe voice, so þe voice of loouing folowe gode werkes’ *RVs*, vol. 3, p. 1098; ‘preyse God *with* voice & werk, as *in* herping þe hand is ioyned to þe voice’, Trinity 93, f. 67r. Cf. *PL* 191, col. 1277.

<sup>748</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 901; *B554* 95:6/816, vol. 1, p. 157; Trinity 93, f. 56v.

<sup>749</sup> Kuczynski aptly observes that reading the text by living it, ‘transforming and adapting the divine Word into exemplary thoughts, words, and deeds’, was, for the Wycliffites, ‘the highest and most authoritative form of biblical glossing’, ‘Glossing and Glosses’, p. 367. Kuczynski elsewhere observes that the ‘concept of the Psalms as moral and social discourse [. . .] is rooted firmly in the Psalter itself and in the prominent medieval commentaries on it, especially Augustine’s *Enarrationes*’, ‘The Psalms and Social Action’, p. 184. His close readings of various medieval commentaries in that essay and in *Prophetic Song* further illumine the ubiquity of moral Psalm reading, albeit in diverse forms.

men þat ben filed þurgh synne of olde Adam to cristen mannes liif þurgh grace of new Adam' serves as a microcosm of the *traditio* by which the assumption was passed across the generations of Psalm exegetes.<sup>750</sup> The Revisions slightly expand Rolle's translation of Peter Lombard's comment in his Preface to the Psalter – the same comment which, incidentally, Trinity 93 also translates in stating the 'intent' of Psalm 1.<sup>751</sup> However, it is worth noting that the selection processes behind the Revisions, Trinity 93, and Bodley 554 and associated glosses seem to have retrieved a high proportion of commentary material highlighting the Psalter's relevance to moral living, in keeping with the broader reformist impulse that has become synonymous with Wycliffism.

Given the importance of living the text in their hermeneutic context, and given the characterization of the 'Sauter' itself as a text to be lived in the Revisions, Bodley 554, and Trinity 93, a study of how Wycliffite approaches to exegesis operate in the practice of Psalm interpretation cannot be complete without a discussion of the practical outworking of the Psalms in action. Of course, in one sense, the lived dimension of Psalm glossing cannot be reconstructed from the limited information that survives about the producers and users of these materials. The interrogation must focus on how the texts themselves model ethical reading of the Psalms rather than how or whether readers embodied this guidance. And yet the texts themselves give few direct imperatives or concrete details to specify how readers should live the Psalms in a contemporary context, and even fewer citations of specific commandments enjoined in specific Psalms. They leave, that is, much of the ethical work of determining how to read the text as it applies practically to concrete situations, as well as the work of putting this reading into action, to their readers. On the one hand, this underscores

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<sup>750</sup> *RVs*, vol. 1, p. 6.

<sup>751</sup> Cf. Rolle, ed. Bramley, p. 4; *PL 191*, col. 59; Trinity 93, f. 36r.

that ethical reading must inevitably culminate in reader participation, compounding the paradox of trying to understand it through the text alone. At the same time, this chapter seeks to put forward this element of choice as fundamental to the ethical model of Wycliffite Psalm commentary.

Though it cannot trace the ethical model of Wycliffite Psalm commentary through to its outcomes, the chapter traces from this ethical approach back to the theological model it exemplifies. After describing this ethical approach and identifying the orientation of the will as central to it, the chapter thus turns to situate the understanding of the will expressed in these Psalter commentaries in the context of specifically Wycliffite contributions on the role of the will – including Wyclif’s own position.

## **1. The Ethical Model of the Wycliffite Psalms**

### ***1.1 Interior Ethics***

Even the exhortations to play the Psalter as an instrument assume an interior impetus for the action. In describing the psalter, the Revisions, like Rolle and the Lombard before them, note not only the means of playing by ‘touchinge of honde’, but also the source of the sound, namely, ‘fro þe ouer’.<sup>752</sup> Just as the instrument ‘ʒiueþ þe sounne fro þe ouer’, the Revisions explain, the book ‘ʒiueþ sounne fro heuene where oure loue is’ because it teaches working ‘onely for heuene þat is abouen’.<sup>753</sup> The justification for the analogy in heaven’s own height derives from Peter Lombard’s statement, also translated in Rolle’s Prologue: ‘liber iste docet bene operari, non pro terrenis, sed pro coelestibus, quae sursum sunt’ [‘this book teaches how to work well, not for earthly things, but for heavenly things, which are

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<sup>752</sup> *RVs*, vol. 1, p. 5; Rolle, ed. Bramley, pp. 3-4; *PL 191*, cols. 55-56.

<sup>753</sup> *RVs*, vol. 1, p. 5.

above’].<sup>754</sup> The parallelism in the origins of sound from above and from heaven likewise has its source in Rolle, though Rolle states that ‘we gif soun fra vaward’, whereas in the Revisions the subject is implicitly the book itself.<sup>755</sup> The phrase, ‘where oure loue is’, however, is an addition on the part of the Revisions, highlighting the origins of Psalm-based action in an interior disposition.<sup>756</sup> Indeed, the Revisions also turn their focus to the internal motivation for action when they add an explanation of the manual operation of the Psalter as ‘trewe worchinge aftir Cristis biding, whan al þat we wolen do is for Goddes loue’. This concern with the internal dimension of action colours numerous iterations of the instrument topos. At Psalm 149:3, the Revisions, following Rolle, read the instruments in terms of internal attitudes and actions that characterize praise; they read ‘in choro’, or ‘in croude’, as ‘in perfitest charite whan no strif schal be but derrest onehed’, and ‘in tympano et psalterio’, or ‘in tabour and in sautri’, in terms of ‘ioie’ in ‘sleyng of fleschli vices’ and ‘goostli werkes of gode ensauple’, respectively.<sup>757</sup> Bodley 554 states the internal origin of the music even more clearly as it articulates a similar reading of ‘in a tympan and sautree’: ‘bi þese instrumentis is signefied abundaunce of goostli ioie þat comeþ fro þe soule wiþinne’.<sup>758</sup> Similarly, the readings of the instruments at Psalm 97:5 in all three texts indicate internal responses to different external situations.<sup>759</sup>

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<sup>754</sup> *PL 191*, cols. 55-6.

<sup>755</sup> Ed. Bramley, pp. 3-4.

<sup>756</sup> *RVs*, vol. 1, p. 5.

<sup>757</sup> *RVs*, vol. 3, p. 1106; cf. Rolle, ed. Bramley, p. 490, and *PL 191*, col. 1288. In adding ‘of gode ensauple’ to Rolle’s ‘gastly werke’, a translation of Peter Lombard’s ‘spirituali operatione’ [‘by spiritual work’], the Revisions draw attention to the public dimension of this internal attitude. Cf. Chapter 4, section 2.2.

<sup>758</sup> *B554 149:3/1316*, vol. 2, p. 39. Cf. Lyra, col. 1588. Michael Kuczynski notes that Lyra’s comment is also preserved ‘verbatim’ in Wyclif’s *Postilla*, as preserved uniquely in Oxford, St. John’s MS 171, f. 311v. Bodley 554 also glosses ‘in a queer’ with ‘in þe felouschip acordyng in charite’, a reading very close to that in the Revisions and in Rolle, *B554 149:3/1315*, vol. 2, p. 39; cf. *RVs*, vol. 3, p. 1106, and Rolle, ed. Bramley, p. 490.

<sup>759</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 901; *B554 95:6/816*, vol. 1, p. 157; Trinity 93, f. 56v.

Though their focus on this interior dimension might seem irrelevant, even opposed, to ethics construed as rules or ‘codes of conduct’, further consideration of the term ‘ethics’ suggests its fitness to describe the relationship of internal orientation and external conduct that, I would argue, runs through these readings of the Psalms.<sup>760</sup> The Greek term *ἦθος*, or *ethos*, from which it derives, can refer to both character and custom, with the two being closely connected in the ethical framework dominant in the classical and medieval periods, now known as virtue ethics.<sup>761</sup> In the landmark work which has sparked a resurgence of modern interest in virtue ethics, Alasdair MacIntyre highlights the lack of an explicit set of rules in the foundational model set forward in Aristotle’s *Nicomachean Ethics*; the silence on this subject that he registers as ‘perhaps the most obvious and astonishing absence from Aristotle’s thought for any modern reader’ is the same feature we have already noted in the Wycliffite Psalm commentaries, despite their assertion of the Psalter’s expression of the Decalogue.<sup>762</sup> The virtue ethics framework focuses rather on the quality of character exemplified in particular actions, as well as, conversely, cultivated by habit and customs.<sup>763</sup> The Greek term *χαρακτήρ*, or *charaktêr*, from which the Latin *character* and modern English *character* derive, referred originally to a ‘mark engraved or stamped’, such that its use to describe the ‘distinctive quality’ of a person as well as a thing evokes the image of a ‘distinctive mark’ stamped on them; as Mary Carruthers notes, the image of the ““stamp”” or

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<sup>760</sup> ‘Ethics’ (n.), in *OED*, Def. 2c.

<sup>761</sup> The *OED* traces the lexis of *ethos* back to its Greek root: ‘ἦθος’, meaning ‘custom, usage, disposition, character, (in rhetoric) delineation of character’. See ‘Ethos’ (n.), Etymology; see also ‘Ethic’ (n.), Etymology. Cf. ‘ἦθος’ (n), Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford, 1869). Defs.II.2-3.

<sup>762</sup> *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory* (Notre Dame, 1981), p. 141. On the medieval impact of Aristotle’s work, cf. István Pieter Bejczy, *Virtue Ethics in the Middle Ages: Commentaries on Aristotle’s Nicomachean Ethics, 1200 -1500* (Leiden, 2008).

<sup>763</sup> See Rosalind Hursthouse and Glen Pettigrove, ‘Virtue Ethics’, in Edward Zalta (ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Winter 2018 Edition), <<https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2018/entries/ethics-virtue/>>.

the “‘seal’” is also used of the memory.<sup>764</sup> Trinity 93, in translating Peter Lombard’s comment on Psalm 75:11, evokes similar imagery when it identifies ‘dedes’ or ‘goed werkes’ as ‘þe relikes of thoghtes’, as do the Revisions in preserving Rolle’s expansion of this comment.<sup>765</sup> It is because of the predominance of this conception of action as an expression of the interior life, and of ethics as a matter of character, in medieval thought that I here refer to the concern with the internal in the midst of action as ‘ethical’, despite the absence of the actual term in these materials.

## ***1.2 Ethical Rhetoric in the Wycliffite Psalms***

### ***1.2.1 Ethics by Identification***

If ethical action is understood in terms of interior disposition, and therefore cannot be dictated by the simple statement of a code of conduct, how can it be promoted – and how do the Wycliffite commentators promote it? Carruthers offers a further definition of ethics in the literary context. ‘Rhetorically conceived’, she posits, ‘ethics is the application of a *res* or generalized content (most often expressed in a textual maxim) to a specific, present occasion *which is public in nature*, because it requires an audience’.<sup>766</sup> She contrasts this rhetorical form of ethics with the ‘transcendental one’, insisting that ‘rhetoric does not normalize an occasion, it occasionalizes a norm’.<sup>767</sup> I would suggest that the Wycliffite interpretations of

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<sup>764</sup> *χαρακτήρ* (n.), in Liddell and Scott; cf. Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 224; cf. also ‘character’ (n.), Etymology, in the *OED*.

<sup>765</sup> Trinity 93, f. 51r; cf. *PL 191*, col. 708; cf. also *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 699, and Rolle, ed. Bramley, p. 272, as discussed in Chapter 4, section 2.1.

<sup>766</sup> *The Book of Memory*, p. 224. MacIntyre cites the ‘conceptual commonplace’ that ‘we cannot [. . .] characterise behaviour independently of intentions, and we cannot characterise intentions independently of the settings which make those intentions intelligible both to agents themselves and to others’, *After Virtue*, p. 192.

<sup>767</sup> *The Book of Memory*, p. 225.

the Psalms, and especially the Revisions, cultivate ethical reading by highlighting how the Psalter occasions specifically interior norms.

The Wycliffite materials resist placement in such a binary. Each of the materials does in fact identify the text of particular Psalms with particular contexts and figures. Thus, for instance, both Trinity 93 and many glossed Psalters, including Bodley 554, introduce Psalm 6 as made by David with reference to the census he ordered, and Psalm 31 as made by David with reference to his adultery with Bathsheba and murder of Uriah, and so on.<sup>768</sup> The Revisions do not name David in their comments on Psalms 6 or 31, following Rolle's tendency throughout his commentary. They do include Rolle's reference to the prophet at Psalm 31:1 and add their own at Psalm 6:8, thus establishing some sense of historic framework.<sup>769</sup> In addition to inserting similar attributions to the prophet across the Psalter, the Revisions also insert David's name in a number of instances.<sup>770</sup>

Even as they name him, however, the Revisions are less concerned with the historical context in which David composed than with the immediate applicability of his prophetic speech. The reference to David that they introduce at Psalm 75:11, for instance, serves to support the sufficiency of private confession to God: 'whi douten men þanne in her conscience þat þis holsum shrift told of Dauid fulfilled of þe Holy Goost sufficeþ not to mannes saluacioun?'<sup>771</sup> Likewise, their insertion of 'þe Prophet' at Psalm 6:8 serves to introduce the audience that he addresses: 'And to alle þat cokedly gon and grutchingli in

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<sup>768</sup> Trinity 93, fols. 36v, 41v; *B554* 6:1/27, 31:1/198, vol. 1, pp. 7, 43. It is worth noting that Trinity 93 mentions the fuller account of this event in II Kings 23, while Bodley 554 cross-references Exodus 30 as a proof-text for the unlawfulness of the census.

<sup>769</sup> *RVs*, vol. 1, pp. 350, 50; cf. Rolle, ed. Bramley, p. 111.

<sup>770</sup> See, for instance, Psalms 1:4, 80: 4, 5, 13, 15, 17 for examples where the Revisions insert a reference to the Prophet, and Psalms 80:13 and 75:11 for examples where they insert an explicit reference to David, not included in Rolle. This ties into the Revisions' general tendency toward greater specificity.

<sup>771</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 699. See also Hudson's note explaining how this builds on further comments in the context, and how RV2 revises this toward a more 'neutral interpretation', p. 1352.

þise þre weyes þe Prophet spekeþ now, forsaking her felowshipe'.<sup>772</sup> The three ways are those of knights, priests, and labourers, the comment having already defined the medieval estates and how to live faithfully in each of them, practical material absent from Rolle's text. Both of these appeals to the historic speaker of the Psalm fundamentally underscore the normative character and comprehensive remit of his speech for contemporary readers.

Normative readings accompany the more explicitly historical ones in Bodley 554 and Trinity 93 as well. As per a common pattern within Bodley 554, its title gloss to Psalm 6 proceeds from setting it in the context of David's census to reading it in more universal terms:

To gostli vnderstonding, þis salm mai be expowned of ech synnere repentyng verili and bisechyng Goddis merci for his delyueraunce fro synne doon and fro peyne into which he is fallun, and aftir long and deuoute preier, he supposiþ resonabli þat he is herd of God, bi inward comfort 3ouun of God to him. Wherfor it is þe firste salm among seuene salmes of penaunce.<sup>773</sup>

As noted in Chapter 2, such parallelism models the extrapolation from David's particular circumstances to a pattern of personal penance which any, or indeed 'ech', sinner can enter.<sup>774</sup> The pattern plays out internally, as reinforced by the modification of 'repentyng' with 'verili' at the beginning and of 'comfort' with 'inward' at the end, redundancies translated directly from Lyra.<sup>775</sup> Trinity 93 likewise implies a parallel between the Davidic composition of the Psalm and its 'intent [. . .] to excite to penaunce'.<sup>776</sup> As it elaborates this second reading from 'þe glose' after Lyra's historical reading, it continues to refer to David, but notes he speaks prophetically for a whole category of speakers, 'in þe person of a man

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<sup>772</sup> *RVs*, vol. 1, p. 50.

<sup>773</sup> *B554* 6:1/27, vol. 1, p. 7.

<sup>774</sup> Bodley 554 here follows a common pattern in Lyra, who here refers to 'quolibet peccatore' ['whatever sinner'], *Postilla Litteralis*, vol. 3, col. 480, just as he also often refers to 'quolibet fidelis' ['any faithful one'].

<sup>775</sup> Again, cf. Lyra, *Postilla Litteralis*, vol. 3, col. 480.

<sup>776</sup> Trinity 93, f. 37r.

doand true penaunce'.<sup>777</sup> The phrase recurs frequently across Trinity 93, Bodley 554, and the Revisions, as in fact throughout Rolle, Lyra, Peter Lombard, the Gloss, and Augustine, highlighting the capacity of the Psalm speaker's prophetic voice to represent a whole category of speakers. The phrase, like 'ech synnere repentyng verili' in Bodley 554, is generic enough to include anyone, at any historical period, but also specific enough to inspire aspiration, and moreover to require the reader's own purposeful engagement to be able to identify within this category. That is, these glosses invite the reader to give the Psalm a new historical context, to make its pattern present by living it, such that the gloss can refer to him or her just as specifically as to David.<sup>778</sup>

In concluding its title gloss with the Psalm's liturgical function as 'þe firste salm among seuene salmes of penaunce', Bodley 554 links it with a generic category of contemporary occasions, and could conversely create a prompt for readers to follow this pattern of internal penance on future encounters with this Penitential Psalm, or others.<sup>779</sup> The Revisions give readers an even clearer prompt for the Psalm's use when, following Rolle and Peter Lombard, they remark on its use in the Office of the Dead in their final comment on the Psalm.<sup>780</sup> The Revisions gloss this use as a way to usher 'trewe men' into their reward, and as a norm for the living, adapting Rolle's reference to the fulfilment of the true man's desires to specify 'euerlastyng life þat eche man shulde coueite greetly here' and thus implicitly directing readers to cultivate this desire.<sup>781</sup> The life of 'trewe men', prior to this reward, is characterized by 'siche sorew and penaunce suffred for synne', presumably including the

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<sup>777</sup> Trinity 93, f. 36r.

<sup>778</sup> Cf. Kuczynski's remark that, in his commentary on Psalm 31, 'Rolle demonstrates how this penitential psalm demands to be read not only as a record of David's feeling of compunction, but as a sharp stimulus to one's own self-interrogation', *Prophetic Song*, p. 87.

<sup>779</sup> B554 6:1/27, p. 7.

<sup>780</sup> RVs, vol. 1, p. 51. Cf. Rolle, ed. Bramley, p. 24; *PL 191*, col. 110.

<sup>781</sup> RVs, vol. 1, p. 51.

penance expressed in this very Psalm.<sup>782</sup> The comment on the previous verse provides an antecedent for this ‘sorew and penaunce’ in its expression of the same pattern set out in Bodley 554: ‘Aftir much sorewe and penaunce discreteli don for his synne, he seiþ God haþ herde him, so þat no sinful man falle in despaire þat wole folowe him in penaunce, not turnyng aȝen to synne’.<sup>783</sup> The Revisions’ specification of the discreet and final qualities of this penance, amid a comment otherwise following Rolle closely, indicates an effort to direct readers in their own following in penance, while the frequent use of the first person, or the second person in prayer, throughout the comments on the Psalm, further supports personal appropriation of the text.

While more specific than Rolle’s, this guidance leaves to readers the actual application of the Psalm to a new occasion. Even at their most independent, the Revisions do not detail current events to which the Psalms could refer with any specificity. Remarks such as RV1’s initial comment on Psalm 74 set the Psalm in a contemporary context described in pointedly critical terms, but without naming any one occasion:

Coueitous men and lusti sechen confessours like vnto hem, of whom bi fauour and worldli godes þei moun be asoyled bi power þat þei feynen hem, for loue of her goodes. And siþ þe moost part of prestes ben blynded in þis erreure of coueytise, who þat counceyleþ wiþ hem in þis caas or þat trusteþ to hem, doiþ aȝen þe wisdom of God [. . .]<sup>784</sup>

At the same time as this sets the Psalm in the present, it also frames it as a historical composition. RV1 presents the Psalm as a direct response to the contemporary situation on the part of ‘þe Prophet, fulfilled wiþ Goddes spirit’, explaining that he had ‘greet conscience to counceyle wiþ proude coueytous prestes’ and ‘took þe siker wey wiþouten erreur’.<sup>785</sup> It

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<sup>782</sup> *RVs*, vol. 1, p. 51.

<sup>783</sup> *RVs*, vol. 1, pp. 50-51; cf. Rolle, ed. Bramley, p. 23.

<sup>784</sup> *RVs*, vol. 1, pp. 680-681.

<sup>785</sup> *RVs*, vol. 1, p. 681.

again appeals to his prophetic voice in asserting that he spoke ‘in þe persone of alle þe feiþful þat shulden be heled of synne’.<sup>786</sup> RV1 goes on to describe how to identify within this category through describing the normative pattern of ‘trewe shrift’: ‘hertly forþenkyng of synne’ and ‘forsakyng of it’, confessing ‘inwardli’ to God in Christ, with the effect of being forgiven.<sup>787</sup> Yet the guidance remains generic enough to apply at any time, even if the reference to the current untrustworthiness of the priesthood provides a prompt to current action.

On the one hand, then, the Wycliffite commentaries on the Psalms do gesture toward contemporary occasions for identification with the Psalms, as well as the historical occasions of their composition; the Revisions describe the former in particularly immediate terms, while the historical glosses in glossed Psalters and Trinity 93 give more attention to the latter. On the other hand, these materials mark occasions for reader identification precisely by stating them in generic and normative terms. The function of the identification of speakers both in normalizing occasions and in occasionalizing norms reflects their paradoxical status as readings mediating the text of the Psalms to their audience and also as texts in their own right, produced to make the Psalms themselves immediate.

### *1.2.2 Wycliffite Ethical Contexts?*

Generic as they are, many of the contexts for application referenced in these materials could present a piquant immediacy for a Wycliffite audience. The presentation of Psalm 74 as a prophetic response to corrupt confession is one of many cases where the Revisions contextualize a Psalm in the contemporary degeneracy of the church. Editors have registered

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<sup>786</sup> *RVs*, vol. 1, p. 681.

<sup>787</sup> *RVs*, vol. 1, p. 681.

the preponderance of comments on penance, persecution, and genuine as opposed to ritualistic prayer across these materials, which serves as potential evidence of their Lollard leanings.<sup>788</sup> Nevertheless, it is important not to read too much into the mere presence of these themes. If suffering, and specifically persecution, for instance, recurs as a major theme in the comments on the Psalms in Trinity 93, the marginal glosses, and the Revisions, not to mention polemic texts, it is at least in large part because it recurs as a major theme in the original text of the Psalms.<sup>789</sup> Certainly, the Lollards' experience of persecution – or indeed their anticipation of persecution – must have sharpened their attention to how the Psalter addressed the theme, and heightened their appreciation of the Psalter. Though many of these materials were probably composed before the persecution of the Lollards intensified in earnest in the early fifteenth century, Wyclif's own insistence that true men would be persecuted, and that this persecution was already underway, had established persecution as a major practical and eschatological concern of Lollardy from its inception.<sup>790</sup> Yet the Wycliffites were not the only group to highlight the expressions of suffering in the Psalter and to appropriate these as their own; Kuczynski notes that just as they identified themselves with the voices of Israel's exiles, and the ecclesiastical establishment with the Babylonian captors, Lydgate could identify the establishment with the exiles and the Lollards with the captors.<sup>791</sup> Nor, with a few possible exceptions, do the Psalm interpretations classed as

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<sup>788</sup> See, for instance, Hudson, *RVs*, vol. 1, pp. clxxiv, clxxxi-clxxxii; Kuczynski, *B554*, vol. 1, pp. xviii-xix; Schühle-Lewis, *T93*, Part I, pp. 65, 92.

<sup>789</sup> Among other examples, the Psalter features prominently in the discussion of persecution in *The Lanterne of Light*, ed. Lilian Swinburn, EETS O.S. 151 (London, 1917); as stated in the Introduction, I limit my discussion here to the Wycliffite interpretations of the Psalter as such, but there is much to be done in terms of connecting these interpretations with the references to the Psalter incorporated into larger arguments in polemic materials.

<sup>790</sup> On Wyclif's account of his followers' persecution, its significance within Wyclif's thought, and its timing relative to the historical record of anti-Lollard action, see Michael Wilks, *Wyclif: Political Ideas and Practice*, pp. 180-182. Indeed, Wilks suggests that Wyclif's account became a self-fulfilling prophesy, p. 202-203.

<sup>791</sup> *Prophetic Song*, p. 165

Wycliffite appeal to any specific (or at least heretofore recognizable) instances of persecution directed against the Lollards.

Similar points could be made with regard to the treatment of penance, with many songs presenting penitent confession. As far as a stance on the sacrament of penance is concerned, Rolle himself seems to indicate the primacy of personal confession over confession to a priest, or at least neglects to advocate confession to a priest, as Gustafson has observed.<sup>792</sup> Gustafson's argument that the Psalter Commentary became controversial because of a changing context, and not simply because of Lollard interference, can be extrapolated to apply to the Psalter as a whole.<sup>793</sup> That said, the particular resonance of these topics with the Wycliffites' historical context could have enabled them to serve in turn as powerful rhetorical contexts for Wycliffite interior formation.

Conversely, these materials have relatively little to say on certain practical issues that often serve as litmus tests for Wycliffism, such as the Eucharist or images.<sup>794</sup> In part, this may have to do with the lack of warrant for such remarks in the biblical text itself, or in the existing commentary tradition on which these materials rely so heavily. Yet Hudson notes that 'observations in the Psalm verses themselves do not necessarily prompt the expected Lollard reaction'.<sup>795</sup> Though in RV2 this can reflect a larger tendency to remove or temper controversial stances articulated in RV1, she also cites examples where the Psalter raises issues related to pilgrimage or images, and even RV1 seems to ignore the opportunity for

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<sup>792</sup> Gustafson, 'Richard Rolle's English Psalter', at p. 303. As Gustafson notes, 'this emphasis on penance as deeply personal and even solitary' likely derives from 'the biblical text itself', p. 303.

<sup>793</sup> 'The English Psalter became "Lollard" because of historical as much as textual change—or rather, perhaps, because of a collision between an ambitious and somewhat elusive vernacular text and an increasing desire by ecclesiastical officials to regulate the use of English for religious purposes', p. 308.

<sup>794</sup> Cf. Hudson's remark, *RVs*, vol. 1, p. clxxi.

<sup>795</sup> *RVs*, vol. 1 p. cxix.

polemic.<sup>796</sup> Nor, for that matter, do Bodley 554 or Trinity 93 take advantage of various allusions to images, including those Hudson notes as unexploited in RV1 at Psalm 104 and 113.<sup>797</sup> Furthermore, at times these materials omit or downplay polemical material in their sources that could appear sympathetic to a Wycliffite audience. The Revisions omit Rolle's critique of the priesthood at Psalm 73:22, and his warning on power and the prelacy at Psalm 72:17, and redirect his critique of the priesthood at Psalm 74:7-8 toward princes; they similarly present the priesthood in a more positive light than does Rolle at Psalm 76:21, critiquing instead those who despise their leaders for their simplicity.<sup>798</sup> By its particular focus on the attitude of the sheep, this last example suggests a concern with these topics insofar as they may pertain to internal orientation, despite the relative silence on them as they pertain to church polity. In this vein, what comments the Revisions do provide on the Eucharist have to do with 'purity of conscience' rather than with defining a distinctive position on transubstantiation, as Hudson notes.<sup>799</sup> Thus, for instance, the Revisions read 'þe fatte of erþe' at Psalm 21:30 as referring to 'alle þat louen erþely godes more þen heuenly', who 'in eetyng of Cristis body don grete despite to God, for suche receyuen him not to be made clene þurgh him þat wilen not clense her hertes of luste and coueitise and of wicked þouȝtes'.<sup>800</sup> Though Bodley 554's gloss on 'þe fatte men', 'fillid wiþ richessis and onouris:

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<sup>796</sup> Hudson cites Psalm 104:23 and 113:12-13 as examples of missed opportunities to discuss pilgrimage and images, respectively, at more length, as well as cases where RV2 moderates what comments RV1 does have, *RVs*, vol. 1, p. clxxiii.

<sup>797</sup> At Psalm 113, Trinity 93 does reference 'how veyne þe mawmets of hethen folk be', a phrase which downplays any contemporary poignancy by its identification of idolatry with heathenness contrasted with 'cristen religion', f. 60r.

<sup>798</sup> Of course, there are many examples where the Revisions insert material expressing concerns over the priesthood, including material that contrasts with Rolle's more positive perspective at Psalm 72:28b.

<sup>799</sup> *RVs*, vol. 1, p. clxxi.

<sup>800</sup> *RVs*, vol. 1, p. 276. Notably, the comment goes on to directly connect worthy receipt of the sacrament with an alignment with Christ's will: 'Alle men and wymen þat receyuen Cristis body wiþ clenness of herte seken euere to do his wille [. . .]'

and sic he ben cristen prynces, þat eten Cristis bodi deuoutli’, contrasts with the Revisions’ more critical reading, it similarly stresses the internal state of the communicant.<sup>801</sup> Trinity 93, too, notes the ‘profit’ that the ‘body & [. . .] blode wilfully offerd’ by Christ brings to ‘pore men of spirit’ at Psalm 21.<sup>802</sup> Perhaps, then, these issues feature less prominently in these texts because they do not lend themselves to the kind of interior formation with which they are more concerned – and which, I would add, comprises the basis of their ethical approach.

### *1.3 Will for Work: Ethics of Volition in the Wycliffite Psalms*

A shared concern with interior, and specifically volitional, formation, stands out across the treatment of these topics in the various Wycliffite materials as much as penance and persecution themselves stand out as common themes across the corpus. In keeping with the general approach of the Revisions described in the last chapter, their treatment of sin and penance, suffering and prayer, as matters of the will extends the pre-existing interiority of the Psalter Commentary. To take penance as an example, the Revisions maintain Rolle’s emphasis on interior penance and in some cases stress its primacy over oral confession; where Rolle mentions ‘shrift’ as one of the ‘twa manors [. . .] of perfite penaunce’ implied in Psalm 37:19, RV1 replaces Rolle’s ‘shrift’ with ‘trew knowleching of synne principaly to God’ at Psalm 37:19.<sup>803</sup> More generally, the Revisions’ tendency to add qualifiers such as ‘true’ or ‘uerey’ before ‘penance’ throughout the text effects a consistent though subtle stress

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<sup>801</sup> *B554* 21:30/138, vol.1, p. 29.

<sup>802</sup> Trinity 93, f. 39v. Here, and elsewhere, Trinity 93 refers to the Eucharist in generally conventional terms, paraphrasing Christ speaking of ‘turnyng breed & wyne in to my body & my blode’. Cf. Psalms 22 and 33 which also reference the sacraments in the context of affective exhortation, fols. 39v, 42r.

<sup>803</sup> Rolle, ed. Bramley, p. 141; *RVs*, vol. 1, p. 246. RV2 adjusts this by adding ‘and secundarily to his prest’, and in fact both Revisions obscure the meaning of the comment, as Hudson notes, *RVs*, vol. 3, p. 1271. Hudson gives other examples, *RVs*, vol. 1, p. clxxii.

on its distinction from the mere trappings of contrition.<sup>804</sup> Noting an instance of such qualification in the revision to Psalm 37:2, Michael Kuczynski observes that, apart from the possible ‘intimation of Wycliffite arguments against the necessity of auricular confession’, the revised version of the comment distinguishes itself from Rolle’s text by its ‘subtle exploration of the psychology of the sinner’ through its intensified emotional identification with the ‘voyce of him þat doiþ uerey penaunce’.<sup>805</sup> Kuczynski posits that ‘the reviser avoids fine theological points’ in this comment – and it is certainly true that the reviser does not launch a full articulation of the Wycliffite position on penance or an overt critique of the Lateran mandate at this point.<sup>806</sup> It is likewise true that the reviser here manifests sensitivity to the devotional tenor of the comment, as the Revisions do with the devotional model of Rolle’s Psalter Commentary as a whole, according to the argument of Chapter 4. However, this devotional sensitivity is not incompatible with the articulation of ‘fine theological points’; I would contend that the psychological model underlying the Revisions revolves around a rigorous theological position on the will that is characteristically Wycliffite, being shared across the Wycliffite Psalms and, as I will suggest below, reflecting concerns expressed by Wyclif himself.

Before probing the pastoral nuances of Wycliffite Psalm ethics and their scholastic underpinnings in more detail, I would like to briefly illustrate the prominence of the will as such in the ethical reading invited by the Wycliffite Psalms, taking Psalm 37 as a starting

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<sup>804</sup> This is something which stands out about Trinity 93 and Bodley 554 glosses as well, cf. Schühle-Lewis, *Trinity 93*, p. 92; see for example Psalms 65, 100 in Bodley 554. Gustafson warns against reading too much into the use of this term, however, noting that Rolle relied on it before it became ‘a commonplace of Lollard ecclesiological discourse’, ‘Richard Rolle’s English Psalter’, p. 307.

<sup>805</sup> Kuczynski, *Prophetic Song*, p. 179; *RVs*, vol. 2, pp. 418-419.

<sup>806</sup> *Prophetic Song*, p. 179. As has been observed, such polemic expression of Wycliffite positions is not the norm within the Revisions, or any of these texts, presenting certain problems for the certainty of their classification as Wycliffite texts.

point. The comment on Psalm 37:2 never explicitly names the will, but it does define ‘uerey penaunce’ in terms of an affective disposition which the Revisions go on to explicitly link with the inclination of the will. The Revisions predicate the legitimacy of the ‘uerey penaunce’ attributed to the speaker of Psalm 37 on the penitent speaker’s ‘sorrowful herte’. They specifically distinguish this ‘grete sorowe’ at having God’s ‘indignacyoun here and after þis life’ (or, as some manuscripts have it, God’s ‘vnblīpefulness’, mirroring the penitent’s sorrow) from mere ‘drede of þe sharpe peyne of purgatory’.<sup>807</sup> Further along at verse 9, the Revisions identify such fear of punishment with the ‘sorow of the fleysse’ that Rolle distinguishes from that ‘of the hert’; as the Revisions go on to explain, ‘hertly sorowe is neuere hadde er synne be hatide’.<sup>808</sup> In the following verse, Psalm 37:10, the Revisions attribute the Psalmist’s ‘sorrowng’, translating ‘gemitus’ [‘groaning’] to his unearthly ‘desire’, translating ‘desiderium’ [‘desire’] specifically ‘for to do þi [God’s] wille, leuyng my synne’, rather than the likewise unearthly but more generic desire for heaven posited by Rolle.<sup>809</sup> And at verse 18, the Revisions again gloss the Psalmist’s ‘sorowe’, translating ‘dolor’ [‘sorrow’] with a reference to the turning of the will away from sin: ‘And my sorowe is in my sizt: þat is, I knowe þat I haue synned and þefore I am sorrowful and in wille to synne no more’.<sup>810</sup> The addition of this allusion to the will alongside sorrow in the context of defining true, as opposed to false, penitence, gestures toward the Revisions’ sustained attention to the orientation of the will in true penance.

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<sup>807</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 419. The reference to purgatory reflects Rolle’s plea to be spared from purgatory, but the distinction between fear of purgatory and true penance is a development of the Revisions; as Hudson notes, the Revisions ‘expand [it] [. . .] with no sign of [the] explicit rejection of purgatory found in some more radical Lollard texts’, *RVs*, vol. 3, p. 1270. This further illustrates Kuczynski’s point about a psychological rather than polemic approach.

<sup>808</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 421.

<sup>809</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2 pp. 421-422; cf. Rolle, ed. Bramley, p. 139.

<sup>810</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2 p. 425; cf. Rolle, ed. Bramley, p. 141.

The Revisions' focus on the motivation for sorrow, and on the state of the will, in penance, stand out all the more for their proximity to Bodley 554's much more selective comments on Psalm 37. Just as the Revisions distinguish true from false penance on a psychological basis with the explanation, 'I seye not þis onely for drede of þe sharpe peyne of purgatory, but for grete shame þat I haue in my soule þat I haue so defouled me here þat I shulde not be clene purgide or I wente heyne [. . .]', Bodley 554 makes a similar distinction when it glosses verse 4's reference to sins as the cause of unrest: 'bi þis he shewide, þat he sorewide more for his synne, þan for his peyne'.<sup>811</sup> Bodley 554 here translates the distinction from Lyra, but that in the Revisions represents a development independent from Rolle.<sup>812</sup> This may indicate a textual connection, whether because the revisers had access to materials from some stage of the process of selection and translation that resulted in the Bodley 554 glosses or simply because they consulted Lyra. The Revisions could also develop Augustine's similar point in his comment on Psalm 37:18, whose inclusion in both Bodley 554 and TCD 70 illustrates a compilatory interest in this theme:

Sumtyme synneris ben not betun in þis liyf, for her sauynge is dispeirid. But it is nede þat þei be betun here, to whiche euerelastynge liyf, þat is blis, is made redi. Men maken sorewe for her betynge, but þei maken not sorewe whi þei ben betun. But Dauib made sorewe not so, but for þe leessynge of riȝtfulnesse, not for þe leessynge of money. *Austin here.*<sup>813</sup>

<sup>811</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 419; *B554 37:4/255*, vol. 1, p. 53.

<sup>812</sup> Cf. Lyra, *Postilla Litteralis*, vol. 3, col. 693. Notably, Peter Lombard does not make this point here; see *PL 191*, col. 387B. In his exposition of this verse, Cassiodorus similarly comments that the speaker of the Psalm 'non erat tantum de sua poena sollicitus, quantum de Domini offensione suspectus' ['was not so much concerned at his punishment as afraid that he had offended God'], *Expositio psalmorum I-LXX*, ed. M. Adriaen, *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 97* (Turnout, 1958), p. 344; trans. P.G. Walsh, *Explanation of the Psalms*, *Ancient Christian Writers 51* (New York, 1991), 3 vols, vol. 1, p. 378. However, this comment is not included in the *Glossa Ordinaria* as preserved in the Venice edition of 1603, vol. 3, col. 693.

<sup>813</sup> *B554 37:18/259*, vol. 1, p. 55. Kuczynski notes this comment is not in the Lombard, *B554*, vol. 1, p. 94. The Revisions, however, turn at this point to the issue of leading others into sin.

In any case, it also implies a shared concern with the underlying motivation for the penance expressed in the Psalm.

The Revisions' introduction of the Psalm as the words of 'þe Prophet' speaking 'in voyce of him þat doip uerey penaunce for his synne' not only contributes to this understanding of the Psalmist's own act of penance, but also opens it up to more general appropriation – as exemplified and facilitated by the paraphrase of the Prophet's words in the first person.<sup>814</sup> While Bodley 554 does not employ the first person here, and takes a more historical perspective on David's penance as such when it introduces the Psalm, it turns to the second person to exhort readers with Augustine's words at verse 10: 'þi desir is þi preier. If þe desir is contynuel ever wiþout ceessyng, þe preier is contynuel. Þe brennyng of charite is þe cri of herte. If charite dwelliþ euere in þee, þou criest euere to God'.<sup>815</sup> Bodley 554's equation of 'þi preier' with 'desir' in this gloss, shared with TCD 70, aligns it with the Revisions in the identification of the will as the locus and means of true penitential prayer such as that inscribed in this Psalm.<sup>816</sup> Moreover, the exhortative tone it translates from Augustine invites the reader to enter into this state of 'desir' for himself or herself.

In a comment on the previous penitential Psalm, Bodley 554 goes so far as to identify the will as sufficient for true penance. It cites multiple sources to explain the significance of the tense of Psalm 31:5b:

I seide,\* I shal knoueleche azenes me myn vnri3tfulnesse to þe Lorde; and þou hast for3oue þe wickidnesse of my synne

\*Y seide: He pronounsiþ not now, he bihetiþ þat he shal pronounce; and God for3yueþ now. Y seide Y shal pronounce, and þou hast for3oue. In þis he shewide þat he pronounside not 3it bi mouþ, but he pronounside bi herte. *Austin here*

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<sup>814</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 418.

<sup>815</sup> *B554 37:10/258*, vol. 1, p. 53.

<sup>816</sup> *B554 37:10/258*, vol. 1, p. 53.

þe pite eþer merci of God is greet, for at biheest alone of knouleching, he forʒyueþ þe synne. Forwhi, wille is demed for worchyng. *Cassiodore here and þe comyn glos here.*<sup>817</sup>

The Revisions, following Rolle, similarly emphasize the tense of the verb with the comment: ‘I seyde, þat is, I þouʒte first in me’.<sup>818</sup> Bodley 554’s more general theological point that ‘wille is demed for worchyng’ with respect to confession of sin resembles a comparable point made with respect to suffering in the Revisions at Psalm 42:4b-5. The Revisions elevate here the ‘wille [. . .] to suffre’ as sufficient to fulfil ‘Goddes biddynge’, further stressing the submission of the will to God’s by adding the phrase ‘whanne god wile’:

**Confitebor tibi in cythara, Deus, Deus meus. Quare tristis es anima mea, et quare conturbas me?** *I shal shryue to þee in harpe, God, my God. Whi art þou sory, my soule, and whi troublest þou me?* He shryueþ him to God in harpe þat entierly þankeþ him of his uprysyng fro synne, and afterward kepeþ him warly fro fallyng, fulfillyng þe biddyngeþ þe whiche he haþ commaunded, touching hem ofte þurgh gode worchyng wiþouten hiʒing in prosperite and grutchyng in aduersite. He þat kepeþ Goddes biddynge and suffreþ noon aduersite, ʒif his wille be to suffre whanne god wile assaye him, he shryueþ to God in a sautrye. For where dede haþ no stede, is ofte wille accepte.<sup>819</sup>

Compared to Rolle, as well as his sources in turn, the Revisions minimize the experience of tribulation itself in their explanation of the harp or ‘cythara’, while they elucidate the will to suffer in their explanation of the psaltery:

**Rolle:**

He shrifis in the harpe that dos godis biddyngeþ, and is in tribulacioun, thankand god. he that dos godis biddyngeþ, and suffirs not anguys, he shrifis til god in the psautery [. . .].<sup>820</sup>

**Peter Lombard:**

Cithara ab inferiori sonat, sicut psalterium a superiori. Qui ergo praecepta Dei facit, et non patitur, in psalterio confitetur. Qui vero facit et patitur, quod est ex inferiori natura, in cithara confitetur.<sup>821</sup>

<sup>817</sup> *B554* 31:5/205, vol. 1, pp. 42, 43.

<sup>818</sup> *RVs*, vol. 1, p. 352.

<sup>819</sup> *RVs*, vol. 1, p. 475.

<sup>820</sup> Ed. Bramley, p. 158.

<sup>821</sup> *PL 191*, col. 426.

[The harp sounds from below, just as the psaltery does from above. Whoever therefore does the precepts of God, and does not suffer, shrives in a psaltery. Whoever truly does them and suffers, which is from a lower nature, shrives in a harp.]

This passage suggests the penitential value of suffering, but also a broader principle as to the equivalence of will and work. Again, the focus on the will in the Revisions, Trinity 93, and the Bodley 554 glosses reflects the interior dimension of the Psalter itself as drawn out in their sources; in doing so, it extends a feature that likely contributed to the attraction of the Psalter and these exegetical works for Wycliffite commentators, especially in the case of the Revisions. However, the shared nature of this focus across these materials, even at points of departure from their sources, and especially at points where they converge with one another rather than with their sources, raises the possibility of a united approach to ethical reading across the Wycliffite Psalm materials, one emerging from a common theological basis that bears striking resemblance to Wyclif's own.

## **2. Wycliffite Psalm Ethics and Wyclif on the Will**

### ***2.1 Volition in Wyclif: A Scholastic Context for Wycliffite Psalm Ethics***

To propose that the Revisions, Trinity 93, and the Psalter glosses express a position on the will that aligns with Wyclif's in these texts is not necessarily to suggest that their producers engaged directly with Wyclif's works. Indeed, the producers of these materials may never have encountered the works cited below. That said, the hypothesis that these materials emerged from an academic milieu, most likely Oxford, heightens the likelihood that their producers encountered Wyclif's ideas, whether in writing or in disputation.<sup>822</sup>

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<sup>822</sup> See Hudson's proposal of an Oxford base for the Revisions, *RVs*, vol. 1, pp. cxc-cxci, alongside her essay, 'Five Problems in Wycliffite Texts and a Suggestion', pp. 301-324. Cf. also Kuczynski, *B554*, vol. 1, pp. xxxiv, liv; Schühle-Lewis, *T93*, Part I, pp. 29, 45, 59.

According to Williell Thomson, comments in Oxford, Magdalen College MS 97, ff.102v-106r and in the margin of Oxford, Magdalen College, MS 47, f.53v demonstrate ‘that Wyclif’s *De universalibus* indeed became the object of close study at Oxford’, while Richard Lavenham’s work furthermore shows familiarity with Wyclif’s positions on the issue.<sup>823</sup> For this reason, arguments from Wyclif’s more direct and extended treatment of divine and human willing in *De Volucione* are corroborated below with comparable points in *De Universalibus* where possible. If, as Harrison Thomson has posited to be ‘almost certain’, Wyclif presented the arguments of his tractates as lectures before their dissemination as texts, his contemporaries in Oxford could have encountered his argumentation on the will without needing to access a manuscript of one or the other.<sup>824</sup> The presence of both within a series following a customary progression of ‘public disputation and lecturing’ for those incepted in the Arts Faculty further supports the likelihood that Wyclif’s positions and arguments circulated more widely than his writings, particularly in the University context, where they were matters of discussion, in continuity with similar discussions on the topic in the same milieu.<sup>825</sup>

### 2.1.1 Reconciling Apparent Contradiction: Contingency and Necessity

Mechanics of transmission aside, the suggestion that this emphasis on the will in the Wycliffite Psalms parallels an emphasis on the will in Wyclif’s own writings may seem

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<sup>823</sup> *The Latin Writings of John Wyclif: An Annotated Catalog* (Toronto, 1983), p. 23.

<sup>824</sup> See ‘The Order of Writing of Wyclif’s Philosophical Works’, in Otakar Odložilík, Jaroslav Prokeš, and Rudolf Urbánek (eds.), *Českou Minulostí* (Prague, 1929), pp. 146-165. Cited in John Adam Robson, *Wyclif and the Oxford Schools* (Cambridge, 1961), p. 115.

<sup>825</sup> Disagreement concerning the dating of the *De Universalibus* precludes its certain composition during this period of Wyclif’s more standard, even ‘non-controversial studies’, as Robson calls them, *Wyclif and the Oxford Schools*, p. 115. Williell Thomson dates it to ‘1368 or 1369?’, *The Latin Writings of John Wyclif*, p. 20. Ivan Mueller, however, has dated it to 1373 or 1374, *Tractatus de Universalibus* (Oxford, 1985), p. xxix. Thomson’s dating of *De Volucione* to ‘ca 1370?’ is more generally accepted, p. 29.

counterintuitive, given Wyclif's reputation as a determinist. The article, 'All things happen from absolute necessity', numbers among the heresies attributed to Wyclif and condemned at the Council of Constance.<sup>826</sup> A number of scholars have sought to revise Wyclif's reputation as a determinist, emphasizing the orthodoxy of his position.<sup>827</sup> Indeed, Anthony Kenny asserts not only Wyclif's orthodoxy, but also that '[w]here Wyclif departs from his colleagues is not in imputing extra necessity to human actions, but in assigning unusual contingency to divine volitions', that is, in 'safeguarding human freedom by attributing to it control over the eternal volitions of God himself'.<sup>828</sup> Chris Schabel and Ian Christopher Levy have corroborated that Wyclif holds to the contingency of divine volitions and the freedom of the human will, while arguing that his position with respect to necessity and contingency was not 'unusual' after all.<sup>829</sup> With respect to predestination, Levy presents Wyclif as 'even more accommodating to human free will than some of his orthodox contemporaries'.<sup>830</sup> Levy's extensive discussion of Wyclif's positions on necessity, contingency, and determination as they play out in his soteriology highlights Wyclif's reliance on the distinction between hypothetical and absolute necessity, among other debts, in his presentation of predestination

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<sup>826</sup> Session 8, 4 May 1415, Article 27, ed. and trans. Norman P. Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils* (London, 1990), vol. 1, p. 412. In a similar vein, as Schabel notes, the University of Leuven's 1447 statutes include the instruction that masters in the arts should not teach the text of Aristotle according to Wyclif or Occam among others, *Theology at Paris, 1316-1345: Peter Auriol and the Problem of Divine Foreknowledge and Future Contingents* (Aldershot, 2000), hereafter *Theology at Paris*, p. 290. Cf. Léon and Henricus Baudry, *La Querelle Des Futurs Contingents: (Louvain, 1465-1475)* (Paris, 1950), p. 68. The latter authors demonstrate the continuing assumption of Wyclif's heresy on this front, p. 19.

<sup>827</sup> Levy, 'Grace and Freedom in the Soteriology of John Wyclif', *Traditio* 60.1 (2005): 279-337, hereafter 'Grace and Freedom', at p. 284; cf. Schabel, *Theology at Paris*, 290-292. Contrast Kenny, *Wyclif* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 31-41, though Kenny notes Wyclif's continuity with his predecessors, pp. 39-41. See also Robson's affirmation of Wyclif's orthodoxy in *Wyclif and the Oxford Schools*, pp. 208-209. Hudson and Kenny note that Wyclif departed from orthodoxy, not in his insistence on predestination, but in 'the link that he made between the commonly held doctrine of predestination and his own theory of political authority', 'John Wyclif', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

<sup>828</sup> Kenny, *Wyclif*, p. 38; cf. his comparison of Wyclif with Aquinas on p. 39.

<sup>829</sup> Schabel, *Theology at Paris*, pp. 291, 292; Levy, 'Grace and Freedom', p. 284. In fact, Schabel describes Wyclif's approach to the problem as 'unoriginal', p. 292.

<sup>830</sup> 'Grace and Freedom', p. 330.

as well as of grace.<sup>831</sup> When Wyclif predicates whether someone receives grace leading to salvation or whether someone lacks this disposition on the eternal will of God, it is ‘not [. . .] that this had to be the case, only that it cannot now cease to be the case’, due to the ‘perpetual obstinacy’ of the damned (and vice versa).<sup>832</sup> Even as he finds that Wyclif ‘stresses the divine prerogative’, Levy also finds that he predicates God’s will for a person’s salvation on God’s eternal knowledge of that person’s temporal choices to receive or refuse grace.<sup>833</sup> By identifying choices in time as the cause of God’s will to give or not to give grace, even as he locates those choices within God’s eternal will, according to Levy, Wyclif avoids the determinism of his respected mentor Bradwardine.<sup>834</sup>

Other scholars have given less credence to Wyclif’s claim that divine foreknowledge can be contingent, finding that this contradicts Wyclif’s realism and his insistence on the necessity of divine ideas. Though he acknowledges Wyclif’s distinction between absolute and relative necessity, and his contention that relative necessity is contingent, Conti asserts that Wyclif ‘was unable to show how this is possible’ and, ultimately, that ‘his attempt failed in achieving its goal’ of affirming the freedom of the human will as well as the necessity of all occurrences.<sup>835</sup> For Conti, Wyclif’s equivocation of ‘possible, existent, and necessary’ within God’s mind leads to a ‘necessarianism’ that limits not only the human will but also the divine will.<sup>836</sup> Explaining the importance of Wyclif’s position that everything depends for its

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<sup>831</sup> On the hypothetical necessity of predestination and the hypothetical necessity of grace, see Levy, ‘Grace and Freedom’, pp. 330, 332.

<sup>832</sup> ‘Grace and Freedom’, p. 333.

<sup>833</sup> ‘Grace and Freedom’, p. 333.

<sup>834</sup> ‘Grace and Freedom’, pp. 333, 288. Levy notes that Wyclif ‘does try to save Bradwardine where he can from the perils of determinism by putting his ideas in the best light’, p. 288.

<sup>835</sup> Alessandro Conti, ‘John Wyclif’, in Edward N. Zalta (ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Spring 2017 Edition), <<https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2017/entries/wyclif/>>. Accessed 4 June 2021.

<sup>836</sup> Conti, ‘John Wyclif’.

existence on its presence as an eternal exemplar within God's mind, preserving God's ontological priority, even Levy admits:

Wyclif's particular brand of metaphysical realism, specifically having to do with God's knowledge of eternal exemplars, may appear to conflict with the level of contingency Wyclif proposes. And yet it must also be admitted that Wyclif himself is quite confident that no such conflict exists.<sup>837</sup>

At the close of his discussion of necessity and contingency in *De Universalibus*, Wyclif himself does concede an apparent conflict between the two, while also insisting that he has preserved their harmony with one another, as well as his own harmony with the tradition of orthodoxy:

Convenio autem in ista materia cum omni philosopho opinionis probabilis ponens simul necessitatem et contingentiam omnium futurorum sic quod nemo loquitur laxius de contingenti vel necessario, et per distinctionem concordo sententias quae videntur verbaliter esse contrarie.<sup>838</sup>

[On this topic I am in agreement with every philosopher whose opinion deserves respect in maintaining the simultaneous necessity and contingency of all future things. No one should casually speak simply of contingent and necessary; by making distinctions I reconcile opinions which seem verbally to be contrary to each other.]<sup>839</sup>

For the purposes of this thesis, whether or not Wyclif succeeds in his attempt to reconcile necessity and contingency, the irresistibility of the divine will and the agency of the human will, matters less than the fact that he makes the attempt. Indeed, the strain that they create within his framework testifies to the tenacity of his commitment to both, and perhaps, too, to the unconscionability of denying either in his context. Though the precise mechanics of Wyclif's argumentation are beyond the scope of this thesis, the following section considers how Wyclif maintains this tension, and articulates its importance for orthodoxy, in

<sup>837</sup> 'Grace and Freedom', p. 286, n.29.

<sup>838</sup> *De Universalibus* 14.545-550, ed. Ivan Mueller, p. 352.

<sup>839</sup> Trans. Kenny, *On Universals* (Oxford 1985), p. 166.

his attention to several theological instantiations of the problem with pastoral implications taken up in Wycliffite Psalm commentary.

### 2.1.2 A Model of Cooperation

The theological doctrines that humans are responsible for their actions and that God is not the author of sin, on the one hand, and that humans are dependent on God, and that God cannot be thwarted, on the other, have long prompted and constrained accounts of necessity and contingency in the relationship of divine and human volition. With respect to agency in meritorious and sinful acts, Wyclif presents himself as maintaining orthodoxy by affirming, not merely the simultaneity, but moreover the relationality of divine and human volition. In the *De Volucione*, Wyclif sets out the objection that man's volitions must be first made and given by God before they can belong to man in order to avoid Pelagianism (and the implication that there is no need to pray for a good will from God).<sup>840</sup> Wyclif begins his response by positioning himself with the anti-Pelagians: he concurs that 'quelibet volucio hominis [. . .] prius est a deo quam ab homine' ['man's volition is from God before it is from man'].<sup>841</sup> At the same time, he adds, 'tamen homo facit quod est a deo' ['nevertheless man does what is from God'].<sup>842</sup> Distinguishing God's priority with respect to ontological status from priority with respect to logical order, he ultimately attributes to God 'prioritate causalitatis, dignitatis, vel supereminencie' ['priority with respect to causation, dignity, and eminence'], but 'non prioritate quoad consequenciam' ['not priority with regard to order of

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<sup>840</sup> *De Volucione* VII.17-24, ed. Michael Henry Dziewicki, *Johannis Wyclif De Ente Librorum Duorum Excerpta: Libri I, Tractatus Tertius Et Quartus : Libri II, Tractatus Primus Et Tertius, Et Fragmentum De Annihilatione*, Wyclif Society 33 (London, 1909), p. 193.

<sup>841</sup> *De Volucione* VII. 80b, ed. Dziewicki, p. 193, ll. 17-24; l. 39.

<sup>842</sup> *De Volucione* VII.80b, ed. Dziewicki, p. 193, l. 40.

consequence’].<sup>843</sup> Rather than opposing the Pelagian denial that meritorious action requires divine grace with a denial that it requires human involvement, that is, Wyclif’s own response highlights the dependency of meritorious action on what he calls the ‘cooperacionem’ [‘cooperation’] of human and divine volition. He frames the error he attributes to the ‘pelagianos [. . .] modernos’ [‘modern Pelagians’] in terms of a denial that man can act and merit without God’s cooperation, or that man’s participation is greater or more predominant in this cooperation.<sup>844</sup> Even before he rejects this position as heretical, he also asserts as ‘necessarium et catholicum’ [‘necessary and Catholic’] the precedence of the particular man, acting meritoriously, to this cooperation, which presumes the man’s existence and activity as a cause.<sup>845</sup> The symmetry of his discussion, as he gestures toward opposite errors while undertaking to condemn Pelagianism, underscores the mutual participation that Wyclif views as definitional to meritorious action.

Wyclif again predicates meritorious action on the cooperation of divine and human volition, albeit less explicitly, in the *De Universalibus*. Against the position that God causes everything by absolute necessity, Wyclif associates absolute necessity on the one hand with the impossibility of moral virtue on man’s part, explaining that ‘illa quae non sunt in potestate nostra nec sumus laudandi nec culpandi moraliter’ [‘those things which are not in our power we are neither to be praised or blamed morally’].<sup>846</sup> On the other, he associates it with the inculcation of God as ‘auctor peccati ante mundum, [qui] necessitaret ut absolute necessario singula mala fiant’ [‘the author of sin before the world, necessitating particular

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<sup>843</sup> *De Volucione* VII.80b, p. 186, ll. 4-7.

<sup>844</sup> *De Volucione* VII.80b, p. 185, ll. 13-19.

<sup>845</sup> *De Volucione* VII.80b, p. 185, ll. 8-13.

<sup>846</sup> *De Universalibus* XIV.461-2, ed. Mueller, pp. 348-349; trans. Kenny, ll. 461-3, p. 164.

evils to come about by absolute necessity’].<sup>847</sup> Under these circumstances, he continues, Christ’s own passion could not be meritorious, in that he would not have the ‘*libertatem ad utrumlibet*’ [‘freedom between alternatives’] that is requisite for meritorious moral action – whereas, Wyclif notes, Matthew makes clear that Christ did have such a choice, since the Father ‘*sicut de facto exhibuit ut illa passio voluntarie impleatur*’ [‘made provision for the passion to be voluntarily undergone’].<sup>848</sup> While most emphatically asserting the dependence of meritorious action on human choice, Wyclif here indicates its dependence on divine ‘provision’ as well.

His reference to divine ‘provision’ for Christ’s passion also implies the dependence of the particular evil act of killing Christ on God (though not, presumably, on his necessitating it by absolute necessity). His repeated clarifications of the sense in which sinners resist God’s will reinforce the implicit dependence of sin on God’s will, even as they frame sin as an act of human resistance to God’s will: sinners resist ‘*voluntati consilii*’ [‘the will of counsel’], identified with the Holy Spirit, but ‘*non voluntati permissionis vel beneplaciti*’ [‘not the will of permission or of good pleasure’], since, as Wyclif notes, ‘*non autem impediunt voluntatem divinam, cum sit universaliter efficax infrustrabilis necessario ad implenda*’ [‘the divine will [. . .] is of necessity universally efficacious in carrying out its purposes and cannot be frustrated’].<sup>849</sup> Whereas the human will and the divine will cooperate in the case of meritorious acts, in the case of sin, the human will resists the divine will of counsel and yet ultimately fulfils the divine will of good pleasure.

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<sup>847</sup> *De Universalibus* XIV.477-9, ed. Mueller, p. 349; trans. Kenny, ll. 477-9, p. 165.

<sup>848</sup> *De Universalibus* XIV.480-481, 488-489, ed. Mueller, pp. 349-350; trans. Kenny, ll. 480-9, p. 165.

<sup>849</sup> *De Universalibus* XIV.550-553, 365-367, ed. Mueller, pp. 352, 345; trans. Kenny, ll. 550-552, 365-368, pp. 162, 166.

Wyclif addresses these two facets of the dynamic between divine and human volition in the case of sinful acts in more detail at various points in the *De Volucione*. Whereas, in discussing meritorious actions, Wyclif acknowledges that man's volition is initially 'from God' ['a deo'], as noted above, he also asserts that 'Assensus hominis ad peccandum secundum id difformitatis in eo non sit a deo' ['man's assent to sin, insofar as it is a thing deformed in itself, cannot be from God'].<sup>850</sup> He explicitly defines sin in terms of a lack of conformity to the divine will on the part of the rational creature's will, that is, as willing something without regard to whether it pleases or displeases God.<sup>851</sup>

On these grounds, even homicide and the physical gestures of idolatry, to cite two examples that Wyclif uses in a later iteration of this same point, are not necessarily sinful in themselves.<sup>852</sup> Indeed, citing the example of Abraham sacrificing Isaac, Wyclif explains that it is possible even to will the opposite of what God wills to come to pass and yet to will conformity to whatever God wills, and thus not to sin.<sup>853</sup> On a similar note, he mentions the possibility of that act of obedience on the part of the will being commended without having ever been executed.<sup>854</sup> Conversely, it is possible to will what God wills and yet to will against God's will as such, and thus to sin, as Judas did when he 'voluit et fecit Christum mori' ['willed and made Christ to die'].<sup>855</sup> As Levy notes, with this insistence on the 'intentional, and thus free, aspect of sinful actions', Wyclif rejects Bradwardine's determinism, with its problematic 'tendency to portray God as compelling men to sin'.<sup>856</sup> While it depends on human volition, however, sin in Wyclif's model also depends on how the human will is

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<sup>850</sup> *De Volucione* IV.77a, ed. Dziewicki, p. 164, ll. 11-13.

<sup>851</sup> *De Volucione* I.71b, ed. Dziewicki, p. 120, ll. 29-38.

<sup>852</sup> *De Volucione* IX.81b, I.71b, ed. Dziewicki, pp. 120, 204

<sup>853</sup> *De Volucione* I.71b-72a, ed. Dziewicki, pp. 121-122.

<sup>854</sup> *De Volucione* I.72a, ed. Dziewicki, p. 122, ll. 15-26.

<sup>855</sup> *De Volucione* I.71b-72a, ed. Dziewicki, pp. 121-122.

<sup>856</sup> 'Grace and Freedom', p. 197.

oriented toward the divine will, such that it inversely corroborates the norm of cooperation set out in Wyclif's account of meritorious actions.<sup>857</sup>

## ***2.2 Scholastically Demonstrable and Pastorally Applicable: Contexts for Volitional Ethics***

Some of the same concerns that inform and perhaps constrain Wyclif's discussions of the will also undergird the devotional emphasis on the will and the attention to how it should seek to meet God's will in temptation, penance and suffering, and in praying the Psalms in the Revisions. Conversely, in their guidance on these topics, the Revisions flesh out scholastic positions like those formulated by Wyclif. Insofar as the Psalm materials explored in this chapter articulate the same positions on the will as Wyclif does, we may consider them 'Wycliffite', at least in the sense Fiona Somerset defines in her introduction to *Feeling Like Saints*: they reflect Wyclif's influence and exist in general alignment with other Wycliffite texts.<sup>858</sup> At the same time, insofar as these positions rehearse orthodox doctrine, these materials extend a broader scholastic consensus into the practice of ethical Psalm reading.<sup>859</sup>

### *2.2.1 The Will in the Context of Temptation*

An interest in how the will participates in sin evinces itself most prominently in the Revisions' preoccupation with consent to sin. Though they omit Rolle's reference to the inclination in Psalm 50:7, the Revisions register the primacy of the will in sin by the references to 'assent' and 'consent' they introduce throughout their commentary on this

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<sup>857</sup> Wyclif himself raises the question whether God could not just have rectified misaligned volitions, by fulfilling them in time, *De Volucione* X.83b, ed. Dziewicki, pp. 219-221. See also *De Volucione* XV.87a, ed. Dziewicki, p. 252, ll. 19-24, where Wyclif points out that if unrighteousness pleased God, it would then have to be considered meritorious.

<sup>858</sup> Somerset, *Feeling Like Saints*, p. 16.

<sup>859</sup> Cf. Kraebel's reading of Rolle's English Psalter Commentary, and by extension the Revisions based on it, as forays in English scholastic exegesis, though he is less concerned with scholastic philosophical and theological disputes than with hermeneutics, *Biblical Commentary and Translation*, pp. 91-132; cf. p. 18.

Psalm. They name ‘þou3t [to] consente’ first alongside ‘word to defende’ and ‘dede to fulfille’ in enumerating the ‘step[s] of syn’ repudiated in Rolle’s prayer from verse 3b.<sup>860</sup> Likewise, they add in a prayer for such security of healing from sin ‘þat oþer þing contrarye þerto I may noiþer do ne þenke to assent’ in verse 10.<sup>861</sup> They also replace Rolle’s ‘synnand’ with ‘consenting to synne’ at verse 14, and preface verse 6, ‘Tibi soli peccauī’, with the explanation that specifically ‘eche assent to synne is principally a3ein God’.<sup>862</sup> Throughout the Penitential Psalms, and the Psalter as a whole, the Revisions make many similar insertions and replacements that foreground ‘consent’ or ‘assent’ as the pivotal point for falling into sin.<sup>863</sup> Rolle himself, of course, acknowledges the importance of ‘assent’, implicitly and explicitly, from his very first comment on the first Psalm, where he presents the soul’s ‘assent’ to the devil and the flesh tempted to lust by the devil as the cause of its damnation.<sup>864</sup> But other comments in Rolle’s text could seem to undermine the will’s involvement in, or even individual culpability for, sin. Among these is his reading of Psalm 37:8, translating a comment in the *Magna Glossatura*: ‘i syn not only for my frelte, bot alswa of the fende, that tourmentis my body and trauails my saule in vayn ymagynaciouns: and swa makis he me his hethynge’.<sup>865</sup> The Revisions diverge from Rolle, and from his sources in the Latin exegetical tradition, in their comment on this verse. Instead of qualifying intrinsic weakness with extrinsic affliction from the devil, they qualify the extrinsic temptation with the intrinsic inclination of the will: ‘þurgh þe deuyll and þe world and myn owne consent, no

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<sup>860</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 541; cf. Rolle, ed. Bramley, p. 184.

<sup>861</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 543; ed. Bramley, p. 186.

<sup>862</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, pp. 544, 541; ed. Bramley pp. 186, 184.

<sup>863</sup> Cf. above, section 2.2.1.

<sup>864</sup> Ed. Bramley, p. 5.

<sup>865</sup> Ed. Bramley, p. 139. Cf. *PL 191*, col. 383, where the reading is associated with Cassiodorus: ‘Non solum mea infirmitate pecco, sed et diabolo (Cassiod.), id est per diabolum, qui corpus affligit et animam fatigat variis imaginationibus’ [‘I sin not only by my infirmity, but also by the devil, that is through the devil, who afflicts the body and fatigues the soul with various illusions’].

heele is in my flesshe, for it may not be helede fro deedlynesse ne fro corrupcioun'.<sup>866</sup> These revisions and others like them develop Rolle's own emphasis on the interior dimension of sin, and indeed on assent, into a clearer stance that sin is at root a matter of the will, applying this emphasis more comprehensively across the Psalter.

The insertion of consent alongside the devil, which implicitly forestalls blaming sin on the devil, echoes Wyclif's contention that the devil cannot overwhelm an unwilling soul to sin. He avers that his denial of this possibility is 'nec . . . solum predicabilia' ['not merely preacher's talk', as Dziewicki translates it], but 'scolastice demonstrabilia' ['scholastically demonstrable'].<sup>867</sup> Raising the determinist suggestion of a situation in which it is impossible for man to resist temptation, Wyclif constructs a response which, like his response to Pelagianism described above, demonstrates his concern over errors on either side of the debate and his effort to maintain both divine sovereignty and human agency. Rather than simply countering the suggestion of temptation's power to make man sin with the assertion of man's freedom to sin or not to sin *per se*, Wyclif again focuses on defining temptation's power by its relationship to the human will and the power of the human will by its relationship to the divine will. With Grosseteste he acknowledges that the devil is strong in the sense that he can hold man down, and drag him down lower, when he has already fallen.<sup>868</sup> Contrasting this with God's power to stand on his own, he insists that the devil's power over man depends on man's free surrender to him by rejecting God's strength.<sup>869</sup> Not even an infinitely powerful tempter could overcome a soul unless it chose to separate itself

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<sup>866</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 421.

<sup>867</sup> *De Volucione* III.74b, ed. Dziewicki, p. 145, ll. 28-30; trans. Dziewicki, p. 145.

<sup>868</sup> *De Volucione* III.74b, ed. Dziewicki, p. 145, ll. 6-27.

<sup>869</sup> *De Volucione* III.74b, ed. Dziewicki, p. 145, ll. 12-22.

from God.<sup>870</sup> Wyclif would later reaffirm the dependence of man's freedom on his union with God, and of God's union with man on man's will in some sense, as well as the tempter's dependence on this union or the lack of it, in the *De Universalibus*:

Verumtamen Deus necessitat ad benevolendum et permittit hominem necessitare se ipsum et subicere se creaturae inferiori; unde, abstractus a Deo et illectus a temptatore, necessario malevolet. Verumtamen tota universitas creata corporalis vel spiritualis non potest voluntatem creatam ad istum statum inducere nisi velit.<sup>871</sup>

[God necessitates to good willing, and permits man to necessitate himself and subject himself to inferior creatures; and once withdrawn from God and enticed by the tempter, man will necessarily will evil. The whole created universe, corporeal or spiritual, cannot drive a created will to that state unless it is willing.]<sup>872</sup>

The impossibility of overpowering one united to God before he willingly rejects God comes as a valid conclusion to the syllogism developed in the *De Volucione*: one united with God cannot be overpowered by any created thing unless forsaken by God, and God cannot forsake anyone unless he himself forsakes God first.<sup>873</sup>

For all his protestation that the devil's limited power is not mere 'preacher's talk', Wyclif's scrutiny of how the dynamic of cooperation and rejection plays out in the context of temptation suggests a pastoral concern, or at the least lends itself to pastoral application. His following scenario of inability to resist temptation indicates one avenue for application taken up in the Revisions:

Quelibet catholicus potest considerare de ista veritate pro respectu quod si viator extra tempus temptationis statuit temptationi resistere et tempore temptationis succumbit culpabiliter temptatori, suum peccatum precedens indubie est in causa [. . .] Patet ex hoc quod omnis peccati vel pene eius est voluntas creata causa precedens. Ideo, si talis indisponitur, ad penam peccati sui est quod indisponitur.<sup>874</sup>

<sup>870</sup> *De Volucione* III.74b, ed. Dziewicki, p. 146, ll. 12-29.

<sup>871</sup> *De Universalibus* XIV.261-267, ed. Mueller, pp. 340-341.

<sup>872</sup> Trans. Kenny, p. 160, ll. 261-266. Wyclif distinguishes the necessity to which he refers here from compulsion of the will; his point here, as in the passage from the *De Volucione*, is that man cannot be compelled to sin unless he wills to withdraw from God.

<sup>873</sup> *De Volucione* III.74b, ed. Dziewicki, p. 145, ll. 30-34.

<sup>874</sup> *De Volucione* III.74b, ed. Dziewicki, p. 146, ll. 1-9.

[Any Catholic may be of this opinion about this truth in the sense that if a wayfarer outside the time of temptation determines to resist the temptation and, in the time of temptation, succumbs culpably to the tempter, his preceding sin is undoubtedly the cause [ . . . ] It is clear from this that the preceding created cause of everything in the way of either his sin or his punishment is the will. Therefore, if he is indisposed, it is by reason of the punishment of his own sin that he is indisposed.]

If man's exercise of free will depends on his cooperation with God, while his sin depends on his rejection of God, the one who finds he cannot resist temptation must be experiencing the repercussions of a prior rejection – which is to say, the punishment for a preceding sin of the will.<sup>875</sup>

The Revisions pursue the idea of temptation's resistibility along the same avenue in their own guidance on the context of temptation. One example has arisen already in the guidance on spiritual discipline that I analyzed in the revised comment on Psalm 79:4, insofar as this guidance relies on the resistibility of temptation for those close to God.<sup>876</sup> Like Wyclif, the Revisions attribute failure to resist temptation to a prior failure: 'þe cause' why '[s]omme men assenten to synne in tyme of temptacioun', they explain, 'is for her hert is bifore her greet temptaciouns scatered into vanite, hauyng no feruent mynde contynuely of God in tyme of quyete whanne þei ben not feersly assayled of enemyes'.<sup>877</sup> They go on to reiterate this direct correlation, thus intensifying the exigency of such discipline and the gravity of the sin of its omission: 'And þerfore in tyme of nede þei moten algates be ouercomen, for þei ben founden naked in tyme of her enemyes assailyng, to whom is taken her strengþe for þe scateryng of her mynde fro God, and so hemself ben cause of her owne

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<sup>875</sup> Cf. *De Volucione* III.74a, ed. Dziewicki, p. 144, ll. 9-10. Of course, Wyclif's larger point here, and in the similar passage in the *De Universalibus*, is that free will cannot be taken away: 'Nec tollit talis assumpta servitus simpliciter libertatem. Sed ratione peccati quod oportet primo originari a peccante tollit quodammodo eius usum' ['Nor does such adopted servitude remove liberty absolutely. But because of the sin, whose first origin must be in the sinner, in one way or another it takes away the exercise of liberty.'] *De Universalibus* XIV.267-269, ed. Mueller, p. 341; trans. Kenny, p. 160.

<sup>876</sup> See Chapter 4, section 2.

<sup>877</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 775.

fallyng, offendyng God hugeli'.<sup>878</sup> Their reference to the enemy's strength here as inverse to the soul's own, and dependent on its distance from God, aligns with the formulation of this inverse relationship that Wyclif draws from Grosseteste.<sup>879</sup> More generally, the reviser's stress on the sinner's responsibility for his own fall maintains the orthodox position, further underlined in the following remark on how even 'somme men' who 'in tyme of her temptyng han þerwiþ al mynde of viilte of þe synne, and þat God is displeyd in consentyng to synne' may be 'ouercomen': 'þei gederen not in þat perilous tyme her mynde bisili to God askyng his help, but þei scateren it in her lustes; and þefore þei ben ouercomen consentyng to synne [. . .]'.<sup>880</sup> They are 'ouercomen', not because the temptation is too powerful, but because they make themselves vulnerable by turning away from God. It is against this eventuality that the Revisions model how to incapacitate temptation with a prayer 'askyng his help' against consent, glossing the prayer with the assertion, 'For no man perisheþ fro God but þurgh consentyng to synne'.<sup>881</sup> This predication of rupture from God on the choice of the sinner aligns with Wyclif's carefully developed predication of temptation's efficacy on prior sin by consent, while adding weight to the surrounding guidance that develops its pastoral potential.

The Revisions also posit a causative relationship between falling in temptation and prior sin in their comment on Psalm 42:4b-5, cited above. After elaborating different forms of shrift, the Revisions turn to the Prophet's question: 'Whi þan art þou sory my soule?'.<sup>882</sup> Following Rolle, and thus Peter Lombard's second reading, the Revisions ascribe the

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<sup>878</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, pp. 775-776.

<sup>879</sup> *De Volucione* III.74b, ed. Dziewicki, p. 145, ll. 6-27.

<sup>880</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2 p. 776.

<sup>881</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 776. It is worth noting that there are many examples of prayers expressing cooperation with God against consent to sin beyond Psalm 79. For instance, the Revisions articulate a prayer for deliverance 'fro þe miȝt of þe deuel and fro þe consent of his foloweres' at Psalm 70:1, *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 641. Rolle, too, included a prayer against the devil's might in his commentary, but the specific reference to consent replaces Rolle's reference to the devil's 'lymmes', that is, his body, ed. Bramley, p. 248.

<sup>882</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 475.

Prophet's continuing distress, even after his declaration of shrift, to a fear of sinning.

Whereas the Lombard simply states the impossibility and difficulty of avoiding all sin as a fact, and where Rolle refers to 'alle synnes' generically, the Revisions specify the Psalmist's 'drede [. . .] to falle into newe synne', and invite readers to participate in this affective response by their use of the modal 'owe to' as well as their exposition of the situation to be feared:

For who þat lokeþ bisyly bihynde him and bifore him, and in þe riȝtwise dome of God where al hydde þing shale be shewed, him owe to drede him anaunter his olde synne be cause of his newe fallyng; for no wounde is so incurable and bringeþ a man soner to deeþ, þan doþ an olde vnheled wounde.<sup>883</sup>

As at Psalm 79:4, the reference to old sin occasioning new sin serves to advocate a particular interior orientation as a preventive. In this case, the Revisions focus on orientation away from sin, rather than towards God. Their statement of a related norm, 'who þat semeþ clene in her owne siȝte and negligent to sorow her olde synnes, shulen be drawe from synne to synne', encourages the recognition of and regret for one's own sins. As if to fulfil this invitation itself, or to model its fulfilment, the comment shifts to the first person to describe how 'it is no wondre ȝif we ben ofte troubled in oure soules, þat so ofte wilfully ben made heuy þurgh derknes of synne, consentyng þerto aȝen þe biddyng of God [. . .]'.<sup>884</sup> At the same time, the Revisions also seem to encourage the repudiation of the sins of others with the further norm that 'paciencie in aduersite, ne trewe loue to God for his manyfolde graces, ne verrey hope of weelfare aftir þis life may not duelle wiþ hem in tyme of temptacyoun, þat ben ioyned wiþ hem þurgh consent þat lyuen in þis world aftir her lustes'.<sup>885</sup> Again, the Revisions voice this orientation in the first person, introducing the following verse with the words, 'Wherefore,

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<sup>883</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 475; Rolle, ed. Bramley, p. 158.

<sup>884</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 476.

<sup>885</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 476.

biholdyng þis peryle, I hatide wicked mennes dedes, seiying to my soule [. . .]'.<sup>886</sup> This repudiation of consent to others' sins, like the repudiation of wilful sin in the self, and the prayer for God's help at Psalm 79:4, serves to preempt the vulnerability to temptation that both Wyclif and the Revisions attribute to prior rejection of God in favour of sin.

This understanding of temptation's resistibility to those near God and its irresistibility to those weakened by prior sin has implications for penance as well as for temptation. Indeed, the Revisions extend the pastoral implications of temptation's resistibility, and its irresistibility when weakened by prior sin, beyond temptation narrowly conceived to contexts of penitence and tribulation, closely identifying both with temptation. The warning against 'negligen[ce] to sorow [. . .] olde synnes' at Psalm 42:4b-5 highlights proper penance as preparation for future temptation.<sup>887</sup> In commenting on the following verse, which repeats the intention of shrift expressed in verse 4, the Revisions go on to define 'trewe shrifte' as 'sorowyng of synne, and abstenyng þerfro', in contrast to the frequent shrift and frequent sin they describe as 'feynt shrifte and false'.<sup>888</sup>

The connection of previous sin and future vulnerability repeatedly informs the Revisions' comments on the Penitential Psalms. The Revisions' comment on Psalm 50:14 presents a prayer that both recalls the loss of divine help through consent and affirms the impossibility of sin with divine help as it asks for its restoration:

[. . .] gode God, 3eelde to me aȝen Crist þin helpeziuer, whom I worþili loste in consenting to synne, and wiþ þi principal spirit þat festeneþ and no þing looseþ conferme me in mekenes þat I falle no more.<sup>889</sup>

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<sup>886</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 476.

<sup>887</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 476.

<sup>888</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 476.

<sup>889</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 544.

As mentioned above, the Revisions' reference to 'consenting to synne' here replaces 'synnand' in Rolle, thus providing a more specific identification of the will as the locus of the loss. The Revisions also specify both the legitimacy of this consequence with the word 'worþili' and the power against temptation gained through the spirit with their reference to the spirit's binding and loosing. Likewise, the Revisions expand the confession of Psalm 31:5 – and Rolle's brief rephrasing in terms of sins of omission and commission – into a disavowal of sin that assumes the direct relationship between sin's power and its continuing presence in the will:

[. . .] I lefte it, seyyng to my soule þat eche synne is deef to hem þat usen it to her ende, for no þinge may hele þat soule þat synne woundeþ whiles þat synne resteþ þerinne wilfully.<sup>890</sup>

As they continue, transitioning into the third-person, the Revisions once again posit a link between that recidivism, to evoke Lyra's terminology in expositing this Psalm, into temptation and unresolved prior sin in the will:

But many þenken þei synnen not wilfully whanne þei sorowen ofte for her synne, alþouȝ þei falle þerto aȝen in tyme of temptacyoun. But þise ben priuely deceyued<sup>891</sup>

This third-person comment on the will to sin, evincing itself in recurring vulnerability to temptation despite apparent sorrow for sin, serves as a foil to the complete honesty over sin, and complete rejection of it, voiced in the first person in the Revisions' comment.

While the Revisions present true penance as a preparation for temptation, they also present temptation as a form of penance. Punishment by temptation can serve as a preemptive replacement for eternal punishment, as suggested by the use of the term

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<sup>890</sup> *RVs*, vol. 1, p. 352.

<sup>891</sup> *RVs*, vol. 1, p. 352. Cf. Lyra, *Postilla Litteralis*, vol. 3, col. 644.

‘punyshed’ to describe both. At Psalm 42:2, the Revisions directly state its purgative role as a ‘tourment’ of the ‘enemye’ that can be undergone ‘in þis life’:

But for euery soule is made of God, and he wote who is ordeyned to blysse, þerfore God suffreþ hem in þis life to be punyshed for her assentyng to synne, bi tourementyng of enemyes in dyuerse temptaciouns in þis life, þat þei be not punysshed in euerlastyng peyne.<sup>892</sup>

In equating temptation with punishment for previous assent, and in contrasting this temporal punishment with eternal punishment, the Revisions imply that sinners can prove their purification by their response to temptation. The statement that God ‘suffreþ’ this temptation to occur, and the predication of such penitential suffering of temptation on God’s foreknowledge of their eternal state should recall Wyclif’s general position that God’s will for a soul’s salvation and its own will are in some sense codependent. In these variations on the theme of temptation becoming irresistible because and only because of prior unresolved sin, the Revisions both articulate the theological logic by which Wyclif was able to affirm human responsibility for sin, and model its pastoral application in the preacherly talk of the commentary.

### *2.2.2 Wilful Suffering*

Just as the Revisions’ comments on temptation reflect a theological emphasis on sin’s status as a function of resistance to the divine will and cooperation with the devil, so comments on suffering reflect a theological emphasis on merit as a function of cooperation with the divine will. They give particular attention to cooperation with the divine will in suffering, whether for sins, in the same vein as the penitence described in Psalm 42:2, or in

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<sup>892</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 474. Compare with the discussion of purgatory at Psalm 37, discussed above, section 1.3.

circumstances of persecution.<sup>893</sup> The need for a cooperative disposition of the will in order to benefit from suffering as such is drawn out in a comment on Psalm 26:14, where the Revisions specifically introduce the language of the ‘will’ to suffer:

***RVs: Expecta Dominum uiriliter age, et confortetur cor tuum et sustine Dominum.*** *Abide þe Lorde manly worche, and counforted be þin herte and suffre oure Lord.* Abide God, doying his bidynges, and þerinne be al þi desire, for al þe tyme þat oure þouzte, oure wordes and oure werkes ben not in Goddes biddying, al þat tyme shal be called azens us. Forþi worche manly wipoute slownesse, and þin herte shale be counforted in God; and þat þou be not wery in Goddes weye, suffre oure Lorde, þat is suffre þat þou suffrest of God for God paciently and wilfully, for wo is hem þat han loste þe wille of pacient suffryng [. . .]<sup>894</sup>

***Rolle:*** Abide god, doand his biddings: and in that haf thi desire: wirke manly, withouten slawnes, and hardily, as a man: for swa thi hert sall be comfortid in god: and that thou be nocht wery in godis way, suffire oure lord. that is, suffire that thou suffirs for god and of god. for wa is thaim that losis suffrynge.<sup>895</sup>

As they introduce a focus on the will’s active involvement, the Revisions also underline its paradoxical passivity to God’s will. In addition to repeating the reference to God’s ‘bidynges’ at the beginning of the comment, the Revisions also pair ‘wilfully’ with ‘patiently’ and similarly specify a ‘wille’ for ‘patient suffryng’. These terms often travel together in the Revisions, suggesting either their availability as a word cluster or the intentional development of such clusters on the part of the revisers; for instance, just as, at Psalm 26:14, the reviser adopts Rolle’s reference to God’s ‘biddying’ and modifies it with repeated references to suffering ‘wilfully’, so, at Psalm 68:3b, the reviser adopts Rolle’s note that Christ suffered ‘wilfully’ and modify it with a reference to God’s ‘biddying’. It is

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<sup>893</sup> So thoroughly do the Revisions identify suffering with penitence that it is at times difficult to distinguish which they are discussing; see, for instance their discussion of Psalm 50:19, *RVs*, vol. 2, pp. 545-546.

<sup>894</sup> *RVs*, vol. 1, p. 315.

<sup>895</sup> Ed. Bramley, p. 98.

common enough to link patience with the acceptance of God's will, as appears in a marginal gloss for Psalm 32:20, 'Oure soule suffreth the Lord', appearing in Fairfax 2 and Lambeth 1033: 'that is, abideth pacientli his wille'.<sup>896</sup> By their more unusual collocation of 'wilfully' with 'Goddes bidding' and with 'patiently', here and throughout their comments on the Psalter, the Revisions pointedly highlight the active engagement of one's own will in the discipline of patient acceptance.<sup>897</sup>

In the case of the revised comment on Psalm 26:14, the two terms elucidate dimensions of the Latin 'sustine', and the equally multivalent English 'suffre', implied in the exhortation, 'suffre þat þou suffrest of God for God'.<sup>898</sup> Given its etymological connection to the Latin *pati*, the addition of 'patiently' here may specifically recover the distinct term, 'pateris', that the Latin commentators use to distinguish the experience of suffering from the acceptance of an experience, obscured in the gravely punning translations of Rolle and the Revisions:

***Glossa Ordinaria:***

***Cassiodorus:*** & si mali veniant, expecta quod credis, sustine quod pateris.<sup>899</sup>

[And if evil things come, await what you believe, endure what you undergo]

<sup>896</sup> See Forshall and Madden, p. 768. Cf. *B554* 32:20/215, vol. 1, pp. 44-45. Bodley 554's gloss, which it attributes to Lyra, is similar, but does not use the language of the will: 'þat is, abidiþ pacientli his good plesaunce'.

<sup>897</sup> The collocation does appear occasionally elsewhere, including in the Wycliffite corpus. For instance, Forshall and Madden record a gloss on Job 3:2, 'Perische the day', that Job said this 'after the sensualite, ether fleisly lust', but 'bi the resoun of soule he suffride wilfully and patiently his disese', p. 676. Though attributed to Aquinas, it seems less a translation of Aquinas' exact comments on these words in Job than a synthesis of his interpretation; see *Expositio Super Iob Ad Litteram* (Rome, 1965), p. 21.

<sup>898</sup> According to the *MED*, Middle English 'suffren' (v.) can mean 'to permit, allow' (Def. 8b (i.)), as well as 'to undergo [. . .] affliction' (Def. 1a) and indeed to do so 'without resistance, to endure patiently' (Def. 4a); in a similar vein, it can also mean 'to submit meekly or willingly to (a wrong, torments, an adversity, hunger, etc.), undergo without resistance, endure patiently' (Def. 4b) and even 'to wait, wait patiently' (Def. 4c). See also the similar range of meanings for 'sustinere' (v.), from 'to allow' (Def. 3c) to 'to undergo' (Def. 4a) to 'to wait patiently for' (Def. 5a), in the *DMLBS*.

<sup>899</sup> *Glossa Ordinaria*, col. 616D.

**Peter Lombard:** Sustine Domino, id est illud quod pateris pro Domino et a Domino.<sup>900</sup>

[Wait for the Lord, which is to say that which you undergo for the Lord and from the Lord.]

Coming in adverbial form, it has still more in common with Lyra's comment on bearing the lash of discipline 'patienter', in reference to this same clause.<sup>901</sup> However, Lyra does not link this patience with wilfulness any more than the other sources do. Nor does he predicate the reward for suffering on this will to suffer. However, his moral reading of verses 9b-14, summarized at the end of the entry in the *Postilla Litteralis*, does align with the Revisions in explicitly naming the 'finale praemium' [final prize] attained by perseverance, namely, salvation.<sup>902</sup> Though Rolle may have such a reward in mind when he mentions the possibility of losing suffering, the Revisions more clearly indicate that the will enables gain through suffering in rewording Rolle's final woe in terms of a loss of 'will'. The continuation of the comment on Psalm 26:14 in the Revisions underlines the will's importance to both gain and loss as it adds further material not present in these other sources. In keeping with the position on penitential suffering outlined above, the reviser here clarifies that those who resist suffering, regretting pain more than the sin that occasions it, gain nothing from it:

[. . .] For whanne men suffren azen her wille þei haue noo meede; as men and wymmen þat suffren bodily sekenesse, or prisionyng, or bacbytyng, sclaundre or pursuyng, and han more sorowe for her peyne or for her shame þanne for her synne, þei lese her mede, for al peyne comeþ for synne.<sup>903</sup>

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<sup>900</sup> *PL 191*, col. 276.

<sup>901</sup> Lyra, *Postilla Litteralis*, vol. 3, col. 615B.

<sup>902</sup> Lyra, *Postilla Litteralis*, vol. 3, col. 616E. Trinity 93 alludes to this 'thrid' request for 'perseueraunce in godenes' in its own summary of Lyra's reading, but does not include the more specific reference to the reward of salvation, f. 40v.

<sup>903</sup> *RVs*, vol. 1, pp. 315-316.

Conversely, those who do engage the will in regretting the sin more than the pain and even embracing the suffering, are assured of salvation for even the basest of sins:

And so what peyne þat a man or a womman suffreþ, mekely knowyng þat þei haue synned, and forþenken it wiþ wille to do no more, and taken þyne or dises wilfully for Goddes sake, wiþ wille to suffre more whanne God wole, þei plesen God gretely and slecken her synnes wiþ her wilful pacience. 3ea, þou3 it were a [notarie] þeef or mansleer þat were handhabbynge taken wiþ felonye, and iustly punysshed or slayne for his trespasse, and he toke it paciently, knowyng his trespas, enteerly sorowyng þerfore wiþ wille to amende it aftir his power 3if he mi3te lyue and haue space, tristfully hopyng to Goddes mercy, for his wilful pacyence he shulde be safe.<sup>904</sup>

The concreteness of these examples – imprisonment, loss of reputation, theft, manslaughter – suggests a homiletic use, and perhaps a homiletic origin, for the comment. The pointed homiletic tone, and the withering use of the first-person voice, that emerges in the build-up to the comment’s parting injunction, further corroborate this homiletic quality:

But þer ben many men and wymmen þat lyen in grete synne and knowen her synne, and 3it þei wilen not shryue hem to God, ne counseyle wiþ wisere þanne þei to amende her synne, leuyng it til grete accesse of sekenesse dryue hem þerto, or ellys ones in þe 3eere as in lenten, and þat more for shame of þe worlde þanne for þe loue of God. Þise men and wymmen þat þus amenden hem for drede of peyne, or for shame of þe worlde, putten hemself in grete uncerteynte to haue for3ifnes of God. For it semeþ þat alle suche 3if þei wisten to lyue lengere, þei wolden not þanne ceesse of synne. God may do as he wile, but of her weelfare I can not telle. Forþi hate synne, and loue uertues, and kepe in þin herte pacience, and truste trewly in God and suffre him, and þou shalte be brou3te to a gode ende.<sup>905</sup>

Whether heard aloud or read, the comment’s conceptual coherence and rhetorical flair revolve around the term ‘wile’ and its lexis. It is the ‘wille of pacient suffrynge’, so aligned with God’s ‘bidynges’ that it rejects sin more than it rejects the pain and shame it causes, that makes suffering worthwhile.

The insistence that pain is a consequence of sin and the elucidation of specific sins which can be remedied by ‘wilful’ suffering cast the suffering described in Psalm 26:13 in a

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<sup>904</sup> *RVs*, vol. 1, p. 316.

<sup>905</sup> *RVs*, vol. 1, p. 316.

penitential light, indicating that effective penance requires not only a rejection of sin but also a ‘wilful’ and ‘patient’ embrace of God’s ‘bidynges’, whatever they may be.<sup>906</sup> The categorical remit of this latter requirement emerges even more clearly in cases where the Revisions apply it beyond a specifically penitential context. Christ’s voluntary suffering provides a particularly potent model, since, whereas humanity in general can choose only their response to the penalty imposed for sin, Christ could have chosen not to accept the punishment for sins he did not himself commit. As noted above, Wyclif specifically states that Christ’s passion could not have been meritorious had it not been endured ‘voluntarie’ [‘voluntarily’], on the basis of the free choice of more than one alternative that serves as the prerequisite for all human merit.<sup>907</sup> At Psalm 68:2, the reviser similarly underlines the voluntary nature of the passion, explicitly correcting the mischaracterisation perpetuated by certain contemporary depictions:

**Saluum me fac, Deus, quoniam intrauerunt aque usque ad animam meam.** *Saaf make me, God, for watrees inzeden into my soule.* Crist in his passioun cryng to his Fadre, seyde ‘God make me saaf of þise periles.’ For watres: þat is, angres on eche syde inzeden vnto my soul bi þe accuysyng of false Iewes. For þei diden þat þei miȝten to reue Crist his life, but þei miȝten not reeue him his soule to þe houre come in þe whiche he wold ȝeelde it to his Fadre, for he hadde power of puttyng it freely fro him, as he had fre power of takyng it ȝen. And so þise ben false ymages maad after Crist þat grennen, as ȝif Crist bi violence aȝen his wille hadde ben refte his spirit. Þis crye of makyng saaf þat Crist cryed in his passyoun to his Fadre was not for dreed ne in doute, for his Fadre euermore herd him and was wiȝ him, but he cryed to ȝyue us ensaumple to crye to him in al oure nede, hopyng in him þat he wile saue us and delyuere us whanne we suffren for him patiently.<sup>908</sup>

As noted above, Rolle likewise refers to Christ having suffered ‘wilfully’ at Psalm 68:3b; the Revisions here preempt this point by dwelling on the freedom of Christ’s will in his suffering, and the ‘ensaumple’ this provides. The clarification that Christ cried precisely to

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<sup>906</sup> *RVs*, vol. 1, p. 315.

<sup>907</sup> *De Universalibus* XIV.480-481, 488-489, ed. Mueller, pp. 349-350; trans. Kenny, ll. 480-9, p. 165.

<sup>908</sup> *RVs*, vol. 2, p.625.

provide an example for prayer, rather than because of ‘dreed’ or ‘doute’, reinforces the ‘wilfulness’ of his suffering that the Revisions here emphasize. As they critique the images that undermine Christ’s ‘fre power’ over his own spirit, they also present an alternative imitation, and embrace it by describing it in the first-person plural: crying to him, perhaps with these very words, while suffering ‘for him patiently’.

Again, even as they emphasize Christ’s wilfulness, the Revisions also emphasize the submission of his will to his Father’s, notably in his attitude toward his enemies. A comment later in this Psalm continues to develop the example for prayer provided by the suffering Christ:

**Psalm 68:21**

**In conspectu tuo sunt omnes qui tribulant me; improperium expectauit cor meum et miseriam.** *In þi sizt ben alle þat troublen me; reproof abood myn herte and wretchednesse.* Fadre, in þi sizt ben alle þat troublen me, forþi I drede not, for in mynde of þin herte þou mekest þe proud. Myn herte abood mekely wiþoute desyre of vengeance, reproof and wretchednesse, for I hoped in þee abidyng þee þat knew best þe tyme of my delyueraunce.<sup>909</sup>

The Revisions preserve this insistence on following Christ’s example of loving his enemies and praying for them when interpreting the imprecations that punctuate Psalm complaint even where Rolle’s comments do not always avoid the implication of ill will against human enemies. In fact, Rolle’s comment on Psalm 78:6 emphasises the penitent’s plea for wrath on unbelievers:

**Rolle: Effunde iram tuam in gentes que te non nouerunt: & in regna que nomen tuum non inuocauerunt.** *Hell thi wreth in genge that the nocht knew: and in kyngedomes that thi name incald nocht.* As wha say. hell nocht thi vengeance on vs that dos penaunce for oure syn. bot in tha that will not know thi luf, and that kallis nocht inwardly thi name til thaire helpe and thaire solace.<sup>910</sup>

<sup>909</sup> RVs, vol. 2, p. 632.

<sup>910</sup> Ed. Bramley, p. 292. Hatton 12 includes ‘wreth’ before ‘vengeance’ here, f. 119v.

The Revisions, by contrast, distinguish the prophetic foreknowledge of God's wrath on the unbelieving from a malicious desire for it:

Sore mowe men be adred þat knowen not God, kepyng his lawe, for upon hem shal come sodeynli þe ire of God. And þerfore þe Prophet seiþ here not of malice but þurgh þe Holy Goost, knowyng hou it shal be, 'Lord, heeld out þin yre upon þe folkes þat wolen not knowe þi name ne drede it, þat as þei oppresse þe fredom of þi lawe, so be þei oppressid in peyne bi þe riȝtwise dome of þi mouþe.' And riȝt as þe Prophet of God knewe bi þe Holi Goost þat þe ire of God shuld come upon þe dulle folk for her owne synne and for þe consent to oþer mennes, so he knewe þat þe wraþ of God shulde come upon þe kyngdomes [. . .]<sup>911</sup>

Though the expansion of this comment into a prayer for the oppression of oppressors may complicate this distinction between malicious and prophetic cursing, the interpretation preserves the submission of the will to God's that the Revisions present as requisite for worthwhile suffering. The revised comment on Psalm 78:10 and following verses again distinguishes the desire for malice from the foreknowledge of God's coming vengeance against unrighteousness and even the desire for his righteous will to be done:

**Ne forte dicant in gentibus: ubi est Deus eorum? et innotescat in nationibus coram oculis nostris.** *Enauntre þei sey in folk: wher is her God? and inwaxe knowen in naciouns bifore oure yȝen.* Siþ fro þe bigynnyng þe riȝtwisnes of God haþ ben shewed, as his lawe makeþ mencioun, men shuld drede to synne for his riȝtwisnes mote nedes venge synne, al be it þat þe erþe is ful of his mercy [. . .] Of þis foly sawe of vnfeipful men, whanne þei se men vnlike to hem suffre persecucioun or deef wilfulli for God, trewe men han compassioun, for þei knowen þat God mot nedes venge þis foly. And þerfore þei preye God of help, þat his name wexe knowen in naciouns bifore her yȝen: þat is, þat hastily þe folk were turned to God, preisng his name þat is Crist, bi whom his name is maad knowen, þat sodeyn vengeance come not vpon hem in her errour. And al be it þat men touched wiþ compassioun preye and desire þe conuerting of þe puple in tyme of grace, þei mote nede also aske and desire acordyngli wiþ Crist þat riȝtwisnes be doon. And þerfore þei, as it shal be not desiryng it of malice

**Ulcio sanguinis seruorum tuorum qui effusus est [. . .] Þe vengeance of blood of þi seruautes þat is outhelt [. . .]**<sup>912</sup>

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<sup>911</sup> RVs, vol. 2, p. 763.

<sup>912</sup> RVs, vol. 2, pp. 766-767.

This introduction to the following imprecation echoes Peter Lombard's negation of malice here, but also anticipates Rolle's comment on verse 11, which concludes, 'ȝe sall wit that a rightwisman has na delite of the pyne of his enmy. here whaim he hatis nocht. bot in the rightwisnes of god whaim he lufis'.<sup>913</sup> While Rolle thus confirms his adherence to the principle of loving one's enemies, it is the Revisions that extend the principle into more specific guidance in how and what to pray for such enemies while suffering 'wilfulli for God'.<sup>914</sup>

In reading such imprecations as expressions of voluntary alignment with the divine will, the Revisions' recall Wyclif's own resolution of the problem of cursing in Scripture. Having established that loving enemies is foundational to righteousness, Wyclif raises several points where the Scriptures seem contradict their own teaching, including Psalm 68 and also Christ's words at Matthew 11.<sup>915</sup> Asserting that 'hec facile solvuntur' [this is easily resolved'], he responds that both Christ and David ('propheta' ['the prophet'] foretell what will take place, 'non optantis voto, sed spiritu previdentis' ['not desiring it with the will, but seeing it in advance by the Spirit']).<sup>916</sup> The Revisions are not alone in their attentiveness to this theological problem. Trinity 93, also synthesizing the Lombard's comment on the first verse, presents Psalm 68 as a model for the church's prayer, 'gifand a fourme to þe membres of his chirch how þey shold cry in þe tempestes of þis bitter worlde'.<sup>917</sup> Its summary of the

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<sup>913</sup> Ed. Bramley, pp. 292-293. Intriguingly, Hatton 12 has 'hatis' for 'lufis' at the end of this comment, f. 120r.

<sup>914</sup> While most pronounced in the most independent section of the Revisions, this emphasis on prayer for enemies also appears at Psalm 6:11, where the Revisions preserve Rolle's reading of the passage as a prayer for the conversion of enemies (*RVs*, vol. 1, p. 51), and at Psalm 31:9b, where the Revisions transform a curse into a prayer that the enemies would be transformed if they will not come to God 'wilfully' (*RVs*, vol. 1, p. 356). Contrast, however, Psalm 149:5, 7, where the Revisions do not moderate the vindictive tone of the commentary – in keeping with their more general proximity to Rolle at this point (*RVs*, vol. 3, p. 1107).

<sup>915</sup> *Opus Evangelicum*, ed. Loserth, p. 218.

<sup>916</sup> *Opus Evangelicum*, ed. Loserth, p. 218.

<sup>917</sup> Trinity 93, f. 49r; cf. *PL 191*, col. 626.

third and fourth parts of the Psalm likewise serves to identify Christ's prayers against his enemies as prophetic:

Þe thrid þer, I sothly my preyer to þe, Criste settes preyer ageyne þe forseyde illes.  
 Þe forte þer, þe borde of hem be made, he *prophecies* ageyn his aduersaries þat þe  
 gall þat þey *proferd* hym shold be to þem a suare; & of oþer diseses þat shold cum to  
 þem.<sup>918</sup>

In the context of a similarly Christological and ecclesiological reading, Bodley 554 incorporates a more explicit reference to the distinction between foreknowledge and malice in its comment on the latter verse, Psalm 68:23:

Þe boord of hem be maad, et cetera: he d[e]s[i]riþ not þis, but profeciþ þis, not þat it  
 be maad, but for it shal be maad; þerfor be it maad, for it mai not ellis be, no but þese  
 þingis bifalle to siche men.<sup>919</sup>

As noted in Chapter 2, Bodley 554 cites both Lyra and Augustine's appeals to this same distinction in expositing both Davidic and Christological readings of the curse of enemies at Psalm 27:4.<sup>920</sup> Trinity 93 likewise describes the section of the Psalm where this imprecation appears as not only a prayer but specifically a '*propheci* what peyn shold cum to þem þat spake feyre wordes to hym & þoght ill ageyne hym & pursued hym'; notably, this elaboration of the passage's prophetic quality represents a significant addition to Peter Lombard's brief summary of the first part of the Psalm as '*oracio tempore passionis*' ['a prayer in the time of the passion'], developing it with an allusion to the traditional observation of verse 4, that '*est hoc praedicere, non optare*' ['this is [meant] to predict, and not to wish'].<sup>921</sup> In this, Trinity 93 highlights how these cries for recompense can remain consistent with the overarching intent of the Psalm it translates from the Lombard: 'þe intencion is to stirr þem þat wil regne *with*

<sup>918</sup> Trinity 93, f. 49r; cf. *PL 191*, col. 626.

<sup>919</sup> *B554* 68:23/538, vol. 1, p. 105.

<sup>920</sup> *B554* 27:4/174, vol. 1, p. 37.

<sup>921</sup> Trinity 93, f. 40v; cf. *PL 191* cols. 277, 279.

Criste to suffer aduersite'.<sup>922</sup> Perhaps inspired by the same statement of the Psalm's intent, the Revisions also take Psalm 27:4 as an opportunity to articulate the parallel between Christ's crucifixion, meant for evil but used for great good, with the experience of the persecuted more generally:

[M]ore gode cam neuer to man þan didde of þat sleyng, so no man may gete him more mede þan in þe pacient suffryng of pursuyng of his enemyes. But þe pursueres ben worþi no mede, alþouȝ þer come myche gode of her pursuyng [. . .]<sup>923</sup>

Once again, the Revisions, Bodley 554, and Trinity 93 converge around the theme of alignment between divine and human volition and suffering and indeed the expression of alignment with the divine will for justice on the perpetrators of suffering.

In their convergence, these sources reflect common reference points in the traditional exposition of Psalms 27 and 68. The consistency with which these sources preserve these reference points thus corroborates the close continuity between the interpretive programmes surrounding the Wycliffite translations of the Psalms into English and the existing norms for teaching the Psalms (or indeed teaching theology through the Psalms) in the schools. At the same time, the selection, synthesis, and development of comments specifically about aligning the will with God's justice in the midst of persecution suggests a particular attentiveness to this topic. Apart from its relevance to a persecuted sect, as discussed above, this focus on actively participating in God's will for justice recalls Wyclif's own focus on cooperation with the divine will as the basis for meritorious action. Moreover, the negotiation of the tensions surrounding the problem of prayers against enemies recalls Wyclif's approach to the fraught question of how evil can co-exist with the divine will.

<sup>922</sup> Trinity 93, f. 40v; cf. *PL 191*, col. 277: 'monet eos aduersa tolerare, qui volunt cum Christo regnare' ['it advises those who wish to reign with Christ that they should accept adversities'].

<sup>923</sup> *RVS*, vol. 1, p. 319.

Wyclif's theodicy hinges on the resolution of sin by just punishment. Throughout his work, he takes Grosseteste's position that God ordains sin in the sense of willing the good that comes from it, which he identifies with the punishment that expresses his justice.<sup>924</sup> It is thus possible to will God's just punishment without approving evil; in fact, early in the *De Volucione*, Wyclif specifically names 'penas personarum et communitatum' ['punishments of individuals and communities'] as instances of God's will in which the Christian should rejoice.<sup>925</sup> Presumably the penitent's desire for his own suffering instantiates this desire for evil to be made good by punishment; however, Wyclif's more abstract reference to 'penas personarum et communitatum' seems to include the pains of others as well.<sup>926</sup> Even death and pain, Wyclif insists, must be pleasing to the Christian, insofar as they are evidently within God's will of good pleasure, although it is also fitting that he experience the opposite reaction at the same time.<sup>927</sup>

By contrast, Wyclif notes the folly of sorrow over any non-fact, such as one's lack of an episcopal position, since such a deprivation is not a sin.<sup>928</sup> The latter example must have carried particular poignancy for Wyclif and his followers, as perhaps intimated by Wyclif's admission of his disappointment over the non-fulfilment of certain desires that did not seem sinful in themselves:

Indubie talis diutina mora [. . .] retraxit [de] mea paciencia et humili subdicione divini ordinancie, omittendo alia quibus debui interne deservire; et ita, a mihi verisimil, facit multos.

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<sup>924</sup> *De Volucione* III.ii, ll. 33-35, ed. Dziewicki, p. 9; Levy, 'Grace and Freedom', p. 298. Cf. *Opus Evangelicum* 2.11, ed. Johann Loserth, *Iohannis Wyclif Opus Evangelicum*, Wyclif Society 24-25 (London, 1895), 2 vols, vol. 1, p. 281; *De Statu Innocentie* 9, ed. J. Loserth and F. D. Matthew, Wyclif Society 35 (London, 1922), pp. 518-520.

<sup>925</sup> *De Volucione* III.i, ed. Dziewicki, p. 125.

<sup>926</sup> *De Volucione* III.i, ed. Dziewicki, p. 125.

<sup>927</sup> *De Volucione* III.i, ed. Dziewicki, p. 122.

<sup>928</sup> *De Volucione* III.i, ed. Dziewicki, p. 125.

[Indubitably long delay has reduced my patience and humble submission to the divine ordinance [. . .], through [my] omission of other things to which I should have attended within [myself]; and it seems to me that it does the same to many others.]<sup>929</sup>

His personal confession serves to underline the rules he sets out for willing rightly. One should absolutely will everything that takes place, as the event proves its presence in God's will: 'quilibet catholicus debet velle omnem veritatem quam determinate cognoscit preter peccatum, cum omne tale est dei beneplacitum, ac ad ordinanciam pulcherimam universi' ['every Catholic should will every truth that he knows to be determined, besides sin, as every such thing is pleasing to God, and toward the more beautiful ordering of the universe'].<sup>930</sup> Meanwhile, a thing not certainly known to be within God's will should be willed only on the condition that it pleases God.<sup>931</sup> Such an attitude of absolute volition toward God's known will and conditional volition towards what may or may not be his will reflects precisely the conformity of human willing to God's will as such, rather than to a particular outcome, that Wyclif used to differentiate sin from merit.

### **Conclusion: Prayer and Work**

For Wyclif, as for others before him, prayer is the ultimate locus for this conformity of wills. After asserting the identity of God's intrinsic will with whatever happens at the beginning of the *De Volucione*, Wyclif declares that Christians need not pray for, in the sense of beseeching, the fulfilment of the will of God's good pleasure: it will be fulfilled by absolute necessity in any case.<sup>932</sup> Rather, he explains, 'Oracione [. . .] que est elevativa mentis in deum per prorupcionem in laudem oramus, que scimus esse intra' ['we pray, in the sense of lifting up our minds to God and breaking forth in praise, for what we know to be

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<sup>929</sup> *De Volucione* III.i, ed. Dziewicki, p. 126.

<sup>930</sup> *De Volucione* III.i, ed. Dziewicki, p. 124.

<sup>931</sup> *De Volucione* III.i, ed. Dziewicki, p. 125.

<sup>932</sup> *De Volucione* III.i, ed. Dziewicki, p. 116.

already within God's will'].<sup>933</sup> When, in the third petition of the *Pater Noster*, we ask for the Lord's will to be done in earth as it is in heaven, he explains, we refer to God's will in its extrinsic sense, specifically to his precepts and councils.<sup>934</sup> As he expounds the petition in his more extended commentary on the *Pater Noster*, Wyclif again reads 'fiat voluntas tua' ['thy will be done'] as referring to an externalized dimension of God's will, but not necessarily the will of his counsel; noting three different uses of God's will in Scripture, he specifies that the petition refers to God's will as it produces effects external to him.<sup>935</sup> While in its other senses of the God who wills and the will by which he does so, God's will is not 'factibilis' ['doable'], as Wyclif puts it, these effects can be 'facta' ['done'], whether directly, when God's righteousness is done by human beings, or indirectly, when his justice is done in response to sin.<sup>936</sup> To pray is, then, to pursue proactive participation in the outworking of God's will.

The ethical interpretations of the Psalter in the Revisions, Trinity 93, and Bodley 554 cultivate prayerful reading in precisely this sense. So, one might add, do those Primers which complement the Psalms with commentaries on the Ten Commandments.<sup>937</sup> 'Deuoute preieres', as the reviser of Psalm 129:2b points out, are those made 'not onely wiþ þe lippes but in þouȝt and trewe wirkyngē' – a sentiment repeatedly expressed throughout the Wycliffite glosses on the Psalter.<sup>938</sup> As they suggest contexts in which the words of the Psalms might be taken up in prayer, the Wycliffite interpretations do not so much dictate the

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<sup>933</sup> *De Volucione* III.i, ed. Dziewicki, p. 116.

<sup>934</sup> *De Volucione* III.i, ed. Dziewicki, p. 115.

<sup>935</sup> *Opus Evangelicum* 2.11, ed. Loserth, vol. 1, p. 281. Cf. Levy's summary of this passage in 'Grace and Freedom', p.281.

<sup>936</sup> *Opus Evangelicum* 2.11, ed. Loserth, vol. 1, p. 281. Cf. Levy, 'Grace and Freedom', p. 281.

<sup>937</sup> In addition to the basically Augustinian basis of the theme of playing by keeping the commandments, the concern with the Decalogue is of course a broader concern of contemporaneous pastoral materials; cf. Chapter 1, section 1.2.

<sup>938</sup> *RVs*, vol. 3 p. 1044. Rolle does not include this comment, ed. Bramley, p. 448.

works themselves as the ‘thoghtes’ of which they will be the ‘relikes’.<sup>939</sup> And yet precisely by focusing on the disposition of the will in the given circumstances, these materials encourage the embodiment of the Psalms in specifically ‘trewe wirkynges’ – to make the text sound from above as it is played out in the doing of the divine precepts. This approach manifests both a practical sensitivity to the psychological conditions for devotion and a commitment to preserving the freedom between alternatives so essential to the scholastic model of human volition articulated by Wyclif.

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<sup>939</sup> See Trinity 93, f. 51r, and similar text at *RVs*, vol. 2, p. 699, and Rolle, ed. Bramley, p. 272; cf. section 1.1 of this chapter, and Chapter 4, section 2.1.

## Conclusion

The last chapter posited intent as central to Wycliffite Psalm ethics – and to Wyclif’s own account of human action. Indeed, according to Wyclif and in Wycliffite readings of the Psalter, intent is central to the whole interpretive process. Just as volitional cooperation with the divine will distinguishes meritorious from sinful action in that account, so the intent to understand the divinely intended meaning defines true interpretation in Wyclif’s account of biblical hermeneutics. Wyclif’s identification of God’s will with God himself, and of the law as the sign of that will, in his writings on volution, and his identification of Holy Scripture with God, and of the biblical text as the sign of scriptural truth, in his writing on hermeneutics parallel one another so closely as to create a metaphysical equivalence.<sup>940</sup> In this light, interpretation may be understood as a form of ethical action, and vice versa, as both express a holistic pursuit of the divine will.

Translation itself may be understood as such a pursuit in both veins. The General Prologue’s enumeration of biblical and specifically Psalmic prophecies that prefigure the translation frames it as an enactment of the divine will.<sup>941</sup> According to the argument of Chapter 1, the sheer multiplicity of Psalm translations associated with the Wycliffites implies an ongoing quest for the divinely intended meaning, as well as an invitation to readers to take up this quest in reading, examining, correcting, and perhaps even re-translating the Psalter for themselves. That is, despite and in fact because of their ‘literal’ fidelity to the text, the

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<sup>940</sup> See, for instance, Wyclif’s identification of the ‘voluntas [. . .] Dei’ as ‘essentialiter [. . .] Deo volente’ [‘essentially [. . .] the willing God’], *Opus Evangelicum* 2.11, ed. Loserth, p. 281; cf. Levy, ‘Grace and Freedom’, p. 281. On biblical hermeneutics, see *DVSS*, vol. 1, pp. 107-108, 109, 111, 114; trans. *OTHS*, pp. 97, 99, 98, 102.

<sup>941</sup> ‘Chapter 15’, ed. Dove, p. 80.

Wycliffite Psalm translations reinforce the ‘shift [in] the *locus* of hermeneutics from the biblical text to the reader’ that Ghosh has remarked in the more obviously interpretive and even hortatory Wycliffite sermons.<sup>942</sup> In a sense, this shift toward reader participation in the interpretive process represents the ultimate *translatio* extended by the Wycliffite Psalms.

Throughout this thesis, I have sought to trace how the various Wycliffite Psalm materials effect, or attempt to effect, such a *translatio*, stressing the diversity of their methods and contexts as well as their underlying continuity in the extension of texts, exegetical tools, spiritual instruction, and ultimately moral agency to English readers. Among the various specific features that recur across these various sources, the most illustrative is the habitual use of alternatives: as intertextual glosses indicating synonymous variants and divergent base texts in the translations, or as marginal comments detailing versions of the biblical text; as separate records of different expositions of the text across the commentary materials; as distinct but often convergent ways of reading the text (i.e. according to the literal and moral senses), especially in Bodley 554 and Trinity 93. As discussed in Chapter 2, the use of such alternatives in these English texts marks their continuity with the scholastic milieu, perhaps also inducting English readers into scholastic discourse. They also require readers to seek the meaning of the text for themselves, allowing the engagement of the will that played such a central role in right understanding and embodiment of the biblical text according to Wycliffite hermeneutics.

Of course, while they gesture toward the interpretive agency of English Psalm readers, those who translated, glossed, compiled, and revised the Wycliffite Psalm materials also moderate that agency. Where the biblical text is accompanied by commentary material,

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<sup>942</sup> *The Wycliffite Heresy*, p. 118.

this guides interpretation in orthodox channels; the various sorts of alternatives described above all constrain the reader's choice to legitimate options. In fact, although they encourage scriptural learning, and perhaps even ecclesial community, that could threaten established institutions where conducted outside of them, their exegetical practice and their devotional sensibilities are highly conventional; their adaptations to Rolle's approach, as discussed in Chapter 4, develop its own tendencies. Their insistence on the universal remit as well as the concrete applicability of the Psalter underlines its normative import, even as they leave concrete engagement with these norms to readers (and, indirectly, their hearers). In drawing English audiences into proactive reading of the English Psalms, that is, the producers of these materials also provide an English programme of guidance in Psalm reading. More precisely, they contribute to a cluster of such programmes, perhaps all the more effectual because adapted to particular environments.<sup>943</sup> This nexus of projects amounts, I would argue, to the translation of a multi-dimensional interpretive formation, scholastic and spiritual, into English.

Taking their place within a larger culture of medieval Psalm reading, and indeed in the burgeoning of vernacular theological and devotional resources in late medieval England, the Wycliffite Psalms collectively epitomize the generative potential of the search for Scripture's sense and purpose in that environment. In excavating this flourishing culture of Wycliffite Psalm interpretation, this thesis contributes to the growing appreciation of the exegetical as well as reformist rigor evident within Wycliffite circles, and the revision of earlier narratives of Wycliffite dissemination of the 'naked text', where this is understood as

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<sup>943</sup> Schühle-Lewis makes the intriguing point that the divergences between the Wycliffite *Glossed Gospels* and Trinity 93's presentation of the gospels could in fact argue for mutual awareness of each other's work on the part of the producers of each, *T93*, Part 1, p. 135.

text without mediation. At the same time, it affirms the Wycliffites' reputation as translators of interpretive capacity to English Psalm readers, elaborating the multifaceted and ambitious extent of their *translatio* in practice.

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